

Tribes in Transition: Influence of Immigrants on the Life and Culture of Irula Community in Attappadi (1925-2000)

*Thesis
submitted to the University of Calicut
for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

By

FIROZ K. T.

Under the Supervision of

Dr. O. P. MAYAN KUTTY
Associate Professor (Retd.)
Department of History
PSMO College
Tirurangadi



**Post Graduate Department of History
PSMO College
Tirurangadi**

March 2024

DECLARATION

I, **Firoz K. T.**, do hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**Tribes in Transition: Influence of Immigrants on the Life and Culture of Irula Community in Attappadi (1925-2000)**” submitted to the University of Calicut in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History is a bonafide record of research work carried out me under the supervision of **Dr. O. P. Mayan Kutty**, Associate Professor (Retd.), PSMO College, Tirurangadi at the Department of History, PSMO College, Tirurangadi and it has not been previously formed the basis of the award of any degree.

Place: Tirurangadi
Date:

Firoz. K. T.
Research Scholar,
P. G. Department of History
PSMO College, Tirurangadi

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Tribes in Transition: Influence of Immigrants on the Life and Culture of Irula Community in Attappadi (1925-2000)**,” submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Mr. Firoz. K. T.**, under my supervision and guidance. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any degree before and it represents an original independent work on the part of the candidate.

Place: Tirurangadi
Date:

Dr. O. P. Mayan Kutty
(Supervising Teacher)

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Tribes in Transition: Influence of Immigrants on the Life and Culture of Irula Community in Attappadi (1925-2000)**,” submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Mr. Firoz. K. T.**, under my supervision and guidance. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any degree before and it represents an original independent work on the part of the candidate. I also certify that the corrections/suggestions recommended by adjudicators have been incorporated into the thesis

Place: Tirurangadi
Date:

Dr. O. P. Mayan Kutty
(Supervising Teacher)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe my deep sense of gratitude my guide and supervisor Dr. O.P. Mayan Kutty, Associate Professor (Retd.), P.G & Research Department of History, P.S.M.O College, Tirurangadi for giving me guidance through valuable suggestions and constructive criticism. I express my sincere thanks to him for the inestimable and unstinting support and co-operation he extended to me throughout the period of my research. His academic vigour, enthusiasm, encouragement and relentless help have played a vital role in the successful and timely completion of my work.

With heartfelt gratitude, I remember the support extended by the authorities of P.S.M.O College, Tirurangadi, I thank the college for permitting me to carry out this study as part time research. I am extremely grateful to all the teaching and non-teaching fraternity of the college, especially the History Department, research coordinator of the college and other stakeholders, for their support and cooperation throughout my research.

With open heart, I extend my deepest gratitude and thanks to the principal Dr. Azeez K., and faculty members of P.S.M.O. College where I worked during the period of my research. I am also thankful to all the staffs of libraries of these colleges for their support extended to me all through my research period.

I am thankful to all the staff of the Regional Archives Kozhikkode and Eranakulam. I express my deep gratitude to the staff of the Madras Archives, Chennai, C.H.Muhammed Koya Central Library University of Calicut, KIRTADS, Kozhikkode, History Department library, University of Calicut, KFRI Agali, ITDP Agali, Agali Panchayath office especially, the persons and officials closely associated with various Govt offices in Attappadi etc. They have supplied me valuable information and documents with regards to this study.

For undertaking this work I have received help and support from various persons and institutions. I extend my deepest gratitude and thanks to Dr. Joshy Mathew, Associate Professor, Pazhashi Raja college, Pulpalli, Dr. Noora Abdul Kadar, Asst. Professor, Aligarh University, Dr. Shahina Mol, Asst. Professor, Unity women's College, Manjeri, Dr. Sebastian Joseph (Retd.) Professor,

UC College, Aluva, Dr. K.S Madavan, Professor, University of Calicut, Prof.(Dr.) P K. Michael Tharakan, Chairman, KCHR, Dr. Manjusha.A., Asst. Professor. M.G.University Mr. Abdurahiman Asst. Professor, Govt. College Attappadi, Dr. Manjula Poyil., Asst. Professor, Kanoor University for their love and support. I also express my sincere thanks to Mrs. Saleena, Head of the Department of History and other faculty members of the department for their timely interventions and care and services extended to me. I also remember my fellow researchers and research assistants in the department for their support and suggestions. It is to Prof. Muhammed Mahin, Head of the Department of History, University of Calicut, I am obliged for keeping me alive on the road of research when I confronted with certain technical constrains.

My colleagues in the EMEA College of Arts and science, Kondotty have helped me in different ways. I also express my deep gratitude to my friends Dr. Ibrahim Cholakkal, Askar Ali. A, Abdu Razaque. P.M, Dr. Abdul Muneer, Dr. Zakariya. T.V, Muhammed Sadiq. P, Dr. Hussain V. Jahfar Odakkal, Dr. Afsal, Althaf. T.K., Dr. Shihabudheen. P, Dr. Asharf Valoor, Mr. Nizar. T.V and my department friends for the academic support they provided to me.

I am also thankful to Rajesh and other friends in M/s Bina Photostat, Chenakkal, near University of Calicut for the typing and allied works of this thesis.

I am greatly indebted to my beloved parents and my wife Abida. C. Chukkan for her constant enthusiasm and encouragement for the completion of my work. I regret that amidst my hectic efforts to consummate the assigned work, I have often found little time to be with my beloved children Fathima Thafli and Emin Fazli, still they stood by me with small assistants like getting the books or return them in the proper place, finding the spectacles or operating the computer and the like. I am grateful to them also as they realised the spirit of my research. Thank you all.

Firoz. K.T.

ABSTRACT

Attappadi, nestled within Kerala's verdant terrain, embodies a delicate balance between human civilization and nature, fostering a distinct way of life for its tribal and non-tribal inhabitants. The region, encompassing the *Irula*, *Kurumba*, and *Muduga* tribes, is a microcosm reflecting the complex interplay of cultural evolution and external influences. Migration, particularly from Southern Kerala, Mannarkkad and Malappuram has significantly impacted the *Irula* tribe, comprising 80% of the tribal population. This influence manifests in altered social structures, changing traditions, and increased interaction with mainstream society through markets, education, and tourism. As globalization accelerates cultural shifts, understanding these dynamics is vital for crafting effective policies that address the needs and preserve the heritage of the Attappadi tribal communities. Despite government efforts to modernize and integrate tribes, there remains a disconnect between policies and the genuine concerns of these indigenous groups. Recognizing their integral role in society and their ancient heritage is essential for fostering inclusivity and empowering marginalized voices in the Attappadi ongoing socio-cultural transition.

Kerala hosts a diverse tribal population, comprising 36 Scheduled Tribes (ST) according to the 2011 Census, totaling 484,839 individuals, about 1.3% of the state's total populace. Concentrated mainly in Wayanad, Palakkad, and Idukki districts, these tribes inhabit the mountainous terrains of the Sahyadri Range. Passes in the Western Ghats facilitated cultural interactions and migrations, shaping the ecological adaptation of tribes like the *Irula*, *Muduga*, and *Kurumba*. Despite geographic diversity, seven territorial clusters delineate their habitation across districts, such as Kasargod, Wayanad, Nilambur, Attappadi, Parambikulam, Idukki, and Trivandrum. The term "tribe" originates from Latin "tribuz," evolving to denote distinct social, political, and geographical divisions. Legally, 'Scheduled Tribes' in India are defined by the Constitution to provide special protections and concessions, highlighting the government's recognition of their unique status and needs.

The study on the *Irula* community in Attappadi addresses the profound socio-cultural transformations resulting from the influx of immigrants from the 1925 to 2000. *Irulas*, comprising 80% of Attappadi's tribal population, face increased interactions with non-tribal settlers, leading to significant changes in their way of life. Encroachment on tribal lands, influenced by agricultural expansion and real estate development, has exacerbated their marginalization. Despite governmental efforts, including welfare programs and institutional frameworks, Attappadi remains persistently underdeveloped, with a majority of the population living in poverty. The study aims to highlight the detrimental impacts of immigration on the *Irula* community's culture and livelihoods, emphasizing the need for innovative approaches to address their unique challenges and sustain their traditional way of life.

The study focuses on Attappadi, a tribal region within Kerala's Palakkad district known for its dense forest cover and the presence of the Silent Valley. Dominated by tribes like the *Irula*, *Muduga*, and *Kurumba*, their language reflects a

blend of Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam expressions. Attappadi lies amidst the Nilgiri Hills, bordered by Coimbatore district to the east and Palakkad Taluk to the south. Administrative divisions include three Panchayats: Agaly, Pudur, and Sholayur. The area is adjacent to the Attappadi Reserve Forest, serving as a buffer for the Silent Valley National Park. The demographic makeup comprises primarily tribal communities, historically intertwined with forest environments, reflecting their cultural practices and ecological relationship. Attappadi is divided into Western and Eastern zones, with distinct precipitation patterns: Western Attappadi receives over 2800 mm annually, while Eastern Attappadi, in a rain-shadow zone, receives less than 1000 mm annually, potentially leading to desertification.

The study employs historical and ethnographic methodologies to investigate the *Irula* tribal community in Attappadi. Historical analysis involves written and non-written sources, including oral traditions and architectural remains. Ethnographic fieldwork provides firsthand insights into the community's lifestyle and cultural practices, acknowledging the limitations of such an approach. A targeted sampling method was used, surveying 50 *Irula* hamlets and interviewing 200 *Irulas* and 200 migrants. Data collection involved structured interviews, participant observation, and consultation with key informants. Interviews were conducted with various stakeholders, including tribal and non-tribal individuals, forest officials, and development personnel. Cultural insights were gained through active engagement in life-cycle rituals and informal interviews.

The study utilizes analytical and descriptive methodologies, drawing from primary sources such as archival materials, government records, and forest department reports. Secondary data includes reports, theses, and publications from institutions like KIRTADS and KILA. Oral sources, crucial for historical analysis, provide insights into community history, social structures, and cultural practices. Ethno historians and anthropologists emphasize the value of oral tradition in understanding lineage dynamics and village dynamics. The comprehensive approach, integrating primary and secondary data alongside oral sources, ensures a robust foundation for the research methodology.

The research acknowledges limitations including the unavailability of early tribal records and government restrictions on tribal interaction. However, it emphasizes the need to explore government influences on tribal transitions further. Organized into seven chapters, the study begins with an Introduction, followed by a theoretical framework on migration. Subsequent chapters detail Attappadi's geography and tribal communities, analyze local migration dynamics, delve into the *Irula* tribe's socio-cultural aspects, and scrutinize immigrant influence. The concluding chapter synthesizes findings and offers insights, supported by a comprehensive bibliography, abbreviations glossary, and appendix.

Key words: *Irula*, Migration, Transition, Socio-culture, Population.

സംഗ്രഹം

കേരളത്തിലെ പച്ചപ്പുള്ള ഭൂപ്രദേശത്തിനകത്ത് സ്ഥിതി ചെയ്യുന്ന അട്ടപ്പാടി, മനുഷ്യ നാഗരികതയും പ്രകൃതിയും തമ്മിലുള്ള സൂക്ഷ്മമായ സത്തുലിതാവസ്ഥയെ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. ഗോത്രവർഗക്കാർക്കും ഗോത്രവർഗേതര നിവാസികൾക്കും വ്യതിരിക്തമായ ഒരു ജീവിതരീതി വളർത്തിയെടുത്ത പ്രദേശമാണിത്. ഇരുള, കുറമ്പ, മുട്ടുഗ എന്നീ ഗോത്രങ്ങളെ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്ന ഈ പ്രദേശം സാംസ്കാരിക പരിണാമത്തിന്റെയും ബാഹ്യ സ്വാധീനങ്ങളുടെയും സങ്കീർണ്ണമായ പരസ്പരബന്ധത്തെ പ്രതിഫലിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സൂക്ഷ്മരൂപമാണ്. കുടിയേറ്റം, പ്രത്യേകിച്ച് തെക്കൻ കേരളത്തിൽ നിന്നുള്ള അട്ടപ്പാടിയിലേക്കുള്ള കുടിയേറ്റം, 80% ഗോത്രവർഗ്ഗക്കാരായ ഇരുള വിഭാഗത്തെ സാരമായി ബാധിച്ചു. ഈ സ്വാധീനം മാറിയ സാമൂഹിക ഘടനകളിലും, മാറുന്ന പാരമ്പര്യങ്ങളിലും, വിപണികൾ, വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, വിനോദസഞ്ചാരം എന്നിവയിലൂടെ മുഖ്യധാരാ സമൂഹവുമായുള്ള വർദ്ധിച്ച ഇടപഴകലിലും പ്രകടമാണ്. ആഗോളവൽക്കരണം സാംസ്കാരിക മാറ്റങ്ങളെ ത്വരിതപ്പെടുത്തുമ്പോൾ, അട്ടപ്പാടിയിലെ ആദിവാസി സമൂഹങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ അഭിസംബോധന ചെയ്യുന്നതിനും പൈതൃകം സംരക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനുമുള്ള ഫലപ്രദമായ നയങ്ങൾ രൂപപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിന് ഈ ചലനാത്മകത മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നത് അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമാണ്. ഗോത്രങ്ങളെ നവീകരിക്കാനും സമന്വയിപ്പിക്കാനും ഗവൺമെന്റ് ശ്രമിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും, ഈ തദ്ദേശീയ വിഭാഗങ്ങളുടെ നയങ്ങളും യഥാർത്ഥ ആശങ്കകളും തമ്മിൽ ഒരു അന്തരം തുടരുന്നു. സമൂഹത്തിൽ അവരുടെ അവിഭാജ്യ പങ്കും പുരാതന പൈതൃകവും തിരിച്ചറിയേണ്ടത് അട്ടപ്പാടിയിലെ നിലവിലുള്ള സാമൂഹിക-സാംസ്കാരിക പരിവർത്തനത്തിൽ പാർശ്വ വൽക്കരിക്കപ്പെട്ട ശബ്ദങ്ങളെ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളാനും ശാക്തീകരിക്കാനും അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമാണ്.

2011 ലെ സെൻസസ് പ്രകാരം കേരളത്തിൽ 36 പട്ടികവർഗ്ഗക്കാർ (ST) ഉൾപ്പെടുന്ന വൈവിധ്യമാർന്ന ഗോത്രവർഗ്ഗ ജനസംഖ്യയാണ് ഉള്ളത്. മൊത്തം 484,839 ആദിവാസികൾ, സംസ്ഥാനത്തെ മൊത്തം ജനസംഖ്യയുടെ ഏകദേശം 1.3% ആണ്. അവയിൽ പ്രധാനമായും വയനാട്, പാലക്കാട്, ഇടുക്കി ജില്ലകളിൽ കേന്ദ്രീകരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ ഗോത്രങ്ങൾ സഹ്യാദ്രി പർവതനിരകളിൽ വസിക്കുന്നു. പശ്ചിമഘട്ടത്തിലെ ചുരങ്ങൾ ഇരുള, മുട്ടുഗ, കുറമ്പ തുടങ്ങിയ ഗോത്രങ്ങളുടെ പാരിസ്ഥിതിക പൊരുത്തപ്പെടുത്തൽ രൂപപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊണ്ട് സാംസ്കാരിക ഇടപെടലുകൾക്കും കുടിയേറ്റങ്ങൾക്കും സഹായകമായി. ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായ വൈവിധ്യം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നിട്ടും, കാസർകോട്, വയനാട്, നിലമ്പൂർ, അട്ടപ്പാടി, പാമ്പിക്കുളം, ഇടുക്കി, തിരുവനന്തപുരം തുടങ്ങിയ ജില്ലകളിൽ ഏഴ് പ്രദേശിക ക്ലസ്റ്ററുകൾ അവരുടെ ആവാസ വ്യവസ്ഥയെ നിർവ്വചിക്കുന്നു. നിയമപരമായി, ഇന്ത്യയിലെ 'പട്ടികവർഗങ്ങൾ' പ്രത്യേക പരിരക്ഷകളും ഇളവുകളും നൽകുന്നതിന് ഭരണഘടന നിർവ്വചിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു, അവരുടെ തനതായ പദവിയും ആവശ്യങ്ങളും ഗവൺമെന്റിന്റെ അതീവ ശ്രദ്ധയിലുള്ളതാണ്.

അട്ടപ്പാടിയിലെ ഇരുള സമുദായത്തെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള ഈ പഠനം 1925 മുതൽ 2000 വരെയുള്ള കുടിയേറ്റത്തിന്റെ ഫലമായുണ്ടായ അഗാധമായ സാമൂഹിക-സാംസ്കാരിക പരിവർത്തനങ്ങളെ അഭിസംബോധന ചെയ്യുന്നു. അട്ടപ്പാടിയിലെ ആദിവാസി ജനസംഖ്യയുടെ 80 % അടങ്ങുന്ന ഇരുളർ, ആദിവാസി ഇതര കുടിയേറ്റക്കാരുമായി വർദ്ധിച്ച ഇടപഴകലുകൾ നേരിടുന്നു, ഇത് അവരുടെ ജീവിതരീതിയിൽ കാര്യമായ മാറ്റങ്ങൾക്ക് കാരണമാകുന്നു. കാര്യപരമായ വ്യാപനവും റിയൽ എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വികസനവും സ്വാധീനിച്ച ആദിവാസി ഭൂമിയിലെ കൈയേറ്റം അവരുടെ പാർശ്വവൽക്കരണം രൂക്ഷമാക്കി. ക്ഷേമ പരിപാടികളും സർക്കാർ ശ്രമങ്ങൾക്കിടയിലും, അട്ടപ്പാടി തുടർച്ചയായി അവികസിതമായി തുടരുന്നു. ജനസംഖ്യയിൽ ഭൂരിഭാഗവും ദാരിദ്ര്യത്തിലാണ്. ഇരുള കമ്മ്യൂണിറ്റിയുടെ സംസ്കാരത്തിലും ഉപജീവനമാർഗത്തിലും പുറത്തുനിന്നുള്ള കുടിയേറ്റത്തിന്റെ ദോഷകരമായ പ്രത്യാഘാതങ്ങൾ ഉയർത്തിക്കാട്ടുകയാണ് ഈ പഠനം ലക്ഷ്യമിടുന്നത്, അവരുടെ സവിശേഷമായ വെല്ലുവിളികളെ അഭിമുഖീകരിക്കുന്നതിനും അവരുടെ പരമ്പരാഗത ജീവിതരീതി നിലനിർത്തുന്നതിനും നൂതനമായ സമീപനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യകത ഉറപ്പിപ്പറയുന്നു.

നിബിഡ വനമേഖലയ്ക്കും സൈലന്റ് വാലിയുടെ സാന്നിധ്യത്തിനും പേരുകേട്ട കേരളത്തിലെ പാലക്കാട് ജില്ലയിലെ ആദിവാസി മേഖലയായ അട്ടപ്പാടിയെ കേന്ദ്രീകരിച്ചാണ് പഠനം. ഇരുള, മുട്ടുഗ, കുറമ്പ തുടങ്ങിയ ഗോത്രങ്ങൾ ആധിപത്യം പുലർത്തുന്ന അവരുടെ ഭാഷ തമിഴ്, കന്നഡ, മലയാളം പദപ്രയോഗങ്ങളുടെ മിശ്രിതത്തെ പ്രതിഫലിപ്പിക്കുന്നു. കിഴക്ക് കോയമ്പത്തൂർ ജില്ലയും

തെക്ക് പാലക്കാട് താലൂക്കും അതിർത്തി പങ്കിടുന്ന നീലഗിരി മലനിരകൾക്ക് നടുവിലാണ് അട്ടപ്പാടി സ്ഥിതി ചെയ്യുന്നത്. അഡ്മിനിസ്ട്രേറ്റീവ് ഡിവിഷനുകളിൽ ഈ പ്രദേശം മൂന്ന് പഞ്ചായത്തുകളിലായി വ്യാപിച്ചു കിടക്കുന്നു. അഗളി, പുതുർ, ഷോളയൂർ. എന്നീ പഞ്ചായത്തുകളാണ്. സൈലന്റ് വാലി നാഷണൽ പാർക്കിന്റെ ബഹർ സോണിലാണ് അട്ടപ്പാടി റിസർവ് ഫോറസ്റ്റ് നിലകൊള്ളുന്നത്. ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായി അട്ടപ്പാടിയെ പടിഞ്ഞാറൻ, കിഴക്കൻ മേഖലകളായി തിരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. വ്യത്യസ്തമായ മഴയുടെ പാറ്റേണുകൾ ഈ പ്രദേശത്തുണ്ട്. പടിഞ്ഞാറൻ അട്ടപ്പാടിയിൽ പ്രതിവർഷം 2800 മില്ലിമീറ്ററിലധികം മഴ ലഭിക്കുന്നു, അതേസമയം മഴ നിഴൽ പ്രദേശമായ കിഴക്കൻ അട്ടപ്പാടിയിൽ 1000 മില്ലിമീറ്ററിൽ താഴെയാണ് പ്രതിവർഷം മഴ ലഭിക്കുന്നത്, ഇത് ആ പ്രദേശത്തിന്റെ മരുഭൂമിയാണെന്നതിന് കാരണമായിട്ടുണ്ട്.

അട്ടപ്പാടിയിലെ ഇരുള ആദിവാസി സമൂഹത്തെ കുറിച്ച് അന്വേഷിക്കാൻ ചരിത്രപരവും നരവംശശാസ്ത്രപരവുമായ രീതികളാണ് ഉപയോഗിച്ചത്. ചരിത്രപരമായ വിശകലനത്തിൽ വാമൊഴി ചരിത്രരേഖകളും, പാരമ്പര്യങ്ങളും വാസ്തുവിദ്യാ അവശിഷ്ടങ്ങളും ഉൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള ലിഖിതവും അല്ലാത്തതുമായ ഉറവിടങ്ങൾ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്നു. ഗവേഷകൻ പ്രധാനമായും ഫീൽഡ് വർക്കാണ് ഈ പഠനത്തിന് ഉപയോഗിച്ചത്. ഇരുള കമ്മ്യൂണിറ്റിയുടെ ജീവിതശൈലിയെ കുറിച്ചും സാമൂഹികസാംസ്കാരിക മാറ്റങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചും നേരിട്ടുള്ള ഉൾക്കാഴ്ചകൾ ഇതിലൂടെ ലഭിക്കുന്നു. റാൻഡം സാമ്പിൾ രീതി ഉപയോഗിച്ചു 50 ഇരുള ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിൽ സർവ്വേ നടത്തി, 200 ഇരുള വിഭാഗത്തെയും, 200 കുടിയേറ്റക്കാരെയും അഭിമുഖം നടത്തിയാണ് വിവരശേഖരണം പൂർത്തിയാക്കിയത്. വിവരശേഖരണത്തിൽ ഘടനാപരമായ അഭിമുഖങ്ങൾ, നിരീക്ഷണം, പ്രധാന വിവരദാതാക്കളുമായി കൂടിയാലോചന എന്നിവ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്നു. ആദിവാസി, ഗോത്രവർഗ്ഗേതര വ്യക്തികൾ, വനംവകുപ്പ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥർ, സർക്കാർ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥർ, കുടിയേറ്റക്കാർ എന്നിവരുമായി അഭിമുഖം നടത്തി. അവരുടെ ജീവിതരീതി, ആചാരാനുഷ്ഠാനങ്ങളിലും അനുപചാരിക അഭിമുഖങ്ങളും സജീവമായ ഇടപെടൽ വഴി പഠനാവശ്യത്തിനുള്ള വിവരങ്ങൾ ലഭിച്ചു.

പുരാവസ്തു രേഖകൾ, സർക്കാർ രേഖകൾ, വനം വകുപ്പിന്റെ റിപ്പോർട്ടുകൾ തുടങ്ങിയ പ്രാഥമിക സ്രോതസ്സുകളിൽ നിന്ന് ശേഖരിച്ച വിശകലനപരവും വിവരണാത്മകവുമായ രീതിശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ പഠനത്തിൽ ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തുന്നു. ദ്വിതീയ ഡാറ്റയിൽ KIRTADS, KILA പോലുള്ള സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നുള്ള റിപ്പോർട്ടുകൾ, തീസിസുകൾ, പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണങ്ങൾ എന്നിവ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്നു. ചരിത്ര വിശകലനത്തിന് നിർണായകമായ വാക്കാലുള്ള സ്രോതസ്സുകൾ, കമ്മ്യൂണിറ്റി ചരിത്രം, സാമൂഹിക ഘടനകൾ, സാംസ്കാരിക രീതികൾ എന്നിവ ഈ പഠനത്തിന് ഉൾക്കാഴ്ച നൽകുന്നു. പ്രാഥമികവും ദ്വിതീയവുമായ ഡാറ്റയെ വാക്കാലുള്ള ഉറവിടങ്ങൾക്കൊപ്പം സമന്വയിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സമഗ്രമായ സമീപനം ഗവേഷണ രീതിശാസ്ത്രത്തിന് ശക്തമായ അടിത്തറ ഉറപ്പുനൽകുന്നു.

ആദ്യകാല ഗോത്രരേഖകളുടെ ലഭ്യതയില്ലായ്മയും ഗോത്രവർഗ്ഗ ഇടപെടലിന് സർക്കാർ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയ നിയന്ത്രണങ്ങളും ഉൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള പരിമിതികൾ ഗവേഷണത്തിന് തടസ്സമായിരുന്നു. എന്നിരുന്നാലും, ഗോത്ര പരിവർത്തനങ്ങളിൽ ഗവൺമെന്റിന്റെ സ്വാധീനം കൂടുതൽ ഗവേഷണം ചെയ്യേണ്ടതിന്റെ ആവശ്യകത ഇത് ഊന്നിപ്പറയുന്നു. ഏഴ് അധ്യായങ്ങളായി ക്രമീകരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ പഠനം ഒരു ആമുഖത്തോടെ ആരംഭിക്കുന്നു, തുടർന്ന് കുടിയേറ്റത്തെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള സൈദ്ധാന്തിക വിശകലനം, തുടർന്നുള്ള അധ്യായങ്ങൾ അട്ടപ്പാടിയുടെ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രത്തെയും ആദിവാസി സമൂഹങ്ങളെയും വിശദമായി വിവരിക്കുന്നു. തുടർന്ന് ഇരുള ഗോത്രത്തിന്റെ ചരിത്രവും പാരമ്പര്യവും പഠനവിധേയമാക്കുന്നു. ശേഷം കുടിയേറ്റ സ്വാധീനം ഇരുള വിഭാഗത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കിയ സാമൂഹികസാംസ്കാരിക മാറ്റങ്ങളെ സൂക്ഷ്മമായി പരിശോധിക്കുന്നു. സമാപന അധ്യായം കണ്ടെത്തലുകളെ സമന്വയിപ്പിക്കുകയും സമഗ്രമായ ഗ്രന്ഥസൂചിക, ചുരുക്കെഴുത്ത്, പദാവലി, അനുബന്ധം എന്നിവയുടെ പിന്തുണയോടെ സ്ഥിതിവിവരക്കണക്കുകൾ പൂർത്തിയാക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു.

സൂചകപദങ്ങൾ: ഇരുളർ, കുടിയേറ്റം, മാറ്റങ്ങൾ, സാമൂഹിക-സംസ്കാരം, ജനസംഖ്യ.

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
1	INTRODUCTION	1-44
2.	MIGRATION AND TRANSITION: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	45-74
3.	ATTAPPADI AND TRIBAL COMMUNITIES: A CONCISE PROFILE	75-106
4.	PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: AGRARIAN MIGRATION TO ATTAPPADI	107-144
5.	<i>IRULAS</i> : HISTORY AND TRADITION	145-192
6.	TRIBES IN TRANSITION: <i>IRULAS</i> OF ATTAPPADI	193-248
7	CONCLUSION	249-258
	RECOMMENDATIONS	259-260
	GLOSSARY	261-264
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	265-290
	APPENDICES	293-334

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
3.1	Total land area in Attappadi	77
3.2	Seasons in Attappadi	80
3.3	Population of Attappadi	92
3.4	Overview of Kurumbar groups	95
4.1	Distribution of surveyed migrant households in the select research locality	115
4.2	Demographic Trend in Attappadi	116
4.3	Place of Origin	118
4.4	Nature of Migration	123
4.5	Category and Community-Agali area	124
4.6	Major Events in Attappadi since the 20 th Century	129
4.7	Distribution of Settlers Based on Primary Reasons for Migration	132
5.1	<i>Irula</i> Population	146
5.2	Gender wise Population	146
5.3	Overview of <i>Irular</i> groups in South India	151
6.1	Types of <i>Irula</i> Houses and Agencies of Construction at Agali	202
6.2	Facilities at Agali Ooru and Goolikadavu Ooru	203
6.3	Evolution of Daily Life Materials of the <i>Irulas</i> of Agali: Impacts of Migrant Interaction	204
6.4	Changes in the Dress pattern of <i>Irulas</i> of Agali and Gooli kadavu	208
6.5	Types of families among the <i>Irulas</i>	220
6.6	Growth of ST Education: Profile of Attappadi	239
6.7	Health Facilities	243

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Table No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
3. 1	Settlements and forest areas of Attappadi	78
3.2.	Agali Grama Panchayath Map	86
3.3	Sholayoor Panchayath Map	88
3.4.	Pudur Grama Panchayath Map	90
4.1	Prominent areas of origin of Malabar migrants of Travancore State	119

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHARDS	-	Attappadi Hills Area Development Society
ITDP	-	Integrated Tribal Development Project
EDC	-	Eco Development Committee
B.N	-	Book Number
B.R.P	-	Board of Revenue Proceedings
D.F.O	-	Divisional Forest Officer
KILA	-	Kerala Institute of Local Administration
F.N	-	Forest Number
K.F.R.I	-	Kerala Forest Research Institute
NTFD	-	Non Timber Forest Produce
O.U.P	-	Oxford University Press
P.D	-	Public Department
R.A.K	-	Regional Archives Kozhikkode
R.D	-	Revenue Department
SLP	-	Silent Valley Project
KIRTADS	-	Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

LIST OF APPENDICES

<i>Appendix No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
1	Oral Testemonials	293
II	Tribal Settlements in Agali -Attappadi – 2021	297
III	Questionnaire	301
IV	List of Scheduled Tribe in Kerala	309
V	Land Settlent Register	323
VI	Photographs	325

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Kerala, a south-western Indian state, is renowned for its rich cultural heritage, diverse traditions, and picturesque landscapes. Nestled amidst the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, the region has been a historical melting pot, fostering a unique blend of indigenous customs and external influences. Shielded by a certain degree of isolation, with a 600-kilometer long peninsula, has fostered a distinct way of life, crafting a cultural tapestry that has evolved independently of the political upheavals that have shaped the wider Indian landscape.

Throughout the annals of time, Kerala has been a zone for diverse ethnic groups, blending with the native population and giving rise to a rich amalgamation of physical attributes and cultural nuances. The harmonious mingling has contributed to the diverse layers that define cultural mosaic of Kerala. While Kerala boasts a vibrant contemporary society, it also remains home to various tribal communities that have preserved their distinct cultural practices and lifestyles over generations. The tribal groups, often residing in the hilly and forested regions of the Western Ghats of Kerala contribute significantly to the cultural heritage of the state. Attappadi is one such epicenter for the tribal populace. One of the major settlements of the tribal communities in Kerala, Attappadi is situated in the Western Ghats in the Palakkad district. Their traditional art forms, language, rituals, and close-knit community structures reflect the deep-rooted history and rich diversity that have shaped social fabric of Kerala. Despite the modernization of the state, the tribes continue to maintain their unique identity, offering a glimpse into a world steeped in tradition and cultural heritage.

Enveloped within the verdant terrain of Kerala, the region of Attappadi serves as a microcosm of the state cultural richness. Attappadi, a tribal development block, lies on the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats within the Mannarkkad Taluk of Palakkad district in Kerala, encompassing an area of approximately 745 square kilometres. It forms a part of the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve, spanning across Kerala,

Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka. The population of Attappadi comprises both tribals and non-tribals, with the three tribal communities including the *Kurumbas*, categorized as a 'primitive tribe,' *the Mudugas*, and *the Irulas*. The region comprises by a total of 192 tribal settlements, locally referred to as "*Oorus*,"(hamlets). The non-tribal populace, termed "vandavasis"(migrants) in local parlance, comprises individuals hailing from distinct origins. Notably, the non-tribal segment is predominantly constituted by migrants from Kerala, who have settled in the lower-lying western sectors of Attappadi, and immigrants originating from various regions within Tamilnadu, who have slightly established their presence in the eastern areas.

Bounded by the formidable Western Ghats and gently touched by the Arabian Sea, Attappadi embodies a delicate balance between human civilization and the natural world. Its unique position has cultivated a distinct way of life deeply ingrained in the harmonious coexistence with the surrounding landscape. In the ecologically delicate realm of Attappadi, the confluence of tribal livelihood challenges and the imperative to conserve the endangered wildlife has bred a complex web of conflict. Here, the tussle between environmental conservation and sustenance imperatives has unveiled the complex struggles that define the region.

The study undertakes a profound exploration of the transition of the life and culture of the tribal communities particularly *Irulas* owing to the influence of the incoming settlers in Attappadi. Through the lens of ethnographic profiling, it endeavours to illuminate the nuanced process of tribal evolution, delving into the far-reaching impact of external influences on the ethos of the community and way of life. The intricate process of tribal transition is intertwined with the complex interplay of socio-cultural and economic shifts. In tracing the historical trajectory, the study unravels the dynamics of cultural assimilation and the transformative forces at play, painting a vivid portrait of historical narrative of Kerala, underscored by the delicate dance between tradition and change.

The focal point of the study revolves around comprehending the effects of the Malayali migration on the tribal societies of Attappadi. While recognizing the presence of Tamil migration within the region, it is imperative to note that its

relatively limited scale and influence prompted its exclusion from the scope of the investigation. The selective approach enables a more nuanced examination of the specific changes and transformations directly linked to the influx of the Malayali population, thereby providing a clearer understanding within the tribal communities of Attappadi.

Within the realms of Attappadi, a region steeped in the ancient narratives of tribal existence, three distinctive tribal groups carved their identities into the rugged terrain. Among them, the *Irula* tribe stood as a poignant testament to the dynamic interplay between indigenous heritage and the currents of external migration during the 1930s. Drawn by the promise of sustenance, people from Kerala, particularly from Travancore, Mannarkkad, Malappuram and Chavakkad, moved to Attappadi, embracing agriculture and timber work as their primary livelihood. The sustained interaction has significantly influenced the lifestyle and cultural practices of the prevailing tribes. The study focus falls here upon the *Irula* tribe, given their numerical dominance, comprising a significant 80% of tribal population of the area. The other two tribes, in contrast, sought refuge in the dense forests, concealed from the outside world. This choice highlights the pivotal role played by the *Irula* tribe in the context of social fabric of Attappadi, reflecting the complex dynamics between indigenous communities and the currents of migration.

The study focuses on understanding how the Malayali immigrants have influenced the life and culture of the *Irula* community. It delves into the social structure and the process of change within these tribal groups. Various factors contribute to the alteration of their traditional system. One prominent force is the growing interaction between the *Irulas* and the non-tribal population. The interaction occurs in different settings, including markets, educational institutions, participation in religious festivals, temple rituals, and increased engagement with both domestic and international tourists. Through an ethnographic profile, the research aims to highlight the ongoing transition in tribal life and to ascertain the impact of migration.

The study thrusts to examine cultural transitions, encompassing changes in land use patterns, economies, attire, dietary practices, rituals, and religious beliefs within the *Irula* tribe during the post-independend era. As a vulnerable group, tribal populations are particularly sensitive to these transitions, reflecting the ongoing changes and adaptations occurring in the contemporary world influenced by the forces of globalization, science, and technology.

The increasing cultural contact between tribal communities and mainstream society has prompted processes of acculturation and displacement, often referred to as "transition." The term, derived from the Latin 'transitio,' underscores the transformative nature of societies, with both continuity and change shaping the experiences of these communities. Social scientists and researchers have actively engaged with tribal groups, introducing various programs in collabouration with governmental and non-governmental bodies. Understanding the significance of 'place' and 'time', the study delves into the roles of geography and history in shaping human behavior and activities. It involves an exploration of the functional and structural changes within societies, often focusing on a particular tribe of the *Irulas*. The study seeks to comprehend the implications of these cultural transformations, highlighting the challenges and opportunities presented as tribal communities navigate the complexities of contemporary life.

As a less developed community, the tribe is particularly susceptible to continuous change and transformation. The current age of globalization, science, and technology has brought different societies into closer contact, leading to rapid shifts in needs, desires, and expectations. Surviving in isolation has become increasingly difficult, underscoring the critical importance of understanding the social, economic, and cultural trends within tribal communities in the contemporary world.

In the natural course of life, change is an inevitable constant. Different cultures respond to these changes at varying speeds, some embracing them readily, while others exhibit more selective tendencies. The *Irulas*, like many other tribes, are experiencing rapid transformations across their social, cultural, and economic

spheres due to a confluence of influential factors. The deeply ingrained institutions, relationships, perspectives, attitudes, and values of the *Irula* community have undergone substantial shifts in recent years. The evolution can be attributed to both internal factors and external influences, such as the impact of immigrant populations and local migration from outside the Attappadi region.

Throughout history, indigenous tribes, the original architects of early civilizations, have been recognized for their native values and technologies. Over time, these communities have often been marginalized by waves of migrants from various parts of the world. Contemporary governments, both at the central and state levels, are engaged in initiatives aimed at modernizing these tribes, integrating them into the broader societal framework. Specially tailored programs have been introduced with the objective of improving their living conditions and uplifting their status. Nevertheless, it remains evident that these governments and their officials often fail to comprehend the genuine issues and requirements of these tribes. Despite this, it is crucial to recognize that these tribes form an integral part of our society, and their customs and traditions serve as echoes of our ancient heritage.

A comprehensive understanding of the inherent process of transition and the continuous dynamics of change within any society is crucial for a balanced evaluation of the current tribal situation in Attappadi. Such an understanding can pave the way for fresh intellectual discourse, amplifying marginalized voices and ethnic perspectives. In turn, this could contribute to the formulation of more effective policies for the tribal communities in Attappadi, fashioned by their own kin.

Tribals in Kerala

Kerala is also the abode of a vast tribal population having diverse culture and tradition. According to 2011 Censes, there are 36 Scheduled Tribes (ST) in Kerala totaling 484839¹ comprising around 1.3% of total population. The majority of this

¹ Censes Report of India, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner , Ministry of Home Affairs, 2011.

population is found in Wayanad, Palakkad and Idukki districts. In numerical terms, Wayanad boasts the most substantial tribal populace within the state, constituting approximately 33.3% of the aggregate Scheduled Tribal demographic of the region. The tribal communities of Kerala predominantly inhabit the elevated mountainous terrains of the Sahyadri Range, spanning from Thiruvananthapuram in the southern periphery to Kasargod in the northern precincts. The isolated or relatively isolated regions of Western Ghats have been very suitable to maintain the unique cultural ethnicity of the hill dwellers.² The passes in the Western Ghats, like the Perambadi Pass (access to Coorg and Periya), the Thamarasseri Pass (access to Wayanad and Mysore), the Palakkaad gap (connects Kerala and Tamil Nadu), and Aruvaimozhi Pass (connects Trivandrum with Tirunelveli), facilitated the immigration of diverse social groups into Kerala and subsequent cultural interaction with the early inhabitants of the region. Moreover, these passes also have great role in molding the climate of the state and in providing a favorable environment to the tribal people of Kerala to lead a sheltered life of their own through centuries. Thus, it could be assumed that, their life and culture have been evolved and adjusted according to this ecological and physical environment, which may be described as 'ecological adaptation'³

The tribal communities, commonly known as "*Adivasis*," have a rich social and historical background that remains relatively lesser-known. Within the Sahya mountain range, settlements are home to various tribes like the *Arayar*, *Muthuvar*, *Koragar*, and *Kurichiyar*, while the broader indigenous demographic includes the *Kadar*, *Paniyar*, *Vedar*, *Ulladan*, and *Urali* communities. Besides, Kerala acknowledges 13 Other Eligible Communities with their diverse cultural landscape.

The Northern area of the old Malabar has the highest proportion of indigenous people. The *Adiya* and *Paniya* tribes, which make about 27% of the tribal population of Kerala, are the two most dominant tribes. Attappadi region ranks

² Friedrich Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, 3 Vols. London, 1896, Ellen Churchill, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, New York, 1911, Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, London, 1917.

³ Radcliff Brown, *Structure and Functions in Primitive Society*, London, 1976, p. 9.

second highest in terms of tribal concentration within the Malabar area. The predominant tribal communities in Attappadi are the *Irula, Muduga, and Kurumba*. Prior to the mid-1940s, these communities led autonomous lives. However, a decline in their living conditions ensued due to the substantial influx of non-tribal populations from the Travancore, Mannarkkad and Malappuarm region.

Indigenous tribal communities are distributed across the various districts of Kerala, yet a unified presence of any single tribe uniformly spanning the entire state is absent. The geographic demarcations of their habitation delineate them into seven distinct territorial clusters, characterized by their historical, ethnic, and socio-cultural affiliations.⁴ They are,

- a. Kasargod- Kasargod encompasses the administrative subdivisions of two taluks, namely Kasargod and Hosdurg.
- b. Wayanad - Wayanad is comprised of two distinct segments, denoted as North Wayanad and South Wayanad.
- c. Nilambur- evergreen forest area in Malappuram District.
- d. Attapady-situated in the Mannarkkad taluk of Palakkad district.
- e. Parambikulam-located in the Chittur taluk of Palakkad District.
- f. Idukki-comprises the mountainous taluks of Pirumedu, Udumpunchola, Devikulam and Thodupuzha.
- g. Trivandrum-consists of Nedumangad and Neyyattinkara taluks.⁵

The English term "tribe" traces its etymological origins from the Latin word "tribuz." The linguistic evolution is exemplified by the transition from the Middle English word "tribuz," which denoted the tripartite division of the early Roman populace, thus marking the initial incorporation of the term "tribe" into the modern English lexicon. The Greeks seem to have associated the tribe sometimes with their

⁴ P. R. G. Mathur, *Tribal Situation in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 9.

⁵ C. Fukar Ali, *Ethno History of Tribes in Malappuram District*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 2008. p. 9.

"fraternities" and other times with geographical divisions, but the tribe represented a political divide to the Romans. It represented the geographic boundaries allotted to a family or group at different times and places in history.⁶

In fact, the term tribe has no universally accepted definition. We have only one legally acceptable frame of reference viz., the schedule of the constitution of India, where a number of communities have been defined by enumeration as 'Scheduled Tribes' (ST).⁷ The 'Scheduled Tribes' connotes tribal groups, who for their protection, educational, social, economic and political rights need special and separate considerations or concessions and hence have been included in a particular schedule of the Constitution of India. The Constitution provides for periodical revision of this Schedule, including and excluding communities. The categorization of tribes and tribal communities as 'Scheduled Tribes' emerged subsequent to the enactment of the Constitution.⁸

Relevance of the study

The study, '*Tribes in Transition: Influence of Immigrants on the Life and Culture of Irula community in Attappadi (1925-2000)*', focuses on the *Irula* tribal community. As mentioned earlier among the three tribes in Attappadi, the *Irulas* comprise approximately 80 percent of the population, primarily residing in the forest areas. Unlike the other two groups, the *Irulas* have more frequent interactions with non-tribal communities, making them the primary focus of the research. With a cultural heritage spanning centuries, the tribal community has maintained its distinct identity within their ecological surroundings. The study aims to illuminate the socio-cultural transformations within the selected tribe, particularly in the context of their interaction with immigrant populations.

⁶ Sachchidananda and Prasad R. R(Eds)., *Encyclopedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 2.

⁷ Article 342 of the Constitution of India defines Scheduled Tribes as "the tribes or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities"

⁸ Sachchidananda and R. R. Prasad, *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

In India during the second half of the 20th century, an influx of non-tribal communities into tribal territories has escalated, driven by the pursuit of new opportunities such as available agricultural land, industrial ventures, mining activities, and the construction of major dams. This surge has led to a reduction in forest areas, improved accessibility to remote regions, and a sense of displacement among the tribal communities. The encroachment of outsiders has posed a significant threat to the tribal way of life, introducing foreign languages, religions, and socio-political systems. Furthermore, the influence of external religious groups has deeply impacted the religious and cultural essence of these tribes. Large-scale appropriation of tribal lands, increasing indebtedness, and the imposition of unfamiliar political structures with external law enforcement mechanisms have further compounded these challenges.

The tribal regions of Kerala reflect a similar pattern. From the 1940s to 1980s, a significant migration from the plains to hilly and forested areas in Kerala took place. Non-tribal groups from the former Central Travancore regions, including Kottayam, Pathanamthitta, and Idukki districts, moved to Malabar districts viz., the modern districts of Palakkad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Kannur, and Kasaragod. The migrants, acquired land, often from non-tribal landlords of the area, and settled in these new territories. By the 1970s, non-tribal groups had become the majority in the tribal heartlands, reducing tribal communities to a minority within their ancestral lands by the close of the 20th century. The interaction between tribal and non-tribal communities brought significant cultural changes, including shifts in language, cuisine, attire, and religious practices. Additionally, settlers introduced formal education, healthcare, and political structures, enabling them to exert control over tribal populations. The migrants came from diverse backgrounds, including Christians from central Travancore, Hindus, and Mappila Muslims from areas like Chavakkad, Mannarkkad, and different parts of Malappuram district. Consequently, this influx led to widespread land loss, the adoption of new languages, altered food habits and attire, and the propagation of unfamiliar religious beliefs. Despite the tribes efforts to maintain their traditional practices, such as promoting endogamy

and upholding their distinct religious beliefs and social structures, they have found themselves unable to halt the ongoing changes.

The focus of the study is the Attappadi situated within the revenue district of Palakkad. Attappadi was carefully selected as the study site owing to a confluence of compelling factors. Notably, since the mid-20th century, the dense forest cover of the area has undergone significant depletion, primarily attributed to unchecked deforestation, widespread overgrazing, improper agricultural techniques, and a substantial influx of local migration, infant mortality, land alienation, rise in non-tribal population etc.⁹

Secondly, the preponderant demographic comprises fresh migrants originating from the contiguous state of Kerala, alongside individuals of Tamil descent from diverse quarters of Tamilnadu. This influx places considerable pressure on the indigenous populace of the region, thereby engendering a state of heightened stress upon the original inhabitants of the area. Population of Attappadi increased at a compound annual rate of 7.71 between 1940 and 2000; the percentages of tribal people and settlers increased around 3.36% and 13.8%, respectively. An enormous influx of individuals from outside Attappadi is being signaled by the high growth rate of settlers at this time. Thirdly, settlers now make up the majority of the territory that is being farmed, and they use a farming method that is distinct from that of the indigenous tribal farmers. Fourth, the situation of Attappadi is exceptional, particularly in areas where settlers are under a lot of strain. The geographic expanse under consideration is distinguished by a notable array of agricultural diversity, as discernible from the historical trajectory of crop rotation practiced among both the settlers and the native inhabitants.¹⁰

Despite an inherent resistance to change, tribal cultures are gradually succumbing to the relentless pressures imposed by dominant cultures. The direct and

⁹ Sankar, S; Muraleedharan, P. K, *Human Ecology in Attappadi Reserve*. Nair, K. K., et al. (Ed) *Tropical Forest Ecosystem Conservation and Development in South and South-East Asia*. Proceedings of the MAB Regional Training Workshop, Peechi, 1-13 May 1989, p.127-131.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.142

prolonged interaction between the dominant and tribal cultures has led to significant changes within the tribal communities or a process commonly termed as 'acculturation' in anthropology. Researcher on the present problem has tried to establish that tribal cultures are not merely undergoing gradual modifications but are rather disintegrating under the intense strain of acculturation, exacerbated by the stark cultural disparities and the overpowering dominance of the settlers. The relentless stress has given rise to the emergence of several detrimental traits, as the tribal communities have lacked the necessary cultural coping mechanisms to alleviate the impact of acculturation.

Over the first quarter of the 20th century, the region has experienced an influx of non-tribal populations, resulting in the clearance of pristine forests to make way for coconut and rubber plantations. As a consequence of the settler influx, numerous commercial centers have emerged near the forest areas. Moreover, the tribes in the Attappadi region have been grappling with outbreaks of communicable diseases, amplifying the challenges they face. These small tribal groups are contending with various external forces that are significantly impacting their way of life, leading to rapid and sometimes abrupt transitions.¹¹ In this context, a detailed study of the marginalized tribal community within their eco-cultural setting is targeted as the goal of the study.

Tribal communities, historically secluded in forests or remote areas, have primarily relied on forest resources for their sustenance. However, due to considerable migration from outside Attappadi, many have transitioned to settled agricultural or manual labour occupations, signifying their developmental progress. Yet, this shift has triggered the decline of their traditional ways of life, influenced by government policies, non-tribal encroachment on their land, and their integration into mainstream society. Consequently, their land rights have been compromised, and their overall asset ownership has been undermined. Moreover, various socio-cultural factors have contributed to reduced community engagement, thereby increasing the burdens on both male and female tribal members.

¹¹ Interview with Dr. Meena (52), Director, KILA, 22nd April 2021.

The deforestation has had a profound impact on every aspect of the life of tribal community, stripping them of their ancestral way of life and pushing them into a state of societal estrangement. In the context of Attappadi, development has often been accompanied by exploitation, leading to a tangible loss of land for the tribal people, who are now forced to reside in inhospitable, barren hill slopes. An alarming 14,000 hectares of their cultivable land has been claimed by settlers, exacerbating their health issues and adding to their burdensome workload resulting from the land alienation.¹²

The tribes have experienced a substantial loss of cultivable land, primarily due to the increasing influx of migrants from the former Travancore state. These settlers encroached upon extensive tracts of land traditionally used by tribal communities for shifting cultivation. Consequently, a significant influx of individuals from Hindu, Muslim, and Christian communities further impacted their way of life. The expansion of the real estate market within the forested area led to the displacement of a considerable number of historically land-owning *Irula* and Kurumba tribes. Over a period of 25 years, 20% of tribal households in Attappadi found themselves without land. Additionally, the prevalence of land mortgages is notably high in the region.

Despite the implementation of various institutional frameworks aimed at empowering indigenous communities, these structures often fail to align with their cultural values and traditions. The environment, often overlooked, directly influences the tribal way of life. The case of Attappadi serves as a poignant example of how a lack of innovative approaches can significantly devastate a once self-reliant village. Designated as the first tribal block of Kerala under Integrated Tribal Development, Attappadi has been the recipient of numerous welfare and developmental initiatives by the state government, following its classification as the most marginalized administrative region within the state by the State Planning Board in 1970. Despite significant financial allocations, the region remains

¹² Buddhadeb Chaudhari, *Tribal Transformation in India, Ethnopolitics and Identity Crisis*, Vol. 3, Tribal Studies of India Series, T149, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p. 174.

persistently underdeveloped, with approximately 80% of the local population grappling with poverty. Institutional mismanagement of common property resources and a failure to sustain the self-sufficiency of the tribal communities', coupled with considerable migration from beyond Attappadi, stand as primary factors contributing to the decline in tribal culture and the degradation of the environment. The research seeks to shed light on the influence of immigrants on the life and culture of the *Irula* community in Attappadi.

Profile of the Region of Study

The study focused on the tribal region of Attappadi, situated within the Palakkad district of Kerala, renowned for its dense forest cover. Notably, the Silent Valley in the Mannarakkad Taluk of the Palakkad district remains one of the last stretches of untouched forest in the area. The geographical boundaries of the valley are defined by the Nilagiri mountain range to the north, the Mannarkad Taluk to the south, and extensive woodlands to the west. The *Irula*¹³, *Muduga*, and *Kurumba* tribes constitute the predominant tribal communities in the region. They also have been found inhabiting various areas of Palakkad such as the Walayar forest, as well as Pothupara, Mayanmudi, Palakapandy of the Nalliampathi hills and Chittoor taluk. Their language reflects a Tamil dialect with influences from Kannada, incorporating several Malayalam expressions used by the local population in Kerala. Notably, the Attappadi valley serves as the primary habitat for the *Kurumbas*, one of the most ancient tribes in Kerala.

The geographical delineation of Attappadi entails a considerable mountainous valley, positioned at the source point of the Bhavani River, situated within the encompassing Nilagiri Hills of the Western Ghats. Attappadi is flanked by the Coimbatore district of Tamil Nadu to the east, the Nilgiris to the north, the Palaghat Taluk to the south, and several revenue villages including Karimba-I and II, Pottassery-I and II, and Mannarkkad from the Palakkad District, along with Eranad Taluk from the Malappuram district. The administrative configuration of

¹³ *Irula, Irulas, Irular* all these three names can be interchangeably used to designate the single tribe.

Attappadi consists of three distinct Panchayats, namely Agaly, Pudur, and Sholayur. Adjacent to the western border of area lies the Attappadi Reserve Forest, which encompasses an area of 249 square kilometers. The forested expanse effectively serves as an informal buffer zone for the Silent Valley National Park.¹⁴

The demography of Attappadi is composed of three principal tribal communities: the *Kurumbas*, categorized as a "primitive tribe," the *Mudugas*, and the *Irulas*. These communities have historically been closely intertwined with forest environments and their cultural practices reflect an intricate relationship with their ecological surroundings.

The partition of the region into distinct zones, distinguished by their topographical and meteorological attributes, is practicable. The first delineation is Western Attappadi, characterized by an annual precipitation exceeding 2800 mm. In contrast, the second demarcation is Eastern Attappadi, situated within a rain-shadow zone, with an annual precipitation not surpassing 1000 mm. These regions have become an erosive environment that may eventually result in desertification due to erratic rainfall and inadequate soil moisture retention.

Aims and objectives of the study

The proposed study seeks to embark on a comprehensive exploration of the intricate historical narratives and cultural legacies inherent in the *Irula* tribal communities, with a particular emphasis on understanding the influence exerted by immigrants. The study is driven by a set of specific objectives that delineate the scope and focus of the research:

1. Trace the ethno history of the tribes in Attappadi.
2. Explore the historical sketch of *Irula* community.
3. Present a descriptive account of Malayali migration to Attappadi

¹⁴ M, Kunhaman., *Alienation of Tribal land: The Case of Attappadi in Kerala, State and Society*, Trivandrum, 1981, p. 49.

4. Undertake an in depth study of the immigrant influence on life and culture of the *Irula* community
5. To identify the volume of transition of *Irulas* by analyzing their interaction with the non-tribals .

Methodology and Sources

The present study utilises a combination of historical and ethnographic methodologies. Historians analyse data from past events by examining source materials, both written and non-written. The written sources are in the form of primary and secondary works. Non-written sources include oral traditions, architectural remains, and settlement layouts, building materials in houses, traditional dress designs, images, and symbols. These diverse materials provide valuable insights into the historical context and cultural practices of the *Irula* tribal community in Attappadi.

The ethnographic studies consider non-written sources more useful to the study of a community and written sources provide historical account of social groups. However, there is a greater concern with field work that enabled the collection of much of the primary data. In the case of the tribal communities of Attappadi we do not have much written sources. So, any research on tribal community necessitates ethnographic field work and the present researcher approached with the tools of Participatory Research tested elsewhere in ethnographic studies.

Adhering to the principles of ethnographic research, the current investigation conducted ethnographic fieldwork within the *Irula* tribal communities of Attappadi and migrant settlers. The firsthand exploration provided valuable insights, although acknowledging the inherent limitations of attaining ethnographic knowledge of fully grasping the intricacies of way of life of the tribal community in this region.

The ethnographic research enabled the present study to understand the field with the awareness of the limits of ethnographic knowledge in understanding the life style of the tribal communities of the area. Primary data were acquired through the

conduct of a sample survey within the confines of Agali Panchayath. Within the purview of the study, a targeted sampling approach was adopted, encompassing a total of 50 *Irula* hamlets. From the spot, a subset of 200 persons were from *Irulas* and 200 migrants chosen through random sampling techniques to arrive at the specimen. The selection process was randomized, ensuring representation from various age groups, genders, occupations, and locations within settlements close to forest and fringe areas. The aim was to capture a comprehensive understanding of the social structure, level of acculturation, and the general perception of the development programs of the state. To facilitate this discussion were organized with the participation of forest officials and heads of the hamlets. Standard anthropological methods and techniques like interviews, questionnaire, observations both participant and non-participant (Participatory action research) are used in the fieldwork.

As mentioned already, the survey was conducted in Agali village of Attappadi block. For an intensive study a random sampling design was followed in order to select the study region and the ultimate unit of analysis, namely, the Tribal households. The extent of influence of Malayali settlers are high in Agali, Kallamala, and Padavayal Villages. Keeping these considerations in mind, the researcher selected Agali village as the First unit of the study. In order to select the sample house list, Voters list available in the Panchayat was used as the sample frame, Information on the number of tribal households in each village is available in the Integrated Tribal Development Project Office, Agali. However, no such information is available to find out separately the number of malayali settlers or Tribals in the selected villages. In order to maintain accuracy to the maximum extent possible, in the classification of the population into strata, the help of two experienced old settlers - from the malayali households - in the study areas, was obtained.

To collect the information required for the study a structured interview schedule was prepared for Migrants and an unstructured interview schedule was prepared for Tribes. Before structuring the interview schedule discussions were held with a few residents in the study villages, both settlers and tribals. Before the final

survey, a pilot survey was carried out. Along with the interview schedule an instruction manual was also prepared to assure the accuracy of the data collected.

The interview schedule contained questions on in-migration details, household structure, land holding details, socio cultural, economic and religious background, farm and non-farm activities and forest dependence. The survey, along with participant observation and interviews with key informants, was carried out during the months April – May in the years of 2020, 2021, 2022 and 2023. During the interview, special attention was given to establish good rapport with the tribes by explaining to them why we came here and what for in a simple and polite way. The step was very important to obtain reliable information because some tribes might tend to provide incorrect information if they felt that the interviewers were Government Official. The tibals were given assurance that the survey would not forwarded to the Government and that it is purely the part of a Ph.D effort.

The data collected through interviews are verified by using observation methods and cross-checking the same with the key informants in each group. The study involved visiting various tribal habitats in the Agali area to observe their way of life and culture. In addition to the tribal population, interviews were conducted with non-tribal individuals residing in the neighboring areas, forest officials, migrants, Tribal Development Department personnel, Anganwadi teachers, Badhal school teachers, tribal cooperative staff, KILA officers, and members, among others. The data obtained from these interviews were cross-verified through observational techniques and by consulting key informants within each group. Structured formal interviews were conducted with AHARDS/KILA members and ward members, utilizing a formal questionnaire. Informal and unstructured interviews were also conducted with members of the *Irula* tribal settlements, fostering a more open and exploratory exchange of information. Ideas relating to historical relationship and processes may actually be tested in the field where various aspects of the tribal society and culture are still in operation and the study combines both qualitative and quantitative methods

In exploring the cultural dimensions, the researcher actively engaged with the community, participating in various life-cycle rituals particularly of the *Irula* tribe. Alongside direct involvement, cultural insights were also gathered through informal interviews conducted during these events. Additionally, the collection of photographs and videos depicting marriage ceremonies, puberty rites, funeral rites, and other cultural practices provided valuable glimpses into their cultural traditions.

The research explores a time span from 1925 to 2000 for investigation because the period was marked by significant events, such as the initial migration of non-tribal settlers to Attappadi. Key figures like Karippaparambil Jacob Thomas (Chakochoan) and Maliackel Thomas Joseph who played crucial roles during this period, secured leasehold of 3000 acres from Mannarkkad Mooppil Nair agreeing to pay 50 paisa per acre as rent (*pattam*). This marked the onset of non-tribal settlement in the region. At this save time, the Kerala Tribal Land Act implemented in 1999-2000 aims to regulate the transfer of lands by members of scheduled tribes within the state and facilitates the restoration of lands previously lost hold of by such members. The Act emphasizes curbing land transfers and facilitating the restoration of lands previously alienated from tribal possession. This legislative milestone provides a pertinent context for the temporal boundaries established in the study.

Sources

The research methodology adopted for the study primarily encompasses analytical and descriptive approaches. Primary sources consist of archival materials, government records, news articles, official correspondences, and related documents. The repositories of these materials accessed in the National Archives of India in New Delhi, the Tamil Nadu State Archives (TSA) located in Chennai and the Kerala State Archives (KSA) situated in Thiruvananthapuram and the Regional Archives in Kozhikode (RAK), the Sub Registrar Office in Ottappalam, and the Mannarkkad Taluk Office. Moreover, the Kerala Forest Department Reports were consulted as a source of primary data. Concurrently, the research also incorporates secondary data sourced from pertinent reports, research theses, souvenirs, magazines, church records, records from Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) and the

Attappadi Hill Area Development Society (AHADS), now known as KILA. Census reports, publications from the Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (KIRTADS), as well as relevant books and scholarly journals constitute supplementary secondary sources. The comprehensive approach involving primary and secondary data provides a robust foundation for the methodological underpinning of the research study.

The present study also heavily relies on oral sources. Ethno historians and anthropologists have effectively demonstrated the recording, collection, verification, and utilization of oral tradition for historical analysis. Oral traditions manifest in diverse forms, encompassing a wide range of topics. They offer insights into the history, social structures within the community, village and lineage dynamics, and cultural practices, all of which contribute to the accounts of the community.

Review of Related Literature

The realm of Indian tribal studies predominantly owes its genesis to ethnographic undertakings carried out by colonial powers. The earliest insights into the tribal communities of India emanated from the observations and narratives furnished by travelers, traders, administrators, and Christian missionaries. The inception of a methodical inquiry into these indigenous groups within the country materialized by the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The trajectory of anthropological investigations in India, prior to the attainment of independence, was notably shaped by the profound administrative acumen of colonial governance in orchestrating interventions within the natural milieu. Consequently, the ambit of anthropological inquiry during this period was largely confined to the exploration of tribal societies. Nonetheless, certain administrators discerned the intrinsic utility of anthropology across a broader spectrum of their responsibilities, eventually recognizing its relevance in comprehending and

engaging with the diverse communities under their purview.¹⁵ Numerous literary compositions concerning tribal communities were authored by scholarly administrators during the colonial era. These written works have been acknowledged as constituting a discursive domain that contributed to the construction of the societal categorization of those residing at the peripheries as 'Tribal'.¹⁶

A multitude of scholarly investigations have been undertaken by researchers, encompassing diverse facets within the domain of tribal studies. These studies traverse a spectrum of themes, ranging from examinations of migratory dynamics and transitional processes to evaluations of developmental initiatives. Furthermore, certain studies delve into the transformation of tribal socio-cultural frameworks. Predominantly, these scholarly endeavors are focused on discerning various manifestations of evolving paradigms, approaching the subject matter from distinct analytical perspectives. Some studies are general while others are specific relating to a particular region.

Tribal Studies: A Review

William Logan in his *Malabar Manual* works clearly and noticeably illustrated the life of tribal people during the colonial period.¹⁷ He gives many sporadic references about the hill tribes like, *Paniyar*, *Malasar*, *Kurichiar*, *Kurumbar* or *Kuravar* etc. The reference to these people supports the argument that the community represented today as hill tribe were the early inhabitants of the land. A judicious evaluation suggests that his qualification and suitability for assuming this role were well-founded, given his substantial two-decade tenure in the district. The extended period of service encompassed the assumption of critical roles, including those of Collector, Magistrate, Judge, and notably, special commissioner.

¹⁵ Hari Mohan, *Anthropology and Development in Traditional Societies*, Delhi, 1996, p. 67.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁷ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, 2 Vols, New Delhi, 1887, p. 231.

The first ethnographic survey report on South India was published in the form of *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* as a result of the eager attempt of Edgar Thurston¹⁸. His another pioneering work, *Caste and Tribes in Southern India* dealt exclusively with the customs and ceremonies related to marriage, death, religion etc. of the South Indian aborigines.¹⁹

The work is a systematic and thorough ethnographic account of South Indian castes and tribes. Evidently, the way of life, manners and traditions, religious beliefs and superstitions, and other similar aspects of the tribal groups in the area were the focus of the work. Another peculiarity of the work is that it gives detailed accounts of all the castes and tribes in South India in alphabetical order. The majority of the materials of the work were gathered by Thurston during his travels to tribal and rural communities in conjunction with his ethnographic research and the gathering of ethnological specimens for the Madras Museum. This was supplemented by the information he gathered making use of correspondence with district officials and private Individuals²⁰. However, the proposition could have been practicable primarily within the context of affluent communities situated in lowland regions.

D.N. Majumdar²¹ has given a clear description in the study stressing that the major threat invading the life and security of the tribal life in India is the occurrence of disease through contact with alien culture. According to the study, it is a pathetic situation that the tribals possess no efficient therapeutic recipes. He cited the decline of population of *Todas* of *Nilgiris* from 2689 in 1881 to 640 in 1931. Many of the Social and cultural practices have made the spread of diseases rampant and sketch a major toll on the tribal populations. It is also revealed from the study that the incidence of

¹⁸ Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, 2 Vol., Madras, 1906, p. 123.

¹⁹ Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 7 Vols, Madras, 1909, p. 79.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²¹ D. N. Majumdar, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Bombay Asia Publishing House, Mumbai, 1957, p. 276.

syphilis among the *Khonds* of Ganjam agency tracts in Orissa was seriously very high because of the social norms that made possible an indiscriminate mixing of sexes before marriages.

While writing the monographs on the *Gonds and Bhumiya in Madhya Pradesh*, Stephen Fuchs²² stressed the economic exploitation, loss of vitality, loss of land and loss of traditional forest privileges and inroad of new diseases as the factors responsible for the present plight of the aborigines in general

L. P. Vidyarthi²³ '*Anthropology, Authority and Tribal Welfare in India*' identifies two major sets of processes of tribal transition namely traditional and modern. According to him, the traditional process is considered to be the major dominant regional tradition of the society on the tribal groups such as the concept of Hinduization, Sanskritization, tribe-caste continuum, revitalization, tribe- Rajput continuum, Bhagat movement etc. In the second group modernization process includes factors like Christianization, Urbanization, Industrialization, Community Development Programmes etc. Many of the activities cause different patterns of changes of the tribes like modern education, communication and administration etc. and his comes under the second group.

Ehrenfels²⁴ studied the primitive tribals of *Kadar* and published a book on '*Kadars of Cochin*'. The study deals with the various aspects of culture and changes that have taken place among the indigenous Kadar community.

The work of M. A. Sherring,²⁵ '*The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*' gives a detailed description of the tribes of the former Madras

²² Stephen Fuchs, *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla*, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1960, p. 236.

²³ L. P. Vidhyarthi, *Anthropology, Authority and Tribal Welfare in India*, Allahabad, 1908, p. 287.

²⁴ U. R. Ehrenfels, *Kadar of Cochin*. University of Madras, XIV, 1952, pp. 319-323.

²⁵ M. A. Sherring, *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1909, p. 193.

Presidency of which Malabar was an integral part. Among these, *Irula*, *Kader*, *Kurumar*, *Kurumbas* etc. belong to Kerala region. He categorizes the tribes as Nambudiri tribes, Brahmin tribes, Muhammadan tribes, Christian tribe, Jews, Black Jews of Cochin etc.

S. C. Dube,²⁶ '*Anthropology in the East*' deepened our thoughts related to the Indian society in the anthropological and sociological researches. Indian society that included village society and its transformation were explained and reviewed. Tribal societies and their transitions were also was one of his topics of concern. He had developed his thoughts with modernization that would help to resolve many problems of Indian society. Along with that, he had criticized the developmental measures, trying to reveal the multiple problems that were associated with developmental projects of tribal area etc. Many of his thoughts on these issues were informative of his nationalist concern and policy prescriptions.

A. A. D. Luiz, the former chairman of the Kerala State Tribal Enquiry Committee of 1957-58 and the Chairman of all India Nomadic Tribe Enquiry Committee of 1962, published a first-rate work on tribes of Kerala under the title '*Tribes of Kerala*'²⁷. He stated that Kerala has been the home land of 48 tribes and none of them has been categorized as 'criminal tribe'. He substantiated it by giving evidence on the settlements, origin, material culture, social structure, religious practices, customs, ceremonies, law of inheritance and occupation of these 48 tribes in alphabetical order.

N. K. Bose,²⁸ in his study on the '*Juang of orissa*' and other tribes gives an insight into the changes that have occurred in the tribal communities due to diffusion and borrowing culture traits. He observes that foreign contact may modify certain culture through economic influence

²⁶ Saurabh Dube, *Ties that Bind –Tribe, Village, Nation* and S. C. Dube, in *Anthropology in the East*, Permanent black, New Delhi, 2007, p. 63.

²⁷ A. A. D. Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 47.

²⁸ N. K. Bose, *Tribal Life in India*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1971.

alone. During such contact, the culture of the conquerors enjoys superior status over the vanquished culture.

In the major works of S.C. Roy, '*Mundas and their Country*', '*Oraon Religion and Custom*' serious attempt has been made in understanding tribes of Chota Nagpur. The geography of the region and the people were deeply studied by him. His opinions on the tribal communities of Chota Nagpur have been considered as the most authentic even for judicial purposes²⁹. According to him an understanding of their present along with the past is the matter of concern. Both his works on *Oraons and Mundas* provide detailed analysis of their culture as well as the changes due to the influence of the colonial rule. He had dealt extensively with the fundamental changes taking place in the lives of Chota Nagpur tribal community.

M. Kunhaman³⁰ in '*Some Problems in the Development of Tribal Economy*' conducted a thorough analysis of the challenges faced in the growth of the indigenous tribal economy, specially focusing on Attappadi. The findings of the study revealed a discernible absence of economic rationality in the decision-making procedures of the tribal populace. The gulf between the rapidly growing settler sector and the rapidly declining tribal sector is clear. The asymmetric growth of the two sectors is very detrimental. The wealth of immigrants is rising, while the condition of cultivable territory is rapidly deteriorating. As a result, the tribal polarization has grown to alarming dimensions.

A brief description on the hill tribes such as *Malayars*, *Kadars* and *Naidis* (*Nayadis*) is given in the Work of T. K Gopala Panikkar entitled '*Malabar and its Folk*³¹'. According to him, "the *Malayars* and the *Kaders* are identical race living along the Western and Eastern sides of the Ghats

²⁹ S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, City bar library, Calcutta, 1912.

³⁰ M. Kunhaman, "Some Problems in the Development of Tribal Economy", *Journal of Kerala Studies*, 1979.

³¹ T. K Gopala Panikkar, *Malabar and its Folk*, Madras, 1990.

respectively.” He mentions their language, occupation, dress and ornaments, religious beliefs, marriage customs etc. He introduces *Nayadis* (hunters) as the lowest race of people in Malabar. He pays attention to the cruelties practiced by the upper classes on these depressed communities, whom he considered ‘a threat to swap the country’.

N.Viswanathan Nair³² ‘*Tribal Health and Medicine in Kerala: A Study in Inter-relationship between Habitat, Health, Medicine, Society and Culture*’ has given a detailed description of the impact of the contact with the non-tribals on *Cholanaicken* community. Until the 1970s, the *Cholanaicken* community inhabited remote and sequestered forested regions within Nilambur, maintaining a state of complete isolation. The large-scale depletion of the forest due to teak plantation and other human activities by the immigrants for years has shattered their life style completely.

N.Viswanathan Nair illustrates the magnitude of population expansion as an inherent facet during the process of settlement among shifting cultivator tribes.³³ The *Kurumbas* of Attappadi, is considered to be showing a shift in the cultivator tribe and attained considerable growth in spite of their high infant mortality rate. The non-tribal migration to Attappady has made little impact on the land holding position of *Kurumbar*. The *Kurumbar* have the capacity to produce sizable quantities of cereals and legumes and also vegetables in their fields. They collect substantial quantity of non-wood forest products to meet their other requirements. It is a notable factor that though high infant mortality rate (IMR) prevails, the population continues to grow because of assured food supply.

³² N. Viswanathan, *Tribal Health and Medicine in Kerala: A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Health, Medicine, Society and Culture*, Center for Anthropological Studies, Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Calicut, 1985. p. 27

³³ *Ibid.*,p. 28.

A. Aiyappan's³⁴ '*Irava and Culture*' initiated the study of culture change in Kerala systematically and stated that tribal communities of Attappadi namely, *Mudugar, Irular and Kurumbar* lived in friendly terms and till recently they had minimal contact with the people of the plains. The major reasons cited for this was, absence of motorable roads to the valley. But in the recent years there has occurred the construction of roads, clearing of forest land for wet cultivation and for plantations etc. On account of this, the tribesmen are exposed to the full blast of the forces of changes. Now all along the roads can be seen the settlements of the plainsmen, small traders and agents of planters and labourers from the plains, who outnumber the tribesmen.

The contributions of A. Aiyappan³⁵ for the tribal studies of Kerala is considered to be worthy of mention. His work, '*Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras*', is a remarkable achievement in the anthropological studies. The work shed light on social and economic conditions of all tribes of the Madras province. He has furnished detailed accounts of *Edanadan Chettis, Wyanadan Chettis, Mandathan Chettis, Kurichiyas, Mulla Kurumbar, Urali Kurumbar, Kunduvatiyans, Karimpalans, Kaders, Pathiyans, Uridavans, Thachanad Muppans, Kanaladis, Adiyans, Paniyar, Pulayans, Jen Kurumbar or Ten Kurumbar, Irular, Aranadans or Ernadans, Mavilans, Vettuvans, Malakkarans and Malayans* of Kerala in his report.

The classic work of L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer³⁶, '*The Cochin Tribes and Castes*' in III Vols, gives information about *Kader, Malayan, Ulladan, Eravallan* etc. He tries to give a description of the tradition, origin, ceremonial rites, religious beliefs and occupation of jungle and fishing communities. The dynamic culture change was observed by him and he

³⁴ A. Aiyappan, *Irava and Culture*, Bulletin of Madras Govt. Museum, General Section, 5.

³⁵ A. Aiyappan, *The Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar, Madras, Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras*, Madras, 1948.

³⁶ L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, III Vols, New Delhi, 1908.

explained how tribes are fast changing. He also discusses the social changes that took place among the tribes due to interaction with upper class people. He was not a trained anthropologist. But his critical examinations lead to the accumulation of anthropological data or information of the native state of Cochin.

P. R. G Mathur in his work '*Tribal Situation in Kerala*'³⁷ made an excellent attempt by presenting some of the tribal problems in Kerala after describing the demographic profile of the tribal population. He describes the culture of two primitive communities, the *Cholanaickar of Nilamboor* and the *Kurumbas* of Attappadi in the first part of the work. Certain crucial tribal problems like land alienation, bonded labour, electrification in tribal areas, status of tribal women, education among the tribes etc. are also depicted in the study.

The work of B.Ananda Bhanu clearly marks a noticeable milestone in the tribal studies of Kerala. His remarkable work '*The Cholanaickan of Kerala*'³⁸ provides details on the occupation, economic group, nomadism, primitive elements, socio cultural features, etc. of the *Cholanaickar* of Nilambur valley. Brian Morris³⁹ investigated the *Mala Pandaram* of Kerala, which emphasized on changes in few socio-cultural patterns of tribes.

The anthropological Survey of India project launched in 1985, presents vivid anthropological profile of all the communities in India. The three volumes of the project, '*People of India*' which was edited by K. S Singh⁴⁰ include all the tribals of Kerala along with other communities. S. S. Shashi⁴¹ edited '*Tribes of Kerala*', in the series *Encyclopedia of Indian Tribes* also deals with the tribal communities and their life, culture and

³⁷ P. R. G. Mathur, *Tribal Situation in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1977.

³⁸ B. Ananda Bhanu, *The Cholanaickan of Kerala*, Calcutta, 1989.

³⁹ Brian Morris "*Settlement and Social Change among the Hill Pandaram*", *Man in India*, Vol. 56, No. 2, Bihar, 1976.

⁴⁰ K. S. Singh, *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁴¹ S. S. Shashi, *Tribes of Kerala*, Anmol Publications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 2004.

customs in the state. The second chapter of the work '*Two Tribes in Transition*' deliberates on the circumstances of *Cholanaickar* and *Kurumbas* of Attapadi. The work also highlights the social customs of *Kanikkar*, religious worship among *Kader*, family and kinship system of *Mala Ulladan* etc. Furthermore, he provides brief explanations on some other tribes like *Allar*, *Aranadan*, *Kurichians*, *Kurumba*, *Chingathan*, *Eravallan*, *Maha Malasar*, *Koragas*, *Kochuvelan* and *Kattunayakan*.

The research work of Baby Francis Kulirani,⁴² '*Emergence of a Small Town in Tribal Wayanad: A Study of Pulpally*' which shed light on the emergence of pulpally village, principally deals with the period before the arrival of immigrants to the region. The main theme of the study was the influence of immigration on the traditional life of the tribals in that particular area.

M. Sasikumar,⁴³ explains the material culture of the tribes, their economic, social and political organization, religion, life-cycle ceremonies etc. In The '*Tribe Non -Tribe Interaction with Special Reference to the Kanikkars of Tiruvananthapuram District*'. He illustrates the tribal interface with non-tribes and its impact on the life and culture of the tribes with special reference to *Kanikkars*. B. Bindu⁴⁴ has conducted an investigation in to the '*Socio-Economic Change among Tribes of Wayanad*'. *Kattunayakan*, *Adiyan* and *Mullakurumban* in Wayanad were main focus of the study. Through the eco-cultural context, she provides details on the socio-economic variations among these tribals.

⁴² Baby Francis Kulirani, *Emergence of a Small Town in Tribal Wayanad: A Study of Pulpally*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Calicut University, 1996.

⁴³ M. Sasikumar, *The Tribe Non-Tribe Interaction with Special Reference to the Kanikkars of Tiruvananthapuram District*, Unpublished, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Calicut University, 1997.

⁴⁴ B. Bindu, '*Socio-Economic Change among the Tribes of Wayanad*', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Department of History, Calicut University, 1997.

The anthropological study of Seetha Kakkoth⁴⁵, '*Three Tribes of Nilamboor Valley: A Study in Inter-relationship between Habitat, Economy, Society and Culture*' emphasized on three diminutive hunter gathering tribal groups of *Aranadan*, *Kattu Paniyan* and *Pathinaickan* of Nilambure valley. Manjula Poyil projected the burial practices predominant among the tribals in Malabar through a separate study, '*Death, Funeral and the Ancestors Cult of the Dead and the Malabar Tribes*'⁴⁶. Her study exposed that the tribals in Malabar are still following burial practices of Megalithic period .

Numerous works of K. Panoor⁴⁷ such as '*Kerlathile Africa, Malakal Manushiar Thazhvarakal, Sahyante Makkal* and *Yente Hrudhayathile Adivasi*' cope with the tribals and their difficulties with a historical perspective. Although his discussion is not done in a scientific manner, his explanation emphasized the very deplorable and pitiable conditions of the tribals. Nettur P. Domodaran's work⁴⁸ '*Adivasikalude Keralam*' in the mode of travelogue describe that depends much on the work of AAD Luiz's to describe the customs and ceremonies of the tribals.

C. Gopalan Nair⁴⁹ '*The Paniyan, Malabar Series Wayanad: Its people and Traditions*' investigated various aspects of non-tribal exploitation of the tribals. The book exposes the cultural and religious undercurrents in the tribals economic activities of the tribals of Wayanad. The influence of religious leaders and tribal *Moopans* (chiefs) on the tribals socio-economic activities and the impact of tribal hierarchy on marriage, agriculture, health, education, and communication are investigated.

⁴⁵ Seetha Kakkoth, *Three Tribes of Nilambure Valley: A Study in Inter-Relationship Between Habitat, Economy, Society and Culture*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Calicut University, 2001.

⁴⁶ Manjula Poyil, *Death, Funeral and The Ancestors Cult of the Dead and the Malabar Tribes*, Unpublished, Ph. D. Thesis, Calicut University, 2006.

⁴⁷ K. Panoor, *Kerlathile Africa*, (Mal.), Kottayam, 1963., *Malakal, Manushiar, Thazhvarakal*, (Mal.), Kottayam, 1982., *Sahyante Makkal* (Mal.), Kottayam, 1990., *Yente Hrudhayathile Adivasi*, (Mal.), Kottayam, 2005.

⁴⁸ Nettur P. Domodaran, *Adivasikalude Keralam*, (Mal.), Kottayam, 1984.

⁴⁹ C, Gopalan Nair, *The Paniyan, Malabar Series Wayanad: Its People and Traditions*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000.

The study "*Indian Tribes in Transition*" of Vyas and Menon⁵⁰ note that although the representation of tribes in Indian society as a whole is numerically small, it is culturally potent and effective. For some tribes, culture and caste characteristics are unavoidable. They believe that public opinion and citizen awareness campaigns, rather than merely providing education, are what ultimately bring about social change. It is also the time to properly channelize the countervailing factors, such as credit and market regulation. Additional tribal peer groups should step forward to build and influence public opinion through properly phased programs.

Studies on Migration: A Review

Very little work on the dynamics of migration to Malabar and Attappadi has been done. The migration and the spreading of their culture in the highlands of Kerala have transformed the tribal social life drastically. Tribals were forced out of land when the migration occurred. Subsequently the forest regulations progressively limited their accessibility to the forest resources. They were not developed as a powerful social group to articulate their choices.

In the study, P. K. Choudhary⁵¹ '*Agrarian Change in Bihar: A Study of Two Villages*' has presented an account of the life style of the tribals of Bihar including their food habits, clothing, marriage, customs, their family life and the economic and social activities. According to him, Christian Missionaries have been largely responsible for spreading literacy, education and sanitation among the tribes.

Harman⁵² observed tremendous change in the *Naga* way of life so much so that many earlier salient features of their life have disappeared. A

⁵⁰ Vyas and Menon, R. S, *Indian Tribes in Transition*, Rawath Publications, New Delhi, 1980.

⁵¹ Prashant Kumar Choudhary, *Agrarian Change in Bihar: A Study of Two Villages*, The Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, 2020.

⁵² Harman, *My People: Tradition and Resilience among the Nagas*, Shipra publications, 1975.

new standard of living has been adopted by them which are at times not in tune with their own traditional ways. New modes in life style has brought in many disintegrating features in the society.

K. L. Kothari⁵³ '*Tribal Social Change in India*' has studied the *Bhill* tribes of Rajasthan, who lived in happy isolation with their own mythology, customs, rituals and life style for centuries. They confronted various problems of massive transition resulting to it breaking the isolated life as a result of the introduction of development plans, education, new technology and modernization after the arrival of immigrants. .

Ramnika Gupta⁵⁴ conducted a study on "*Tribal Contemporary Issues: Appraisal and Intervention*" focused on the tribal issues of India. The study revealed that the tribals have their own history, culture, language, and democratic social system. Equality, brotherhood and freedom were part of their life-style and cooperation of their habitat. The so called mainstream development programmes implemented by the migrants displaced these basic concepts among the tribals.

K. G. Shivaswami⁵⁵ and others wrote a book on the economic situations and problems of migrants in Malabar under the title '*The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles in 1945*'. It is considered the first work on migration to Malabar. It was the result of a survey conducted between 1943-44 to ascertain the general economic and health status of the migrants.

P. K. Viswanathan⁵⁶ in his scholarly paper titled "*Farmer Migration and Agrarian Transformation in Kerala: Impacts on the Local Economy*,

⁵³ K. L. Kothari, *Tribal Social Change in India*, Himanshu Publications, New Delhi. 1985.

⁵⁴ Ramnika Gupta, *Tribal Contemporary Issues*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi. 2007.

⁵⁵ K. G. Shivaswami et al., *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles in 1945*, Serve India Kerala Relief Centre, 1945.

⁵⁶ P. K. Viswanathan, *Farmer Migration and Agrarian Transformation in Kerala: Impacts on the Local Economy, Society, and the Agrarian Landscape in the Erstwhile Malabar*

Society, and the Agrarian Landscape in the Erstwhile Malabar Region, " conducts a comprehensive examination of the phenomenon of Malabar migration. The article delves into the intricate dynamics of peasant migration to Malabar. The study encompasses a multifaceted analysis, stressing both the socio-economic repercussions experienced by migrant families and the ensuing ramifications on the agrarian landscape and ecological milieu of the region. Through the scholarly endeavor, Viswanathan delves into the interplay of complex forces that have influenced the local economy, societal dynamics, and the very fabric of the agrarian expanse within the historical context of the erstwhile Malabar region.

Michael Tharakan in his seminal contribution, titled *"Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, from 1930 to 1960 - An analysis of economic causes*⁵⁷ holds prominence within the domain of scholarly investigation. The work rigorously interrogates the underpinnings that propelled the migration of farmers from Travancore to the Malabar region during the temporal span from 1930 to 1960. He meticulously dissects a constellation of factors that collectively engendered the migratory phenomenon. The study presents a comprehensive examination of various determinants that shaped the migration pattern, encapsulating elements such as the influence of population pressures on agricultural land, the dynamics of Christian inheritance practices, the ramifications of property fragmentation, and the trajectory of agricultural commercialization specifically within the precincts of Travancore.

In an equally important study, *'Intra-Regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migration: A Case Study of the Migration of*

Region, Discussion Paper 43 on National Research Programme on Plantation Development (NRPPD) Sponsored by the Ministry of Commerce, Government of India, 2021.

⁵⁷ P. K, Michael Tharakan, *Migration of Farmers from Travancore -to Malabur, 1930 to 1960: An Analysis of its Economic Causes,* Un-published M. Phil dissertation submitted Kerala University, Trivandrum, 1977, p. 214

*Farmers from Travancore to Malabar 1930-50*⁵⁸ written by Michael Tharakan, P. K, a comparative analysis of land systems in Travancore and Malabar is presented in which is provided a detailed description of the demographic scenario and the properties of resources which can be reinvested and their constraints.

Fr. Thomas Pazhaparambil has studied and noted '*Peasant Migration history from Travancore to Malabar* and the bitter experiences they suffered with the wild animals and diseases during the early phases of migration. Joseph Taffarael S. J in a *Biographical Sketch*⁵⁹ of Fr. Peter Caironi, has highlighted the role of Jesuit Fathers in helping early settlers in Malabar jungles.

K. M. Joseph⁶⁰ traces the historical roots of early settlements of migrants. He has done this task by narrating the early proselytization process initiated by the Christian church in indigenous tribal community of Kurichias in Kolayad tribal belt at Kolayad near Peravoor in Malabar.

In the unpublished research thesis titled '*Peasant Migration to Malabar - A Case Study of Peravoor (1925-1970)*' Joseph, J⁶¹, undertakes a rigorous examination of the intricate socio-economic ramifications arising from the phenomenon of peasant migration from the Travancore region to Malabar. The author purview encompasses an through analysis of the migratory process, particularly within the context of the Peravoor locale, spanning the period from 1925 to 1970. The scholarly investigation delves into the multifaceted dimensions that characterize the socio-economic impact precipitated by the aforementioned peasant migration. The study

⁵⁸ P. K, Michael Tharakan, *Intra-regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migration: A Case of Study of Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, 1930-50*, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum. 1981.

⁵⁹ S. J, Joseph, A ,Taffarel, *Missionary Indeed! A Missionary in Deed*, Tellicheny, 1980.

⁶⁰ K. M. Joseph. *Koluyad St. Cornelius Mission (Mal)*., Tellicherry, 1981.

⁶¹ J, Joseph, '*Peasant Migration to Malabar - A case study of Peravoor (1925-1970)*, Unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation, University of Calicut, 2001.

posits that the migratory influx has notably contributed to the economic development of the Malabar region.

In his unpublished research thesis titled '*Agrarian Migration in Wayanad- a Socio-historical Study*'⁶² Joshe Mathew, conducts a comprehensive examination of the phenomenon of agrarian migration in Malabar especially the in the Wayanad region. The study presents a comprehensive examination of various determinants that shaped the migration pattern, settlement and economic development of Wayanad region.

Joseph, K. V.⁶³ in his article, '*Migration and the Changing Pattern of Land Use in Malabar*', focused on the role of peasant migrants from Travancore to bring in new land use pattern in terms of cash crop cultivation in the region of Malabar. The peasants who migrated were those who had attained some level of development awareness and were motivated more by a desire to increase their economic prospects than simply to find out a means of subsistence. The peasant settlers expanded cultivation in the waste lands of the sub-mountainous regions of Malabar, tilting the land use in favor of income-generating cash crops rather than the production of food crops for survival. His recent work, *Keralites on Move: A Historical Study of Migration from Kerala* has some reference to migration to Malabar.⁶⁴

Varghese, V.J, in his scholarly article titled '*Migrant Narratives: Reading Literary Representations of Christian Migration in Kerala, 1920-70*,' undertakes an exploration into the intricate processes that have engendered the construct of the immigrant⁶⁵ (termed as 'Kutiyettakkaran' in Malayalam) within the collective consciousness of the Malayalee populace.

⁶² Joshy Mathew, *Agrarian Migration in Wayanad-a Socio-historical Study* 'Unpublished Phd Thesis, University of Kanoor, 2009.

⁶³ K. V, Joseph, *Migration and the Changing Pattern of Land use in Malabar*, *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, 2002.

⁶⁴ K. V. Joseph, *Keralites on Move*, Shipra Publications, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 76-77.

⁶⁵ V. J, Varghese, '*Migrant Narratives: Reading Literary Representations of Christian Migration in Kerala, 1920-70*, *Sage Journals*, Volume 43, Issue 2, 2006.

This investigation is deftly situated within the context of the migration of peasants from the Travancore region to Malabar during the temporal span encompassing 1920 to 1970. The essay critically engages with the multifaceted dimensions associated with this migratory influx, particularly through an incisive scrutiny of the literary portrayals intrinsic to Malayalam literature.

In the comprehensive investigation titled *'Degrading Commons: The Ecological Consequences of Migration-The Case of Kerala, India'*, Raghavan, V. P⁶⁶, delves into a nuanced analysis predominantly centered on the ecological implications incurred within the rural economy of the recipient region, tracing back to the historical phenomenon of peasant migration from the Travancore district to Malabar. The inquiry is situated within a broader temporal framework, encompassing historical trajectories. The empirical methodology of this study is anchored in a rigorous field survey, strategically focusing on key settlement zones situated within the Malabar region. These prominent locales include Kottiyoor, Aralam, and Kudiamala, within the Kannur District, the tribal hinterland within Wayanad District, as well as the distinct settlement enclaves nestled within the Kozhikode and Palakkad Districts. Through the meticulous analytical approach, Raghavan scrutinizes the ecological repercussions that have emerged as a consequence of the migratory phenomenon, casting a particular spotlight on the ecological and economic dimensions that have shaped the rural landscape of the destination region. He has explored in the study major environmental problems raised as result of Malabar migration which caused ground water depletion through extensive rubber plantation, transforming the wetlands into dry lands shaping from peculiar pattern of rubber growing systems, and sand mining due to construction boom. He has

⁶⁶ V. P, Raghavan, *Degrading Commons: The Ecological Consequences of Migration - The Case of Kerala*, Article on Thirteenth Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons. 2011.

also mentioned the tribal alienation from forests due to encroachment of forest land by the migrants.

Kudilil, G. in his work '*Historiography of Migration to Malabar: A Critique*'⁶⁷ has attempted to survey the contributions of previous studies in the area of researches in migration to Malabar. He has grouped the previous works into four groups such as scientific studies discussing specific aspects of migration, popular works on migration, souvenirs published on special occasions and articles in newspapers and journals. One of the recent publications on Migration is an edited work under the title *Migration in South India brought out* in 2005 which contains valuable studies on migration to Malabar.⁶⁸

Lakshmanan, E.N.⁶⁹, through his unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation titled '*Agrarian Classes and Capital Investment in Agriculture in Wayanad: A Case Study of Pulpally*,' undertakes a comprehensive analysis of the economic ramifications precipitated by the Malabar migration. The investigation is uniquely framed within a case study paradigm, focusing on the specific context of Pulpally. The study discerns a direct correlation between the migratory influx and a remarkable augmentation in the local population rate. The demographic shift, in turn, has instigated a surge in demand for cash crops, thereby propelling the expansion of a capitalist mode of agricultural production. Concomitantly, the amplification of cash crop cultivation and the resultant rise in income levels have engendered a process of urbanization within the region. The urbanization, in a transformative manner, has exerted a significant influence on the economic landscape of Wayanad and indigenous people orchestrating a pronounced

⁶⁷ George Kudilil, *Historiography of Migration to Malabar: a Critique*, Shipra Publications, 2005.

⁶⁸ K. S. Mathew, Mahavir Sing and Joy Varkey, *Migration in South India*, New Delhi, 2005.

⁶⁹ E. N, Lakshmanan, *Agrarian Classes and Capital Investment in Agriculture in Wayanad: A Case Study of Pulpally*, Unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation, University of Calicut, 1991.

transition from a traditional subsistence-oriented economy to one characterized by a market-centric orientation.

Among the widely discussed and frequently referenced works in the Malayalam discourse concerning the indigenous populations of Wayanad, a work of significant prominence is '*Keralathile Africa*' of K. Panoor. The study has garnered substantial attention and engagement, achieving a notable readership within the domain of scholarly and public discourse.⁷⁰ As an officer in command of tribal affairs, he had a long-standing personal relationship with many tribes in north Malabar, which is evident in his work. His writings tell the tale of migrant people enslaving tribal people. His work provides numerous vivid examples of slavery among the Wayanad tribal peoples even during the 1960s. He vehemently disagreed with the idea that migration causes socio-economic growth in tribal areas.

Further his book '*Sahyante Makkal*' vividly describes the effects of land alienation on the lives and cultures of the Paniyar and Adiyar.⁷¹ A major topic in all of his works is the alienation of tribal lands. His another work '*Ente Hridayathile Adivasikal*'⁷² is a sort of rereading of his previous works. The two main tribal groups that are mentioned in the research are the Paniyar and Kurichias. Within the framework of the Wayanad tribal milieu, K. Panoor discerns the Kurichias and the Paniyars as occupying divergent ends of the tribal spectrum. Nevertheless, the distinctive scholarly import of his work is underscored by the meticulous attention dedicated to delineating the nuanced socio-cultural differentiations between these two groups.

*Swapnabhoomiyil*⁷³ written by Thomas Pazheparambil in 1978 is the first historical account of migration to Malabar. He was a priest who worked since the inception of the new diocese of Thalassery and he tried to

⁷⁰ K. Panoor, *Keralathila Africa* (Mal.), DC Books, Kottayam, 1963.

⁷¹ K. Panoor, *Sahyante Makkal* (Mal.), SPCS, Kottayam, 2000.

⁷² K. Panoor, *Ente Hridayathile Adivasikal* (Mal.), Current Books, Kottayam, 2011.

⁷³ Thomas Pazheparambil, *Swapnabhoomiyil* (Mal.), Moovatupuzha Mar Mathews press, 1978.

give near complete history of migration. It has become a source for many studies later as it provides the details of early major settlements of migration. Varghees Thottakkad⁷⁴ in his work “*Malabar Kudiyettam(Mal)*”⁷⁵ has attempted to survey the contributions of previous studies in the area of researches in migration to Malabar. He has discussed specific aspects of Malabar migration.

The souvenirs and commemorative volumes of different churches and other institutions contain a mine of information regarding Malabar migration. These materials mainly consist of articles on migration with the details of early migrants, their bitter experiences and establishment of churches, schools and hospitals. There have been more than 200 such volumes published all over Malabar.

A souvenir named *Suvarna Jubilee Smaranika, Kulathuvayal* 1992⁷⁶ contains articles on various aspects of migration including the problems faced by the immigrants in Malabar especially in Attappadi during the early phases of migration. The major contents of the souvenir are the migration and its effects which include deforestation, increased crime rates, economic impacts of migration, the cultural aspects of migration, analysis on tenancy system in Malabar and cultural integration between Travancore etc. and to which are briefly examined in the souvenir.

Prominent figures within the realm of Malayalam literature, including *Uroob, Malayattoor Ramakrishnan, P. Valsala, K. J. Johny, T. S. Joshy, and Narayan*, have demonstrated an inclination to incorporate facets of tribal existence within their literary works. While their narratives can be classified as emanating from a subaltern perspective, their contributions

⁷⁴ Varghees Thottakkad, *Malabar Kudiyettam(Mal)*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2015.

⁷⁵ G, Kudilil, *Historiography of Migration to Malabar: A Critique*, Shipra Publications, 2005.

⁷⁶ *Suvarna jubilee Smaranika*, Kulathuvayal St. George Forune Church, Kalathuvayal, 1992.

hold significant historical value, especially given the limited availability of alternative sources for the comprehensive reconstruction of tribal life. These authors have shed light on the issues that currently plague tribal way of life and culture, their major focus being the issue of non-tribals exploiting tribal people. The finest examples of this are the works of K. J. Baby⁷⁷ and T. C. John⁷⁸. The predicament endured by the Paniyar community, as well as the persisting dynamics of exploitation inflicted upon them by non-tribal entities, find poignant examination within the literary work titled "Uratti".

There are some works that address the serious issues caused by migration to these regions. These issues are mirrored in S. K. Pottakkad work *Vishakannyaka*.⁷⁹ K. J. Baby approaches the same topic from a different angle⁸⁰. Even though these works describe the socio-economic conditions that the migrants in Wayanad created, they frequently fail to mention the poverty and exploitation of the tribal people.⁸¹ Such writing, for instance, makes no mention of things like land alienation and other things that are very harmful for tribal life.

P. Valsala, a well-known author, wrote extensively about the tribals in Wayanad.⁸² Her comprehensive portrayal of tribal life in literature is a direct outcome of her extensive engagement with the Wayanad region and its indigenous communities. These sustained interactions have facilitated an astute delineation of the evolving contours within tribal existence. Her literary works, firmly anchored in the crucible of firsthand interactions, aptly captures the metamorphosing facets intrinsic to tribal life. The central thematic focus of her literary work is centered on the narrative exploration of socio-economic vulnerability. The exploration is channeled through the portrayal of diverse clans, notably the *Paniyars, Adiyars, and*

⁷⁷ K. J. Baby, *Nattuguddhika* (Mal.), Kottayam, 1983.

⁷⁸ T. C. John, *Uratti* (Mal.), Trivandrum, 1997.

⁷⁹ S. K. Pottakkadu, *Vishakannyaka* (Mal.), Kozhikode, 1990

⁸⁰ K. J. Baby, *Mavelimantram* (Mal.), Thrissur, 2000.

⁸¹ P. A. Pushpalatha, *Valsalayude Swantham Waynad* (Mal.), Trissur, 2008, p. 36.

⁸² P. Valsala, *Nellu* (Mal.), Kottayam, 1999.

Kattunaikkans. In her noteworthy work titled "*Nellu*" the author delves into an intricate exposition of the Adiya community situated in Tirunnelli, shedding light upon their distinct cultural milieu and way of life. Moreover, the author conscientiously grapples with contemporary challenges faced by tribal communities across the dimensions of education, healthcare, and the alarming concern of sexual exploitation, particularly concern of the tribals, by external emigrant elements.

In the late 19th and 20th centuries there were tribal movements aimed at achieving social change by putting an end to the exploitative systems to which they were subjected to for centuries.⁸³ In certain instances, transition meant reorganization of tribal social world. In certain others it meant selective adoption of the practices that became familiar to them through their interaction with the missionaries, colonial officials and western education.

Majority of the tribal studies in Kerala mainly focused on such areas like socio-cultural changes, ethno-medicine, medical practices, physical characteristics, impact of deforestation etc. and a few studies related to the role of development programmes for the tribal welfare. In Kerala, only two studies were conducted on *Irulas* of Attappadi area with regard to their folklore characteristics. Despite the advent of post-colonial emancipation, vestiges of the colonial conceptual framework persistently reverberate within the narratives of contemporary historians. Within the contextual backdrop, the current study endeavors to meticulously delineate the ramifications arising from the phenomena of migration and immigrant influx within the *Irula* community dwelling in the Attappadi region of Palakkad district in Kerala.

From the above discussion it becomes evident that there is not a single scientific work related to migration and transition to the geographical

⁸³ K. S. Singh, *Birsa Munda and its Movement 1872-1901 A Study of a Millennium Movement in Chota Nagpur*, Seagull Books, Calcutta, 2002.

segment of Attappadi. Most of the works deal with migration into Malabar in general. Although all the former studies have done the descriptive and qualitative study without using any statistical method, a systematic and scientific study of *Irula* transition and Malabar migration especially to Attappadi is lacking among the available literary resources. Therefore, a specific study related to the dynamics of migration and transition to the area with emphasis on socio-economic aspects is a long felt need.

Limitations

No researches can altogether claim perfection and completion of any topic. Nevertheless the present topic faced many difficulties in its onward development. Non availability of early records of the tribes, the hesitant and suspicious mood of the tribes to reveal the facts become all the more difficulties to tap bits of the information relating their life and culture. The offices of the tribals were earlier clubbed with scheduled caste and screening of the evidences becomes difficult task. Moreover, the Government restrictions to mingle and live with the tribals in their hamlets made the data collection hard. It is also pertinent here to admit that the researcher did not tap the transition factors generated by the different agencies of government and the movements of the tribals as it did not come to the purview of the topic. Indeed the study of the factor in such an angle also is vital and to be pursued.

Organization of the study

The current research is organized into seven distinct chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. The inaugural chapter, entitled 'Introduction', encompasses a comprehensive exploration of several key aspects. These include the delineation of the research problem and the geographic scope of inquiry, the rationale for undertaking of the study, a contextual examination of the pertinence of tribal history, explicit articulation of research objectives, elucidation of the utilized sources and methodological framework, as well as an exhaustive survey and critical review of pertinent literature are made the part of the chapter.

The second chapter engages with the establishment of a comprehensive theoretical framework that envelops the designated research area. The chapter commences by delving into the conceptual underpinnings of migration, thereby traversing the terrain of various theoretical constructs that underlie the phenomenon. A thorough explication is rendered on the broader expanse of migration, encompassing an exhaustive review of diverse paradigms within migration theories. The final segment of this chapter intrepidly explores the salient determinants that serve as conduits linking migration and the resultant process of transition.

The third chapter is an effort made to illuminate a succinct yet comprehensive portrait of Attappadi and its tribal communities. A detailed exposition is provided on the geographical attributes of Attappadi, juxtaposed with an exploration of the multifaceted elements encompassing the cultural and traditional tapestry intrinsic to the three tribal factions inhabiting the region. The chapter further underscores the prevailing dearth of comprehensive historical insight within the existing corpus of research concerning the life and cultural dynamics of tribal communities of Attappadi. The scholarly lacuna invariably engenders an ambiguously nuanced understanding of the subject matter under consideration.

The fourth chapter embarks upon a comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of local migration, manifesting as an influx from external regions into Attappadi. The chapter is meticulously segmented into three sequential partitions, enhancing its readability and analytical precision. Within the realm, a thorough investigation is conducted into the historical trajectory of migration, accompanied by a rigorous scrutiny of its consequential ramifications. Central themes encompass the displacement of tribal populations, the acquisition of land by the populace of Kerala. Furthermore, the chapter adroitly traces the socio-political underpinnings that facilitated migratory flows originating from Travancore, Mannarkkad, Malappuram and Chavakkad to Malabar, notably within the expanse of Attappadi.

The fifth chapter assumes a pivotal role within the study, unveiling an intricate panorama of the socio-cultural fabric characterizing the *Irula* tribe within Attappadi. The substantive section penetrates multiple dimensions, including

demography, habitation patterns, etymology, material culture, socio-religious institutions, and the gamut of life cycle rituals and ceremonies. The comprehensive scrutiny extends across historical epochs, ultimately affording an enriched perspective grounded within the annals of history.

The sixth chapter constitutes a probing into the transformational trajectory witnessed by the *Irula* tribal communities in the research area. Concomitantly, the chapter rigorously interrogates the role of immigrants in propelling these transformations, alongside a meticulous exploration of catalysts precipitating these shifts. In this investigative endeavor, the chapter meticulously explores the profound repercussions of these transitions upon indigenous tribal culture and long-standing traditions.

The seventh, concluding chapter orchestrates a synthesis of the principal arguments underscored within the thesis. The culminating section further encompasses suggestive insights and gleanings emergent from the investigation of study. Moreover, a comprehensive bibliography, an abbreviations glossary, and an appendix serve as invaluable resources, enriching the scholarly discourse and substantiating the sources underpinning the inquiry of the study.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATION AND TRANSITION: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Digging into every facet of social change or transition engaged by migration takes a great deal of effort. It requires, first of all, defining what ‘migration’ is, and secondly, how social life gets shaped by it. For a better understanding, the chapter is divided into three progressive segments. At the outset, the concept of migration and various theoretical foundations figured for discussion and a broad overview of migration and a review of various types of theories of migration is given in detail. It also laid emphasis on the need for a multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary approach to the study, and theorization of migration. In the second part, the phenomena of transition and its theoretical background is discussed in detail. In the third part, the major factors that link migration to transition are explored. It also produces proof as to how the broad concepts of migration and transition go hand in hand apart from pointing out some theoretical complexities of theorizing migration and transition. It is then followed by discussion on historical aspects of the concept of transition. Finally, it conceptualizes transition in the context of the *Irulas*.

Migration

Migration is as old as human history on the wonderful world of wander. Throughout the transition of human life, the phenomenon went on.¹ Though human mobility was the characteristic of even the Stone Age men, the rapidly of industrialization and urbanization in the modern age has given it a big push. Today, modern means of fast and reliable transportation and cutting-edge communication help thousands of people leave their usual habitat to put better food on the table, explore new opportunities, in some cases to seek refuge and escape from the ill-treatment of the host countries. The present patterns of migration are fundamentally

¹ W, McNeill, and R. S Adams, *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978, p. 67.

different from those in pre-industrial societies both in geographical scope and in intensity.

Meaning of Migration

The Latin word "migrate," which means to move, is the root of the English word "migration". "According to the Encyclopedia Americana, the phrase refers to a coordinated voluntary transfer of a sizable group of individuals from one environment to another. According to the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, it is the generally constant movement of individuals over a considerable distance. According to the International Encyclopedia of Population, "migration" is a sort of geographic mobility that entails a shift in the place of habitual abode between two specified political or statistical areas or between two different kinds of residential habitat.²

Oxford dictionary defines 'migration' as the "movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions". Social, economic or political circumstances undergo transformation everywhere around the world and so does the need to move out. Thus, it results in permanent or temporary shift of people from one habitat to another. It can be within the borders of a country (internal migration) or between countries (international migration).³ Such a movement can take place in two different ways. Forced migration is the first case caused by factors like political pressures, religious prosecutions, natural calamities etc., and seeking refuge outside the place of origin. The second case of migration is voluntary in nature caused mostly by economic considerations like material gains employment opportunities etc. Theodore Caplow states that "Migration is strictly speaking a change of residence and need not necessarily involve any change of occupation, but it is closely associated with occupational shift from one kind to another"⁴.

² Boyle, Paul et al, *Exploring Contemporary Migration*, Orient Longman, London, 1990, p. 217.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴ Theodore Caplow, *Toward Social Hope New York*, Basic Books, London, 1975, p. 11.

The Concept of Migration

Migration is a type of spatial or geographical mobility of individuals that involves a shift in where they live and their socio-cultural surroundings. Human history is the history of migration. As a result of their inherent reluctance to remain in their home environment, humans have developed into a highly migratory class in pursuit of better places to live. Migration stands out as a key component in the diffusion of cultures, ethnic variety, racial mixing, and racial diversification of the global population. Also, it's crucial in figuring out things like population number, composition, and distribution, as well as social interactions and economic well-being.⁵

Migration, as a phenomenon, in the sense of abandoning one's habitat in search of a better destination, is not confined to human beings alone. All living beings change their place of habitates for their survival, sometimes due to natural hazards like earthquake, flood, famine, etc. in search of food and security. They become adapted to the new setting even biologically in the process of evolution. Those who can bring desired modifications in them will survive and others will become extinct from the very beginning. Human societies had migrated from the place of origin to other places due to different social, economic, political, and religious reasons. Unlike the migration of other animals, human beings utilize culture to adapt to the new environment. As the requirements of human beings are diverse compared to other animals, the reason for migration is also diverse and uncountable. In the modern times, besides the basic necessity, human beings had been on the move in order to meet their requirements of education and employment as well.⁶

In any migration, that is, leaving the original habitat in search of better destination, there involves two factors, one the forces them to leave that area, and the other, which attracts them towards the new destination. Increase in population,

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.63.

⁶ C, Bates, *Community, Empire and Migration*, South Asians in Diaspora, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001, p. 65.

social conflicts, internal unrest, war among states and nations, religious and political conflicts, etc. act as pushing factors. The attractive factors in the place of destination include better educational and employment opportunities, and better health care facilities and socio-economic conditions. The scholars of different disciplines have focused on different dimensions of migration. Geographers have emphasised on the time and space significance of mobility, whereas sociologists deal with the migration problems in a different manner, like focusing on the social consequence of mobility. Demographers stress on the role of migration in bringing changes in size, composition and distribution of population, while the economists stress on the economic aspect of migration, in the context of urbanisation, commercialization and industrialisation. For anthropologists, the question of cultural adaptation becomes crucial in the study of migration because anthropologists consider culture as an integrated manner.⁷

Types of Migration

The nature and purpose of migration will be different for different groups and individuals. Based on the purpose of migration, the period of stay in the place of destination will be varying. So, different scholars had classified migration into different types based on geographical boundary, purpose, time, duration, and nature of migration, cause, direction, and volume and space aspects.

a) Classification based on Geographical Boundary⁸: Classification of Migration on the basis of the geographical boundary, which the migrant crosses while moving from one place to another include inter-continental migration, international or country-to-country migration, interstate migration, and local migration.

Inter-Continental: The movement of people from one continent to another is known as inter-continental migration. Migration from European Countries that paved the way to establish colonies later can be viewed as the best example of inter-continental migration.

⁷ Boyle, Paul, *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Inter-National Migration: Migration resulting in the crossing of international boundaries is known as inter-national migration. Though the demarcation of countries became a restricting element in the free movement of people, people still continue to migrate.

Inter-State Migration: Movement of people from one proceed state to another, within a country itself is defined as inter-state migration. A country like India allows its citizens to move freely and settle anywhere in India. This promoted inter-state migration, allowing the Malayalis, Punjabis, Gujarathis and others to settle in different states.

Local Migration: Local migration implies the short distance migration involving inter-district, intra-district, inter-village, etc. In this type of migration, people face less difficulty to adapt, physically and culturally.

b) Classification based on the Place of Origin and of Destination⁹: Depending on the characteristics of the area of movement and the destination. Migration is categorised into rural-urban migration, rural rural migration, urban-urban migration, urban-rural migration, etc. based on the place of origin and the place of destination of the migrants.¹⁰

Rural-Urban Migration: Movement of people from rural areas having agrarian economy to industrialised urban areas is called rural-urban migration. It is a common type of migration in developing nations.

Rural-Rural Migration: Mobility of human beings from one rural area to such as another is called rural-rural migration. People often are interested in leaving agriculturally less profitable and less fertile regions in search better of ones.

⁹ C. Bates, *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹⁰ WTS Gould, *International Migration in Tropical Africa: A Bibliographical Review*, 1976, p. 340.

Urban-Urban Migration: Movement of people from one urban area to another urban area is called urban–urban migration. It usually occurs in search for better amenities and job opportunities.

Urban-Rural Migration: Migration from urban to rural areas is referred to as urban-rural migration. When people become disgusted with the urban industrial facilities and leave the city in pursuit of a peaceful life, it mostly happens in industrialised countries.

Determinist Approaches of Human Migration

Empirical Laws

Theoretical groundwork for the migration study was pioneered by Ravenstein, a German-born former geographer for the British War Office. His theories were first presented in the *Geographical Magazine* in 1876, where he responded to W. Farr, a previous demographer, who claimed that there is no set of law governing migration. Later, in June 1886 and June 1889, Ravenstein published two papers in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*. The findings of the first publication came from a thorough analysis of the Place of Birth Tables from the British Censuses of 1871 and 1881, whereas the findings of the second paper were based on data from 20 other North American and European nations.¹¹ A summary of the laws as appeared in these papers is given below.

1. The majority of migrants merely go for a short distance.
2. Long-distance migrants frequently choose to settle in one of the major commercial or industrial hubs.
3. Migration takes place in stages.
4. People in cities migrate less than people in rural areas.
5. Males outnumber females while travelling large distances: Females migrate more frequently over shorter distances.

¹¹ G. Ravenstein, *Journal of Royal Statistical Society*, Vol-2, June, 1885, p. 280.

6. Each migratory current generates a counter current to balance it out, but the former prevails.
7. Families don't frequently relocate far apart.
8. The growth of trade, industry, and better transportation infrastructure cause a rise in the number of migrants.
9. The majority of immigration is move from rural to industrial areas.
10. The crucial justification for the migration is economic.¹²

Although Ravenstein rules have met with criticism from a variety of sources, he continues to be regarded as a pioneer and one of the foremost migration theorists who set the stage for later migration research and theoretical development. Notwithstanding this, some academists of the 20th century attempted theoretically to validate the Ravenstein rules by deriving an explanation and verification of the laws based on *Newton's Law of Gravity*. In numerous migration streams of different ages and regions, his law that females migrate more frequently than males in short migration is questioned to be untrue. Moreover, a sequence of migrations lacks a solid base.¹³ However as Everett S. Lee rightly remarks, “In the three quarters of a century which have passed, Ravenstein has been much quoted and occasionally challenged. But while there have been literally thousands of migration studies in the meantime few additional generalisations have been advanced. There have been studies of age and migration, sex and migration, race and migration, distance and migration, education and migration, the labour force and migration and so forth. But most studies which focused upon the characteristics of migrants have been conducted with little reference to the volume of migration and few studies have considered the reasons for migration on the assimilation of migrants at the destination”.¹⁴

¹² *Ibid.*,p. 281.

¹³ G. Ravenstein, *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁴ Everett S. Lee, *A Theory of Migration*, Sage Publications, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1966, pp. 47-57.

Zelinsky made a significant effort in the subject of migration research. He made a connection between the migratory process, demographic shifts, and how society over time has changed as a result. Zelinsky asserted in his "*Hypothesis of the Transformation of Society*" that, "there are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space - time during recent history and the regularities comprise an essential component of the modernisation (migration) process".¹⁵ His Mobility Transition Model identified five phases. In phase 1, in 'a pre-modern traditional society', there was limited migration circulation. There will be significant migration, particularly from rural to urban areas and an increase in circulation in the second phase, the early transitional society, which is characterised by substantial population growth. Phase 3 is characterised by a decline in natural movement and an increase in the volume and complexity of circulation in the late transitional period of civilization.¹⁶ The fourth phase, the advanced society, replaces the rural-urban mobility with controlled intra-urban and inter-urban movement. There is a general drop in migration at the final stage, which is referred to as a post-industrial society, and migration is replaced with some kind of circulation. Zelinsky has received criticism from Ronald Skeldon in three areas. The model, in the first place, contributed to the notion of the immovable pre-modern society. Second, the mobility hypothesis's goal of connecting changes in mobility to the stages of the demographic transition was never achieved. Finally, it treats migration and development as a linear process that has an equal impact on all regions.

Approaches to Migration

Situational Approach

Several approaches were also put forward by scholars regarding migration. One of such approaches to migration is the situational approach of Wolport. He is of the opinion that migration occurs 'when the place utility 'in a particular location becomes greater than that of the present area of habitation. Place utility represents

¹⁵ Z, Zelinsky, 'The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition', *Geographical Review*, 61(2) New York, 1971, pp. 220 –228.

¹⁶ G. Ravenstein, *Op. cit.*, p. 269.

the social, economic and other costs and benefits derived from an integration of the individual at some position in space. It is known as situational approach because the determinants of migration such as population density, political and social structure vary from situation to situation.¹⁷

Historical Perspective Approach

Another approach on the study of migration was the historical perspective approach propounded by the scholars like Portes, Balan, Cardos and Mangalam.¹⁸ In the historical approach the pressures and counter pressures both internal and external on the economy cause changes in the organization of production. It is not the individual motive but the structural transformation of social setup which result in migration. So the study of migration is concerned with the socio economic and political changes of a society.

Marxian approach

Marxian scholars consider that migration is a part of dialectical materialism. The capitalistic expansion in production results in the change of labour force into a marketable commodity to be sold. So the pauperized working class, due to the capitalistic expansion, is driven to all types of migration.

From the above studies on migration it can be gleaned that several theories and approaches can be adopted for its analysis. Moreover, it becomes evident that several scholars worked on migration. But peasant migration or agrarian migration from rural to rural areas has not yet attracted the attention of scholars sufficiently. We may be able to employ one or two other approaches, but the historical-structural approach seems to be more appropriate than the others.

Factors of Migration

Migration, the physical as well as social-cultural transition of individuals from the area of origin to the new area of destination is an outcome of different

¹⁷ Z, Zelinsky, *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹⁸ Michael P. Todero, *Internal Migration in Developing Countries*, Geneva, 1976, p. 12.

social cultural factors. Motivating factors in the place of destination differ from area to area, and time to time. Most of the studies in this field show that economic motivation occupies primary position among all other motivating factors. The important factors, which influence migration in general, are grouped under five important categories.

Economic Factors

Many studies on migration conducted in India and abroad show that economic factors occupy prime importance in determining the course of migration. The focus of early migration studies was rural-urban migration, which no doubt, worked as a basis and consequences of development of cities. Scholars like M. S. A. Rao, and K. C. Zachariah¹⁹, studied the formation of urban areas and believed that urban centres even now continue to attract population. According to Zachariah the main reason for rural-urban migration is economic factor, with poverty as the main driving force of migration. Economic factors of migration were also stressed in the writings of Aurora, Saxena and Sovani.

Through his study of Indian immigrants in United States, Aurora differentiates between push and pull factors of migration. The primary factor according to him is the economic motive. Push factors include higher standard of living, better educational facilities, employment opportunities, etc. and pull factors include high population pressure on land, break up of joint family, etc. The push and pull factors coincide to make the migration process operative.²⁰ On the same issue, Sovani and Saxena point out that the reason for migration of the rich and the poor might vary. Usually, the rich people migrate for better opportunities whereas the poor migrate due to economic hardships. Saxena also points out that migration acts as a feeder to urban growth and at the same time play an important role on the modernization and development of the villages. However, the study conducted by

¹⁹ K. C, Zachariah, et al, *Dynamics of Migration in Kerala: Dimensions, Differentials and Consequences*, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 2003, p. 278.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

Subbaih Kannappan²¹ regarding the socio-economic and demographic aspects of migration based on Todaro model of rural urban migration reveals that the Todaro hypothesis or model cannot be applied in Indian context as it stresses on the economic factor, especially the expected income differentials as the main factor in deciding the course of migration.

Economic factors also include the trade-oriented migration of different trading classes and castes. In India, the Marwadis, Punjabis, and the Gujaratis migrate to different places, and wherever they migrate, they carry on their trade and commerce. As mentioned earlier, economic factor could be one of the prime causes for the migration of the community under study and hence it could be considered as an outcome of trade-oriented migration.

Physical Factors

The physical conditions of a region play a vital role in influencing migration. Physical catastrophe such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, soil erosion, climatic fluctuations, etc., trigger off migration. The possibility of continuous draught, flood, etc., along with the chance of spreading diseases in a particular area, etc. also work as driving force in the case of individuals to leave an area. Attractive health resorts developed in a new town, availability of transport and communication facilities in an area, etc., would also act as pulling factors in migration.

Social Factors

Migration has social and cultural implication also. Besides economic factors, sometimes, social factors also play an important role in bringing spatial movement of population. Social customs, traditions and beliefs, social prejudices, etc. also induce people to migrate from one place to another. Urban areas are more exposed to modern living, where caste has nothing to do with occupation and social status. Hence, in order to get rid of the problems associated with the traditional beliefs, the

²¹ Subbaih Kannappan, Article on Rural-Urban Developing Nations, Sage publications, Vol-6, 1996, p. 135.

individuals prefer urban area. With the development of transport and communication facilities, distance is not at all an issue in selecting spouse.²²

Demographic Factors

Demographic factors deal with the size and distribution of population in a particular area. High population pressure on land and uneven growth of population coupled with less per capita land-share compel the people to search for better opportunities. Death rate also determines the population growth of a region. The areas having low birth rate and low death rate attract migrants with high employment opportunities.²³

Political Factors

Political factors also play an important role in determining migration. The laws created by different governments restrict or sometimes motivate migration. Political restriction prevailed in different Gulf countries and Australia controlled free movements to that territory. At the same time, they prefer to select intellectuals and skilled individuals, such as IT experts who can contribute to their development. Some developed nations who earlier paid less attention towards migration, are now taking hard steps to comb-out the illegal migrants, and send them back. Wars between nations, internal conflicts, etc. also restrict free movement of people.

According to Lee there are countless factors in every region, which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it and there are others, which tend to repel them.²⁴ Lee called them, as ‘pluses’ and ‘minuses’ and the factors to which people take an indifferent stand termed as ‘zeroes’. He uses this basic conceptualisation of migration that involves a set of origin and destination factors, a set of intervening obstacles and a series of personal factors to formulate a set of

²² K. C, Zachariah, et al, *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

²³ M. Hein, *Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective*, Working Papers 9, International Migration Institute, Oxford: University of Oxford, 2008, p. 452.

²⁴ Everett S Lee, *Op. cit.*,

general hypotheses about the volume of migration, the development of stream and counter stream and the characteristics of migrants.²⁵

Theories of Migration

Several theoretical perspectives on migration came to top and there is a marked attention on the topic during 21st century. One of the possible reasons for the lack of coherence is that migration has never been the exclusive domain of one of the social sciences, but has been studied by most of them.²⁶ To sum up, varieties of theoretical models has been proposed to explain why human migration begins and also each finally seeks to explain the same thing. Instead of going into details of all migration theories, only the major theories on migration are discussed in this chapter.

Neoclassical Version

Numerous early views on the subject of migration are based on neoclassical economics. This holds true because workers logical economic calculations of wage differences lead to their spatial mobility from low-wage to high-wage locations, which in turn causes migration. Hence, migration was a reallocation of labour in response to market demands. It is perhaps the oldest and well-known theory of national and international migration developed originally to explain labour migration in the process of economic development.²⁷

E.G.Ravenstein²⁸ was one of the early stalwarts to pay his attention on the question of migration. According to him migration between two places is always related to distance. Migrants move mainly over short distances; those going longer distances head for the great centers of industry and commerce. The movements to the trade hubs stepped up over time when transportation facilities grew greater in

²⁵ Everett S Lee, *Op. cit.*, pp. 288-297.

²⁶ Haas, *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁷ Gardner, Katy and Filippo Osella: *Migration, Modernity, And Social Transformation in South Asia*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1997, p. 128.

²⁸ E. G, Ravenstein, The Laws of Migration, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 52, 1889, pp. 242-244.

size. He pointed out that migrants move from areas of low opportunity to right set of circumstances with better pay packets. One of the factors affecting the choice of destination is distance. The main temptation for the movement of the people from rural to urban areas is mainly high wages and better opportunities. Since then, many scholars have introduced different formulations to uncover various aspects of migration.

The New Economic Theory of Migration

The new Economic Theory of Migration is at odds with the assumption and the conclusion of neo classical theory. The basic argument of the approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people like family and households. Unlike individuals, households are in a position to cut and control risks to their economic wellbeing by diversifying the allocation of household resources such as family labour. While some family members can be deputed for economic activities in the local economy, others may be sent to work in foreign labour markets. According to the theory, wage differentials are not an essential condition for international migration to occur; household may have strong incentives to diversify risks through transnational movement even in the absence of wage differentials.

The New Economics of Labour Migration has two main facets. The first is to acknowledge that decisions about migration include: Who will migrate? Where is he headed? How long is he going to be away? How will he act? etc. are collective decisions made by the family as a whole rather than individual decisions. Occasionally the size of the decision-making unit expands into the meso-scale of larger communal organisations and extended families. The second is that making rational choices involves risk aversion and income diversification in addition to wage and income maximisation. Several non-economic elements that influence migration are still largely ignored by new economic labour migration ideas. Collinson²⁹ proposes the need for a political economy approach to migration that

²⁹ Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, p. 53.

links the analysis of local-level factors that influence the decisions for migration peoples and livelihood strategies, with political, economic and social factors at various levels that affect the agency of the migrant.

Dual Labour Market Theory

Being a micro level decision model, the new economic theory and neo-classical theories of migration focus on limited territories. Evidently, these theories show it to be true that individuals and the families are the crucial factors in these theories. There is headhunting in the wake of global economies opened due to industrial breakaway. Dual labour market theory argues that international migration stems from the essential labour demands of modern industrial societies. *Michael J Piore* argued that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for emigrant labour that is intrinsic to the economic structure of developed nations.³⁰ According to him, migration is not caused by push factors in the sending countries, but by pull factors in the host countries. This is linked to the presence of a dual labour market in advanced industrialized countries: a primary labour market of secure, well-paid jobs for native workers; and a secondary labour market of low-skill, low-wage, lacking security and normally foul shop floors or service sector, filled generally by migrant workers because such jobs are shunned by local workers.

Dependency Theory

Dependency theory argues that migration is self-perpetuating, reproducing inequality through the mechanism of cumulative causation.³¹ Untile the developmental framework where migration is positively linked to development. This theory observes national and international migration as a part and parcel of the global geographic division of labour and of the historical process of subordinate incorporation of the underdeveloped world into the major capitalist economies³². This process dislocates millions of people in poor countries from their traditional

³⁰ Piore J, Michael, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor in Industrial Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1979, p. 63.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 645.

³² Ewa Morawska, *An Introduction to International Migration Studies*, Amsterdam University Press, 2012, p. 60.

way of life; they either migrate to urban areas within their own countries or are involved in international migration in search of the means of survival.

The Global System Theory, Dependency Theory, and Dual Labour Market Theory are three historical-structural theories of migration that share several fundamental flaws. The migrants are seen as "nothing more than passive puppets in the drama of major powers and world processes presided over by the logic of capital accumulation," according to this group. When we consider the outcomes in the real world, we may also see three more downsides. First off, not all migrant flows are directed along the routes of capital penetration. Second, migrants' agency is disregarded. Third, remarkably little consideration has been given by all the models examined thus far to how the State shapes migration patterns.

World System Theory

Following dependency theory, world systems theory developed a more thorough and complex historical account of the emergence and growth of the global capitalist system starting in the sixteenth century. According to the proponents of the world system theory, the structure of the global market, which has been evolving and growing since the 16th century, is what led to the commencement of international migration rather than the division of the labour market within specific national economies. Foreign migration is a logical result of the displacements and diversions that invariably happen during the capital development process. It views the emergence of capitalist markets in emerging nations as a natural byproduct of international migration, with the expansion of the global economy into peripheral regions serving as the impetus. As capitalism expanded outward from its core, a growing share of human population has been incorporated into the world market economy. As land, raw materials and labour within peripheral regions come under the influence and control of markets, migration flows are inevitably generated, some of which always moved abroad.³³ Rather than adopting the narrow argument of

³³ Massey, D. S, Arango, J, Hugo, Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E, *Worlds in Motion. Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 670.

theoretical exclusivity, it is better to adopt a broader position to understand the process of international migration.

Push-Pull Theory of Migration

People move around the world due to a combination of pull and push factors, including better job and income prospects, better education and welfare systems, land to settle and farm, good environmental and living conditions, political stability, and rapid population growth in the destination country. This model also has a series of "intervening difficulties" that must be solved according to Lee's version.³⁴ Distance travelled, carrier costs, linguistic barriers, and political impediments like open borders and immigration limitations are some of them. Although Lee himself never used the name, his theoretical model is sometimes referred to as the "push-pull" model. Push-pull models highlight several economic, environmental, and demographic elements that are anticipated to entice migrants away from their original locations and pull them towards their intended destinations.

Despite the fact that the model was developed with economic migration in mind and that it has its limitations, it is predicated on the notion that push factors in countries of origin encourage people to migrate abroad and pull factors attract migrants to specific receiving nations.

Although push factors frequently play a role in migrants decisions to leave their home country, pull factor variation is thought to determine the direction of migration flows, or more specifically, how a migrant chooses their destination country. Five main categories of pull factors are identified through a review of the theoretical literature on migration: economic, historical, political, geographical, and policy-related variables.

The push-pull model analytical value is constrained for a number of reasons. First of all, it is a static model that does not explain how migration impacts the fundamental circumstances in which it occurred. Second, it is a descriptive, post-hoc method used to describe migration, in which different 'migration determinants' at

³⁴ Everett S Lee, *Op. cit.*, pp. 245-247.

various levels of aggregation are thrown together somewhat arbitrarily without being given a specific definition or weight. Third, push-pull models frequently make the "ecological mistake" by confusing individual migration motives with macro-level migration factors like population growth, environmental degradation, climate change, or variability. This exposes the presumptions that some factors (root causes), without considering how they interact with other factors impacting livelihood, directly drive migration.

Analysis of Migration Theories

The subject matter of migration is too diverse and multifaceted for a single paper. This has led some to claim that migration is only weakly theorized.³⁵ The early theorizations were rather inflexible and hard to fit to each other, but more recent efforts to blend deductive with inductive reasoning have led to a variety of middle-range theorizations which reflect the realities of migration today. It has been demonstrated that, there is no single theory that captures the full complexity of migration.

Recent articles on migration by some of the most well-known academics in the area, including Stephen Castles,³⁶ Thomas Faist³⁷ and Alejandro Portes,³⁸ reveal two very broad tendencies of migration. To ensure that migration is not researched and theorised in isolation, the first trend is an effort to reframe migration within the larger phenomena of social change and social transformation. In fact, migration is not simply a result of the wide dynamics of national and international social change; it is also an integral part of that transformation. Castles³⁹ advocates that migration studies need to be embedded in broader social theory, drawing on the full range of

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

³⁶ Stephen Castles, Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transformation Perspective, *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, Taylor & Francis, Vol-3, 2008, p. 64.

³⁷ T, Faist, *The Transnational Social Spaces of Migration*, COMCAD Working Papers, 10, Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld, für Soziologie, Centre on Migration, Citizenship and Development, 2006.

³⁸ Alejandro Portes, *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*, Bergan publications, Newyork, 2007, p. 158.

³⁹ Manuel Castells, *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

social science disciplines. He asserts, that “migration embraces all dimensions of human experience, and therefore demands an interdisciplinary approach”.

Transition: Conceptual Exploration

Transition is a ubiquitous phenomenon going on in time and space. It is a multifarious, multi-dimensional, and multi-faceted process explained in numerous ways by various social scientists, social anthropologists and sociologists. The theories of these social scientists took into consideration various factors, forces and sources responsible for bringing change in human society or social group- urban, rural as well as tribal.

Society is an integrated structure consisting of several parts and sub parts which are so arranged that keep the system on going. Change, due to external or internal sources in any of these parts has repercussions other parts in varying degrees depending upon various factors viz., region of change, distance from source of change and type of change etc. Human being, as the basic unit of social system also plays an important role in the process of change. His way of life, and life style which are guided by his culture, beliefs, traditions and value systems are the pivotal factors which play major role in either accepting change or showing resistance against it. Hence, in the study of transformation, individual as well as entire social group have significant place.

Definitions and Explanation of the terms used: Transition

In the society transition is a natural process. In some societies the changes are very slow while in others are rapid and fast. But no society can escape from changes. A sociologist is therefore, required to take these changes into consideration for proper study of society. Transition is natural for every society and if any society make any attempt to stall social change that will be an impossible task.

To Kingsley Davis, “By transition is meant only such alterations as occur in social organization, that is, the structure and function of society. According to

Anthony Giddens⁴⁰, the rate of transition and social change since 18th century has remained the highest in the human history, and from 20th century onwards because of new inventions and technologies the speedy change in the society has taken place.

To Maclver and Page, social structure is always evolving, expanding, contracting, finding rejuvenation, adapting to wildly divergent circumstances, and going through significant changes over time. Merill and Eldredge went on to elaborate on the concept of transition, stating that it is the process of a significant number of people engaging in activities that are different from those that they or their immediate (forefathers) engaged in the past. All people participate in the large and intricate network of structured relationships that makes up society. This is only another sign of how human behaviour may change, indicating that social transformation is taking place. However, these changes cannot be treated separately in any society because change in the attitude of the people contributes to change in the social structure and on the other hand, change in the social structure may bring about attitudinal change among the members of the society. Hence, transition and social change in any form occurs always in relationship with others.

Yogendra Singh⁴¹ has extensively studied the major concepts and theories of transition. According to him the two major areas in the study of transition are: (i) The area of change- social structure (caste, family, villagesystem, political, economic and occupational structures and social categories such as the elite, professional groups and working class) and tradition, and (ii) Source (*endogamous and exogamous*) which generate change in the social system. He foresees increasing contradiction and conflicts in the Indian social system and hence emphasizes the need for a dialectical model for its study.

⁴⁰ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Originating publisher, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1993, p. 374.

⁴¹ Yogendra Singh, *Concepts and Theories of Social Change*, A survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Vol. 1, Popular Prakasan, Bombay, 1973, pp. 383.

M.N.Srinivas⁴² postulated the concepts like Sanskritisation and Westernization indicating endogamous and exogamous sources of change respectively in Indian society. These concepts have served as dominant tools in the analysis of social change and transition in India. He⁴³ reflects upon these two processes by referring sanskritisation “to changes in the ritual status and social position of an individual or group within the established frame work of caste and traditions. Whereas, westernization refers to the changes in the social and cultural system emanating from the contacts of the west, especially, Great Britain.”

Jones⁴⁴ opines that “Social Transition and change is a term used to describe variations or modification of any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interactions or social organization”. Wilbert Moore⁴⁵, defines transition as, “the significant alteration of the social structure and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values, and cultural products and symbols”. According to Rogers⁴⁶, Transition is, “the process by which alterations occur in the structure and function of a social system”. Thus, change for him is “a process not static and it is without beginning or end flowing through time”.

Marris Ginsberg⁴⁷ opines that transition is a very broad concept, referring to alterations over time in social structure, culture and behavior patterns. All societies undergo changes. Social change and transition is a universal term. It occurs at all levels from whole societies to micro level social interactions, "By Transition it is a change in social structure. e.gthe size of society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its organization, the term transition must also include changes in attitudes or beliefs, in so far as they sustain institutions and change with them".

⁴² M. N. Srinivas, *Sanskritization and Social Change in India*, Cambridge University Press, 1962, p. 189.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

⁴⁴ M. E. Jones, *Social Change: Meaning and Nature of Social Change*, London, Orient Longman, 1993, p. 163.

⁴⁵ Moore, Wilbert E., *Social Change*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1964, pp. 242-248.

⁴⁶ E. M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovation Theory*, 1962, p. 238.

⁴⁷ Morris Ginsberg, *Sociology and Philosophy*, A Centenary Collection of Essays and Articles, Harvard University Press, 1966, p. 247.

To Gillin and Gillin,⁴⁸"Transition are variation from the accepted mode of life; whether due to alterations in geographical conditions, in cultural equipment, composition of the population or ideologies and whether brought about by diffusion or invention within the group".

Theories on Transition

All modern sociologists unanimously express their arguments on the naturalness and inevitability of transition in each human society. Transition and social change has been understood and defined by various scholars in a number of ways. Several theories have been developed by scholars to understand transition. Transition is viewed as a change in the social organization, change from one form, state, style, or place to another. Every society, no matter how traditional and conservative, is constantly undergoing change. Society exists in ceaseless flux and flow. Transition is not a uniquely modern phenomenon but in the contemporary world the rate of change has been very much accelerated than the past.

Sociologists, social anthropologists and historians have put forward numerous general theories of Transition. The general theories may conveniently be grouped into five main categories.

- 1) Evolutionary Theories
- 2) Structural functionalist theories
- 3) Conflict Theories
- 4) Modernization Theories
- 5) Theories of multiple modernity.

1. Evolutionary Theories

Evolutionary theories are based on the assumption that societies steadily change from simple beginnings into complex forms. Early sociologists believe that

⁴⁸ Gillian and Gillian, *Theories of Social Change: Meaning, Nature and Processes*, Harvard University Press, 1983, p. 189.

human societies evolve in a single and linear way. The well-known advocates of the Evolutionary theory of social change are Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim and Herbert Spencer. According to them transition and social change is the process of progress towards something better. They view change as positive and beneficial. Comte saw human societies as progressing into using scientific methods. Likewise, Emile Durkheim, one of the founders of functionalism, advocates societies as moving from simple to complex social structures. He interprets social mechanisms and the evolution of society through the prism of the evolutionary principle, and social progress through social differentiation. Herbert Spencer compared society to a living organism with interrelated parts moving toward a common end. In short, Comte, Durkheim, and Spencer proposed linear evolutionary theories, which mean that all societies pass through the same sequence of stages of evolution to reach the same end.

2. Structural Functionalist Theory

The Structural-Functionalist theory of transition has been a very popular theory of present times. It is strongly advocated by several sociologists, particularly by Talcott Parsons⁴⁹ and Morton. According to its proponents, every social system has two parts, one structural and the other functional. A structure is an arrangement or a unit for the performance of functions. Function is the consequent of the actions of structures. All the structures are closely related to each other and all the functions are interrelated and interdependent. Change in one leads to changes in others. Each structure serves its own function and at same time helps others to function.

According to Parson, the society as a whole is conceptualized into a system which consists of four subsystems interactive to maintain social order viz., social, economic, political and cultural subsystems. Changes in each of the subsystem generate effects and consequences in all the others. In this way the whole social system functions and undergoes social change. For example, a change in the marriage system from arranged marriages into love marriages leads to changes in

⁴⁹ Talcott Parsons, *Social Systems and the Evolution of Action Theory*, Free Press, USA, 1977, p. 297.

caste system, family system, joint family system, rate of divorce and even religion. Just like any change in the economic structure of a society will make many changes in their social relations and its political sphere.

3. Conflict theories

Conflict theories are concentrated on the role of social tensions and disregard the influence of the technological progress or external influences in the area of transition. In the classical Marxist theory, typical of the conflict perspective, social change takes place exclusively through conflict, being fraught with ambiguities of an economic and social nature. Marx held that human society passes through various stages, each with its own well defined organizational system. Each succeeding stage comes into existence as a result of conflict with the one preceding it. Change from one stage to another is due to changes in the economic factors namely the methods of production and distribution of material means of life. A change in the material conditions of life brings changes in all social institutions, properly system, state, religion and family.

4. Modernization Theories

Modernization theories emerged in the 1950s, explaining the development of industrial societies in North America and Western Europe, especially due to the rise of industrial capitalism since the 18th century. It is a grand theory encompassing different disciplines as it seeks to explain how society progresses, what variables influence that progress, and how societies can react to that progress. Modernization theory focuses specifically on a kind of modernization thought that probably originated in Europe during the 17th century, which brought social mores and technological achievements into a new epoch. It is the process of transition and social change begun by industrialization.⁵⁰

Samuel P Huntington⁵¹ defines modernization as a multifaceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and actions. He further points out that the basic aspects of modernization are urbanization, industrialization,

⁵⁰ John J. Macionis, *Sociology*, Pearson Education India, 2006, p. 215.

⁵¹ Samuel P Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Yale University Press, 1968, p. 248.

secularization, education and media participation. The total social transformation and universal assumptions of modernization theory encourage the attempt to relate to each other with the various types of change. The Modernization theory encompasses many changes developed in individual attitudes, in social behaviour, in economics and in politics. All these changes are related to one another.

5. Theories of Multiple Modernity

The past years have seen the emergence of numerous academic alternatives attempting to resolve the criticisms of modernity and to expand its horizon in explaining the phenomenon of social change. Theory of Multiple Modernity is one of the most influential among them. The concept of multiple modernity has emerged to challenge the dominant Euro-centrism and uni-linearity of traditional theories of modernity, and has led to renewed efforts to appreciate different routes of contemporary political and social developments. The theory argues that modernity continues to have an indisputable global impact, but that this impact is so radically mediated by the historical and cultural backgrounds of every society it encounters that it makes more sense to speak of the concept in the plural.⁵²

Theories of Multiple Modernity, is comparatively a recent origin in social science discourses. The term was coined by sociologist Samuel Eisenstadt in the late 1990s, who in many ways was the architect of the theory. Eisenstadt argues that the classical view on modernity, as derived from the western experience is not applicable to all modernizing societies, and that it needs to be proved by a concept of multiplicity. This is the reason that modernizing societies bring in their own socio-cultural influences that drive modernization, and that the western experience may merely serve as a reference point in the respective developments. The modernization process needs to be understood as the negotiation of multiple societal stakeholders about what makes society modern rather than as a historical consequence. Eisenstadt discovered contrary to general scientific assumption; modernity or progress is not in the homogenous sense, but develops in heterogeneous way. The most significant contribution from Eisenstadt Multiple

⁵² Samuel P Huntington, *Op. cit.*, p. 321.

Modernity is that he identified the globalization impact opens new potential to develop different process of modernity across the globe. He also identified the role of new agencies, institutions and social movement responding to the impact as a part of dynamics modernity project. Multiple Modernity indicates that even though different societies develop their own distinct and unique ways of modernity, its movements will converge and connect to the whole project of modernity. The idea of Multiple modernity assumes that the best way to understand the contemporary world indeed to explain the history of modernity is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs.

Parsons attempts to explain transition in terms of an equilibrium model. He conceives society as a system surrounded by the other three systems- personality, the organism and culture. A society is said to be in equilibrium when it maintains the boundaries with these three systems, and boundary breaking is social change. He talks of exogenous and endogenous factors of change.

Parsons⁵³ postulated two main types of changes depending on their source (exogenous and endogenous),“The first is one of the principal model components, and comes from outside the society. This is true of contemporary undeveloped societies. The second is that occurring when the cultural model cannot be supplied from a socially exogenous source, but must be evolved from within the society. This is the situation to which Max Webers famous category of charismatic innovation befitted. He further says that the process of functional differentiation is one of the fundamental types of transition and social change and has evolutionary aspects.

Other social scientists have also perceived and explained transition f r o m different viewpoints and perspectives. Radcliffe -Brown⁵⁴ has been one of the important figures in British Social Anthropology, influenced by structural point of view. He considers social structure as the network of social relationships operative in the system groups like kinship, gender, rank, occupation etc. connecting the

⁵³ Talcott Parsons, *Action Systems and Social Systems*, Oxford India Press, 1961, p. 259.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63

members of the society in a particular way. Thus, society becomes an integrated whole, which is necessary for its existence and persistence.

Kathleen Gough⁵⁵ emphasizes upon the cleavages and conflicts and their resolutions in the analysis of village social system and its maintenance. Her theories are based on her study of Kumbapettai, a village in Tanjore. She has adopted Weberian concept of class-differentiation in the caste-framework of the society giving less importance to the concept of purity and pollution. She talks about the changes in the caste-based status of people in terms of change in the distribution of economic and political power in the village.

So far, a detailed account of transition, types of transition, and elements of transition and various other dimensions and aspects of transition and social change have been discussed. It stresses upon the fact that human beings are not static and also their culture and society. Man keeps on making innovations and discoveries which add several dimensions to their lives. Mann⁵⁶ also emphasizes that social and cultural changes cannot be viewed separately. He further refers to Malinowski's derivation of transition and social change as a process of re-organisation on entirely new and specific lines. He maintains that social and cultural changes are two interwoven cultural values, which form, directly or indirectly, the basis of social system. "The transformation from one type into another of social, spiritual or material civilization is taken as cultural change by Malinowski. But more or less the same spheres are taken as social change by Maclver, while considering it as responsive to change in technology, cultural complex and biophysical aspects". Several aspects of social structure and culture are overlapping; hence, these could not be studied in isolation.

Hence, transition is different from cultural change in a few aspects, these two are so deeply inter-related that one cannot be separated entirely from the another. Still, a few scholars prefer to give more emphasis on cultural change, while writing about change in a social group.

⁵⁵ Eleanor Kathleen Gough Aberle, *Caste in a Tanjore Village*, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Tanjaor University Press, Vol-2, Tanjore, 1971. p. 147.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 471

Malinowski⁵⁷ describes “cultural change” as, the process by which the existing order of society, that is, its social, spiritual and material civilization is transformed from one type to another. Thus, it covers the more or less rapid processes of modification in political constitution of a society, in its domestic institution and its mode of territorial settlement, in its beliefs and system of knowledge, in its education and law, as well as its material tool and their use, and consumption of goods on which its social economies are based. In the widest sense of term, cultural change is a permanent factor of human civilization; it goes on everywhere and at all times. Cultural change may come from inside e. g., independent invention, or from outside, e. g., cultural borrowing. Along with these dynamic forces, several factors also play important role in bringing about change. Necessity of adaption and adjustment is an important factor in acceptance of changes. Needs arisen due to changing situations, require change in the culture accordingly. Changes coming in a slow and steady manner brings stable and sound change. The rate of change is another aspect which varies from culture to culture and depends upon the ability to adapt of a group.

Thus, cultural change is a very important process in a social system undergoing change, but social transformation is equally important. As mentioned above, transition mainly refers to the structural change in the society, that is, change in the social structure and social relationship, whereas cultural change refers to changes in cultural beliefs and values.⁵⁸

As discussed, the theory of transition and social change propounded by various thinkers are on the basis of the classical, neoclassical, medieval, modern and postmodern thoughts. But all the theories which had been given by these thinkers cannot be universally applied to all the societies. In the tribal context of Attappadi, some of these theories such as evolutionary theory, functional theory, diffusionistic theory, modern, acculturation and integration theories etc. are relevant for analysing the process of change in the area. But others like the

⁵⁷ Malinowski, *Functional Analysis of Social Change*, Cambridge University Press, 1945, p. 287.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

dialectical and cyclical theories are not fitted and applicable in the tribal context of Attappadi.

The present study also examined various theories of Migration and transition. The study realized the fact that concepts i. e., 'migration' and 'transition' cannot be studied within the narrow framework of any single theory. Every theory has its own merits and demerits. Migration is a multi-disciplinary and multifaceted subject and it cannot be put in the limited circle of a single theory. It is much complex in the migration context of Kerala. Among the above discussed theories of migration, we think the Network Theory and Push-Pull theory of Migration is much more suitable to explain the phenomenon of local migration into Attappadi. Because, the push factors in the state especially unemployment, poverty and land availability in 1940s were the major factors which forced many outsiders to move for Attappadi. Enormous agricultural opportunities and the availability of wetland were the major Pull factors prevalent in Attappadi. Gradually the migration gained momentum through the network of the migrants.

Similarly, the phenomenon of migration, and the migration caused transition in Kerala is also very difficult to theorize. When it comes to the socio-cultural life of the tribals, it will be much complex. Among the traditional theories of transition and social change, the modernization theory is comparatively better to explain the social change in the state. Modernization theory encompasses many changes including the individual attitudes, social behavior and the transformation in economics and political spheres. All these changes are related to one another. But the problem is the modernization theory which is not much powerful to explain the socio-cultural life of the tribals in Kerala because of the euro centralism and the uni linear character of the analysis of the theory. According to the modernization theorists the idea of transition outside of the West is occurring as a consequence solely of the impact of the West and the modernity, in replacing tradition, would have the same effects across the globe. The Euro centric view of modernity has been questioned by many scholars due to its inability to explain the social development of various non Western societies in the World. So the migration related transition in

tribals of Kerala is not systematically explained with this theory. Here the theory of multiple modernity is the correct theoretical framework to analyze the socio- cultural life of the tribals in Kerala. Advocates of the theory of multiple modernity argue that the traditional societies were not seen as stagnant, but as developing and transforming their own institutional and cultural contexts prior to the advent of Western modernity including tribe-non tribe interaction, industrialization, cultural contact, trade, economic contact etc..Thus, Eisenstadts theory of multiple modernity is found relatively more appropriate to explain the social and cultural transitions of the tribals of Attappadi in Kerala.

CHAPTER 3

ATTAPPADI AND TRIBAL COMMUNITIES: A CONCISE PROFILE

The chapter is an analytical account of the tribals of Attappadi. Major intention behind the chapter is to develop a vivid picture about the different tribes existing in the area. Major part of the chapter is a discussion on the *Irula*, *Muduga* and *Kurumba* tribes of Attappadi and its history; different tribal groups living there are discussed. The analytical account along with the succeeding chapter will form a background to understand the socio-cultural transformation experienced with the influence of the emigrants. Before we enter into the details we shall have a brief account of the physical - geographical area of the region of Attappadi.

Attappadi - Physical Features

Attappadi is a large mountain valley that stretches from Mukkaly to Anakkatty and Thazemully to Muthikkulam in Mannarkad Taluk of the present Palakkad District, Kerala State. It is situated between 10°55'10'' and 11°14'19'' North latitude and between 76°27'11'' and 76°48'8'' East longitude. Attappadi is primarily a plateau that rises 750–1000 metres above the undulating midlands east of Mannarkad Taluk. The Nilgiris in the north and the Eastern Ghats in the south and east are mountain ranges that border this region.

Attappadi is an area where the tribals dwell in groups. Earlier the area has belonged to Malabar district under the Madras Presidency. The Zamorins of Calicut ruled the place. It came under the jurisdiction of Perithalmanna Taluk of Palakkad district after the formation of Kerala State. After the formation of Mannarkkad Taluk, the area was added to the new Taluk in 1968.

There are hills and valleys across the Attappadi region, with the western portion having particularly tall mountains and narrow valleys.¹ The area is situated between two Mountain ranges of Western Ghats, with a general slope towards the northeast. The plateau slips towards the east and merges with the high plains of Tamil Nadu. At Mukkali, the elevation rises from 90 metres to 550 meters while approaching from the South-West. The elevation changes from Mukkali to Anakkatty in the direction of the east between 500 and 575 metres. The Nilagiri Peak, which rises to a height of around 2300 meters, marks the northern edge of the Attappadi block. It then descends along the south-west before rising to a height of 2000 metres at Muthikulam. The fact that 51% of Attappadi is between 600 and 1000 metres above the sea level and that 71.6% of the land has a slope between 15 and 30 degrees demonstrates the sensitivity of area to the environment.²

From all the places in Attappadi, Malleeswaram³ the highest peak with a height of 1664 metres, can be seen. From the south-west corner of the Attappadi block, the towering hills of the Nilagiris in the Western Ghats border the north and east in the Muthikulam hills. Nilagiri and Coimbatore Districts form the borders in north and east respectively. The area is bordered by Palakkad Taluk in the south, the revenue villages of Karimba, Pottessery, and Mannarkad Taluk, and Ernad Taluk in Malappuram District in the west. In terms of administration, the three panchayaths of Palakkad District, Agali, Pudhur, and Sholayoor form the Attappadi Tribal Block.

¹ P. K, Muraleedharan, S, Sankar, "*Human Ecology and Socio-Economic Interactions in Tribal Communities of Attappadi*". KFRI Research Report, Kerala Forest Research Institute, Peechi, Thrissur, 1991, p. 63.

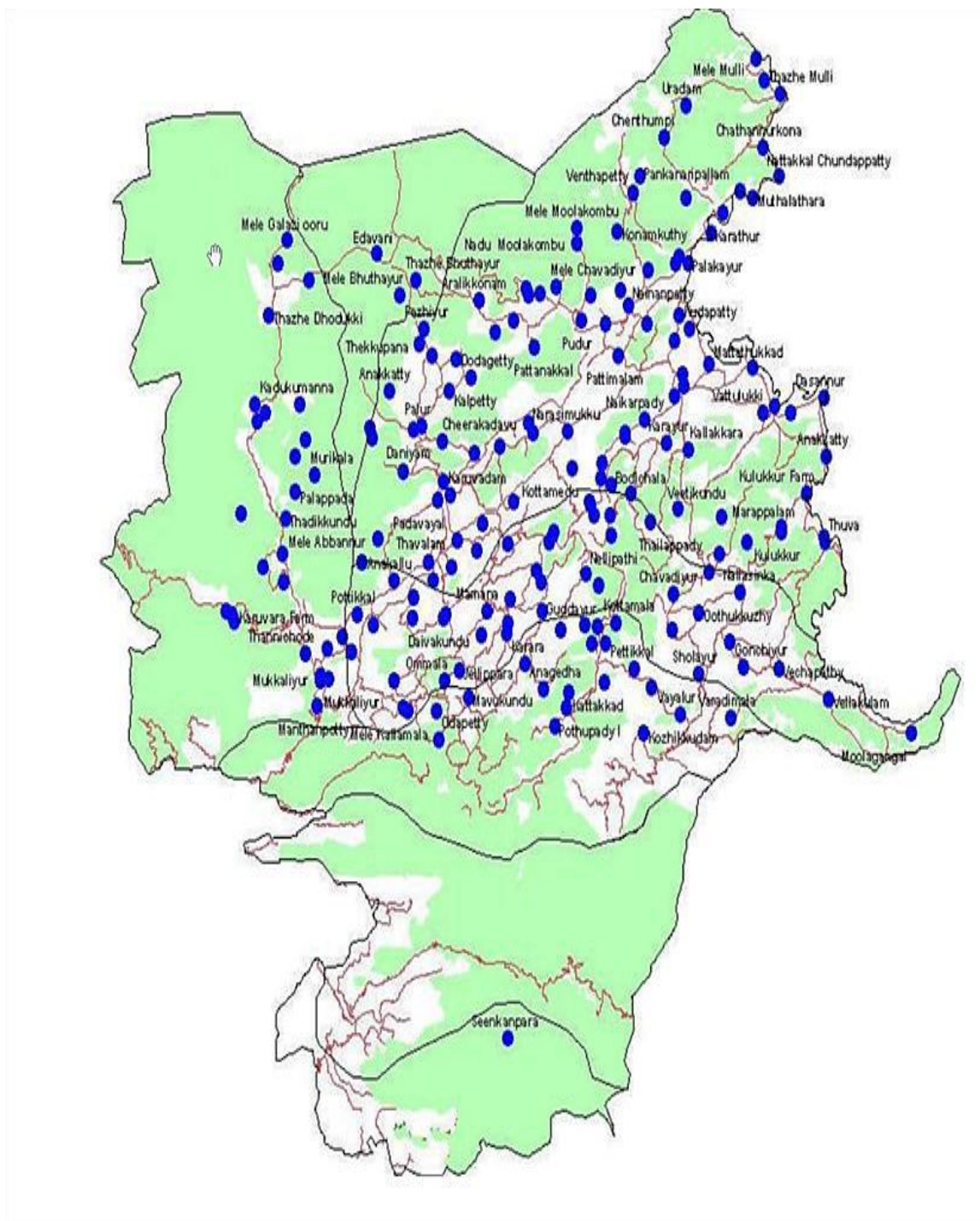
² *Ibid.*, p. 78

³ Malleswaram is the highest peak in Attappadi. Tribal people considered this as the abode of Siva. Some of them worship the peak itself.

Table 3.1
Total land area in Attappadi⁴

Land use /land cover categories	Area(sq. km)	% to total area
(a) Forest	444. 07	60. 00
Ever green / semi ever green (dense)	1 46. 16	19. 63
Ever green semi ever green(open)	40. 38	5. 42
Deciduous (dense)	125. 15	16. 80
Deciduous [open]	104. 79	14. 7
Degraded /under utilized	21. 55	2. 89
Shrub	1. 08	0. 14
Blank	1. 16	0. 16
Plantation	3. 80	0. 51
(b) Agricultural lands	130. 30	17. 49
Kharif crop area	44. 87	6. 02
Kharif and Rabi area	7. 15	0. 96
(c)Fallow	0. 63	0. 08
Agricultural plantation(mixed)	77. 65	10. 42
(d) Waste Lands / Degraded	156. 64	21. 03
Land with or without scrub	88. 93	11. 95
Barren rocky / stony	3. 10	0. 42
Permeant fallow	64. 61	8. 67
(e)Water bodies major rivers 1 reservoirs	10. 72	1. 43
(f) Road, streams, etc.	3. 27	0. 44
Total	745. 00	100. 00

⁴ Source: Kerala State Land Use Board and National Remote Sensing Agency, Thiruvananthapuram, 2002, p.62.



Source: Ibid., p.11

Figure 3.1 Settlements and forest areas of Attappady

Geography and Location

One of the major settlements of the tribal communities in Kerala, Attappadi⁵ is situated in the Western Ghats in the Palakkad district. The region is located relatively close to the Silent Valley biodiversity hotspot and is a component of the renowned Nilagiri International Biosphere Reserve. There are two halves of Attappadi: the western and eastern parts. Eastern and western regions of Attappadi share essentially identical agro-climatic characteristics with Tamil Nadu and Kerala respectively. It is feasible to divide the area into two zones based on geographical and climatic peculiarities: Western Attappadi, which receives more than 2300 mm of annual rainfall, and eastern Attappadi, a rain-shadow region, which receives less than 1000 mm of yearly rainfall on average. The eastern regions have become a desertification hotspot due to erratic rainfall and low soil moisture retention.

There are different stories regarding the origin and meaning of the word Attappadi. First version is that the term Attappadi is derived through combination of two different words: *Atta* and *Pady (Padi)* *Atta* means the leeches and *Pady (Padi)* means the place/valley. Attappadi in Malayalam translates to the land or place of the leeches; the region used to be infested with them⁶. In the view of the local people, the second story is that Attappadi means the place of Amdam, which means a traditional utensil used for measuring paddy. Therefore, *Attappadi* means the place or valley of utensil that was used for measuring paddy. There is no consensus among the scholars about when and where the term originated. Ramachandran Athippatta, the author of works such as '*Bhothali*' '*Klesha jevikal*', is of the opinion that the name originated due to the presence of leeches in the area. It is also being argued that the names Attakkara and Atta-bare came into usage as there were so many leeches in that region. Another argument is that the name is associated with the place of residence of the Jain saint *Atta Nemithan* who was living in that place. Since *Atta* means dry and *padi* means place, the name Attappadi may have come from the meaning of dry land, indicating the specific geographical peculiarities of the area.

⁵ B. D, Kapp, The word "Attappadi" may have been coined by *Kurumba*, especially *Alu-Kurumbas* because one hamlet of *Alu-Kurumba* is known as "*Atta-bare* which is located in the Kunda area, on a steep slope below Manja-Kombai" in Attappadi. It shows that the word "Atta" is common among the *Kurumba*, 1985, p. 510.

⁶ Ramachandran Athippatta, *Bothali(Mal)*., National Book stall, Kottayam, 2014. p. 245.

Until the 18th century, Attappadi region was a dense forest, and was inhabited exclusively by the hill tribes like *Kurumbas*, whose main sources of livelihood were hunting, gathering, fishing and shifting cultivation. From the beginning of 19th century, the area had witnessed a heavy influx of non-indigenous non-tribe settlers, including the *Jenmis/Zamindars*, Gaudas or Gowdas, Tamils and Malayalis, and thus resulted in rapid population growth and demographic change in Attappadi⁷.

Climate

Attappadi region is an “High Altitude Zone”. The range of altitude is 750 to 1000 MSL. During the rainy season, Attappadi range experiences a cool, humid climate. Due to the high, steep hills in the western area, the eastern side has a rain shadow effect. The Attappadi environment has undergone significant changes due to deforestation, which have an impact on agriculture. The seasonal fluctuations in Attappadi are shown in Table 3.2

Table 3.2
Seasons in Attappadi

SEASON	PERIOD
South-west Monsoon	June -September
North-east Monsoon	October- November
Winter	December -February
Hot weather	March – May

Source: AHADS Reports, 2011

Attappadi receives significantly less monsoon rainfall due to its location in the rain shadow. A significant portion of the clouds carrying rain are blocked by the mountain ranges dividing the valley from Mannarkad. As a result, an area beyond the east of the mountain ranges forms a rain-shadow. High rainfall occurs on the hills that face west and in the adjacent area to the east.

⁷ Vansanth, Kannabiran, "Marketing Self-help, Managing Poverty", in Economic and Political weekly, August, Vol. XL (34), 2005, pp. 71-74.

The amount of rainfall dramatically decreases as one travels eastward towards the Tamil Nadu border. Rainfall varies from 794.87 mm in Agali to 794.98 mm in Pudur on average. In the extremely elevated region in the western regions close to the origin of the Siruvani and Bhavani rivers, respectively, rainfall is much higher, ranging from 1574 mm at Sholayur to 2289.6 mm in Mukkali. In the Attappadi region, rainfall varies greatly by location.⁸

Rivers

Two important rivers, Siruvani and Bhavani, which originate in the southern and northern halves of this region respectively, run eastward into Tamil Nadu and merge to form a tributary of Kaveri. In the Nilgiris, close to Kudikadubeta, the Kundha Mountains are where the Bhavani River originates. Just 9.66 km from its beginning point, Bhavani is replenished by two streamlets before it reaches Kerala. Bhavani abruptly turns to the north-east at Mukkali, travelling another 25 kilometers to Attappadi in Kerala before arriving at Koodapetti at the Kerala-Tamil Nadu border. The beginning of the flow of the river marks a steep descent; after that, it runs more softly till it leaves the State.⁹

Along the north-eastern edge of the Attappadi for five kilometers, the Kundha River, which originates in the north and drains a significant portion of the Nilgiris, serves as the border between Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Then, in Tamil Nadu, it joins Bhavani on its left flank. Bhavani then continues to flow east along the foot of the Nilgiris. From the steep, thickly forested, rain-soaked Muthikulam hills in the southwest corner of the Attappadi plateau, Siruvani falls quickly to the plateau and flows radially north-east over it into its confluence with Kodungarapallam. It gets a number of tributaries over its 35 km journey through Attappadi, five of which are significant and join it on the right flank from the Varadimala hills.

⁸ Annual hand book on the Institute for Climate Change Studies, Trivandrum, 2014, p. 125.

⁹ Kerala State Land Use Board and National Remote Sensing Agency, Trivandrum, 2004, p.17

Only one significant tributary, which originates on the northwest slopes of the Muthikulam hills, joins it on the left flank. Kodungarapallam tributary flows north for its entire 35 km length from close to its source in the Perumalmudi in the southeast part of the Attappadi. At Koodapetty, it meets Siruvani, and the two of them discharge into Bhavani.

The Muthikulam reserve forest serves as the source of the Siruvani river¹⁰, which subsequently empties into the fabled and deep Muthikulam Lake at a height of roughly 1219 meters above sea level. A diversion effort at Muthikulam removes water for the Municipality of Coimbatore drinking needs from a distance of roughly 45.1 kilometer.¹¹ Similar to Bhavani, Siruvani also experiences dry spells in the early summer, primarily as a result of water being diverted to Coimbatore town.

Forest

The Attappadi forest was dense and thick with the greenery and trees. The area was under the control of Kozhikode Zamorin. The British came and took control of the areas in 1792. Under the land acquisition act of 1824, 119 km² including a part of silent valley was acquired for 1.03 lakh Rupees by the British Government.¹² The British Government in 1882 made initiatives to protect the lush forest of the valley as it had the distinction of being the catchment of the River Bhavani and its tributaries. In 1886, a decision was taken to bring in the areas that served for the catchment areas under reservation. Attappadi Block VI (Muthikkulam), according to the inspection report of Porter 1887, which was cited by Venkateswara Ayyar, is an area of dense evergreen forest with no deciduous trees and meadows. He added that the evergreen forest reminded him of Nilagiri or

¹⁰ Siruvani River was not considered as an independent river by Innes and Logans in their writing on Malabar as it join Bhavani at Koodappatty. "The Bhavani flows south from the Kundahs, till it is join by its tributary the Siruvani on the boundary of the Coimbatore District", Innes and Ivans 1908, P. 477.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 469

¹² P. M, Ganapathy, C, T. S, Nair, et. al, "*Studies on the Changing Pattern of Man Forest Interactions and its Implication on Ecology and Management*". KFRI Research Report No. 5. Kerala Forest Research Institute, Peechi, Thrissur. 1980, p.67

Anamalai Shola since it had better trees. An area of 204.04 km² were reserved in two phases between 1900 and 1912 as a result of examination of porter ¹³

Till the second half of 19th century, Attappadi was believed to be a part of thick evergreen forest with negligible communication and roaming wild animals that stretched from Wayanad to Muthikkulam including Silent Valley National Park. Massive encroachment and subsequent deforestation resulted in the loss of rich forest areas leaving small turfs of forest.¹⁴ Except some of the areas that had coffee and cardamom plantations, the entire Attappadi was thick forest before the 1950s.¹⁵

By the advent of 20th century, small land holders started to come in and the mid-century witnessed the process of giving license to clear-fell vast areas for cultivation on lease. The license deed was mostly a small bit of paper issued by the owner. ¹⁶ Within a short period of 17 years, 1959-1976, the forest canopy of Attappadi drastically dropped from 82% to 20% turning the ‘Green paradise’ to a ‘Red desert’, as the result of human intervention.¹⁷ Massive encroachment was made after the construction of the road from Mannarakkad to Aanakatty and heavy deforestation was done to meet the timber requirements of downhill. Unsustainable cultivation methods and overgrazing in eastern Attappadi after the encroachment and deforestation resulted in the change of vegetation pattern, change in climatic conditions and soil erosion. The overgrazing was mainly from the Tamil speaking settlers who reared cattle mainly for cow dung. The precipitation rate of rainfall came down to 1000 mm from the earlier 2300mm.

By 1980s ecologist and social workers involved in Attappadi and in 1996
Attappadi Wastelands Comprehensive Environment Conservation

¹³ K, Muhammad, *A Study on Socio-Economic Impact of Neighborhood Groups (NHGs) in Attappadi: Tribal and Non-Tribal Communities: a Comparative Analysis*, Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, M. G, University Kottayam, Kerala, 2015, p. 125.

¹⁴ K. A, Anilkumar, *Phytosociology and Plant Diversity of Attappadi, Western Ghats, India*, Un published Ph. D Thesis, University of Kannur, Kerala, 2015.

¹⁵ M. K, Harinarayanan, *Ethonobotanical and Vegetation Studies in the Attappady Valley, Kerala, India*. Ph. D. Thesis, Department of Botany, Calicut University, Kerala, 2005.

¹⁶ Ganapathy *et al.*, *Op. cit.*, p.57.

¹⁷ P. K, Muraleedharan, *Op. cit.*, p.49.

Project"(AWCECOP) was implemented through Attappadi Hills Area Development Society (AHADS) by utilizing financial support of Japan Bank for International Cooperation so as to preserve the vegetation and resources of water in the Attappadi hills.

The natural vegetation of Attappadi can be broadly categorized into the following types as classified by Champion and Seth's¹⁸ it is as follows: West-coast tropical evergreen forests, West-coast tropical Semi-Evergreen forests, South Indian Moist Deciduous forests, Southern Moist-mixed Deciduous forests, Southern Tropical dry Deciduous Scrub, Southern Subtropical Broadleaved hill forests, Southern Montane Wet-temperate forests, and Southern Montane Wet-Grasslands.

The tribal people relied on the forest until around 1960 for food, fuel, fodder, wood for agricultural tools and building materials for their houses. After 1960, the deforestation trend picked up speed, especially with the expansion of wood-based businesses like paper and rayon. The Indian Government also made an effort to turn natural forests into plantations of timber-producing plants like teak, pine, and eucalyptus. As a result, the tribal folks subsistence base gradually deteriorated and they started to encroach on wastelands and migrate seasonally to urban regions in search of jobs.¹⁹

Several medicinal plant species became extinct as a result of deforestation. Outsiders had easy access to the woodland thanks to the roads. Their goal was to cut down trees for their timber works. Along the way, they also took valuable forest resources like honey, wild gooseberries, dadukka, and animal tusks. They also created a strong mafia for growing marijuana and cultivation of ganja.

Attappadi area is under the Manarakkad forest divisions. Three ranges are working under the forest division namely, Agali, Attappadi and Mannarikkad. The Silent Valley National Park is another forest division in Attappadi. Silent Valley and

¹⁸ H. G, Champion, and S. K, Seth, *A Revised Survey of Forest Types of India*, Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1968, p. 402.

¹⁹ Survey Report of Kerala State Land Use Board and National Remote Sensing Agency, Trivandrum, 1994, p. 123.

Bhavani ranges are functioning under the Silent Valley forest division. The whole area of Bhavani, Agali and Attappadi Forest Ranges constitutes part of Attappadi block. Besides this, some areas near Mukkali and Palakkayam of Manarakkad range also contribute to the Attappadi block.

Grama Panchayaths

There are three Grama Panchayaths in Attappadi Block namely Agali, Sholayoor and Pudur.

Agali Grama Panchayath

Agali is the largest populated Grama Panchayath in Attappadi Block Panchayath. The area is 310 square kilometer. It shares boundaries in the north with Bhavani river, east Siruvani river and south and west Thenkara Panchayath.²⁰. There are 21 election wards in Agali Panchayath. The Silent Valley National Park is also located in the area. The major agricultural crops are cotton, coconut palm, pepper, banana tree, cardamom, coffee, paddy, sugarcane, rubber and tapioca. Some cottage industries like manufacturing of basket, hand fan, cane, floor mat and sleeping mat are functioning here. Goolikadavu and Agali are the two commercial centers in the Grama Panchayath.

The eastern region of Agali is drought affected area and the volume of rain is 1000 milliliters whereas the western region of Agali gets 2300 milliliters of rain. The Bhavani river flows along the eastern boundary of Agali and Siruvani river through the western boundary and both confluence in Kaveri river in Tamil Nadu. The main water resources of Agali Grama Panchayath are Siruvani and Bhavani rivers and Basantvayal canal. 50 % of Agali Grama Panchayath is covered with dense forest and remaining 50 % is populated.

²⁰Census Report of India, Census Commissioner, Ministry Home Affairs, 2011, p.67.

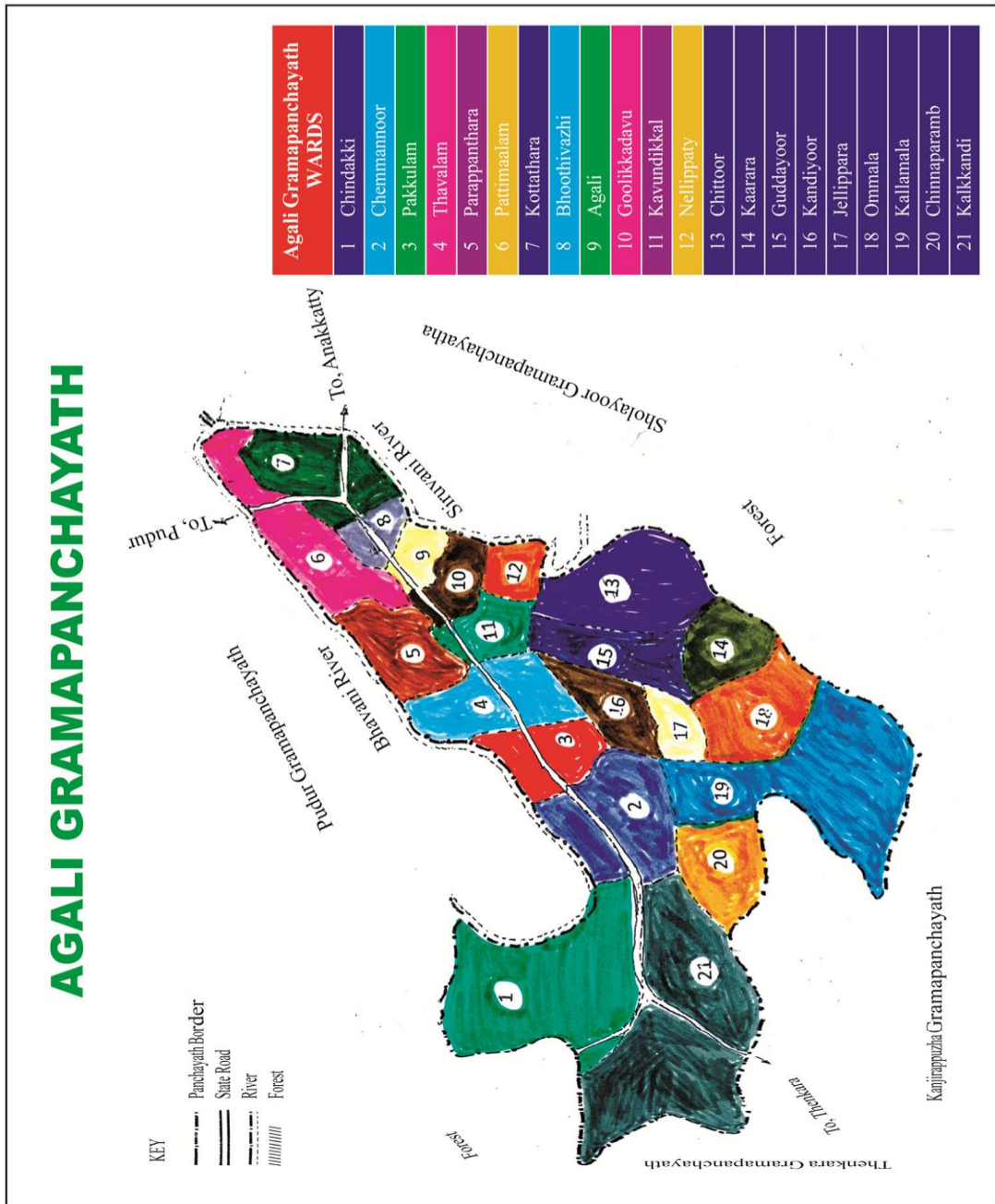


Figure 3.2 Agali Grama Panchayath Map

Source: Antony J. Kuttencherry, A Study on Socio-Economic Impact of Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) in Attappadi, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 2014, p.123.

Sholayoor Grama Panchayath

Sholayoor Grama Panchayath is situated on the eastern side of Attappadi. Besides Sholayoor, Kottathara is the important town included in the Panchayath. The area sharing its boundaries are Grama Panchayaths of north Pudur, east Verapandi (Tamil Nadu), south Thachambara and west Agali. The area of the Panchayath is 150.67 square kilometer.

The panchayath was formed in 1968 and Sri.Kashimuthu was the first President. 50% of Panchayath area is covered with forest and remaining Fifty percent is populated. From 2010 onwards there are 14 election wards in the Grama Panchayath. The place Anakkatty of Kerala To Tamil Nadu is the border town situated in Sholayoor. Cattle rearing and agriculture are the two income sources of the region. Siruvani tea estate is one of the beautiful landscape estates where many of the natives work. The people depend on Siruavni River for the agriculture purpose. Both Siruvani and Kodugarapallam rivers flow through the Panchayath. Siruvani Dam, Mutthikulam forest, Siruvani Tea Estate, Varadimala and Sholayoor resort are the major tourist centers of the region. The major cultivations are cardamom, coffee, tea, pepper, grams, cotton corn, ragi, coconut and banana etc.

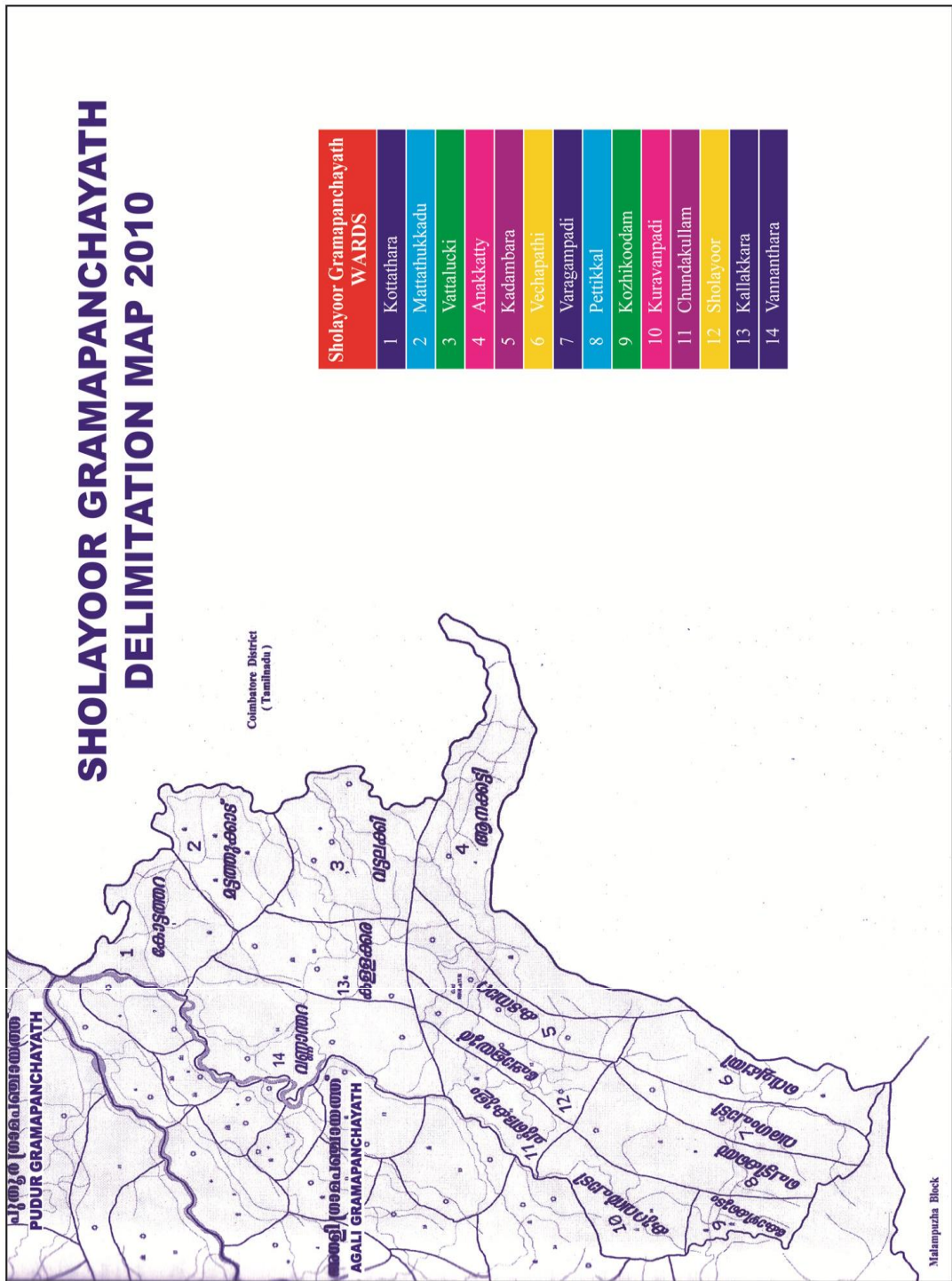


Figure-3.3 Agali Sholayoor Panchayath Map

Source :Antony J. Kuttencherry, A Study on Socio-Economic Impact of Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) in Attappadi, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 2014, p.124.

Pudur Grama Panchayath

Pudur Panachayath is rich with diverse beautiful landscapes, flora and fauna and water streams. The region is situated in the valley of Nilagiri hills. The majority of *Muduga* and *Kurumba* tribes live in Pudur Grama Panchayath. Many of the Oorus (hamlet) of the tribes are found in the dense reserve forest of the Panchayath where the access is difficult. The total area is 413.47 kilometer square. The primitive tribal community of *Kurumbas* lives in the region. 75% of the region is covered with dense forest and only 25 % are populated. The area shares its boundaries in the north with Nilagilri district of Tamil Nadu, east and south Bhavani river and Agali Grama Panchayath and the west Silent Valley National Park and Nilagiri hills.

There are 13 Grama Panchayath election wards of which 8 wards are reserved for Schedule Tribes. The majority of the tribes depend on traditional farming method. Over 80% of the land is drought area and faces attacks of wild animals forcing the people to withdraw from agriculture. To protect from adverse weather condition, especially wind, the houses are short and lengthy built with grass, wood, mud and bamboo. The famous pilgrim center 'Malleswaran Mudi' and tourist destination like Manjoor and upper Bhavani and parts of Nilagri hills are parts of the area. Out of three rivers that flow east in Kerala, The Bhavani River and its tributaries Varagar, Kundhi and Siruvani flow through the region. The major cultivations are ground nut, corn, pigeon pea, little millet, pepper, coconut, banana, cardamom, coffee, paddy, cashew, rubber, black gram, arecanut and tapioca etc. People also are engaged in small scale traditional cottage industries like manufacturing baskets, sleeping mats, hand fans making.

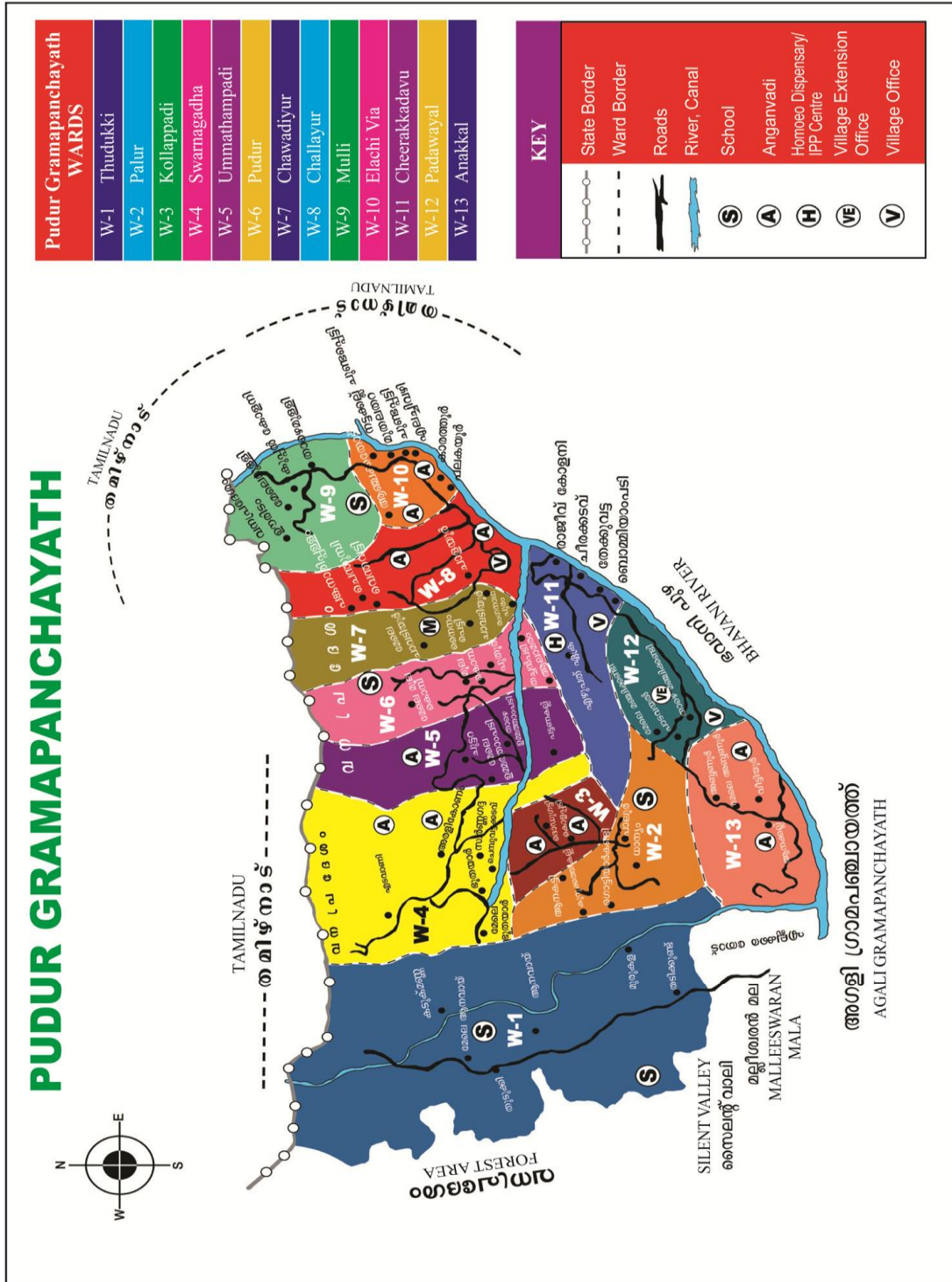


Figure 3.4 Pudur Grama Panchayath Map

Source : Antony J. Kuttancherry, A Study on Socio-Economic Impact of Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) in Attappadi, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 2014, p.125.

History of Attappadi

Francis Buchanan²¹ was one of the first authors to provide a brief description of the Attappadi region. He states that there lies a tract of land occupying part of the mountains which separate Malabar and Coimbatore. The Nambuthiris and Nairs had no authority over them. People of the area were the tribals who speak a mixed language of Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam.²² He has also provided a lot of insights into the socio-cultural conditions of the region. Earlier, Attappadi region was under the control of either Gauda (which is a dominant caste in Coimbatore district in Tamil Nadu) or a hereditary chief. Hereditary chief may be the *Mooppan*, who is the head or chief of the tribal council. By the early 18th century, Attappadi, according to Mathur,²³ had become the *jenmom* property of the Zamorin of Kozhikode, who assigned the management of this region to three Nair chieftains: Mooppil Nair, Palat Krishna Menon, and Eralpad Raja.²⁴ Through them they gained control over Attappadi and its inhabitants during the period of British colonialism or just before the colonialism. At the end of 18th century, after the defeat of Tipu Sultan, the British colonialists gained control of the region.²⁵

Earlier Attappadi was a dense forest region where only the tribals lived. The three tribal communities of Attappady are 'Irula "Muduga" and 'Kurumba". The "Kurumba" community is a primitive group making habitat only in the forest. Apart from this group, non-tribal communities belonging to Hindu, Muslim, and Christian faiths who migrated from different parts of Kerala also live here. The place has a history of beautiful rivers and many streams and dense forest.

The People

²¹ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* Vol. II, Cambridge Press, 1807, p. 435.

²² A. D, Manikandan, *Attappadi, The Valley of Relics*, Ivory Books, Trishur, 2022, p. 121.

²³ P.R.G, Mathur, *Tribal Situation in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Thiruvananthapuram, 1977.p. 185.

²⁴ Here one should note that Buchanan relied on his own informants, while travelling through the region.

²⁵ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p.234.

There are both tribal people and non-tribal people living in Attappadi. The majority of the migrants from Tamil Nadu live in the eastern low-lying region, whereas the majority of migrants from the rest of Kerala live in the western regions who constituted the non-tribal population there. The tribal people who live in Attappadi are not considered to be aboriginals²⁶ by anthropologists. They all must have been in-migrants who fled from the plains and sought safety in the upper reaches of deep forests.

Table 3.3 lists the population of Attappadi as per the 2011 census. 43% population is made up of tribal people whereas the non tribal population concentrate 57 %.

Table 3.3
Population of Attappadi²⁷

Year	Total population	Tribal population	Non-tribal Population	% of tribal Population	% of non-tribal population
1951	11300	10200	1100	90.32	9.68
1961	21416	12972	8444	60.45	39.55
1971	39183	16536	22647	42.21	57.79
1981	62246	20659	41587	33.00	67.00
1991	86261	24228	62033	28.02	71.98
2001	92141	26231	65910	28.46	71.54

Source: Census Report, AHADS (1998).

The tribal people of Attappadi lived in social distance with their unique tradition and customs. By the coming of the immigrants they retreated more to their habitats. In the olden times the tribals were self-governed formation with their own rules and regulations. In order to get protection from adverse weather condition

²⁶ N.Gopalan Nair, *People's Planning: the Kerala*, Discussion paper No. 16, Thiruvananthapuram Kerala Research Programme Local Level Development, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, 2000, p. 242.

²⁷ AHADS Report 1998, p. 67.

especially heavy wind they used to construct their houses using bamboo, mud, grass and wood. Due to various exploitations and encroachment of farming field by other people they kept aloof from the main stream of society.

Tribal Communities

Tribes of Palakkad

The majority of the tribal population in the Palakkad district is made up of seven groups: *The Irular, Mudugar, Kurumbar, Malasar, Mala Malasar, Kadar, and Eravallar*. The majority of the remaining groups are found in other districts, and only a small number of members of those tribes reside in the district. The Mannarkad Taluk (Attapadi Block) and Chittoor Taluk in Palakkad are the primary tribal concentration areas. In Attapadi, there are 192 tribal *Ooru (hamlet)* made up of the *Irular, Mudugar, and Kurumbar* tribes. The *Kurumbar* among them are the least evolved, while the *Irular* are both more developed and more in numbers too (representing more than 80% of the tribal population).

The Attapadi Block is a region recognised as initial Integrated Tribal Development Block in Kerala. The Taluk of Chittoor is the second largest place, where most of the tribal people live. The *Malasar, Kadar, Mala Malasar, and Eravallar* tribes are the four main tribes in this area. They can be found primarily in the Parambikulam Wild Life Sanctuary, south of Palakkad Gap and in the plantation hills near Nelliampathy. The villages of *Malasar, Kadar, and Mala Malasar*, who are primarily landless, have lived in government-allocated plots inside the protected forest. The territories that *Eravallar* once occupied are now largely devoid of trees and have been turned into agricultural land and populated places.

In comparison to *Mala Malasar, Eravallar and Kadar* are found to be the least developed and have a smaller population. The Walayar Panchayath of the Palakkad Taluk also contains a tiny portion of *Irular and Malasar*. *Irulas, Mudugas, and Kurumbas*, the three main tribal groups in the region, are all sections of the Dravidian group. In comparison to the other tribes, *Kurumbas* were less exposed to

and have experienced less damage from the arrival of plainsmen in Attappadi. The tribes are all classified as Scheduled Tribes.

From the beginning itself, the tribals are used to living in groups and the habitat area is known as Ooru (hamlet), Earlier Ten Kudi (Kudi means family) constituted a single Ooru but now thirty to fifty Kudis form an Ooru. Each Ooru is headed by *Ooru Moopan* (tribal head) and assisted by *Bandari and Manookkaran*. They mainly speak a mixture of Tamil, Kanda and Malayalam tribal language and do not have any written script.

Attappadi is scattered in 140 Oorus. There were 20659 members of the tribesmen as per the 1981 census. There was a further increase of Ooru into 168 and members to 24228 in 1981 census. In 2011 there are 192 Oorus there.²⁸ Agali, Pudur, and Sholayoor are the three Panchayaths in Attappadi where tribal Oorus can be found. In all three Panchayaths, Irula hamlets are the most prevalent. Pudur is the only place where *Kurumbas* live, while majority of *Irula* tribes live in Agali Panchayath. *Irulas* make up the greatest percentage of the tribal population (80.25%), followed by Mudugas (14.53%) and Kurumbas (5.22%).

The Kurumbas

Kurumbas is one of the oldest tribal communities²⁹ in Kerala and it is considered to be the most primitive one and *Irula, Muduga* tribal communities are the non-primitive. *Kurumbas* are the earliest inhabitants of Attappadi³⁰ and the first inhabitants among ethnic communities living in the area now. Five tribal

²⁸ Survey Report, AHADS, Agali Hamlet Survey, 2003.

²⁹ Setha Kakkoth & Karunakaran, The term Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) is replaced by Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Communities (PVTGs). Of all the tribal communities, 5 communities are notified as “Primitive” based on the criteria of pre-agricultural level of technology, less than 5 percent literacy and marginal or stagnant rate of the population growth, 2005, p. 94.

³⁰ According to Luiz, there were 48 tribal communities in the state of Kerala. However, the Kerala Public Service Commission, Government of Kerala 2014 has notified only 36 tribal communities. Out of which five tribal communities namely, *Kadar, Koragar, Kattunayakan, Cholanaickan* and *Kurumbas* are categorised as “primitive” tribal communities. Manjull Poyil observed that the *Kurumbas* have a close affinity with Megalithic communities, Thurston had observed that the *Kurubas/Kurumbas* were the slaves of the dominant Coorgs, 1906, p. 448.

communities of Kurumbas in the area of Western Ghats namely Mysore, Nilgiri, Wayanad, Coimbatore, and Palakkad districts, share the term "*Kurumbar*". The Kurumbar Gounder, a scheduled caste that resides in the plains of Coimbatore and a few other Tamil Nadu districts, is also referred to as Kurumbar. Numerous studies have demonstrated that these groups manifest more differences than similarities. Table 3.4 provides a broad overview of all these Kurumbar groups.

Table 3.4
Overview of Kurumbar groups³¹

People	Alternative Names	District	Population	Language
Kurumbar	Pal Kurumbar	Palakkad	1, 368	Kurumba
Alu Kurumbar	Aalu kurmba	Nilagiri, Coimbatore	Approximate 10, 000	Alu Kurumba
Betta Kurumbar	Betta Kurumbar (Nilgiri), Urali Kuruman (Wayanad), Kadu Kurumbar (Karnataka)	Nilagiri, Wayanad, Mysore, Kodagu	Approximate 100, 000	Betta Kurumba or Urali Kurumba or Kadu Kurumba
Jennu Kurumbar	Jennu Kurumbar (Karnataka), Ten Kurumbar (Tamil Nadu), Kattu Naikkar (Wayanad)	Nilagiri, Wayanad, Mysore, Kodagu	Approximate 100, 000	Jennu Kurumba or Ten Kurumba or Kattunaika
Mullu Kurumbar	Mullu Kuruman (Wayanad), Mullu Kuruman or Mullu Kurumbar in Tamil Nadu	Wayanad, Nilagiri	Approximate 25, 000	Mullu Kuruma or Mullu Kurumba
Kurumba Gounder	Kurumba Gounder	Coimbatore, Teni, Dindugal, Pudukottai etc.	Approximate 1 to 1.5 Million	Kurumba Kannada

The anthropological literature on the Nilagiri tribes describes the *Kurumbas* as a tribe involved in the exchange system of the upland people particularly with the

³¹ Bijumon Varghese, *The Tribes of Palakkad, Kerala A Sociolinguistic Profile*, SIL International, 2015, p. 13.

Badagas. They are a dreaded group because magical powers were attributed to them. The *Kurumbas* functioned as guardians of Badagas against sorcery practices.³² K.Vishwanathan has written that among *Kurumbas* they are ethno-medicinal practitioners called *Viathyakkaran* who are capable of treating a wide array of illnesses. He has also described the sorcery practices of Kurumbar and the warding measures.

Kurumbas has inhabited the steeply sloping area of dense woodland in Attappadi. When compared to the three tribes of Attappadi, they are less developed. In the steep, confined valley of the Bhavani, there are about twenty Kurumba villages. Their home hills are located close to the Nilagiris Biosphere Reserve and the Silent Valley Forests. They were presumably the first people to live in Attappadi and it is widely accepted that they came from the Nilagiris when the Badugas settled the region.³³ Additionally, *Kurumbas* assert that they are sprung from people who escaped Mysore during a battle and hid in the forests.

AHARDS survey in 1995 estimate that there are 402 Kurumbar families which constitute five percent of tribal families of Attappadi. The Kurumbas are divided into two: *Palu Kurumbas* who live upland, in south-western slopes and *Alu Kurumbas* who live in south-western, south-eastern, and eastern slopes, and glens.³⁴ The *Kurumbas* were primarily food gatherers and shifting cultivators.³⁵ *Kurumbas* are short, snub-nosed type of people and they speak as their communication tongue a mashup language derived out of the mixture of Malayalam Tamil, Kannada.³⁶ Kapp believes that language of the *Palu Kurumbas* represents the more original language

³² Edgar Thurston and Ranagchari, *Op. cit.*, p. 116

³³ Muraleedharan and Sankar, *Op. cit.*, p. 75

³⁴ D. B Kapp says that *Kurumba* is a collective term for the following six communities: *Alu Kurumbas*, *Palu Kurumbas*, *Betta Kurumbas*, *Jenu Kurumbas*, *Mullu Kurumbas*, and *Urali Kurumbas*, 1985, p. 494.

Buchanan has mentioned some names regarding *Kurumbas* such as “Cad’ Kurubaru, Betta Kurubaru, and Hal Kurubaru”, *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁵ Chakravarti and Mukherjee have classified the *Todas* as the Pastorals, the *Badugas* as agriculturist, the *Kotas* as Artisans and the *Kurumbas* as Food Gatherers, 1964, p. 335

³⁶ Sanathanan Velluva, *Land Settlement and Degradation: Dynamics of Land Use in Recently Settled Forest Areas of Kerala*, Serials Publications, 2006, p. 211.

as compared to the *Alu Kurumbas*.³⁷ Each *Kurumba* settlement (*Ooru* or hamlet) has a tribal council comprising of a headman/chief/leader known as *Mooppa*, who is the caretaker of all tribal affairs of each *Ooru* or settlement; a *Mannukkar*, who is responsible for overseeing the settlement's or hamlet's agricultural activity and has soil knowledge; a *Vandari* or *bandari*, who serves as the treasurer; a *Jathikkaran*³⁸, the junior headman and the *Kuruthala* who is another headman of the settlement. This is an excellent example of the working of socio-cultural institutional arrangements in prehistoric communities and their expertise in governing not only the tribal settlement, but also its natural resource base. A tribal council under the control of the *Mooppa* ensures sustainable ecology and subsistence tribal economy based on a sound human–nature relationship or eco-centric approach.³⁹

Kurumbas has an intermarried relationship with *Mudugar* and they don't have the same with *Irular* since they view them inferior to in social strata. Some non-*Kurumba* people have settled in *Kurumba* villages after marrying *Kurumbar* women. *Kurumbas* traditional crafts are mat weaving and basketry. They perform folkdance, men and women alike. They are identified in the census as Hindus. *Kurumbas* worships the Malleswaran Peak in addition to *Mudugar* and *Irular* as their local deity. They revere ancestor spirits known as *pai* as their clan gods. Holy experts and specialists in sacred ceremonies usually lead their rituals. Festivals such as *Ammapooja*, *Paipooja*, and *Nombi* are observed by them⁴⁰

Kurumbar speak a traditional language that exhibits traits of other Dravidian languages spoken in southern India. Since they are used to live alone and segregate from others, they appear to be less eloquent in Malayalam or Tamil. Even though the *Kurumba*, *Muduga*, and *Irula* languages are distinct from one another, each tribe uses its native dialect to interact with the others. The *Kurumbas* are nomadic farmers and food hunters. Earlier people were free to clear and cultivate as much land as

³⁷ Kapp, *Op. cit.*, p. 345.

³⁸ *Jathikkaran* is also known as *Jatheeyan*, Chandramohan 2007, p. 96.

³⁹ PRG, Mathur, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴⁰ Bijumon Varghese, *Op. cit.*, p. 14

they could for shifting cultivation. Now they must obtain permission from the Forest Department officials, who assign a specific plot despite their preferences.

The Mudugar

Francis Buchanan is one of the first authors who spoke of the *Mudugas*. He says: “*The hills west from Coimbatore are inhabited by Malasir, Mudugar, Eriligaru, and Toder. These last cultivate with the plough, and pay rent for their fields. The others cultivate after the Cothu-cadu fashion, and live like those whom I saw on the hills near Dan’Nayakana Cotay*”.⁴¹

The Mudugar are considered to have been the first occupants of Coimbatore but they later migrated west due to persecution and exploitation by more powerful clans. They are also thought to be the earliest Tamil immigrants to the Attappadi region, arriving before the fifteenth century. They don't have any past experience of migration. The last few decades have seen a significant change in this community, especially following Indian independence. The Mudugas are a minor tribe in north Kerala that primarily resides in the Attappadi region of Palakkad district. They number roughly 3000 people. They can also be spotted in a few hamlets in Tamilnadu border regions, including Adivaram, Kalkothi, Kozhikoodam, Savakadu, and Thanikandi.

Studies are not available on some communities, mainly along the outer fringes of the Nilagiri, including the *Mudugas*⁴² notices that *Kurumba* and *Muduga* are primitive shifting cultivators and live in small temporary settlements. Thurston⁴³ noted that *Mudugas* carried children on their backs, and it was there upon decided to call them as *Muduvar* or *Mudugar* or back people. He pointed out that they had dispersed in the 14th century. Another version is that *Mudugas* were founders of Coimbatore city and when they were dethroned from their native places due to natural calamity and ethnic conflict, they brought the idol of Mathura Meenakshi

⁴¹ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁴² C, Haimendorf, Von Furer, *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 345.

⁴³ Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, *Op.cit.*,p. 87.

(Mother Goddess) on their shoulder and thus earned the name, *Muduga*. It is a well-accepted theory among anthropologists that *Muduga* fled to the Attappadi region from Coimbatore and Nilagiri regions due to some unknown historic causes in the 15th century or even before.⁴⁴ There is a confusion regarding terms *Mudugar* and Muthuvar, as to whether they refer to the same group or not. Thurston⁴⁵ believed that both belonged to the same group, while Luiz⁴⁶ differed from the notion and opined that they are different tribal communities. The study of the *Muduga* and Muthuvan tribal communities⁴⁷ have not received adequate attention. Therefore, it is difficult to come to a conclusion and a scientific investigation is the only available solution.

The Madras government initially referred to the *Mudugas* as a tribe known as the "Mudukkan" in an order it issued in November 1938. The census report from 1941 listed 1,193 "Mudugans" living in the Malabar region. The terms "Mudukkan" or "Mudugan" are obviously ambiguous or transliterated incorrectly. Later, "Muthuwar" was used in place of both of these names in official records. They were listed as being identical to the Muthuvars of the Devikulam Taluk of the Kottayam district in the official list of scheduled tribes from 1956. Although some ethnographers corroborate this by theorizing that a portion of the Kottayam-based "Muthuwans" (Muthuvans) may have travelled over mountain ranges to the Attappadi Valley forest, Muthuvans and Mudugas exhibit no similarities and they remain totally different groups which is an evident fact.

⁴⁴ There is confusion regarding the original dwelling place of the *Mudugas* and their move to Attappadi; there is every reason to believe that the *Mudugas* moved to Attappadi both from Coimbatore and Nilgiri.

Zvelebil noted that there are 16 tribal and semi-tribal communities, including the *Mudugas* in the larger Nilgiri area, p. 523.

Thurston had noticed that they had dispersed in the 14th century, probably, at the time when Pandyan Raja entered the south, or at the time when Telugu Naickers took possession of Bodinayakanur, *Op cit.*, p. 87.

⁴⁵ Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes*, *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴⁶ A. A. D. Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Madhya Pradesh, 1962, p.117.

⁴⁷ Rajeev and Thurston argue that the meaning of the term *Mudugar* and *Muthuvan* are more or less same, *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

Moreover, it requires to be noted that both ethnographers and census enumerators have incorrectly referred to "Mudugas" as "Mudukkan" "Mudugan" "Muthuwan, and "Mudugar" However, the name "Mudugas" is adopted here to denote this tribe in this context to avoid any further misunderstanding, as done by A.Aiyappan, Heimendorf⁴⁸, and P R G Mathur.

There is a significant debate over the etymology of the word Mudugas. Ethnographers who referred to them as "Muthuvan" said that the name may have come from their "primitive" practice of carrying children on their "muthuk" (back) meaning back⁴⁹. However, given the observation which indicates that such a ritual was never practiced by the Mudugas of Attappadi, this argument does not seem to be very persuasive. If the practice ever prevailed in by any tribe, it must have been the "Muthuvans" of the Kottayam area, according to Thurston. Furthermore, as the former bears linguistic parallels to the Malayalam word "*muthuku*" (back), and thus their name, the custom of carrying children on the back suited the Muthuvans more appropriately than the Mudugas.⁵⁰

The Mudugas have a pretty straight forward clothing code. Women cover their bodies up to the knee with a fabric (*seela*) tied over the breast and knotted beneath the left armpit. Typically, men don a shirt and Lungi. Women also wear necklaces made of black beads (*Keeramala*) and silver coins (*Kashu mala*), as well as various decorations made of aluminium, such as vala (*Bangles*), panavala (*wide bangles*), kaikallu (*beaded bangles*), and jerry (*decorated copper bangles*). Today, every woman wears a little gold nose ring called a nuchi. The majority of women have tattoos on their foreheads.

The Mudugas maintained their subsistence economy mostly by shifting farming, sporadic hunting, gathering, and fishing as supplements. There is enough of land, and everybody can farm it to the utmost of his or her ability. Kari-kadu krshi and pakka-kadu krshi are two terms for agricultural methods of which the first

⁴⁸ Haimendorf, *Op. cit.*, p.67.

⁴⁹ A. A. D. Luiz, *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁵⁰ Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes, Op. cit.*, p. 287.

method means clearing fresh field and burning while the latter means the usage of previous plot.

The Muduga religion is composed of rites and ceremonies as well as elements of ancestor worship and belief. By making regular offerings, they invoke the assistance and protection of the ancestors. They have a deep respect and awe for their ancestors, who serve as their best protectors and help them in times of need. Common names for the ancestor god include "Karadaivam" and is also indicated by the kinship term pattern which means "great grand-father". The formal priest of the descendent group and the hamlet, known as the *Mannukaran* (man of soil), officiates the harvest rites (known as "thodu") and sowing (also known as "hethe idurathu") to honour the ancestors. Famine and decreased fertility of soil, decreased crop production and diseases are thought to arise from their failure to offer worship to their ancestors properly.

The Mudugas hold to the idea of a "supreme god" who stands above all other ancestors, which is thought to have spread among them from Hinduism. The greatest deity, commonly known as Sami (Shivan), is revered as the creator of the cosmos and all men, and plays a significant part in their mythological and religious beliefs. On Sivarathri night once a year, the Mudugas go to the Melleswaran mudi (hill), which is the home of Sami, and light lamps and do lengthy *pooja*. Because he has the authority to carry out the rite, the Mannukaran of Thaze-Abbannoor hamlet, which is located at the base of the Malleswaran mudi, is also referred to as the Malapoojari.

Little has been published or written about the Mudugas aside from a very small number of anthropological studies and brief mentioning in cursory ethnological surveys. Contrary to most other tribal groups in Kerala, the Mudugas were first recorded in official documents in 1938. Twenty years later, in 1958, the renowned anthropologist A. Ayyappan published his first anthropological book, titled "Among the Mudugas," although his focus was only on the megalithic survival among the Mudugas. Following that, Furrier-Himendorf released a paper titled Man

in 1959 that mostly discussed the Mudugas' enduring affinity with the *Todas* of Nilagiris and their inter-tribal sex relationships.

Furthermore, A. A. D. Louis in his book, *Tribes of Kerala*, gave a brief ethnography on the "Mudugar" for the first time, providing an overview of their social structure, marriage customs, and religious beliefs. The book served as introductions, and "Mudugas" afterwards made only sporadic appearances in anthropological literature. A. Aiyappan expressed the urgent necessity for anthropological research among this "little known tribe" as a result of this. Although prominent anthropologist PRG Mathur⁵¹ conducted significant field research among the Kurumbas of Attappadi, he showed little interest in the Mudugas, a nearby tribe. He gives very little information about Mudugas in his book *Tribal Situation in Kerala*.

The *Mudugas* are predominantly hunters, food gatherers and not serious agriculturists. They live in relatively small huts, which are made using materials such as bamboo and strong vines or bark strips for tying the poles and rafters⁵² together. Their economy is complementary to that of the most tribal communities in the Nilagiri.⁵³ It should be noticed that the *Mudugas* have ethno medicinal knowledge of bryophytes⁵⁴ and is one of the examples of the indigenous knowledge of *Mudugas*. The continuity of Megalithic tradition can be seen in a few indigenous communities of Kerala⁵⁵ and the *Muduga* are one among them. The *Muduga* speak a language that can be grouped under the Tamil and Malayalam languages.

The *Mudugas* live in hamlets called *Ooru*, which comprises a core patrilineal (virilocal) kin together with a few affine. Affine and non-agnates from other lineages

⁵¹ PRG, Mathur, *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁵² Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes*, *Op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁵³ Haimendorf and Kapp, studies show that the *Mudugas* have traditional relations with the tribal communities such as the *Kurumba* and *Toda*.

⁵⁴ M. Ramesh and C. N. Manju, *Ethno biological Notes from Western Ghats*, Andiamo, 112, No. 3, 2009, pp. 532-537.

⁵⁵ Manjula Poyil, *The Kurumbas and Mala-Arayans are other Communities showing the Megalithic tradition*, *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

become co-residents, build huts, clear land, cultivate and participate in the life of the agnates of the hamlets. A deeply rooted patrilineal system governs the social life of the *Mudugas*.⁵⁶ The *Mudugas* mainly grow millets and pulses⁵⁷. Apart from this, tubers, edible roots, mushrooms, leaves, seeds, berries, nuts, and fruits keep them hunger free and healthy. The *Mudugas* had not faced any major threats to their life and social system till the arrival of the British in Attappadi at the beginning of the 19th century. But then their life changed irrevocably and is conveyed in a *Mudugar* song explaining agricultured exploitation by the British during the colonial period in Attappadi. The living conditions of the *Muduga* in Attappadi have been worsened considerably when the Malayali settlers grabbed the land from *Mudugas*. It is to be noted that Malayalis grabbed *Mudugar* land much more than anyone else.

Every hamlet has a headman, or *Moopan*, who serves as the official spokesman for the community. A *vandari* and a peon named *Kuruthala* help him out. By joining together to establish a Panchayath with other elders of the hamlet to resolve disagreements and bride-price-related issues, these three individuals and the *Mannukaran* help to preserve social order and cohesion. All four positions are passed down through the male line.

Irulas of Attappadi

The *Irula* tribal group, lives on the lower slopes of the Nilagiri Mountains of South India, in its northern, eastern, and southern areas. They converse in four varieties of the Erlanarya, a tribal language that traditionally belonged to the Tamil Malayalam family of South Dravidian languages.⁵⁸

The Madras Census Report for 1901 mentioned clearly about the *Irulas*. This is one of the earliest official records of castes and tribes in the Nilagiri Mountains, under the Madras Presidency during the British rule in India. The *Irulas* belong to one of the aboriginal tribes sporadically settled in various districts of Tamil Nadu,

⁵⁶ P. K. Michael Tharakan, *Op. cit.*, p. 442.

⁵⁷ Haimendorf, *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ K. K. Kurup, has said that *Irulas* are speakers of Tamil or a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam., *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

Kerala and Karnataka. The Nilgiri *Irulas* are also known as *Malanadu Irulas* or *Maladesa Irulas*. In olden days, honey collecting, hunting, food gathering, and primitive agriculture were their occupations and later on shifted to swidden cultivation. The *Irulas* cultivated cereals, millets and fruits. *Irulas* are the second largest tribal group in Tamil Nadu as well as Kerala. Some studies showed that the *Irulas* fled to Attappadi either in the 16th century or in the starting of 17th century.⁵⁹ However, most of these studies have failed to investigate the causes of migration of the *Irula* tribes from different parts of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka to Attappadi. Based on the studies reviewed on immigration of other tribal communities such as *Kurumbar* and *Mudugar*, it can be argued that there are three possible reasons for their migration to Attappadi region: firstly, the ethnic/caste violence; secondly, natural calamities e.g., flood, drought, diseases like malaria or small pox; and third, the availability of fertile land in Attappadi region. Additional data and evidence need to be analyzed in order to ascertain the causes of *Irula* migration. The *Irulas* live in small neat huts, constructed with bamboos interwoven such as basket work and plastered on the inside with clay. The *Irular* have abundant poultry, a few goats, and in some villages a few cows, which are as milch animals.⁶⁰

The term *Irula* originated from Tamil. There are two stories about the origin of the term *Irulas*: first, the skin of *Irulas* is dark and hence others call them as *Irular* and second, the *Irulas* live in dense forest or near dense forests and as they are seen in the darkness of dense forests, they are addressed as the *Irula*. The word *Irula* in Malayalam translates to darkness or blackness. Since the complexion of tribal communities such as *Kurumbar*, *Mudugar* and *Irular* are dark,⁶¹ the reason for they alone being named as *Irula* is not clear. The actual meaning of the word *Irular* may be something else. Thamizoli says⁶² *Irul* meaning darkness may represent either the dark complexion of tribes or dark jungle. In the Attappadi region, the *Irulas* make up 80 % of the tribal people.

⁵⁹ AAD Luiz, *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁶⁰ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁶¹ B. P, Paul, *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶² P, Thamizoli, *The Sacred Grove of Kannimar the Irula Deity and in Situ Conservation of Biodiversity*, 1997. p. 345.

There are two major reasons for the highest presence of *Irulas* in Attappadi: first, large influx of the *Irular* to Attappadi from other places and second, population growth of the *Irular* is higher than in other tribal communities in the area. The reasons of their migration to Attappadi in large numbers and population growth needs to be further investigated. Till the end of 18th century, the *Irula* tribes had not faced any major challenges from outsiders, during the British colonial period but, this situation changed considerably after the Malayali migration. The songs of the *Irulas* explain their situation and the emergence of ecological degradation as side effect of development in Attappadi during the British period. The living conditions of the *Irular* worsened further when the Malayalis and Tamil settlers grabbed their land using various methods.⁶³ It is to be noticed that Malayali people grabbed *Irulas* lands much more than other communities, whereas deforestation carried out by the Tamils is greater than by other communities. The socio-cultural and ethnic history of *Irulas* will be discussed in detailed in the upcoming fifth chapter.

Non-Tribals - Migrant Settlers

The migrant settlers are one of the key stake holders in the Attappadi. The mainstream Malayalies moved into the Attappadi region in the early and middle 20th century. The majority of the early immigrants from Kerala who moved to western Attappadi in 1930s, primarily from Travancore area, an adjacent area to Mannarkkad, Malappuram and Chavakkad made contact with the *Irulas*. A minority Tamilians from Coimbatore moved to eastern Attappadi in 1920s. These people had an interest in the agricultural produces that *Irulas* cultivated and harvested. Although they cleared the trees to make room for agriculture, this had no impact on the Kurumbas and Mudugas who lived in interior part of Attappadi.

When many people moved to the Attappadi valley from plains of Kerala in the late 1930s, mostly to make use of the valleys rich forest resources and to engage in agriculture, the regions distinct eco-system started to break down. Early migrants made their homes in places with a lot of rain, such Agali, Mukkali, Karara, and Sholayoor. The settlement locations were chosen based on their traditional farming

⁶³ Chandramohan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 83-120.

methods. More than 50% of the Malayali migrants came from the Central Travancore region, and about 30% came from the plains of Palakkad and Mannarkkad, and about 20% came from the plains of Chavakkad and Malappuram.

The migrants sold their belongings at home and went to Attappadi in quest of cheap land. They began farming in the purchased or encroached area, despite the challenging terrain, unfriendly climate, and wild animals. They adapted the crops and farming techniques they were accustomed to using and largely transmitted their methods to the new settlements. In the end, the unexpected surge of people into the valley had a significant effect on both the ecosystem of Attappadi and the way of life of the tribal people.

CHAPTER 4

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: AGRARIAN MIGRATION TO ATTAPPADI

The present chapter examines the history of migration in to the region of attappadi and its impacts, tribal alienation and land acquisition by people of Kerala in the region of Attappadi. The socio-political reasons for the peasant migration from Travancore, Mannarkkad and Chavakkad to Malabar, including Attappadi and adjacent hilly ranges are traced here. The massive influx of people from outside Attappadi put pressure on tribals. Migration from Travancore, Chavakkad, Malappuaram and Mannarkkad to Attappadi had brought about a drastic change in the social, economic, cultural and political lives of the people of the region. The study deals with the phenomenon of migration for a favorable area with potential for economic prosperity. Acquiring more cultivable land for agriculture in the high lands of Malabar was the chief driving force behind the influx of the people to the region.

The nature, characteristics and pattern of migration varies, as the motive of migration differs. To understand the pattern of migration to Attappadi, the beginning of migration, its place of origin, period , locale and routes have been analyzed on the basis of information gathered from field work in the area of study. Migration is an important part of human history. It is the movement of people from one place to another place. The causes of migration are varied both, internal and external. The peasant migrants came mainly from, Moovattupuzha, Pala, Meenachil, Thodupuzha, Mannarkkad, and reached Nilamboor, Chemberi, Mananthavadi, Attappadi, Kozhikode, Iritty and Palakkad in Malabar and acquired lands and settled down under inhospitable conditions.

In the modern period, the opening up of highlands of Kerala for plantations saw the migration of peasants and traders from Travancore and Mannarkkad to Attappadi during 1925-1990s. The process of migration to Malabar and Attappadi is a unique phenomenon when compared to other regional, national and international

migrations. It is comprised of a group of people who migrated to a new region leaving their villages in Travancore to seek better livelihood in Malabar. With the money they were able to buy large areas of land in Malabar much more than what they had in Travancore. Some parts of Mannarkkad region of Palakkad district are examples of late migration. Alakkode in Kannur district, Sulthan Batheri in Wayanad district, Kulathuvayal, Koorachund, Kallanode and Thiruvambadi in Kozhikode district are important migrant settlement areas in Malabar.

Agrarian Community in Travancore

The farmers of Travancore were engaged in the wet land cultivation of the low-lying areas while the dry land was utilized for pepper and other spice cultivation. The spices were grown in *Parambus* and *Thottams*. The chief agrarian communities of Central Travancore were Syrian Christians, Ezhavas and Nairs. Some enterprising agriculturist groups principally, the St. Thomas Christians and Ezhavas, through the accumulation of practical knowledge, had mastered the skills of space management in cultivation in Central Kerala.¹ In the earlier period the St. Thomas Christians enjoyed substantial ownership rights over a significant area of cultivable land in Travancore. Moreover, like the Brahminic temples, the Christian churches also received great amount of land grants from the local Hindu rulers.²

Though the Christians settled early in the coastal areas, they began to move to the interior parts of the country when the Arab Muslims began to dominate the trade activities in the Kerala coast. The Syrian Christians were generally engaged in dry land cultivation of commercial crops. The Portuguese called the native Christians as the "Christians of Serra" i. e., Christians living in the highland. They were very hardworking in the agricultural land of Travancore.

The land tenure in Kerala underwent a drastic change in the beginning of the 20th century with the decline of joint family system and matrilineal system

¹ Pius Malekandathil, 'Trade and Agriculture in Pre-Modern Kerala', in PP. Thomas (ed.), *Kerala Economy and European Trade*, Muvattupuzha, 2003, p. 39.

² One of such case was that of a local ruler, Unniyathi, granted a lot of land to the church at Arakuzha. For more information, see Pius Malekandathil, *Op. cit.* p. 34.

(*Marumakkattayam*).³ When big joint families got dissolved, the family property became separate individual holdings⁴. Since the Nambudiries and Nairs were generally not accustomed to and not interested in agriculture, they began to sell their land. It was mainly purchased by the newly rich class in the society i.e., Christians, Muslims and Ezhavas⁵.

Geographical, Political and Economic factors of migration

The factors that propel a section of people to move from one region to another are generally divided into two:

(1) Reasons that push them out of their places of habitation

(2) Those that 'pull' them to certain other regions. Factors like over-population and increased pressure on cultivable land, inadequacy of facilities for expansion and growth, scarcity of food, and political or religious persecutions, serve to push people out of one region, while opportunities for employment and investment and favorable conditions for advancement, help to pull them to certain other regions.

People of different places migrated to Attappadi from 1920s due to various compelling situations and political developments. The factors that led to a high level of immigration to this area are many. Economic and political factors together with Government policies contributed to it. The relatively low price of very fertile land was a major economic reason. Following Japanese conquest of Burma, the Princely

³ E. J. Thomas, *Keralathinte Samooha Ghanayanum Roopantharavum* (Mal.), Kottayam, 1997, p. 53.

⁴ Growth of education, new jobs outside the country, eagerness for individual freedom and new legislations were the main causes of the decline of joint family system. New laws like First and Second Nair Acts of Travancore in 1912 and 1925, Ezhava Act (1925), Nanjinadu Vellala Act (1929), Kochi Nair Act (1920), The Nair Act (1937-38) and so on put an end to *Sambandam* type of marriage, *Marumakkatayam* and joint family system. The Kerala Joint Family Act came into effect on 1 August 1975.

⁵ In 1926-40 the Nambuthiris and Nairs sold 4.2 and 42.8 percentage of their land respectively in Travancore. In the same period the Christians, Ezhavas and the Muslims of Travancore additionally purchased 30.30, 6.40, 0.10 percentage of land respectively. E. J. Thomas, *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

State of Travancore experienced a severe scarcity of food supplies, particularly rice.⁶ A rich minority took advantage of the situation by hoarding essential food item and enriching themselves through black marketing. So, the war time migration was encouraged to bring more area of land under cultivation and to increase the production of rice.

The people of Travancore had no regular connection with northern part of Kerala known as Malabar as they considered it as a separate state under Madras Presidency. Due to the expansion of plantations in Travancore the movement of labourers started from Malabar to the area and the situation began to change, by the beginning of the 20th century. The demand for labour in plantation in Travancore was met by the immigration of labour from the Madras Presidency including Malabar. Some peasant farmers of Travancore got information from the Mappila labourers about the availability of land in Malabar.⁷ Compared to Travancore and Kochi, the dry land of Malabar especially Wayanad and Attappadi was generally uncultivated and hence it was very cheap. The availability of wasteland in the hands of the land owners of Malabar having traditional proprietary right attracted farmers to the area.⁸ Moreover, the price of land in Malabar was very low compared to that of Travancore. Possibility of alienation of land was another incentive for Travancore migrants.

By the 20th century the general economic condition of the people in Travancore become very pathetic. Hence, most of the people considered migration as a natural choice to escape from individual economic dilemma. Many problems like failure of business, heavy loss in agriculture, cheating by relatives and friends, problem in sharing family property, exploitation of money lenders etc. played a very vital role in migration of the people. The pressure of increasing population was also considered a push out factor in the migration of the people.

⁶ T. G. Jacob, *Wayanad Oru Haritha Desathinte Duritham* (Mal.), Sulthan Bathery, 2009, p. 21.

⁷ Thomas Pazhyparambil, *Swapnabhoomiyil* (Mal.), Muvattupuzha, 1978, p. 95.

⁸ K. G. Sivaswamy, *Food Famine and Nutritional Diseases in Travancore* (1943-44), Coimbatore, 1945, p. 145.

Density of Population and Scarcity of Cultivable Land: An Analysis

The pressure of increasing population was considered a push factor in the migration of people.⁹ The population of Kottayam division including in the High Ranges in 1931 was 1800545. The increase of Syrian Christian population was high in Travancore unlike other castes. The Christian population of 53000 in 1911 had increased to 154000 in the year 1951.¹⁰ The Christian population of some *Taluks* from where the migration to Malabar mainly took place was high in the period of migration.

In the Kottayam Division of Travancore, the Syrian Christians dominated the *Taluks* of Muvattupuzha, Thodupuzha and Meenachil. The rate of increase of population among the Christians between 1901 and 1931 was 116%. The average size of land holding in these *Taluks* was very low and agricultural production had decreased considerably in the division. The low fertility and small size of land holdings made the cultivation in Travancore unprofitable. So small scale peasants were ready to migrate to anywhere for cultivable land. According to the census in 1881 the population of Kottayam division was 805077 and it increased to 1362511 by 1921¹¹.

The Great Depression and its impacts

The worldwide depression of 1929 also affected the entire economy of the world in general and Travancore in particular. The Indian farmers were caught on the horns of dilemma, when Depression overwhelmed them.¹² The severe scarcity of food grains was overcome by bajra in Travancore. The consumers of rice could not easily substitute to with wheat or bajra as they were not used to them.¹³ The few farmers engaged in the cultivation of commercial crops were severely affected. The

⁹ K. G. Sivaswamy, *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁰ P. K. Michael Tharakan, 'Migration from Travancore to Malabar 1930-1950', (C. D. S. Working Paper No. 154), in *Malabar Mahotsav Souvenir* (Mal.), Calicut, 1993, p. 220.

¹¹ T. K. Velu Pillai, *Travancore state Manuel*, Trivandrum, 1940, p. 645.

¹² Joshy Mathew, *Tradition, Migration and Transformation-Agrarian Migration to Wayanad-1928-2000*, Irish publishers, Kannur, 2011.p. 95.

¹³ Travancore Economic Depression Enquiry Committee Report 1931, Government press, Trivandrum, 1932, p. 93.

economic crisis had great impact on the middle class agriculturists who depended almost on their agricultural incomes as they of occupying thought more cultivable fertile lands.¹⁴

Second World War and the Food Shortage

During the Second World War, due to the withdrawal of imports of rice from Burma since 1942 food shortage occurred in Travancore and the price of rice almost doubled by this time from 6 rupees to 11 rupees per bag of 160 lbs¹⁵. The difficulty of obtaining rice during the Second World War was the chief cause for keen interest in paddy cultivation. Moreover, when the traders started hoarding of food grains the internal supply of food was reduced and the price again increased. Active intervention of the Travancore Government and rationing of food grains did not produce the desired result.¹⁶ The migrants of Travancore considered Malabar area as suitable for production of fine rice .

Unlike Travancore and Kochi the dry land of Malabar especially Attappadi was generally uncultivated and cheap. The land owners of Malabar laid majority of the dry land vacant because the land left fallow were exempted from the payment of tax. The availability of waste land in the hands of the land owners of Malabar having traditional proprietary right attracted farmers to this area.¹⁷ An acre of land in Malabar cost five to ten rupees while in Travancore it was Rs. 150 to 200 per acre.¹⁸

Lack of Other Job Opportunities

The agriculturists of Kottayam division could not find any other profession when cultivation became unprofitable. The farmers generally did not like to work in the European plantations in the High Ranges, a major industry in Travancore.

¹⁴ B. H. Farmer, *Agriculture Colonization in India Since Independence*, London, 1974, pp. 15-18.

¹⁵ This was a period when rice was sold in black market between Rs. 45 and Rs. 65 per bag of 162 lbs. in Kottayam as against eight rupees, a controlled price in the pre-war period. K. G. Shivaswamy, *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁶ Dietmann Rothermund, *India in Great Depression 1929-1939*, New Delhi, 1902, p. 79.

¹⁷ K. G. Sivaswamy, *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁸ Joshy Mathew, *Op. cit.*, p.69.

Majority of the workers in these plantations were coolies brought from different districts of Madras Presidency. Moreover, the farmers did not favour trade or any other occupation as an alternative to agriculture. So, they gladly used the opportunity to migrate into the vast tracts of land in Malabar. After all, the Syrian Christians were generally more interested in agriculture than any other occupations from time immemorial.

Financial Liquidity

Capital is a prerequisite for migration.¹⁹ The peasant migrants from Travancore possessed capital of their own which could be invested for furthering their economic prospects. They were mostly Christians and a few Hindus who brought together maximum amount by selling all their property in the native place.²⁰ Land became a marketable asset and rich source of capital. They easily sold their pieces of land in Travancore and brought several acres of land in Malabar.

Previous Experiences.

The small-scale farmers of Travancore especially Syrian Christians had a history of agrarian migration in search of new fortunes. By the early decade of the 20th century, the people from Central Travancore began to migrate to the high ranges of Travancore. In 1923 Travancore Government passed Waste Land Rules to give land in the hilly tracts of Travancore for the large-scale cultivation of tea and coffee.²¹ Land was given to the people for cultivation under the *Kuthakapattam* tenure. New agrarian settlement areas were developed in the High Ranges like Adimali, Kunchuthanni, Irupathekkar, Bisonvelly, Rajakkad, Vellathuval, Rajakumari, Santhanpara, Vandamedu, Kuttikanam and Kattappana in Peerumede etc., and the Taluks of Udumbachola and Devikulam. The constant occurrence of migration from the plains to the plantations of High Ranges increased to 90%

¹⁹ P. K. Michael Tharakan, *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁰ K. G. Shivaswamy, *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

²¹ K. T. Rajiv, *Sahyadriyilninnu Madakkayatra- Idukki: Mannum Manushyarum* (Mal), Trissur, 2007, p. 100.

between 1872 and 1921 and the population of Devikulam *Taluk* doubled between the period of 1901 and 1911²².

By 1930-33 farmers from Meenachil and Vaikam migrated and settled in Thudanganad, Muttam, Velliyamattam, Mulamattam, Kanjar, Karimkunnam, Elappara and Upputhara areas. Different areas of Thodupuzha *Taluk* were the main destination of the people from Meenachil *Taluk*. Revenue authorities assigned land to the migrants by charging five rupees per acre as survey fee.²³ The increase in the price of cash crops induced the people to expand cultivation from one *Taluk* to another in Central Travancore.²⁴

Comparatively low wages in Malabar for agricultural workers may be another pull factor of migration to Malabar. In Travancore remuneration for 8-hour agricultural work was six *Anna* whereas in Malabar it was only 4 *Anna*.²⁵ In Malabar rural economy remained stagnant even after substantial changes took place in the crop patterns and techniques of cultivation. Increasing burden of rent indebtedness, alienation from the land, eviction etc. resulted in the rapid impoverishment of the Malabar peasantry. The people had to transfer their land for saving themselves from legal actions from the government.²⁶ In Malabar, through land had to be obtained on lease from the feudal chiefs, it was available in abundance and at cheaper prices and the local landlords were inclined to welcome farmers from Travancore.²⁷ Most of the land owned by big landlords in Malabar were fragmented into bits and leased out to tenants on *Kanam or Verumpatam* tenure.

²² B. H. Farmer, *Op. cit.*, p. 321.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁴ The high price of crops promoted the peasants to migrate to the waste land available. For instance, the farmers of Kuravilangad (Meenachil) migrated to Kavalangad (Muvattupuzha) in 1920s for ginger cultivation. So, when the migration to Malabar started people had this instance of economic prosperity in their mind.

²⁵ *Anna* was a coin used in Kerala before the formation of Kerala State. 8 *Anna* is equalant to 6 paise and considered equal to 50 paise. (See *Mathrubhumi Daily* April, 21, 1940).

²⁶ Prakash Karat, "Agrarian Relations in Malabar, 1925-1948, in "Social Scientist, December, 1973, p. 43

²⁷ Joshy Mathew, *Op. cit.*, p.212.

Earlier studies say that migrant settlers have encroached upon the hilly parts of Attappadi region. The majority of migrant households are found in the midland regions of the study area. Moreover, focusing on the early generation of migrant households was the prime concern to get the real narration of the migration experiences. In their absence second generation migrant households have been surveyed. Literature reviews reveal that Malabar migrants initially settled in the highland and midland areas in Malabar region where they occupied large areas of uncultivated land for securing a livelihood. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of surveyed migrant households within the study area.

Table: 4.1

Distribution of surveyed migrant households in the select research locality

Physiographic Units	Place/Panchayats	Numbers of Migrant Households interviewed
Midland	Kavundikkal	28
	Gellippara	27
	Goolikkadavu	31
	Agali	29
	Chemmannor	30
		145
Lowland	Thavalam	22
	Kollankadavu	19
	Pakkulam	14
		55

Source: Field survey, 4th to 15th April 2020.

Population growth rate of Attappadi- 1951-2021

The dimensions of this great mass-influx have been classified mainly into five stages i. e., from 1925-1940, 1940-1955, 1955 -65, 1965-70, 1970-1980. The first stage of migration during 1925 - 1940 was very slow. There was a remarkable increase in migration in the second stage from 1940 to 1955, and the third stage was from 1955 to 65, and next was during 1965-1975 which marked the peak time of migration, then it became stagnant because of the lack of cultivable land.

The whole demographic structure of Attappadi has changed after the 1950s mainly due to uncontrolled influx of population. As a consequence, demographic structure turned to be unfavorable to the tribals. The Board of Revenue, Madras estimated the tribal population of Attappadi in 1947 to be around 10,000 and non-tribal population to be just a few hundreds. But the demographic scenario totally changed after the 1950s. According to the 1951 census, the proportion of non-tribal population to total population was just 9.68%. The proportion rose to 67% in 1981 71.91 in 1991 and 74.8 in 2001. The sudden increase in population in Attappadi reduced the tribals from a majority group in 1951 to a minority group by 1981 and an insignificant group by 1991.

Table 4.2

Demographic Trend in Attappadi

Year	Total population	Tribal population	Non-tribal Population	% of tribal Population	% of non-tribal population
1951	11300	10200	1100	90.32	9.68
1961	21416	12972	8444	60.45	39.55
1971	39183	16536	22647	42.21	57.79
1981	62246	20659	41587	33.00	67.00
1991	86261	24228	62033	28.02	71.91
2001	92141	26231	65910	28.46	71.54

Source: Census Report of India, 1951 to 2001.

Population growth in Malabar and Palakkad during the decade 1941-51 was exceptionally high and is a clear indication of the unnatural pressure of population in the area during that period. Hence, the peak period of Malabar migration, that is 1965-75 highly affected the Attappadi valley. People from Travancore and neighbouring Mannarkkad reached Attappadi after the 1950s when land lay plenty in the plain land and other hill tracks of Malabar.

Pioneers of the migration and their objective

The enterprising farmers who migrated to the feral land of Malabar chiefly were from the North-East *Taluks* of Travancore like Meenachil, Thodupuzha, Moovattupuzha, Kottayam, Vaikom and Chenganassery. As mentioned earlier their aim was to cultivate the large areas of waste land available in Malabar.²⁸ The study is mainly concerned with the migration of peasants from the Travancore region and with the migration of local labourers from Mannarkkad and Traders from Chavakkad Plains to Attappadi. The peasants were self-cultivating agriculturists.

When Malabar was ceded to the British in 1792 the Nair *Jenmis* who has taken asylum in Travancore got an opportunity to return to their homeland in Malabar. Subsequently, the possession and control of land by the tribes had been transferred over to the Nair *jenmis*²⁹ who possessed and controlled the lands in various parts of Malabar including Malappuram and Palakkad districts. As the control over land came to the hands of the *Jenmis* the tribes were forced to be the dependents of the landlords and were relegated into a position of servitude. Francis Buchanan also attests this kind of *Jenmi*-tribal relation. He observes that "The forests are divided into *puddies*³⁰ in which one or more tribe lived. Each *puddy* was the property of *Jenmi*. The produces of forest collected by the tribes were sold by the *Jenmi* to the merchants called *Chetti* or *Mannadi*. If the tribes collected more valuable items they were rewarded by their master."³¹

Malabar, being a part of Madras Presidency of British India, was almost like a 'foreign country' for their who migrated to the place from the princely state of Travancore. Malabar and Travancore were separated by Cochin, another princely state. A trip to Malabar from Travancore in those days was a difficult one, owing to lack of transport and communication facilities. In the beginning there was no

²⁸ Joshy Mathew, *Op. cit.*, 164

²⁹ Malabar was ceded to the English East India Company in 1792 by the Treaty of Sreerangapatanam with Tippu Sulthan, K. M. Panikkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 387.

³⁰ *Puddies* were territorial divisions or assigned areas. For details see Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 383.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

adequate transport system and the settlers had to undergo numerous hardships, such as attack from wild animals, malaria, cholera and various other epidemics. These hostile conditions slowed down the migratory process from Travancore. The coastal railway line, from Cochin to Mangalore, through Calicut, Mahe and Tellicherry, was the only means of transportation available to the early migrants. Trekking into the interiors from the coastal towns of Malabar formed a glittering chapter of determination, sacrifice, bravery and enterprise. The Early batch of pioneering migrants, or more correctly entrants into Malabar were farmers who came mainly from the middle and lower strata of the farming communities of Travancore.

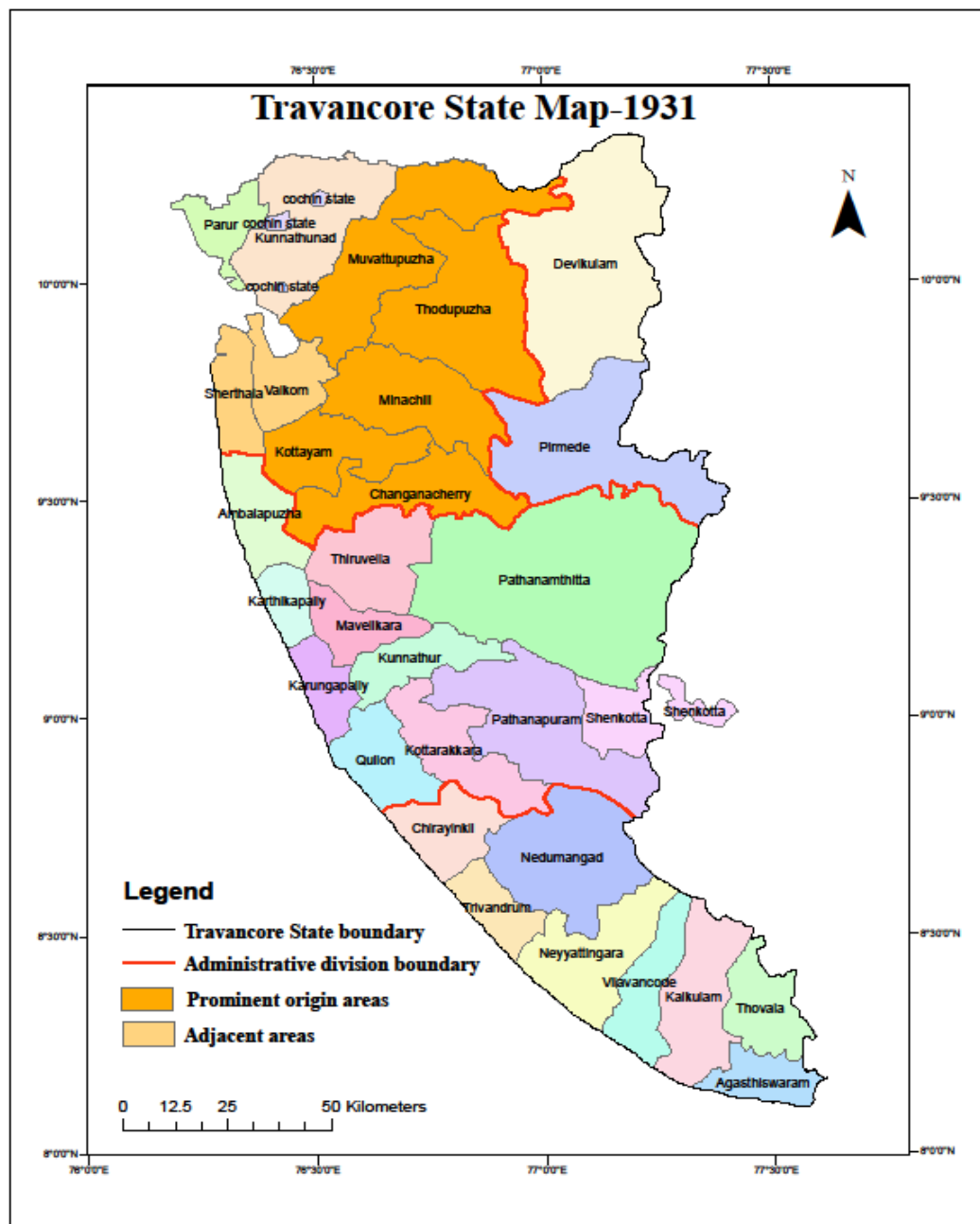
Table 4.3

Place of origin

Places corresponding to current districts	No. of migrants	Percentage
Kottayam	95	47.5
Thrissur –Chavakkad	28	14
Malappuram	23	11.5
Mannarkkad	36	18
Palakkad	18	9
Total	200	100

Source: Field survey, 2nd to 8th April 2021.

Since 1930's the peasants of Travancore and labourers from Mannarkkad migrated in large numbers to Attappadi, bought wastelands and converted them into plantations. During the period, the information received from the pioneering migrants on the availability of plenty of land suitable for the cultivation of crops, including tapioca, brought hope to a large number of starving peasant farmers. Thus, began an inflow of peasant farmers from Travancore to the jungles of Malabar. A few Kerala migrants in Coimbatore also came and joined them in 1950s. It was from the early Tamil settlers and their neighbours that they came to know of the availability of cultivable land in Attappadi.



Source: Census of India, 1931, Volume XXVIII, Travancore Part-I, Report, Trivandrum

Fig. 4.1 Prominent areas of origin of Malabar migrants of Travancore State

Beginning of Migration

The first migration from Travancore took place in 1926 to the valleys of Vakkodan, Kalladikodan and Anakkaranam hills of Mannarkad Taluk.³² These hills are situated 10 kilometers away from the present Mannarkad Town. The major migrant settlements of Mannarkad were Pottessery, Palakkayam, Irumbakachola and Poonchola. In 1926 Karippaparambil Jacob Thomas (Chakochoan) and Maliyekal Thomas Joseph from Kanhirappalli bought 3000 acres of land from Mannarkad Moopil Nair on lease for 99 years agreeing to pay 5 paise per acre as rent (*pattam*). The land was near Mannarkkad. Moopil Nair, the jenmi of the land also gave 300 acres as a gift to the Jacob Thomas.³³

The benevolence of Moopil Nair in giving such large acres of land reflects the low cost of land even outside the Attappadi areas. Moreover, the local people near Mannarkad were reluctant to take land from Moopil Nair or other *Jenmis* for cultivation owing to two reasons. Firstly, most of the native dwellers had own land for cultivation. Secondly, those who did not have land for cultivation were neither ready to toil nor able to pay land rent. In these circumstances, it was natural that the *Jenmis* entertained migrants who were prepared to offer ready cash in exchange for cultivation rights on land.

In the same year Aimanum Ouseph and his family migrated and settled at Moonnarankai, near Thottilpalam (Kuttiyadi). The year 1928 witnessed the beginning of a few more migrant settlements - Alakode, Peravoor, Vayattaparamba, Kolayad etc. The history of Travancore settlements also began in Kulathuvayal (1930) Mananthavady (1930), Edoor (1941), Thiruvambadi, (1942), Kodanchery (1944), Chemperi (1943), Rajapuram (1943), Thomapuram (1945), Mukkali (1941), Thavalam (1945), Chemmanoor (1946), Agali (1946) Etc.³⁴ By 1939 about 212

³² Joseph, Kuravilangad, *Konippadikal, Malabar Kudiyetta Charithram* (Mal), Boby Books, Calicut, 1991, p. 36.

³³ P. T. Sebastian “*Christian Migration to Malabar, 1930-1980*”, Unpublished PhD. Thesis submitted University of Calicut, 2002. p.101.

³⁴ Joseph Kuravilangad, *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-12.

families settled in 9 different areas in Malabar. Out of this about 42 families returned to their native places.

In 1932, Kuttiparambil Joseph bought 500 acres near Palakkayam area and started rubber cultivation. In 1942, about 500 acres of land was jointly purchased by Maliyekkal Joseph, Pallivathukkal George Thomas and Mangali Ittira from Elaya Nair. In the beginning, they used the land for the cultivation of *Theruva* or lemon grass. Failing in the cultivation, they decided to sell their share to small cultivators and workers who came with them. This was the beginning of the entry of small settlers in Mannarkkad. Till the 1950s, lands of different size were purchased from Moopil Nair and Elaya Nair by rich migrants for cultivation, independently and in groups in the Mannarkkad and Attappadi area.³⁵

Before the onset of migration from Travancore to Malabar, Mr. Hunt a European, had lease 3000 acres of land in Mannarkkad from Moopil Nair. He surveyed the areas, prepared a plan and named it as "Pulikkal Rubber Estate". Also, he constructed roads for horse ride. However, during the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, Mr. Hunt was killed by the rioters. Three years after his death, his estate was taken back by the *Jenmi*. It was this land that the Nair later sold to Chackochan and Joseph in 1926. In 1937, Chackochan and Joseph independently sold their share of land. Joseph sold his share of 1800 acres to Southern Company in Kozhikode and later, in 1949, the company sold the land to Kizhakkakara Thomachan for Rs.1,40,000.

The lease of land by Mr. Hunt indicates that land transfer had started in Mannarkkad even before the arrival of migrants from Travancore. Till the 1950s, the trend of migration was influenced by ups and down in the price of agricultural commodities. The Great Depression which began in 1929 had its impact on price of agricultural commodities as well as price of land. It halted the migratory flow at least for a few years. Prices of crops such as pepper, ginger, rubber, coconut, etc., plummeted. Falling price had its impact on inward migration to Malabar. However, after the Second World War recovery began, prices soared and the migratory process took a fresh lease of life.

³⁵ Interview with Joymon (45), UD Clerk, ITDP, Agali. 19th April 2021.

Between 1940 and the early 1960s more settlements of Travancore farmers began in Attappadi. Nearly 15 new settlements emerged during this period while the earlier settlements grew in population.³⁶ Migration to Attappadi turned out to be a mass movement, as migration of thousands of people took place without any design, organisation or leadership. And this makes it unique in the annals of migration. A number of families left their parental villages in Travancore for reasons of their own and settled in the mountainous parts of Malabar.³⁷

The 1970s witnessed migration of a much larger scale into Attappadi partly due to the nationalization of private forests in the state and the introduction of land reform bill proposing to confer ownership to all those holding lands under different sorts of tenancy and occupancy systems. In 1950-1970 period, the population growth has been intense in the tribal concentrated areas like Wayanad, Idukki and Attappadi.

Nature of Migration to Attappadi: An Inquiry

So far as the Attappadi migration process is emerged most of the early migrants had little or no personal experience in the destination. They make a judgment based on information they hear or read about, rather than from personal experience.³⁸ Thus the migration towards the arduous environment of hilly forests was pioneered by small number of migrants of early period.

³⁶ Interview with Baby Vettupara (66), former Attappadi Block member Agali, dated 2nd April 2021.

³⁷ Michel Tharakan, *Op. cit.*,

³⁸ Interview with Jhon Zakaria, (65), Retd, Head clerk, Agali block, 6th April 2021.

Table 4.4
Nature of Migration

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Single migration at first	32	16
Partial migration	104	52
Full family migration	64	32

Field data, from 4th to 12th April 2021.

According to the surveyed data shown in Table 4.4 most of the migrants 52% reported in the form of partial migration. Partial migration, in this context refers to the migration of young persons with their family members leaving the older generation of the family at their native lands. Full family migration also took place and this constitutes 32% of the migrant households. In full family migration process, migrants sold all the land possessions at their places and moved to Malabar and Attappadi region along with family members.³⁹ Among the respondents, 16% of them were single migrants, who were the early migrants to Malabar to seek land. They settled further as the family was brought to Malabar region subsequently.

Community Profile: An Overview

In Attappadi block the main community divisions is between indigenous group and migrants. The indigenous groups are basically the tribals with three sub divisions, namely, *Kurumbas*, *Mudugas* and *Irulas*. As the study focuses only the *Irula* community, separate explanation of their proportion is mentioned earlier. Hear community- wise concentration of Malayali settlers is important in this context. Among the Malayali settlers, the main community divisions are Roman Catholic Christians, Other Christians, Nairs, Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes. Area-wise and settler-wise distribution of the community are projected in Table 4.5

³⁹ Interview with Varghese (65) ward member, Agali, 12th April 2020.

Table 4.5
Category and Community-Agali area

Keralites	Population
(a) Roman Christians	42.5
(b) Back ward community	37
(c) Other Christians	8.5
(d) Nairs	6.5
(e) Scheduled caste	5.5
Total	100

ITDP Report, Agali, 2020.

Among the Malayali settlers of Agali the majority are from the Roman Catholic Christians who constitute 42.5%. The next in the order are Muslims and Hindus belonging to other backward classes. The backward classes include Mappilas, Ezhavas and Saliyas. They together account for 37% in Agali. The presence of the Nair community is comparatively low in Agali. This reveals that most of the immigrants from Kerala constitute Christians.

The Pattern of Migration: A Study

The process of early migrations seemed to follow a common pattern. An investigatory trip was undertaken by one or two persons in the beginning. Once the land suitable for cultivation was located, the investigators returned to their villages. Generally, after the Sunday mass, the report of the journey would be emerged the local diocese about the availability of land in Malabar.⁴⁰ This usually resulted in the addition of a few more fresh recruits to join the hazardous trip to Malabar. Once the team had become sufficiently strong enough capital had been raised, often through sale of property, a new trip was undertaken. Usually, during the second trip, land was purchased in Malabar mostly from devaswoms and big land owners (Jenmis).⁴¹

The common mode of transaction was through '*Vakkal Charthu*' or verbal agreement. The common verbal land transactions between migrants and local land

⁴⁰ Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-20.

⁴¹ K. G, Ivaswamy and Others, *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*, Coimbatore, 1945, p. 11.

owners or their agents consisted of *Odacharthu*, *Kutticharthu*, *Kalicharthu*, *Choondippanayam*, *Varam and pattam*. Through these transactions they acquired deeds to cut and collect bamboo, trees, and to use the land to pasture cattle, or to cultivate the area at a rent of *Pathil Randu (2/10) Pattam (rent)*. As there was no clear land documents all the land transactions were on the basis of mutual understanding.⁴²

The common pattern of marginal and poor settlers in Malabar was that they purchased the land by giving a nominal amount to the 'Karyasthan' or agent of the landlord. Most of the land were of *elambakadukal* (forest clearings). The usual way of measurement of the land was *Kolalavu or Kambalavu*.⁴³ After the purchase of land in Malabar, either the whole team or some of them returned to their villages, to bring their wives and children to settle down for good in Malabar. Between the initial investigatory trip and the final settling down, a year or two used to pass. The areas where the Travancore farmers settled initially were Peravoor and Kolayad near Tellichery of the present Kannoor District, Mannarkad, Attappadi of present Palaghat District, Bandadukka, Thomapuram, Rajapuram of present Kasargod District, Kuttiyadi, Thamarasseri, Kulathuvayal and Thiruvambadi of the present Kozhikkode District and Mananthavady and Pulpally of the present Wayanad District. Gradually the immigrants moved to all parts of Malabar, and in their search for more land and further avenues for investment, some of them even crossed into areas like Coorg, Gudallur and to the border areas of erstwhile Mysore State.

⁴² Joseph Punchethare, 'Naduthedi Nadin Kanavum Kanivum Thedi' (Mal), in *Souvenir of St. Joseph's Church*, Vayattuparamba, 1986. p.50.

⁴³ Elambakadu means semi forest land. The forest, after cutting all the big trees and the land with small trees, later four or five years after *punam* cultivation by the tribals. Kambalavu or Kolalavu means surveying the land by using long bamboo instead of chain survey. In the case of rich or capitalist migrants who were ready to purchase thousands of acres of land, the boundary would be hills and rivers. Many poor settlers directly settled in the land after giving bribes to the agents, not only in cash but also in the form of illicit liquor and meat. Later on by giving money to revenue officials they would make proper land documents. For details of conditions in land sale of the migrant see document No. 1097/1945, 504/1948, 560/1950, 434/1942, 2097/1943 of Sub registrar office, Mannarkkad.

Migration to Attappadi Valley: Its Characteristics

Till the beginning of the second quarter of the 20th century, Attappadi was mainly inhabited by three hill tribes, namely, *Irulas, Mudugas and Kurumbas*. Hence the area remained less exploited and the magnitude of degradation was limited to a sustainable level. Almost all the areas in this virgin region were, before the intervention began, under thick forests and inhabited by tribals engaged in slash and burn cultivation. As the area was under thick forest and infested with blood-sucking leeches and wild animals, accessibility to this area became difficult for early settlers.⁴⁴ Those who came in the beginning succumbed to severe Malaria infestation and faced attacks from Wild animals.⁴⁵

Not having transport and communication facilities, census enumerators could not reach the tribal settlements. Hence, limited accessibility resulted in false census estimates. Until the early 1950s, the Chieftains of Zamorins of Kozhikode used to be the main source of information. These Chieftains did not have any source of detailed information regarding the size of families of tribals and their other dependents. A monograph from the 1961 census series makes the following observation about the *Kurumbas* of Attappadi "Inhabiting as they do, in the interior dense forest regions. Accessibility to them is ordinarily difficult" and notes that they had, therefore, been left out from the detailed (ethnographic) study.⁴⁶ Inaccessibility to the forest areas owing to lack of infrastructure and attack of wild animals and availability of lands in the plain areas discouraged in-migrants to settle in Attappadi. However, growth of population and rising demand for land for cultivation prompted the succeeding generations of in-migrants to move towards the area.

By the early 18th century, Attappadi had become the *Jenmom* property of the Zamorin of Kozhikode. The Zamorin entrusted the administration of the area to three Nair chieftains, Mannarkkad Moopil Nair, Palat Krishna Menon and Eralpad

⁴⁴ GOI, 1961, *Village Survey Monograph*, Part VI(G), Tribal Areas, Census of India, Government of India, p. 216.

⁴⁵ Interview with Kannappan (71), Early Tamil settler, 19th April 2021.

⁴⁶ M, Kunhaman, "*Understanding Tribal Life: Kerala Dossier*", *State and Society*, 1983, pp. 71-90.

Raja. Moopil Nair got larger part of this area as he managed to please Zamorin during his visits. Once the Zamorin of Kozhikode happened to stay at Moopil Nair house, and being pleased with the hospitality of Mooppil Nair, along with *Moopil Sthanam*, a vast area of land was given to him. In this way Moopil Nair got large areas of land in Mannarkad, including forest areas of Attappadi. However, Moopil Nair and other *Jenmis* were not very much interested in cultivation of the leech infested forest areas of Attappadi. Their interest in the area was confined to capturing elephants from the dense forests for using them for temple festivals. Capturing of an elephant from the Attappadi was considered a prestige for the family and was in those days great news.⁴⁷ Also the chieftain, were given right to collect land revenue at the rates of Rs 0.50 to Rs 1.25 per acre of land and forest produce respectively as land revenue from *Irulas, Mudugas and Kurumbas*. The tribals were either tenants or lessees of these *Jenmis*. The tribals enjoyed the right to cultivate as much area as each was able to manage at the prescribed rates of land revenue. In practice, however, they were heavily exploited by the *Kariasthans* (Managers) of the *Jenmis*.⁴⁸ In the meantime the *Jenmis* managed to get *Jenmom* (Free hold property) rights of these lands from the Zamorin. As the landlords had enough land in the plain area, Attappadi valley remained virtually intact and untouched by outsiders for a long time. The tribals cultivated these areas in their conventional ways such as shifting cultivation, hunting and collection of forest produces.⁴⁹ The landlords had also the power to give this land on lease. Moopil Nair alone managed 70% of the Attappadi land. In the first half of the 20th century, a few landlords were given lease rights on the western part of Agali; about 6000 acres were given on lease to one Kalladi Kunhammed Sahib of Mannarkad⁵⁰.

Till the close of the 19th century, the valley had neither a police station nor a post office. However, a full complement of village officers was appointed, and beat

⁴⁷ Interview with Narayanan Nair, Retd. Village officer (61), Agali, 27th April 2020.

⁴⁸ GOK. 1976b, *Kerala District Gazetteers, Palakkad*, Government Press, Government of Kerala, Ernakulam, Kerala, p. 142.

⁴⁹ M. Kunhaman, "Alienation of Tribal Land: The Case of Attappadi in Kerala" *State and Society* 2 (2, April-June), Thiruvananthapuram, pp. 49-61.

⁵⁰ N. Viswanathan Nair, *Land Alienation among the Tribes of Attappady*. KIRTADS, Kozhikode, 1986, p. 154.

constables periodically enter the valley and get the signature of the *Adhikari* (Village Officer) in their beat books. During the early days of the 20th century timber was the main product in the valley. Of the total area, 21 hills in full and another hill in part belonged to the Government. The rest of the area was under dispute between the three *Jenmis* referred to above. The dispute led to frequent disturbances which culminated in actual bloodshed in 1901. A solution was finally reached around 1908 by the Divisional Officer under Section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Accordingly, 44 hills and part of five others were awarded to Moopil Nair, 16 hills and parts of six others to the Eralpad Raja, 10 hills to P. K. Menon and two hills to another *Jenmi*.⁵¹ Even after the division most of the areas remained undisturbed by outsiders due to easy availability of land in plain lands of Mannarkad and nearby areas.⁵²

With a view to further developing his lands, the Mooppil Nair clear-felled the tracts surrounding Goolikkadavu, Gonjiyoor, and Chemmanoor. Large tracts of land were cleared and an influx of people from Kerala ensued. Since the Nair was involved at that time with court cases with members of his family and all registrations of lease deeds were stopped and his entire lands came under a Receiver. The leases already registered paid rent to the Receiver. But the *Kolkarans* (village assistants appointed to measure the land) also used to collect, rents from the settlers and the tribes folk unauthorisedly. There was plenty of land for all, but some settlers preferring fields cleared by the tribes, leased in lands from the tribes folk. The Kerala Land Reform Act of 1970 and the Kerala Private Forest Act 1971 put an end to these chaotic practices.⁵³

The Forest Department without verification of documents carried out surveys of uncleared lands that were in the possession of tribesfolk. Some of the tribesfolk, who had neither the knowledge nor the funds to go in appeal to land tribunals, lost their lands. Table 4.7 shows the major events in the area since the 20th century.

⁵¹ Innes and Evans 1908, *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁵² M, Kunhaman, *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁵³ Bundle No. 63, Serial number 29, 1971, Records from Sub Collectors Office, Ottappalam.

Intensive government interventions began from 1956. There began an inflow of officials, forest guards, and police into Attappadi. The activities of smugglers also gained strength who stole timbers and resources of wild animals.

Table 4.6
Major Events in Attappadi since the 20th Century⁵⁴

Year	Events
1926	Started the immigration of settlers
1937	Primary school started in Pudur by Madras Government in Tamil medium
1938	Primary school in Varagampady-Sholayoor <i>Panchayat</i> - Tamil medium
1940	Flow of immigration of settlers
1950	Clear-felling the tracts surrounding Vechapathy, Jellippara Gonjiyoor and Varagampady
1951	Tribal population 90.3 % total population 11300
Till 1956	Part of old Malabar district
1956	With the re-organisation added to Kerala State.
1956	Area Came under the Community Development Block of Mannarkkad.
1956	Mobile Health unit started.
1959	Mannarkkad - Chinnathadagam Road reached till Kottathara
1960	Bus service started from Mannarkkad to Agali
1960	Sholayoor Tribal School started
1960	Educational Department took up the Educational Institution from Harijan Welfare Department
1961	21416 populations in Attappady-tribesfolk 60.45%.
1962	Mannarkkad-Agali Road extended to Anakkatty
1963	Official inauguration of the Tribal Block
1963	Agali Government Hospital and Traveler's Bunglow inaugurated
1965	Milk Co-operative Society started in Kottathara
1968	Divided into 3 panchayat- Agali, Pudur and Sholayoor
1969	Bus service till extended to Anakkatty
1970	Land Reform Act affected the land system
1974	Sholayoor farmers Co-operative Society
1975	Tribal Land Bill -Tribal Block declared as ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Project) Varagampady-Kulkoor Road became feasible for transportation
1977	Government order to have an Advisory Committee to monitor, the

⁵⁴ A. D. Manikandan, *Attappadi the Valley of Relics*, Mathruboomi books, Kottayam, 2015. p. 128.

	functioning of the Project Authorities Forest Privatisation by the state. Tribesfolk lost the right to collect and sell the forest product
1979	ICDS programmes – started <i>Anganwadis</i> .
1986	Tribal Land Restriction Act Bill came into force but not implemented.
1987	Bus Service started in Sholayoor
1991	Population : 86261, Tribesfolk, 28. 02%
1993	High court judgment to return the tribal land to the tribesfolk.
1996	Restriction on transfer of lands and restoration of Alienated Lands
1999	Land Amendment Bill passed in 1999
2000	Giving <i>Pattayams</i> to few tribesfolk away from their hamlets

Early Agrarian Settlements in Attappadi: Agali Zone- A Historical Search

Major portion of the land in the area was revenue land spread in the three *Amsams* of Mannarakkad, Ottappalam and Sholayoor. To acquire revenue land the migrants first met the *Adhikari* and acquired land with his permission.⁵⁵ Then they marked the boundary of land by cutting small trees and wild growth. The farmers had to pay tax only to the land cleared and cultivated by them. If a migrant cultivated only three acres of land out of ten acres he acquired, he had to pay the tax only for the three acres. It was known as *Punchacheet* system.⁵⁶ Before the coming of Travancore migrants some migrant Mappila traders and landlords had settled in the area. They cultivated coffee, pepper and plantain in the land. Some migrants bought land from these Mappila land owners.⁵⁷ At the beginning of migration, the present Agali town had one tea shop and one grocery shop run by the Muslims.⁵⁸

It is observed that the migrants began to settle in the Goolikkadavu area of Agali during the second half of 1930s. The people like Sebastain Thodupuzha, Agasty Meenachil and et al, from Poyiloor in Kottayam settled there in 1932. It can also be noticed that Francis Kalappurakkal, Johny Kalappurakkal and Steephan were

⁵⁵ Akkali Ravunni Menon was the *Adhikari* of Mannarakkad who had helped the early migrants in the occupation of revenue land.

⁵⁶ *Punchacheet* was a receipt received from *Adhikaries* after the payment of tax on cultivated land.

⁵⁷ Aiymanam Joseph, from Meenachil bought 150 acre of land from a Mappila land owner Kalladi Moideen.

⁵⁸ The tea shop was run by a Maliyekkal Moidu from Chavakkad.

the other early migrants who settled in Agali⁵⁹ during the late 1930s. Jellippara, Bhoothivazhy, Karayoor, Pakkulam, Agali Thazhe Ooru, Kandiyure and Kalkandy, were the other early centers of migration in Agali zone. Migration of people of Travancore and Mannarkkad to these areas started after 1940 and a few years later some Ezhava and Muslim groups migrated and settled in these areas.

In Agali area Thomas Chirattolappara, George Puthan Purakkal, Varghese Chakkiyath, Mathayi Nakkuzhikkattu, Madathiparambil Devasikkutty, Charupadikkal Moideen and Kodyil Abdullakutty were early migrants of Kakkuppadi in 1945. In the same period Paily Kummarkottil, Agastian Kummarkottil, Mathew Perinpillil, Auseph Keranchirayil, Marcose Nediyanil and Joseph Nediyanil, Annarayil Ismayil, Chekku settled in Chemmanoor near Agali.⁶⁰ Several Ezhava and Muslim community members from various parts of Chavakkad, Mannarkkadu also settled in Agali area such as Raghavan Menaparambil, Bhaskaran Nair Kanjirakkattil, Purushothaman Kulangarasheriyil and Kunjeen Mambra, Moosa Pazhayarikil, Kalladi Rayinkutty etc.. They occupied revenue land with the support of the *Adikari* of the *Amsam*.⁶¹

In Thavalam and Mukkali area the migration had started in the 1940s and the early migrants here were not Christians but Ezhavas and Muslims. Unnikrishnan Karamekkal, Sukumaran Thazhathekudiyil, Blachandran Udivilayil Ummarkoya Kuzhiyancheriyil, Nanadikunnel Unnikrishnan and Raman Ambika vilasam, Palakalathil Muhammed and Beeran kutty were some of the early migrants of the group.⁶² The coming of one or two families of a particular community was an impetus to the movement of people of the same community into this area. Paddy, millet, tapioca and vegetable were the early cultivations in this part. Later ginger, lemon grass and coconut have become a common cultivation among the people⁶³.

⁵⁹ Kalappurakkal family entered into Agali and settled in Goolikkadavu near Agali in 1939.

⁶⁰ Interview with Palapparambil Joseph (63) Retd. Village officer, Agali, 18th May 2020.

⁶¹ During the time of migration Bhaskaran (78) was the *Adhikari* of Chemmanoor *Amsam*.

⁶² Interview with Muhammed (69), Shop owner, Goolikadavu, 18th May 2020.

⁶³ In this area *Irulas* and Tamil settlers had produced millet which was bought by the traders in Agali, chiefly by Muslims.

Some of the wealthy migrants organized big plantations in the zone.⁶⁴ Due to poverty many of the early migrants engaged in daily labour in the estates of rich farmers. They received two and a half rupees per day which was used to buy rice from the market.⁶⁵

Mukkali near Mannarkkad is one of the typical areas of migration in Attappadi. It was a thick forest area with all kinds of wild animals before the migration of people from Travancore and Mannarakkad. K. P. Thomas from Pala and Varghees Valliparambel from Thodupuzha were the first migrants to Mukkali in 1940⁶⁶. The number of migrant families in Mukkali has increased in 1945⁶⁷. The people secured land in this area for cultivation with the help of the *Adhikari* of the *Amsam*. As a part of 'Grow More Food' campaign of the government the revenue authorities encouraged the migrants to settle in the forests and produce food grains

However, a large proportion of the settlers were driven to Attappadi by their extreme hunger for a piece of land. More than 61% of the Malayalis arrived at Agali with the aim of acquiring land for cultivation. Another 18% were reached Attappadi due to their sheer poverty. Hardly 4% of the malayalis happened to come and settle in Agali as they were in Government Service.

Table 4.7

Distribution of Settlers Based on Primary Reasons for Migration

Region/ Category	For land	Government – job	Poverty in the native place	Family at Attappadi	Search for job	Estate work
Malayali Migrants- Agali	61. 2	4. 0	18. 0	10. 4	4. 8	1. 6

ITDP Report, Agali, 2022, p.69.

⁶⁴ Under the initiative of Pathrose Thenumkal 30 acres orange estate was started at Moolankave in 1943.

⁶⁵ Information given by Alex Kuruvila (69), Retd Staff, Agali water authority, Agali, 14th May 2020.

⁶⁶ Information given by K. J. Mathew (65), Migrant farmer, Mukkali, 21st May 2020.

⁶⁷ Information received from K. M. Alex Vattakunnel, (65), Mukkali, Mannarkkad. 27th May 2020.

The easy-going approach of the *Jenmis* and the lack of state control were the major reasons which facilitated in-migration in the early stages. The main motivating factor for the inflow of people to the region in the early stages was acquisition of land for extraction of forest trees; and it was cultivators in the next stage. The process of settlement, later, turned more of exploitative in nature. In their drive to acquire at least a small portion of land, the in-migrants exploited the tribals indiscriminately on both sides of the valley. The total demographic and land ownership structure changed in favour of the settlers within a short span of time

The worst aspect of this immigration was the intruders illegally occupying the land of the tribals and making them agricultural labourers.⁶⁸ The migration adversely affected the tribals by alienating them from their traditional lands and subjugating them to ruthless exploitation and placing them at an inferior social status. In the course of fieldwork, it was found that many tribal people who had been wage labourers under the new comers for decades were brutally exploited both physically and mentally⁶⁹ Thus, the migration wave from the erstwhile Travancore and Mannarkkad had abrogated the mobilization of the tribals, by encroaching upon their land holdings, appropriating them and employing them as wage earners partly decent wages. The new landed class treated them as mere slaves. Even the modesty of their women folk was looted. Their human rights were frequently violated by the police and administrators. The press and media always supported the dominant sections. The proletarianization process of the tribals inaugurated by the British colonial policies was quickened by large scale migration of plainsmen from Travancore Mannarkkad and Chavakkad by the mid of 20th century. The process of migration also strengthened the dispossession and pauperization of the tribals of Attappadi.

⁶⁸ M. Kunhaman, "Understanding Tribal Life", in P. N. Varghese (ed.,) *State and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Kottayam, 1983, pp. 77-78.

⁶⁹ Discussion with Allen Mooppan (65), Ward Member, Agali Panchayath, 1st April 2021.

Sources of Land Acquisition

In the Attappadi region *Jenmis* had entrusted the management of their lands to *Kariasthans*. These *Kariasthans* acted as an intermediary between the *Jenmi* and the tribals. The main duty entrusted with these *Kariasthans* was the collection of rent from the tribals for the land allocated to them for cultivation. The tribals subsisted on shifting cultivation and collecting minor forest produces such as honey, spices, horns and herbs. The beginning of the exchange of their produces with traders (mainly Gowndans) from Tamil Nadu marked the beginning of their contact with the outside world. These traders came to Attappadi to buy forest produces which had good market in Coimbatore. In exchange for the forest produce tribals were given plastic items like baskets, rope and dresses. These Gowndans, by their several trips to the borders of Attappadi, became acquainted, in course of time, with the *Kariasthans* and established rapport with them. This gave them a handle to acquire land for cultivation and for cutting wood.⁷⁰

The entry of small groups of Malayali settlers was, in the beginning, neither for cultivation nor for acquisition of land. They came as workers in the land of big settlers to cut trees and to carry out manual work in their lands. The settlers in Mannarkkad were the first who bought land in Attappadi from Moopil Nair. They could acquire ownership rights of vast areas of hillside lands at prices as low as Rs. 2 per acre. For *Jenmis* the amount of Rs.2 or even less per acre was attractive enough considering the zero-opportunity cost of land.⁷¹ These settlers were assisted by the *Kariasthans* who in turn got rewarded in cash and liquor. The main motive for buying many large acres of land was the availability of high quality precious timber of diverse kinds in the area.⁷²

⁷⁰ Bundle No.133, Serial No. 27, Proceedings of Revenue Department, Madras, Regional Archives, Calicut.

⁷¹ Kunhaman, *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁷² Interview with Sainudheen (62), Ward Viksana Samithi Convener, Agali, 29th May 2021.

The landlords issued Money Receipts (MR) for the amounts received from the purchasers of land.⁷³ The receipts became the documentary evidence of ownership. In the money receipts, neither the location nor the size of the areas used to be specified. Instead, the settler was told some locally known border points to identify his area. In some cases, *Kariasthans* were sent along with these settlers to locate the areas. In most cases of the early transactions, it was the agent of the *Jenmi* who was entrusted to identify and locate the land to the settler. As the areas were not easily accessible even to the *Kariasthans*, lands were allotted arbitrarily. In certain cases, the allotted area was identified on the basis of the standing trees. These trees became the boundary of the land bought. This sort of allotment led to several bickerings and conflicts among the settlers. There were also instances of issue of MR for two or more persons for the same plot of land. Consequently several clashes and even fights took place. Again *Kariasthans* were entrusted to solve such clashes. These clashes were an advantage to *Kariasthans* who subsisted mainly on the income of his *Jenmi*. Being bribed by the settlers, the agents, mostly the *Kariasthan*, looked away while the settlers laid hands on large areas of land in excess of what had been mentioned in the Money Receipt. As a result, when cash receipt for 10 acres was given, 5 to 10 times larger areas were occupied. Neither the *Jenmi* nor the agent was interested to look into the actual area appropriated by the settlers.⁷⁴

Settlers brought along with them workers, mostly poor and economically backward, from the plane lands. These workers were used to cut woods and were promised land for cultivation. Often, they were given the land after the harvest of timber was over. Agricultural labourers, mainly, Ezhavas and Scheduled Castes, were brought in large numbers by the in-migrant agriculturists who were mostly Christians of the Travancore - Cochin Area.

The early settlers, who became main cultivators, had close contacts with *Jenmis* and Agents of *Jenmis*. It is through them that the later in-migrants secured lands. Fixation of price was highly arbitrary. During the period 1950-60 many

⁷³ In Attappadi area Money Receipts given by the *Jenmi* was known as MR and the term is commonly used by settlers.

⁷⁴ Interview with Ramachandran (65), Retd.Village officer, 29th May 2022

peasant settlers directly leased in land from Moopil Nair for cultivation at a rate of Rs.2 acre.⁷⁵ While granting permission to cultivate the land they were also permitted to stay in the same plot. The extent of benevolence received by a lessee from the *Jenmi* depended on the status of the person who introduced him to the *Jenmi*. As the principal objective of the settlers was cultivation, security of ownership did not bother them much. As a result, many settlers got land already either occupied or cultivated by tribals. The result was the pushing out of the tribals from the lands they had been cultivating and living in. The land hungry settlers were not interested in questions of the natural right of the tribals on land.

Settlers had acquired land, in the beginning, from *Jenmis* and later from tribals through various strategies. Tribals, on the other hand, used the land from *Jenmis* for slash and burn cultivation. However, during decades of the study period several rounds of land transfers had taken place and many of the first-generation settlers had died away. Property has passed on to their descendants. At the time of our survey, we observed that peasant migrants of Attappadi had acquired lands mainly through five sources, viz., (a) inherited from ancestors, (b) purchased from *Jenmis*, early settlers, fellow settlers and tribals, (c) leased-in (Kuthakappattom) from *Jenmis*, early settlers, fellow settlers and tribals, (d) encroached upon forest land and tribal-occupied areas, and (e) received free from the Government. However, the area reported as encroached was only 25 % in Agali. This was, perhaps, due to the fact that 20.64% of lands in Agali were inherited by the present generation and occupants who do not know what the real source. In the early years of migration, settlers had taken land from *Jenmis* and tribals on lease. Now a reverse operation is in vogue in the hill slopes of the study area. Tribals, owing to lack of land for cultivation, lease-in land from settlers for cultivation on an annual or biannual basis. Settlers are interested in such lease as it would save them of the large amount of labour required for clearing virgin forest land.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Interview with Kannan Kavundikkal (61), Farmer, Jellippara, 29th May 2022.

⁷⁶ Bundle No. 118, Sl. No. 17, Proceedings of Revenue Department, Madras, Regional Archives, Calicut.

Purchase of Land by Settlers

It is seen that a major share of the land possessed by the settlers were obtained through purchase. Though the main source of purchase in the 1950s was *Jenmis*, in the later stages most of the land transactions were among settlers themselves and between settlers and tribals. There were also ethnic and religious considerations behind land transfers. Early Tamil settlers were reluctant to sell their land to Malayali settlers. They preferred sales to fellow Tamil settlers. Similarly, in the Malayali-occupied areas, community considerations prevailed. There exist separate pockets of Muslim and Christian Malayali settlers. Inter-settler transactions were widely practiced in Attappadi. The settlers had acquired their land at various stages from different sources.

The extent of land now owned by settlers has been acquired by them at different stages. There is no literature available on the exact date of acquisition of land by the settlers. Nevertheless, the extent of land and the date of acquisition are collected from settlers. Many settlers in Attappadi were not able to acquire land on a large scale at the time of their arrival due to financial difficulties. However, over the years many settlers could acquire large areas of land. Malayali Settlers obtained 58% of their land during the period 1961-80, which was helped by on the one hand the influx of population and on the other the implementation of Land Reforms. However the influx of in-migrants to Attappadi considerably declined after the 1980s.⁷⁷

There were large scale land transfers from tribals to non-tribals in Kerala and especially in the Attappadi region.⁷⁸ Emergence of plantations, implementation of Government sponsored programmes, indifference of officials and sometimes the favorable inclination of tribal *Moopans* towards the upper strata-all contributed directly or indirectly to alienate a community from their means of livelihood. For example, the implementation of Silent Valley Project displaced many Muduga families. Of several factors, the most pertinent for land alienation was the massive

⁷⁷ It is reported from the field that when the wave of Land Reform was spread in the Valley, settlers who have larger areas of land either sold their land to fellow settlers or transferred in the name of next heirs.

⁷⁸ Kunhaman, *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

influx of people from midland and lowland to highland. The process of land transfer took place in different ways in the different tribal centres. However, the exact cause for land transfers and the ways in which they changed hands from tribals to non-tribals remain to be documented. A dualistic economy has emerged in Attappadi through land alienation of the tribals – a non-tribal flourishing economy and a tribal declining economy. The tribals look at the settlers with fear, suspicion and hatred while the non-tribal settlers consider the tribals foolish, lazy and primitive.⁷⁹

Reserved Forests and the Deforestation

With the assumption of power by the British in Malabar, the north-west part of Attappadi was declared reserved forest; the rest of the area remained with the *Jenmis* as private forests. During the early periods, neither the *Jenmis* nor the British exploited the forests. In the reserved areas the tribals continued to enjoy full freedom, though the British were placing restrictions on their movement in the forests and the pursuit of their economic activities that were least detrimental to the forests. The realm of Attappadi forest was first disturbed in 1932 through clear felling to make way for plantation in its south eastern portions. Following this, nearly 300 hectares of forests were clear felled and planted with teak. Later the British felled timber to meet the requirements of railway sleepers and to support the plywood industry.⁸⁰

However, the process of deforestation in Attappadi became extensive with the influx of settlers. The new form of cultivation brought by the migrants required forest clearance, and the process of deforestation got accelerated. Cultivation of deep-rooted crops like *Ramacham* or vetiver and *Theruva* or lemon grass, which is still in practice, led to the erosion of top soil.⁸¹ For extraction of oil from these crops huge quantities of firewood were required. Firewood was obtained freely by cutting trees from the forest areas. Settlers from Travancore helped the timber trade of the

⁷⁹ Manikandan, *Op. cit.*, 27.

⁸⁰ Economic Statistics Review Report, Thiruvananthapuram, August, 1989.

⁸¹ Interview with Manichan (61), Migrant farmer, 11th May 2022.

rich early settlers in return for a piece of land to cultivate. During the early 1950s, even high-quality timber species were used by settlers as firewood.

Deforestation accelerated during the 1970s when the feudal landlords became certain that they would lose their land due to impending land reform measures. Large areas of forest land were sold to timber traders at throw away prices. 'Something is better than nothing' was what the *Jenmis* had in mind.⁸² When the reforms began to be implemented, 10 to 15 truck loads of timber passed through the Mukkali junction each day. The truck number, the type of timber, and the time and date used to be recorded in the register kept by the *Moopilsthanam*. *Jenmis* gave lands liberally to relatives for removal of trees. Private forests were vested with the Government in 1971, through the Kerala Forests Vesting and Assignment Act. This was a severe setback to *Jenmis* and all those who were engaged in tree cutting in the leased lands. The High Court of Kerala struck down the order on 21st May 1972. After a long legal battle, the Supreme Court of India approved the legislation on 19th August 1973. The interim period of one year and four months was a legal vacuum, during which massive, organized forest plunder was carried out. The greenest parts of Attappadi, except the reserve areas, totally vanished by the mid-1970s. Forests which constituted 80% of the total geographical area of Attappadi, even as late as 1959, was reduced to a mere 29% in 1975.⁸³ Whatever trees remained in the private land were used up by the settlers in the later stage.

Problems Encountered by the Migrants

(a) Major Hardships in the Journey

The early migrant families could reach Malabar especially Attappadi, only by undertaking of a very tiresome journey of minimum three days. Majority of them started their train journey from Alwaye. To reach Alwaye from the interior parts of Central Travancore they used bullock cart and bus. One important aspect of their journey was that they tried to bring maximum items of household goods to their new

⁸² Interview with Narayanan Nair (63), Retd. Village Officer, 6th May 2020.

⁸³ Kunjaman *Op. cit.*, p. 89

abode. So every family was like refugees in their appearance having a heavy load of things including all utensils, seeds, heavy kitchen articles and very big boxes with all types of items for a family.⁸⁴

Their first train journey ended in Shornur. It was running between Trivandrum and Madras via Coimbatore. As far as the migrants were concerned Shornur was the boundary between their native place and the Promised Land, Malabar.⁸⁵ From Shornur they entered into another train running from Madras to Mangalore and would reach either in Calicut or Thalassery to precede together the interior hilly tracts of Malabar. The train journey from Alwaye to Calicut cost only three rupees and sixty paise. In the earlier period the passengers to Attappadi had to wait for one or two days in Calicut or Mannarkkad to get a bus as the number of vehicles were very few. There were cases when migrants walked from Mannarkkad to Attappadi without getting bus even after waiting three days.⁸⁶ There were only a very few roads that connected the lower plains to Attappadi. From Mannarkkad, their bus journey was through Attappadi ghat road to reach the places in Agali like Mukkali, Goolikadavu, Chemmanoor and even Kottathara.

In the first half of the 20th century the local transportation of Attappadi was in a very poor condition. Inside the forest they used small paths used by the tribal people for walking and cattle rearing. Paths of this type were the only routes in the thick private forests of Attappadi. Bullock cart was the easy means of transport at that time. Each of the migrant families had to walk several kilometers to reach their new places in Attappadi. Inside the forest they mainly depended upon very small foot paths formed in the course of time by the use of animals and tribal people.

Land acquisition

The first burden of a migrant farmer in the new area was to identify the land suitable for cultivation. In many cases a group of farmers' i. e., three or four elders

⁸⁴ A detailed description of the beginning of the journey was provided in the famous novel *Vishakanyaka*. See, S. K. Pottakkad, *Vishakanyaka*, Kottayam, 2002, pp. 9-15.

⁸⁵ It was the boundary between the princely state of Cochin and Malabar district under Madras government.

⁸⁶ Interview with Vargheese (61), Shop owner, Mukkali, 21st April 2020.

of different families came to observe the new places before coming with their families for permanent stay. They took into account the nature of the soil and ascertained if it was good enough for cultivation. Another consideration was the availability of water. Moreover, they were also interested to settle near the habitations of other early migrants. Once they identified the land for cultivation they approached the owners of the land and purchased it. According to the Madras Preservation of Private Forest Act of 1949, for the legal transfer of land the *Janmi* had to obtain permission from the Collector of Malabar. But many of the landlords did not bother about this Act but sold their land without any restrictions. But some of the educated landlords complied with this rule and obtained permission before the sale.⁸⁷

Before the first half of the 20th century the price of land was very low in Attappadi. Wet land cost more than dry land in the *Taluk*. In 1940, when migrants settled in Chemmanoor they had to give Rs. 12 for wet land and Rs.10 for dry land as *Manusham* in *Marupattam* tenure. In the land document the migrant tenants had to give some other dues to the *Janmies*. Apart from the land of *Janmies* and *Devasvams*, the migrants occupied revenue land which was under the control of the *Adhikaries* of the *Taluk*.⁸⁸ There were several instances of very poor migrants who had no money occupying government *Janmam* land for cultivation. When the migrants occupied revenue land the *Adhikari* gave *Punchacheet* to the tenants for cultivation. In the system the occupants were not allowed to cut down trees and if violated the restriction heavy fines were imposed on the violators. One significant advantage of revenue land was that the migrants could cultivate land without paying any money like the tenants under *Janmies* or the *Devasvam*. The plentiful availability of revenue land in many parts of the area prompted the settlers to sell their land at high price to other migrants and occupy revenue land free of cost.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Interview with Narayanan Nair (63), Retd. Village officer, Agali. 26th April 2022

⁸⁸ In Chemmanoor near Agali migrants got revenue land.

⁸⁹ Kavundikkal Paily and family well settled in four acres of land at Chemmanoor near Agali town in 1950. But he disposed his land to some others and occupied revenue land in Agali.

House Construction

In the new land the migrants arranged a temporary hut within one or two days with locally available materials.⁹⁰ Bamboo and reed were the main materials used by the migrants to make houses. The walls of the huts were also made of the same material and they were pasted with mud for strength and safety. They also prepared coats inside the huts by plaiting pieces of bamboo and fixing them on the big stumps of bamboo. The plaited bamboo was known as *Thaital*. Most of the early migrants used grass for thatching the roof of their huts because of the non availability of straw. These small huts had a maximum of two or three rooms. These houses were frequently attacked by the wild animals and sometimes destroyed completely.

Threat of Wild Animals

The attack from the cruel wild animals was very severe in the jungles of Attappadi. During the time of cultivation, the migrants were attacked by the animals. The people used to keep stone pieces during the time of their journey to deter the elephants. When they saw the wild elephants they climbed on very big trees and threw the stones at the elephants to chase them away.⁹¹ The grazing of herds of elephants even during the day time was very common and it created severe destruction to the agricultural crops of migrants. Wild boars had destroyed tapioca, ginger and several other crops of migrants in almost all parts of Attappadi within days of cultivation. The attack of monkeys was also a big threat to the millet and ginger cultivation of migrants.

Rationing of Food Grains

During severe famine, strict food rationing introduced by the government in Malabar was a serious problem not only to the migrants but also to the native

⁹⁰ Joshy Mathew, *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁹¹ Interview with Agastian Thekkumpuram (63), Tahvalam, 10th April 2021.

peoples.⁹² The quantity of storage was fixed by the Rationing Inspectors with the help of *Adhikaries*. From the total production of a farmer, a fixed volume was left to the cultivator for his use and the balance was procured from the cultivators.⁹³

The migrants suffered from great poverty in Attappadi. Within one year of settlement and cultivation, the money they brought was exhausted. In the new land they were not able to raise enough yields in the beginning. So, many of them had to go for work in the estates and in the farm land of small-scale farmers. In the early years the migrants used to prepare coffee out of coffee husk which was collected from the houses of the *Janmis*. This indicates the grim situation of poverty faced by the farmers in the early years of migration.

Fatalities resulting Malaria

Several people died of Malaria in Attappadi and many of them returned to their native place. The attack of Malaria was very severe in Mukkali, Goolikadavu, Thavalkam, Chemmanoor zones. The highest number of deaths occurred due to Malarial fever between 1930 and 1950. The main centres of death of migrants in Attappadi were Mukkali, Goolikadavu, Thavalkam, Chemmanoor, Bhoothi vazhi, Karayoor, Narasimukku, Kottathra, and so on. In many of these areas there was no nearby church or burial ground to bury the dead. So, the early deceased persons were buried in their own compounds and others in the cemeteries usually without the presence and service of priests.⁹⁴

Large number of people were also victims of the different types of fever between 1940 and 1950. A newcomer in Attappadi contacted Malarial fever normally within three days of his arrival. Lack of medical facilities in Attappadi increased the possibility of mortality. From the interior areas the patients were

⁹² In each *Taluk* a rationing officer was appointed as the head of the rationing department. Moreover, Rationing Inspectors and depot keepers were appointed to assess and collect the paddy from the cultivators.

⁹³ The grain was distributed through ration shops. If the yield of the farmer was 30 *Paras*, approximately 10 *Paras* was collected by the government as surplus. Information given by Susan Joseph Tharakan, D/o Joseph Tharakan, He was the rationing department clerk at Thavalam, between 1951-53.

⁹⁴ Joshi Mathew, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

carried on the shoulders to distant hospitals. But in many cases they died on the way to the hospital. Some migrant families in some cases surrendered to death. There were no body to conduct the funeral.

The severe hardships faced by migrants in Malabar especially in Attappadi is under represented in the history of Kerala. Hence studies concerning them have got greater significance today. The people of Travancore, Mannarkkad, Malappuram and Chavakkad etc. were forced to migrate to the jungles of Malabar because of various push and pull factors. Despite all the hardships new crops and technology were introduced in the land by the new migrants. The life of migrants in the new land was so unnatural and miserable due to severe cold, Malaria, wild animals and exploitation of *Janmis*. Many people died and a number of people deserted their land and returned to their native places. Those who struggled with the adverse situation persisted in this land.

CHAPTER 5

IRULAS: HISTORY AND TRADITION

The *Irula* tribe, designated as a scheduled tribe in the state of Kerala, holds a prominent position owing to their rich heritage of ancestral tales which trace their origins.¹ Predominantly, they inhabit in the scenic Attappadi Valley, nestled within the Mannarkkad Taluk of Palakkad District. As per the data from the 2011 Census, their population was recorded as 23,721.² Moreover, the *Irula* community also extends to the adjacent areas of the Coimbatore district in Tamil Nadu. Linguistically, they communicate in a language closely related to Tamil. Within the realm of anthropological literature, the *Irula* tribe is recognized as comprising three distinct segments: the *Irulas* of Nilgiris, the *Irulas* residing in the locality of Attappadi and its surrounding regions, and the *Irulas* of Chengalpattu.³ The *Irula* communities residing in the Nilgiris and Attappadi regions, despite sharing certain similarities, occupy distinct geographic zones. Eminent expert Perialwar⁴ situates that the *Vettekad Irular*, in particular, trace their origins to the *Irula*-inhabited areas of the Coimbatore district, specifically known as "Vettekad." The significant migration event occurred during the late 16th and early 17th century centuries.

Upon examining the census reports in Kerala since 1881, it becomes apparent that the population of the *Irula* tribe has exhibited fluctuations over the years. The recorded numbers varied from one census to another.⁵

¹ Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Govt press, Madras, 1909, p.452.

² *Census Report of India*, Ministry of Home Affairs, 2021, p. 311.

³ Madhava Menon, *The Encyclopedia of Dravidian Tribes*, International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996, p.234.

⁴ P, Perialwar, Portrait of Tribal Life in Irula Folklore, *Social Scientist*, Vol: 12, August 1974, p.48.

⁵ *Census Report of India*, Ministry of Home Affairs, 2011, p.421.

Table 5.1
Irula Population⁶

Sl. No.	Year	<i>Irula Population</i>
1	1881	4562
2	1891	6572
3	1901	7542
4	1911	8122
5	1921	7421
6	1931	7112
7	1941	7820
8	1951	8423
9	1961	10211
10	1971	16536
11	1981	15683
12	1991	19243
13	2001	21424
14	2011	23271

The 2011 Census provides data on the total number of individuals belonging to *Irula* families in Kerala, categorized by sex and literacy rate. The information is presented as follows:

Table 5.2
Gender wise Population⁷

<i>Irula</i> tribe	Members	Male	Female	Literacy rate
Total	23721	11766	11955	60.01%
Rural	23100	11465	11635	
Urban	621	301	320	

⁶ Ibid., p.422

⁷ *Census Report of India*, Ministry of Home Affairs, 2011, p.411

The tribes of Kerala exhibit a multifaceted cultural heritage, replete with a plethora of legends and traditions that illuminate their origins. These narratives often weave, tales of supernatural occurrences or draw inspiration from mythological figures, contributing to the intricate tapestry of their ancestral lore. A seminal work by Edgar Thurston⁸ delves into the historical account of the *Irula* tribe within the erstwhile Malabar region. In his scholarly exploration, he elucidates the integral role of shifting cultivation and the gathering of forest resources in sustaining the livelihoods of the *Irula* community. One of the most remarkable aspects highlighted by Thurston is the profound veneration accorded by the *Irula* to the Malleswara peak situated in the picturesque Attappadi region. Within their intricate belief system, this majestic peak is considered the hallowed abode of Lord Shiva, instilling a profound sense of sacredness in the hearts of the *Irula* people.

The *Irula* tribe, constituting a significant numerical majority in the region of Attappadi derives its name from a characteristic linked to their physical appearance, as the term "*Irula*" translates to "pitch black".⁹ Historically, it is assumed that the *Irulas* trace their origins to the Southern state of Tamil Nadu, specifically as inhabitants of the Coimbatore district. The region of Attappadi hosts a substantial population of *Irulas*, with a total of 192 settlements or hamlets dedicated to the tribal community. In terms of their physical attributes, the *Irulas* exhibit distinct features, including a medium height, elongated arms, curly hair, prominent cheekbones, and narrow noses. These physical traits contribute to their unique identity within the broader spectrum of ethnic groups in the region. Linguistically, the *Irula* communicate through a blend of languages, incorporating elements of Malayalam, Canarese (Kannada), and Tamil. The linguistic amalgamation is reflective of the historical and cultural interactions that have shaped the linguistic landscape of Attappadi. Their communication is facilitated through a unique tribal language known as "*erlanarya*" which is further divided into four distinct dialects.

⁸ Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes, Op cit.*, p.452.

⁹ Madava Menon, *Op cit.*, p.458.

Linguistically, the "*erlanarya*" language falls under the purview of the Tamil-Malayalam group¹⁰ within the South Dravidian languages.¹¹ The linguistic affiliation establishes significant connections between the *Irula* tribe and the wider linguistic and cultural landscape of the Tamil and Malayalam-speaking regions in South India.

The Madras Census Report of 1901 holds significant historical value, serving as a crucial document that offers valuable insights into the demographics and social structure of the *Irula* tribe. The report, conducted during the British colonial era under the purview of the Madras Presidency, represents one of the earliest authoritative records pertaining to the categorization of castes and tribes within the Nilgiri Mountains region. Within the context of the census, the *Irulas* emerge as a distinct indigenous tribe that inhabited various districts encompassing the states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka. Their intermittent settlements across these regions denote their historical presence and cultural impact on the diverse landscapes of South India. The *Irulas* residing in the Nilagiri Mountains are particularly referred to as *Malanadu Irulas* or *Maladesa Irulas*, signifying their association with the hilly terrain and dense forests characteristic of the *Malanadu* or *Maladesa* area. The intricate relationship between the tribe and the natural environment has fostered a unique way of life, deeply rooted in their interactions with the rich biodiversity of the region.

In earlier times, the *Irula* tribe primarily engaged in the works of honey collecting, hunting, food gathering, and practiced primitive forms of agriculture. Over time, their occupation shifted towards swidden cultivation. The *Irulas* hold the distinction of being the second largest tribal group in both Kerala and Tamil Nadu.¹² The specific causes behind their migration from different parts of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka to Attappadi have not been extensively explored in the studies. Drawing from research on the immigration of other tribal communities like *Irulas*, *Kurumbas* and *Mudugas*, three potential reasons for their migration to the Attappadi region can

¹⁰ A. M, Kurup, has said that *Irulas* are speakers of Tamil or a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam.

¹¹ Kamil Zvelebil, *A Sketch of Comparative Dravidian Morphology*, Volume-1, Mouton publications, Germany, 1978, p.361.

¹² Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes*, *Op cit.* p.62.

be hypothesized. Firstly, ethnic or caste-based violence may have compelled their relocation. Secondly, natural calamities such as floods, droughts, or diseases like malaria or smallpox could have played a role. Lastly, the availability of fertile land in Attappadi might have attracted them. Further analysis and examination of additional data and evidence are necessary to ascertain the specific causes of *Irula* migration. The *Irulas* reside in small and tidy huts constructed with interwoven bamboo, resembling basket work, and the interiors are plastered with clay. They typically have a substantial number of poultry, a few goats, and in certain villages, a small number of cows that serve as milch animals¹³.

Name and Origin

The tribes in Kerala are rich in legends and diverse traditions that explain their origins, attributing them either to supernatural circumstances or mythological characters.¹⁴ In the case of the *Irula* tribe, anthropologists and writers have delved into the etymological origins of their name.¹⁵ There are two narratives regarding the origin of the term "*Irula*." The first story suggests that the name "*Irula*" was given to the tribe due to their dark complexion. As their skin is dark, others decided to address them as *Irular*. According to Ramanunni,¹⁶ the term "*Irula*" is believed to have originated from the dark complexion of the *Irula* tribe.

The second story states that the *Irula* tribe resides in or near dense forests, and because they are often seen in the darkness of these dense forests, they are referred to as *Irula*. In Malayalam, the word "Irul" translates to darkness or blackness. However, the reason for specifically assigning this name to the *Irula* tribe remains unclear, as other tribal communities such as *Kurumbar* and *Mudugar* also

¹³ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, 2nd Edition, East Indian Company, London, 1807, p.247.

¹⁴ K. N. Sahay, *Dynamics and Dimensions of Tribal Societies*, New Delhi, 1998, p.62.

¹⁵ A.A.D Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1962, p.13. He has discussed the etymological meaning of all tribes of Kerala.

¹⁶ S, Ramanunni, *Keralathile Gothravargga Vibhaagangal: Kanikkar muthal Koragar Vare*, (Mal.), Kurukshethra Prakashan, Kochi, 2015, p.43.

share a similar dark complexion. Thamizoli¹⁷ proposes another perspective, suggesting that "Irul" meaning darkness, may symbolize either the dark complexion of these tribes or the dense and dark jungles they inhabit.

According to a report by A.A.D Luiz,¹⁸ the *Irula* tribe is known for their skillful and sustainable agricultural practices. The study was conducted by Luiz prior to 1962, during a visit to Attappadi. Another observation made by Madhava Menon¹⁹ describes the land use patterns of the *Irula* tribe, including the conversion of wetlands and the cultivation of ploughed land. Menon notes that the *Irula* community had access to a wide range of land forms, offering them greater diversity compared to other tribal communities in the valley.

The *Irula* tribe traditionally practiced various forms of agriculture in the forested uplands. One such method was known as "*Kothukadu*" which involved cutting and clearing the land for cultivation. They also engaged in dry land farming, referred to as "*Erukadu*" which involved ploughing the land. Additionally, they cultivated wetlands, primarily for paddy cultivation known as "gedde". The *Irula* tribe initially employed the slash and burn method of shifting cultivation, cultivating crops such as red gram and millets. However, due to encroachment by settlers, they gradually transitioned to settled agriculture and plough cultivation. In their agricultural practices, the *Irula* tribe typically grew millets like *makka cholam* maize, *ragi* or French millet and *chama* or little millet. They also cultivated pulses such as red gram (*thuvava*) and oilseeds like groundnut and castor seed. Over time, the *Irula* tribe incorporated various crops cultivated by Tamil and Malayali settlers into their cropping patterns.

¹⁷ P, Thamizoli, In Sachchidananda, & R. R. Prasad (Ed.), *Encyclopedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, 1988, p.346.

¹⁸ A. A. D. Luiz, *Op cit.*, p.119.

¹⁹ Madhava Menon, *Inclusion and Equity for Rural and Tribal India*, Sage publication, California, 2020.p.21.

Table 5.3
Overview of *Irular* groups in South India²⁰

People	Alternative names	Location	District	Population	Language
<i>Irular</i>	Melenadu <i>Irular</i>	Kotagiri taluk	Nilgiri	8, 242	Melenadu <i>Irula</i> language
<i>Irular</i>	Northern <i>Irular</i>	Udhagamandalam, Gudalur taluks	Nilgiri	8,916	Melenadu <i>Irula</i> language
<i>Irular</i>	Vettekad <i>Irular</i> ,	Coimbatore, Mettupalyam	Coimbatore	11, 828	Vettekad <i>Irula</i> Language
<i>Irular</i>	Urali <i>Irular</i>	Attappadi block	Palakkad	21, 726	Attapady <i>Irula</i> Language
<i>Irular</i>	Velliyan, Iruliga, Ten Vanniyar and Pujari	Chengai Anna, Salem, North and South Arcot, Trichirapally	Chengai Ana, Salem, North and South Arcot, Trichirapally	68, 590	Tamil language
<i>Irular</i>	Pujari or Kadu Pujari	Bangalore, Mysore and Tumkure	Bangalore, Mysore and Tumkure	5, 534	Tamil language

²⁰ ITDP Survey Report Agali, 2009, p.47.

Distribution of the *Irulas* in Kerala

The *Irula* tribe is primarily concentrated in the Attappadi Taluk Palakkad district of Kerala. They are predominantly found in various Panchayaths such as, Agali, Sholayoor, Puthoor, and Mannarkkad taluk. In the Mannarkkad taluk, significant dwelling places for the *Irula* community include Agali, Mukkali, Thavalam, Narasimukku, Goolikkadavu, Kavundikkal, Kallamala, Pakulam, Vajapathi, Varakampadi, Chemmanoor, and Gandiyoor. Within the Attappadi region, *Irulas* are mainly located in Agali.²¹ It is worth noting that the *Irulas* often reside in close proximity to other scheduled tribes that inhabit different areas of the Palakkad district. This indicates a coexistence and shared presence of various tribal communities within the region.

Life and Culture of *Irulas* of Attappadi

Birth

In olden days Polygamy was a prevalent custom within the *Irula* society. Following childbirth, a woman is traditionally considered unclean for a period of three months. On the seventh day after birth, the newborn is given a name. Ear piercing for both males and females can take place at any time after six months. It is common for individuals to be referred to by nicknames that reflect their physical attributes, habits, nature, or unique characteristics. During the delivery process, a midwife known as "*pettichi*" typically assumes responsibility. Among the *Irula*, childbirth occurs at the bride's home. Birth pollution rituals are observed for duration of seven days. If the newborn is a boy, the cradle is traditionally tied on the fifth day, while for girls; it is done on the sixth day. In preparation for childbirth, a pregnant woman is lodged in a separate hut. Her mother and sisters provide companionship and support, and they continue to stay with her in the seclusion hut for a period of eighteen days after delivery.²² On the nineteenth day, she bathes and returns to the main hut, where she is allocated a separate room. Her father or sisters

²¹ Boban Jose, *Tribal Ethno-medicine Continuity and Change*, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1998, p.67.

²² Discussion with Elderly women Chandrika (63) of *Irula Ooru* 18th April 2022.

serve her food, and after a month, she takes over cooking her own meals. The name of the baby will be the name of grandfather and grandmother. Rangan, Nanjan, Kali, Palani Swami, Kalimuthu, Vadakki, Chellan are some of the common names.

Settlement

The population of Attappadi comprises both Scheduled tribes and non-scheduled tribes. According to the 2011 Census, the majority of the Scheduled Tribe families in Attappadi are *Irular*, making up about 80%, while *Mudugar* and *Kurumbar* constitute 12 % and 8%, respectively. The majority of *Irula* people reside in the eastern and northern regions of Attappadi.

The influx of non-tribal people into the region increased significantly between the 1940s and 1980s. For instance, in the 1961 Census, the total population of Attappadi was recorded as 21,416 with 60% being tribes and the rest non-tribes. Over time, from 1961-2011, the tribal population gradually decreased in comparison to the non-tribal population. The settlements of *Irulas* are relatively small, typically consisting of five to thirty families, most commonly around ten families. Earlier these settlements are usually situated on the outskirts of villages, often isolated and located several kilometers away from the nearest main road or large village.

Settlement pattern

The settlement pattern of the *Irula* community revolves around small clusters called "*Ooru*" or hamlets, which typically consist of 25 to 50 households. Each *ooru* is led by a hereditary headman known as the "*Mooppan*." The authority of *Mooppan* extends to all social, economic, political, cultural, and religious matters within the hamlet, and he serves as the crucial link between the tribal folk and the government. However, in recent times, the position, power, and influence of *Mooppans* are gradually diminishing.

Another integral figure within the settlement is that *Bandari* and *Kuruthala*. The *Bandari* implements the decisions made by the *Ooru* committee and is responsible for investigating complaints raised by the tribals to determine their validity. On the other hand, the *Kuruthala* serves as a messenger and holds a

ministerial position, comparable to a treasurer of modern times. The agricultural activities of the *Ooru* are overseen by the *Mannukkaran*, who plays a vital role in performing rituals and cultivation on his own land. Only after the completion of his efforts, others can start cultivating their lands. The *Mannukkaran* possesses significant knowledge about weather patterns, soil fertility, and the most suitable time to begin cultivation.

Regarding clothing and adornment, *Irula* women prefer simple bangles and necklaces with stones and copper, while men typically wear a short piece of cloth around their waist and a towel on their shoulders. Women combine a piece of cloth around the waist with a blouse.

The *Irula* society follows a patrilineal structure, where possessions are equally distributed among male heirs, such as sons. Division of property usually occurs during the father's lifetime, with each male heir receiving an equal share, and the father retaining one share. The youngest son typically takes care of the parents and inherits their property after the death of father. In contrast, women are excluded from inheriting any share. However, if a person has only one female child, he may allow his son-in-law to reside with them after his marriage of daughters.

Puberty Ceremony

When an *Irula* girl reaches the age of 12-13, her mother discusses with her the impending menarche, explaining the natural process she will soon experience. The young girl may have already witnessed puberty ceremony of her close friends and observed women following menstrual practices, which mentally prepares her for her own menarche and subsequent menstruations. As soon as she experiences her first menstrual flow, she informs her mother. The significant moment is referred to as '*Vaysekkevanthache*'(menarche) in *Irula* tradition. Her mother or other female relatives then instruct her not to mingle with or see men, immediately moving her to a secluded corner outside the hut of the family. A specially built *Kalavasane* (*Pachakudishi*), a small seclusion hut constructed with bamboo poles and covered with reed leaves, becomes her place of seclusion during this time. The celebration of the menarche of girls participated her family and members of the hamlet. The

parents inform the *Guruvan* of the clan of the girls about the onset of her menarche. In turn, the *Guruvan* informs the *Oorumooppa*n and others within the community.²³

After attaining physical maturity, the girl is given an *Irumbu Vala*, an iron bangle, symbolizing her transition into womanhood. In earlier days, as a traditional practice, *Panakkallu* (coin necklace) and river-worn pebbles were placed near her sleeping space, intended to be the first sight objects when she wakes the following morning. The custom is believed to ensure a safe delivery and the ability to conceive healthy children in the future. For seven days during her menarche, the girl sits in the *Kalavasane*, the seclusion hut, accompanied by her younger daughter of paternal uncles. During the time, she refrains from taking baths. Instead, she brushes her teeth with charcoal powder and carries out other personal needs before sunrise with the assistance of her cousins. On the eighth day, at approximately 4.00 am, she goes to a nearby stream accompanied by her mother. The single dress she wore during the seven days of seclusion is burnt near the stream. Afterward, her mother and other close relatives bathe her in the stream. The bathing ritual is known as *Thanniadal*, marks the completion of the seclusion period of the girls. After the *Thanniadal* purificatory bath, the girl is allowed to interact with men, signifying the end of her seclusion period. She dresses in new attire but refrains from applying oil to her head or wearing a bindi during this time. She continues to stay in the *Kalavasane* for another seven days, where she takes a daily bath. During this period, only close friends and her mother are permitted to visit her in the hut, providing support and companionship. Her diet during the time consists of *ragiputtu* and nutritious green leafy vegetables.²⁴

The fourteenth day marks the auspicious puberty ceremony known as *Kaithattukke*. During the occasion, the girl undergoes a ceremonial bath with turmeric paste smeared all over her body. In a playful tradition, her *nathini* (cross cousin) playfully prevents her from applying oil to her head on the first three attempts, but on the fourth try, she succeeds in doing so. The special bath is called

²³ Discussion with Ranjini (63), ST promoter of Cheramankandi , 25th May 2022.

²⁴ Discussion with Malli, (69) elderly Irula women of Kadukumanna, 26th May 2022.

manjathanni kulikathe or the turmeric bath, lovingly conducted by her father's sister. Following the bath, the girl receives a piece of bark from the *Lumme* tree, which she uses to sweep from her head to the tip of her toes three times before immersing herself in water and discarding the *lummac* bark. After the purifying ritual, she wears the traditional *Irular* dress known as *Chela Udukathe*, presented to her by her *mami* (sisters of father). Her *mami* also gracefully arranges her hair in the traditional *Irular* style called *Thurumbe*, with a *Kondaososi* (hairpin) positioned on the right side of her head. Completing her adornments, she wears *Kaalmichi* (toe ring) and *Kaimothiram* (finger ring). To commemorate this special milestone, a delightful small feast is arranged. During the celebration, the girl and her companion from the menstrual hut joyously eat rice and curry from the same plate, symbolizing their close bond and cherished friendship.²⁵

In some cases, within three months of a girl attaining menarche, her parents arrange a special ceremony known as *Vayassukuvanthe Cheeru*. This celebration is held to announce to everyone in the beyond hamlet that the girl has entered puberty, indicating her eligibility for marriage. Subsequently, for the following months, menstrual pollution is observed for seven days, as customary. During the menstruation period, a glass and plate are kept outside the hut, exclusively for the use of the menstruating woman. She refrains from activities like drawing water and cooking, and also avoids handling sacred objects kept inside the hut. However, she is permitted to engage in tasks such as sweeping the floor and cleaning the got house. For those experiencing menstrual cramps, the *Irula* tribal healer provides herbal remedies to alleviate discomfort and aid in recovery. During the seclusion period of menarche, the girl is informed about various aspects of sex, childbirth, and related topics, primarily by her mother. Additionally, her friends playfully tease her about the prospect of marriage and finding a loving partner, helping her become well-informed about marriage customs and igniting her interest in finding a suitable half. These cherished customs and ceremonies hold great significance in the

²⁵ Discussion with Panali (69) elderly *Irula* women of Jellippara, 28th May 2022.

Irula community, marking important milestones in a life of the girls and preparing her for the journey into adulthood. ²⁶

Family and Marriage

The *Irula* tribe follows three types of marriages: elopement marriages, marriages by services, and arranged marriages. Girls are typically married after reaching puberty, usually around the age of 16 to 18. For boys, eligibility for marriage is determined when they are grown enough to handle adult responsibilities and contribute financially to a family. This often coincides with their ability to work and earn money for personal needs. Marriage by service is common, wherein a boy proves his capability to run a family by showcasing his hardworking nature. He impresses the family of the girls with his strength and efficiency, demonstrating that he can maintain a family. ²⁷To express his desire to marry a girl, he visits her house frequently, bringing heavy firewood bundles to showcase his strength. He pays respect to her parents by offering betel leaves, tobacco, and other gifts, such as cosmetics and bangles. The service rendered to the prospective family of the brides is known as '*Pennu Velai*'. If the girl agrees to the proposal, she serves him food. However, the girl has the right to reject a suitor if she dislikes him, which she may indicate through hesitation or refusal to serve food to him with her hand. During the period, the boy and girl are allowed to talk freely and even spend nights together, but sexual relations are not permitted. The *Irula* community holds a preference for girls who demonstrate proficiency in various familial tasks, such as cooking, housekeeping, and actively engaging in agricultural operations. These girls are highly regarded for their ability to effectively manage household responsibilities and contribute meaningfully to agricultural activities. The community values their practical skills and sees them as valuable members who play a significant role in ensuring the smooth functioning of both the family and the broader community.

²⁶ Discussion with Ponni,(70) elderly women of Chundakkulam , 25th May 2022.

²⁷ S. S. Shashi, (Ed) *Encyclopedia of Indian Tribes*, New Delhi, Anmol Publications, Vol. 8, 1994, p.49.

Once the parents of the boys agree to the alliance, they visit the house of the girls to inquire about the marriage. The parents of the girls reciprocate the visit and inform the date of the betrothal ceremony by visiting the house of the boys. During the betrothal day, various important members of the community, including *Jathiyar*, *Oorumooppan*, *Kuruthalai*, *Bhandari*, as well as the parents of the brides, siblings and their spouses, visit the house of the girls. On this auspicious occasion, they bring gifts for the bride, including traditional attire like a sari and blouse, as well as other items such as a small mirror and cosmetics to enhance her beauty and prepare her for the upcoming wedding festivities.²⁸ On the same betrothal day, the parents of the girls reciprocate the gesture by presenting the boy with a white shirt piece dhoti and a shawl to be worn as a headgear on the wedding day. As a symbol of their love and commitment, the girl is given a silver ring to wear on one of her toes. During this momentous occasion, representatives from the hamlet of girls, including *Oorumooppan*, *Jathiyar*, *Kuruthalai*, and *Bhandari*, also attend. If the boy and the girl hail from the same hamlet, these functionaries take on the role of hosts at the house of the girls. Together, they collectively finalize the date for the upcoming marriage, ensuring that all aspects of the union are meticulously arranged and celebrated.²⁹

Historically, *Irula* women have been assigned a lower status within their society. However, despite the conceptually lower standing, they actively participate in various economic activities. They engage in tasks such as agricultural operations, where they contribute to the cultivation and harvesting of crops. Additionally, they demonstrate their skills in crafts like basket making and mat weaving, which play an essential role in their livelihood. While *Irula* women take part in socio-religious activities, certain rituals like the funerals that were not allowed to them. Nonetheless, they actively participate in many aspects of community and religious life. Interestingly, *Irula* men entrust women with the responsibility of managing household finances. This delegation indicates the recognition of their practical

²⁸ S. S. Shashi, *Op cit.*, p.62.

²⁹ Interview with Vellagiri (38), *Irula News Reporter*, 4th May 2021.

abilities and decision-making skills, highlighting their crucial role in the functioning and well-being of their families.

Marriage Ceremony

The marriage ceremony takes place at the house of the bridegroom. On the day before the wedding, parent of the boy along with socio-political functionaries from the hamlet, visit the house of the girl. They are warmly welcomed and treated to a grand feast held in a specially erected *Panthi* (marriage booth) for the occasion. With the blessings of her clan and ancestors, the girl, accompanied by her siblings of the parents and functionaries from her natal hamlet, moves to the house of the bridegrooms in her exquisite bridal attire.

On the wedding day, the representatives from neighboring hamlets are present at the ceremony, ensuring a diverse gathering. The atmosphere is filled with hospitality, and betel leaves are served to the attendees. The girl undergoes a ceremonial bath and is adorned in her beautiful bridal attire. The *Guruvan*³⁰ of her clan plays a significant role during this momentous occasion. He shows her the *Gurumadam*, a sacred object, and recites a magical blessing to invoke the blessings of the ancestors for her married life. As a gesture of respect and homage to her ancestors, the girl places a few coins in the *Gurumadam*.

At the centre of the booth, a ritual lamp and a vessel filled with paddy, plantains, and betel leaves are placed, symbolizing auspiciousness. The officiant of the ceremony is the *Jathiyar* from the hamlet of the bride. The marriage badge, known as *Thali*, is a small round piece of gold or copper tied with a yellow or black thread. During the wedding ceremony, the *Thali*, also known as the marriage badge, holds a significant role.³¹ The *Thali* is handed over to the groom by an esteemed elder member of the village, symbolizing the passing down of ancestral blessings and traditions. Once the groom receives the *Thali*, he then presents it to the women of his family, signifying the acceptance and inclusion of the bride into his family

³⁰ Title of a Religious Priest in the Ooru.

³¹ C.K, Karunakaran, *Adivasikalude Logam* (Mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Kottayam, p.29.

lineage. The *Jathiyar* performs a solemnization ritual, reciting magical spells as the groom ties the Thali around the neck of the bride. It is placed around the neck of the bride by either the *Jathiyar* or an elder from the community, while the actual tying of the *Thali* is done by the groom himself. The special moment takes place within a small *panthal*, specifically erected for the purpose. In the past, as part of the traditional customs, the bride and groom were made to stand at a certain distance from each other during the *Thali* tying ceremony. The beautiful ritual represents the union of two souls, and the *Thali* serves as a timeless emblem of commitment and love between the bride and groom, as well as a testament to the enduring customs and values of the community.³²

An essential aspect of the wedding is the payment of the bride price³³, which is currently fixed at Rs. 101 for all *Irular*, regardless of their financial status. The father of the groom is responsible for paying the bride price to the *Jathiyar* of the hamlet of the bride.³⁴ The transaction takes place in front of the assembled guests, and the *Jathiyar* hands over the payment to the bride's father. Out of the amount, Rs.1 is offered to the *Gurumadam* as a tribute to the ancestors, while the remaining Rs.100 is shared among the father of the bride and his male siblings.³⁵ The family of the bridegroom took responsibility for covering the expenses of the feasts and festivities. In the evening, the newlyweds visit the bride's natal family for a night halt. As a gesture of goodwill and to contribute to the celebration, the party of the groom brings 10 kg of rice to feed the people gathered at the home of the bride.³⁶ The symbolic act further reinforces the bond between the two families during the joyous occasion.

³² Discussion with Maruthi (53), Irula women working in Govt: Eco shop at Mukkali, 22nd May 2022.

³³ PRG Mathur, *Op.cit*, p.87.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.96

³⁵ C.K, Karunakaaran.*Op. cit*, p.30.

³⁶ Discussion with Vasanthi (70), elderly Irula women of Narasimukku , 21st May 2022.

Pregnancy: Beliefs and Practices

The *Irula* community recognizes the significance of sexual union in the context of pregnancy. During the crucial time, both the husband and wife adhere to certain food restrictions and observe religious practices. A clear indication of pregnancy is the cessation of menses for two consecutive months. During the entire pregnancy period, the husband refrains from cutting his hair or shaving his beard. The practice is rooted in their belief that if hair is cut or the beard is shaved, it may lead to the new born developing baldness or the inability to grow a beard at a youthful age for boys.³⁷ Additionally, the husband is prohibited from killing snakes during the period. This belief stems from the notion that if a snake is killed, the foetus in the womb might exhibit a tongue-like surging movement similar to that of a snake. As a result, the community holds the view that it is essential to protect and respect the natural world during this delicate time of pregnancy. Throughout the entire pregnancy period, the husband maintains sexual abstinence. This practice is upheld as a way to ensure the well-being of the mother and the unborn child, and it is regarded as a responsible and considerate approach towards the health and safety of both mother and child during this important stage of life.

Additionally, *Irula* women believe that consuming eggs or chicken during the period could lead to the development of egg-like projections on the head of the baby. Similarly, the flesh of rats is strictly forbidden for expectant mothers³⁸, as they fear it might cause the newborn to have excessive hair growth all over the body of the baby, resembling a rat. To address *edema*, if the pregnant woman experiences swelling in her legs and hands, a special curry made from ingredients like *Lakkire* (mustard plant), *Chukkutti*, and *Mullikkiera* (Amaranthus) without adding salt is given to her. If edema affects the entire body, a soup made with green leaves is provided as a remedy.

During pregnancy, the woman is advised not to consume tomatoes, guava, and papaya, nor use them in curry preparation. These restrictions are observed to

³⁷ Discussion with Kalan (76), elderly Ooru *Moopan* of Kalkandi, 22nd May 2022.

³⁸ Discussion with Janaki (68) elderly *Irula* women of Narasimukku, 25th May 2022.

safeguard against potential harmful effects on the development of the baby. Additionally, the pregnant woman is not allowed to move around after dusk to protect her from the perceived evil invasion known as '*Mala*' or '*Kannithattal*,' which manifests in the form of wind. It is believed that if affected, the newborn may have its umbilical cord tied around the neck, a condition referred to as *Kodichuttam*. Such a state could lead to a difficult delivery and pose risks to the life of the baby. Throughout the pregnancy period, the diet of the woman's consists of various green leaves, pulses, and cereals. The main food items provided include *Ragi Puttu* and curries prepared using *Kolpuli* (tamarind), mustard seed, coriander seed, and green chili. These food choices are believed to be nourishing and beneficial for both the mother and the baby. Despite being pregnant, the woman continues to engage in various activities and responsibilities. However, her husband acts as her constant companion during this period, providing support and care to ensure her well-being. The close bond between the couple reflects the strong family values and sense of community within the *Irula* tradition particularly during the pregnancy.³⁹

When the birth is anticipated to be delayed for a few days, the expectant mother is given charmed oil infused with certain herbal remedies. This ritual is performed by a woman herbalist known as the *Vaidiyakkarathi*. However, the *Irula* community holds a belief that Lord Paramashivan and Goddess Parvathi, drawing strength from the earth, create life (blood) in the body of the infants. For the confinement period, a separate hut called *Kalavasane* is erected. When labour pain commences, the pregnant woman sits on the floor with her legs stretched on a pandanus mat, leaning against the wall for support. An experienced woman herbalist from the neighborhood is called upon to assist her during childbirth.⁴⁰ Interestingly, the herbalist woman noted that the mother herself undertakes all the work related to confinement, even amidst labour pain. In Earlier days, after the delivery instead of tying the cutting part of umbilical code, fresh ash mixed with castor oil is applied as a paste. Nowadays, cotton thread is used to tie the cut end. The role of husbands

³⁹ Discussion with Kali (71), Irula elder women at Karayoor, 29th May 2022.

⁴⁰ Discussion with Vasanthi (70), elderly Irula women of Kakkuppadi Thazhe o oru 26th April 2022.

during the period is crucial. He is expected to provide sufficient hot water for bathing the newborn baby and the mother. For the next seven days, the mother is fed with *Ragi Puttu* (*ragi* cooked to a fine mass), and *Pulichaaruru*, prepared from tamarind, coriander seeds, mustard seeds, and green chilies ground into a paste, is used as a curry. The *Irula* community believes that taking hot water baths in the morning and evening for two months can restore the strength of the mother after delivery. The postnatal care reflects their deep understanding of traditional practices aimed at ensuring the well-being and recovery of both the mother and the newborn.⁴¹

Social Structure of *Irulas*

The *Irulas* form an endogamous tribe with a society comprising seven clans. These clans are known as *Vellaga*, *Kurunaga*, *Karattiga*, *Kuppar*, *Aarumoopu*, *Sampar*, and *Devanar*.⁴² Upon marriage, females adopt the membership of the clan of their husbands for all practical purposes. Clan affiliation transcends hamlet boundaries, and in larger hamlets, all clans can be identified. The clan membership holds significant influence in determining the social affairs of a hamlet. In cases of social disputes, the customary practices are carefully analyzed and explained by a functionary known as *Jathiyar*, who serves as an arbitrator to resolve conflicts within the community. The wife of the *Jathiyar* is referred to as *Jathikkarathi*. Typically, the *Jathiyar* belongs to the *Vellaga* Clan, which is considered to hold a superior position within the community due to this attribute. While members of the *Vellaga* clan can marry individuals from all other clans, marriages are more commonly observed with individuals from the *Kurunaga* and *Karattiga* clans. However, in certain regions, inter-clan marriages with other clans are also seen.

⁴¹ Discussion with Kannamma (49), Ahards member of Nakkupathi 27th April 2022.

⁴² P.R.G, Mathur, *Op cit.*, p.82.

Socio –Religious and Political Functionaries of *Irulas*

The *Irula* community does not have a centralized socio-political leader; instead, the hamlet serves as the smallest social and political unit. In each major hamlet, an esteemed figure known as the *Ooru Mooppan* (*ooru* refers to the hamlet, and *mooppan* means elderly man) assumes the role of the hamlet chieftain, overseeing all socio-political affairs. As mentioned earlier, another significant functionary that *Jathiyan*, *Manookkaran*, *Guruvan*, *Bandari* responsible for explaining and interpreting customary practices to benefit the residents of the hamlets.

Ooru Mooppan

The *Ooru Mooppan* plays a crucial role in resolving disputes and conflicts, as well as welcoming and representing the hamlet in official matters. Additionally, they act as the custodian of the common properties of the hamlets. In the past, *Ooru Mooppan* enjoyed certain privileges, such as receiving a day's work from all hamlet members for his cultivation plot. Typically, the *Ooru Mooppan* hails from the numerically dominant clan within the hamlet. Various hamlet matters, including social offenses and errant behaviors, are brought forth and discussed during meetings overseen by the *Ooru Mooppan*. In the absence *Ooru Mooppans*, the *Kuruthalai* acts as a representative and intermediary for the hamlet. Meanwhile, the *Bhandari* serves as the treasurer, responsible for collecting contributions from hamlet members to conduct socio-religious functions, post-burial rituals like *Cheeru*, and other feasts and festivities.⁴³

The *Ooru Mooppan* nominates *Kuruthalai* and *Bhandari* in front of the community. The title of *Ooru Mooppan* is hereditary, passing from father to the eldest son or to a competent younger brother. On the seventh day of the death rites of an *Ooru Mooppan*, his successor is determined through a process known as *Oorukoottom*. The insignias of the *Ooru Mooppan* grant him the authority to undertake various socio-economic and political functions. The *Kuruthalai* and

⁴³ Discussion with Allen *Moopan* (65), Ward member, Agali Grama Panchayath, 17th May 2021

Bhandari, who are invariably from different clans, collected revenue from the hamlet people during the *Janmi* period and were entitled to receive a portion of the collected revenue. Historical records indicate that if Rs. 30 was collected, Rs. 13 would go to the *Janmi*, Rs. 12 to the Government, Rs. 3 to the *Ooru Mooppan*, Rs. 1 to the *Bhandari*, and Rs. 1 to the *Kuruthalai*. Historically, these functionaries held considerable political sway over the hamlet members, and the community members displayed unwavering deference to their leadership. Their influential status granted them a level of authority that was recognized and respected within the social fabric of the community.

Kuruthala

The *Kuruthala* holds a crucial role within each hamlet, serving as the executive officer under the authority of the *Mooppan* and responsible for overseeing various administrative tasks. One of his primary functions is to convene the Hamlet Panchayath as directed by the *Mooppan* and gather funds for different purposes within the hamlet. Additionally, he enjoys certain privileges during special occasions such as marriages, funerals, harvests, and festivals, along with other functionaries of the hamlet. The position of *Kuruthala* is predominantly hereditary, following a succession pattern wherein the eldest son of a retiring or deceased *Kuruthala* assumes the role.⁴⁴

Bandari

The *Bandari* is another essential figure within the administrative hamlets a framework, supporting the *Mooppan* in fulfilling his responsibilities and functions. Similar to the *Kuruthala*, the position of *Bandari* is also based on the hereditary principle, wherein the role is passed down from one generation to the next within a particular family.

⁴⁴ S, Bindu, *Action Anthropology, Tribal Development Issues*, Indian Indigenous Peoples Service Society, Wayanad, 2008, p.38.

Guruvan

Each clan has its own religious leader known as the *Guruvan*, who serves as the custodian of the clan deity, often referred to as *Karadaivam*. In each hamlet, there are as many *Karadaivam* and *Guruvan* as there are clans, with each clan having its distinct religious authority and representation. In every hamlet, clan membership plays a prominent role in various events, such as marriage, death, and religious rites, influencing clan affairs. The *Guruvan*, a key figure in the clan, holds significant relics of cloth taken during burial rites of deceased clan members, storing them in a sacred pot known as *Gurumadam*.⁴⁵ The pot is kept in a corner of the house of the *Guruvans* on a raised platform. Pregnant and menstruating women observe touch taboos, believing that violating them may lead to madness, affecting the entire clan. During burial rites, a new piece of cloth from the deceased is added to the *Gurumadam*.⁴⁶ Before the burial rites commence, a piece from a recent burial is taken from the pot and spread over the corpse. Additionally, a portion of the bride price received is kept in the *Gurumadam*. Other items found within the *Gurumadam* include fines paid by clan members, offerings to *Karaidavam* and measures of grains collected from new harvests.

The *Guruvan* also participates in rites of the agricultural operations. Traditionally, the elder most clan member is responsible for maintaining the *Gurumadam*. Upon their passing, their eldest son or the eldest male member of their siblings assumes the role of the *Guruvan*. Violating clan exogamy is considered equivalent to committing incest. One's own clan is referred to as *Thamayan Thampi* (brother clans), while all other clans are regarded as *Maman-Machan* (brother-in-law).⁴⁷

Mannukkaran

Another integral figure within the hamlet is the *Mannukkaran*, serving as the priest and guardian of agricultural knowledge. Revered as a repository of wisdom

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.94

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.45

⁴⁷ S. Bindu, *Op cit.*, p. 42.

concerning agricultural practices, he assumes the role of predicting annual climate variations and upholding the deities associated with agriculture. He holds the authority to initiate crucial agricultural activities such as ploughing, sowing, weeding, and harvesting on his plot. Notably, the counsel and decisions of the *Mannukkaran* are highly regarded by others, including the *Ooru Mooppan*, who defer to his expertise in these matters.⁴⁸ The *Mannukkaran* plays a pivotal role in formulating the agricultural calendar of the hamlets, guiding the community through the optimal timing for agricultural tasks. Moreover, he holds the position of being the custodian of the *Karaidaivam*, the clan deity pertaining to agriculture. The hamlet people appease the deity for the prospect of a bountiful harvest, seeking the intermediary services of the *Mannukkaran* to ensure agricultural prosperity.

Mannookkaran, an integral functionary within the administration of hamlets, assumes a crucial role in overseeing the agricultural practices of the *Ooru*. His responsibilities encompass a comprehensive understanding of soil fertility and the appropriate seeds to sow during specific seasons. As part of his duties, *Mannookkaran* conducts sacred rites and offerings to invoke blessings from the *Kara Daivam*, seeking a bountiful harvest. He takes charge of initiating both the sowing and harvesting processes. During the harvest, all families in the hamlet contribute a portion of their initial harvesting days to the *Mannookkaran*, who preserves it as seed stock for the ensuing season.

While the *Moopan*, *Kuruthala*, *Bandari*, and *Mannookkaran* fulfill distinct functions, the administration of the hamlets operates under their collective leadership in collaboration with the guidance of the elders of the hamlets. An illustrative example is the process of fixing marriages, which occurs in the presence of these four functionaries from respective hamlets of the both the brides and grooms. In the event of death of a member within the hamlet, these functionaries convene to organize the funeral arrangements. Before burial, they deliberate on any potential liabilities left by the deceased, and these matters are resolved using funds collected from those attending the funeral.

⁴⁸ Discussion with Kaliyamma (52), Panchayath clerk, 31st April 2021.

Furthermore, the *Moopan* and other officials play pivotal roles during the *Cheeru* function, a significant event occurring approximately every 3 to 4 years, honoring those who passed away within the hamlet during that period. The event draws attendance from members within and the neighboring hamlets. The *Moopan*, together with the *Kuruthala*, *Bandari*, and *Mannookkaran*, collabouratively determine the date for the *Cheeru*, pool funds to cover expenses, and provide general leadership for the auspicious festival.

The *Karadaivam* assumes a central role in the agricultural domain, revered and worshipped by the entire hamlet akin to the Guru. During the agricultural activities, the *Mannukkaran* initiates the process by invoking the *Karadaivam* and proceeding to the designated agricultural plot for sowing seeds. Accompanied by the *Guruvans* of the hamlet, they collectively sow seeds using a plough, signifying a communal effort in the agricultural endeavors. After the joint effort, peoples move to their respective plots to complete the sowing process. Following the communal sowing, the remaining seeds are brought back to the hamlet, where the *Mannukkaran* collects a measure of it from each household. Subsequently, upon completion of the sowing, the collected seeds are cooked and offered to the *Karadaivam* by the *Mannukkaran*, representing a gesture of gratitude and devotion. Additionally, the *Karadaivam* holds significance beyond agricultural rituals.

The coordination and execution of various social and religious functions, including death rites and associated feasts and festivities, are carried out by the youthful members of the hamlet, led by a prominent figure known as the *Veenan*. He assumes the role of organizing customary dances during occasions such as death rites and marriage ceremonies. To facilitate these events, the *Veenan* collects contributions from the members of the hamlet and utilizes the funds to compensate those who provide essential services during the gatherings. The remuneration extends to musicians, firewood collectors, water carriers, and other individuals who contribute to the smooth execution of the ceremonies.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ PRG Mathur, *Op. cit*, p.80

Ooru Panchayat

A paramount feature of the tribal political system is the '*Ooru Panchayath*' a vital decision-making body of the Ooru. Comprising all adult members or representatives from each family, the Panchayat assumes responsibility for making significant decisions pertaining to the Oorus affairs.

Its convocation occurs on various occasions, including festivals, deaths, the *cheeru* festival, or to mediate disputes and conflicts. Initiating the process, the hamlet members direct their request for a Panchayath session to the *Moopan*, who subsequently communicates the demand to the *Kuruthala*. The *Kuruthala*, in turn, relays the information to the *Bandari*, who then notify the date and time to all members of the Panchayath scheduled, instructing them not to engage in work on that particular day.

Typically, the Panchayath gathers within the courtyard of the house of the *Mannukaran*, with the *Moopan* presiding over the proceedings. Matters are brought forth before the Panchayath, sparking extensive arguments and discussions. Decisions are reached through consensus or with the assistance of the *Moopan* as an arbiter. For instance, if a member is to be penalized for a transgression, the severity of the offense is thoroughly debated by the Panchayath. Subsequently, the Panchayath or, at times, the *Moopan*, consults with the *Kuruthala*, *Bandari*, and *Mannukaran* to determine the appropriate punishment.

Social Control Mechanism

The *Irular* community strictly adheres to the belief that engaging in sexual relations between two individuals from the same clan is tantamount to committing incest. Historically, such transgressions were met with severe consequences, leading to the expulsion of the guilty parties from the hamlet. When such an occurrence arises and becomes a matter of concern for the hamlet, the *Kuruthalai*, acting as an informant, notifies the *Ooru Mooppan*. Subsequently, the hamlet assembly, known as the *Oorukoottom*, is convened under the leadership of the *Ooru Mooppan*. The *Kuruthalai* is responsible for disseminating information to all hamlet families,

presenting the case before the assembly, and advocating that the transgressors have posed a significant threat to the well-being of the hamlet. The *Kuruthalai* emphasizes that the wrath of the clan deities may befall the hamlet people within a year if left unpunished. In this process, the *Jathiyar* plays a crucial role as an analyst and arbiter. In the open assembly, the *Jathiyar* scrutinizes the case, providing a comprehensive explanation of why the two individuals need to be penalized or suggesting a way for them to absolve themselves from the anger of the hamlet people. Essentially, the *Jathiyar* acts as a judge, delivering a verdict for the consideration of the *Ooru Mooppan*. Taking into full account the views and findings of the *Jathiyar*, the *Ooru Mooppan* finally declares the decision, to expel the convict from the hamlet to six months, ensuring that justice is served and the harmony of the hamlet is upheld.⁵⁰

Theft of agricultural produce is considered a grave offense that warrants punishment. The thief is first required to compensate the respondent by paying the price of the stolen item. Additionally, a fine of Rs. 100 is invariably imposed as a penalty. Land disputes among hamlet members are resolved through amicable settlement, involving the *Ooru Mooppan*, *Bhandari*, and *Kuruthalai*. Extensive deliberations are undertaken with both parties to reach a mutually agreeable resolution. Boundary disputes are also resolved in a similar manner, with the establishment of hedges to clearly mark the demarcations. For the *Irular*, beef and buffalo meat are strictly tabooed food items, and their consumption is forbidden within the community.⁵¹

Physical altercations between two brothers such as beating with bare hands are generally not deemed as serious offenses within the *Irular* community. However, if the conflict involves a brother-in-law who is of the same age, it is considered a grave transgression. Moreover, severe consequences are imposed when a person is beaten with a broomstick or a *chappal* by another hamlet member. In such cases, the aggrieved party reports the matter to the *Ooru Mooppan*, who convenes the hamlet

⁵⁰ Discussion with Raveendran Mooppan (63), Karayoor 12th May 2023.

⁵¹ Discussion with Kannamma Murugan (58), Ward Member, Agali, 29th May 2021

assembly. The *Kuruthalai* presents the case, while the *Jathiyar* carefully analyses the multifaceted dimensions of the situation and presents his observations before the assembly. To resolve the matter, both parties are required to pay a fine, the victim to pay amount of Rs. 51.25 and the culprit has to pay Rs. 101.25 respectively. The money collected from the fines is then dedicated to the *Gurumadam* of the respective clan. Furthermore, a purification ritual is performed in which coconut water, milk, and turmeric solution are sprinkled on the front yards of all huts within the hamlet. The culprit who had inflicted the beating is asked to immerse himself in flowing water seven times as an act of expiation to cleanse the hamlet from the perceived pollution caused by the offense. During the period, the women of the hamlet refrain from drawing water from streams, rivers, and taps until the expiation fine is paid. Cooking is also halted in all the huts during this time, and the beaten individual is prohibited from entering any hut until the expiation ceremony is completed. The sprinkling of sacred water during the purification ritual is performed by men from the *Vellaga* clan. In the case of inter-tribal or inter-caste marriages, the prospective partners are summoned before the *Oorukoottom* and asked to sign an agreement of marriage. They are also required to tie the marriage badge (*tali*) as a symbolic representation of their union.

Religious beliefs and practices

The *Irulas*, in their traditional beliefs, are animists, adhering to a pantheon of diverse deities, each serving different functions in their lives. These deities encompass a wide range, including jungle Gods, household deities, ancestral spirits, hunting spirits, agricultural Gods, and those associated with causing diseases and evil. It is worth noting that each deity is often associated with a specific location, and thus, they are worshipped only at their designated spot. Apart from their pantheon of Gods, the *Irulas* also worship *Maariamamma* and *Bhadhrakali* in every hamlet. At home, they venerate a deity known as the "*Pasath*" God.⁵² To appease these divine beings, the *Irulas* conduct annual festivals, which they refer to as "*Paruva Kondadukathe*." During these festivals, offerings of goats, hens, and other

⁵² Discussion with Kannan, Tribal promoter (49), Chemmannor, 16th May 2021.

items are made to please the Gods, and a grand feast is organized to celebrate the occasion.

Another significant aspect of *Irula* belief is their devotion to "Malleswaran" where Lord Siva holds the principal position. The Malleswaran festival spans seven days, and it is centered on the Malleswaran Mudi, which stands at an impressive height of 1664 ft above sea level, near Mukkali at Chemmanoor. The *Irulas* hold a strong reverence for Siva, and during the festival of Sivarathri, three different tribal groups from Attappadi gather atop Malleswaran Mudi to participate in the festivities. The *Irulas* demonstrate a reciprocal approach towards their Gods, seeking favours and blessings when offering their devotion to a particular deity. If their expectations are not met or desired outcomes are not achieved, they may discontinue their worship of that specific God and seek assistance from another deity instead. This aspect of their belief system reflects their pragmatic approach to their spiritual practices.

Ancestral veneration constitutes a significant aspect of the traditional religious beliefs of the *Irulas*. Their reverence for their forebears and ancestral spirits is deeply ingrained in their cultural practices. The *Irulas* hold these spirits in high regard, attributing divine significance to specific natural elements such as forest groves, rocky cliffs, mountain peaks, rivers, and towering trees, which are considered the abodes of their traditional Gods. As a part of their religious rituals, they regularly visit these sacred locations to offer their devotions.

Central to the *Irula* belief they had deep respect for the fauna and flora of their surroundings. They hold creatures such as elephants, tigers, and cobras in great reverence, considering them as divine manifestations. Due to the belief, they refrain from harming or killing these creatures, fostering a harmonious coexistence with the natural world. However, in contemporary times, there has been a radical shift in the mode of worship among the *Irulas*. The prevalence of devil worship in various forms has become more prominent, accompanied by an extensive array of mantras that they invoke during their rituals. The practice of black magic has gained popularity, and they place immense faith in its efficacy as a remedy for various

issues. Furthermore, the *Irulas* firmly believe in the existence of the soul after death, leading them to seek solutions through the practice of black magic. The practice is perceived as a means to address problems and challenges they encounter in life, reflecting their inclination towards supernatural solutions. In conclusion, while the ancestral worship and reverence for the natural world remain intrinsic to the *Irulas* religious beliefs, their contemporary religious practices have undergone significant transformations, with the adoption of devil worship and black magic becoming more prevalent in addressing their concerns and seeking remedies.⁵³

Clan Deities

In the traditional *Irula* society, each clan has its own revered figure known as the *Guruvan*. The individual holds the significant responsibility of being the custodian and propitiator of the clan deity. Considering the *Irular* society as a whole, there are only a few *Guruvans* for each clan, functioning at the regional level. As mentioned earlier, they play a crucial role in various ceremonies such as marriages, burial rites, and ancestral worship. During important festive occasions like *Mahasivaratri* and *Thaiponkal*, the *Guruvans* also conduct worship of the clan deity.

In earlier days, when ritual hunting was a common practice among the *Irula* community, the hunted meat held significant spiritual value as offerings to their deities. During these occasions, the hunters would partake in the meat while reserving specific portions, such as the tongue, part of the nose, lower jaw (*peda*), and meat from the dorsal part. These reserved portions were then carefully tied in a piece of cloth and added to the curry being prepared. Once the meat was cooked to perfection, the bundle of meat, along with cooked *chama ragi pittu* and a glass of water, would be placed on a piece of plantain leaf as an offering. The offering was then presented before the *gurumadam*, a sacred pot filled with ritual objects, in front of a lighted lamp. The revered figure, the *Guruvan*, plays a crucial role in this ritual. During this ritual, the *Guruvan* recites magical incantation, invoking the ancestral souls and the clan deity, typically for a period of ten to fifteen minutes. After

⁵³ A. A. D. Luiz, *Op. cit.*, p.258.

completing the invocation, the Guruvan would eat the meat from the cloth bundle, and it was strictly reserved for his consumption alone. This act symbolizes a communion with the deities and ancestral spirits, signifying the importance of these offerings in their spiritual beliefs. Such offerings were not limited to ritual hunting but were also extended to other significant agricultural events such as the initiation of sowing, harvesting, and *cheeru* ceremonies. These rituals played a vital role in strengthening the spiritual connection of the *Irula* community with their clan deities and ancestral spirits, reinforcing their cultural practices and beliefs.⁵⁴

High Gods and Goddesses

The *Irula* community displays ardent devotion towards various deities, including Malleeswaran, Ganapathy, and Murukan, believed to be the later two as male children of Malleeswaran. Stone images of Ganapathy can be found under ficus trees near major hamlets. During the scorching summer days, these images are ritually bathed with pots of water, with the hope of invoking immediate rain and ensuring a bountiful harvest.

Furthermore, the *Irular* also revere *Karamadaivam*, an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. The temple dedicated to *Karamadaiyan* is situated 30 km away from Attappadi, nestled within the Karamadai hills in Tamil Nadu. Many *Irula* undertake an annual pilgrimage to this sacred site, observing ritual fasts, and are known as *dasans* or servants of Lord Vishnu. As part of their pilgrimage preparations, they meticulously create *panthithiri*, a large cloth wick intended for lighting. Prior to embarking on the journey, they adorn themselves with sacred *thulasi* bead garlands, symbolizing ritual purity.⁵⁵ The temple offers two distinct kinds of offerings called *Panchaseva* and *Ammanaseva*.

Lord Ayyappa Worship

In contemporary times, it is observed that at least a dozen males from each *Irular* hamlet undertake a pilgrimage to the several Lord Ayyappa temple of

⁵⁴ Discussion with Chathi Mooppan (63), Karara Ooru 2nd May 2022.

⁵⁵ Discussion with Uma Tribal student, Attappadi Govt.College, (20), Nakkupathi ooru 19th May 2022.

Sabarimalai. The spiritual journey to the place is considered as a sacred event which commences on the first day of the *Vrchigam* month (falling in November to December) according to the Malayalam calendar. It is led by a seasoned and senior devotee known as the "guruswami" whose role is to guide and instruct the novices in observing the prescribed penance and 41 days *vratha* (fasting) for the pilgrims. During the *vratha*, the pilgrims strictly adhere to various practices, including strict vegetarianism, taking two baths daily, abstaining from wearing footwear, sleeping on the floor, maintaining sexual abstinence, and refraining from haircutting and shaving of beards. Furthermore, they also avoid any contact with menstruating women during the sacred period. The devotees engage in *bhajnas*, soulful devotional songs praising Lord Ayyappa, which contribute to the spiritual ambiance of the pilgrimage. Undertaking the Sabarimalai pilgrimage which incurs expenses, with individuals spending approximately Rs. 2000 to 3500 to cover the associated costs. In the past, daughters were taken along to the temple during childhood, as restrictions were imposed on females in their fertile period. However, after reaching menopause, women also embark on the pilgrimage to Sabarimalai. The devotees believe that Lord Ayyappa is the offspring of two principal Gods: Lord Siva in the male form and Lord Vishnu in the attire of "Mohini," a female *avatar*. They highlight the popularity of the tale in Hindu mythology. Despite facing financial hardships, the *Irula* community seizes every opportunity to visit distant temples as part of their unwavering commitment to their religious beliefs. A common ritual that they vouchsafe for prosperity and good health is the tonsuring of their heads before the Pazhani Subramanian Temple, signifying a sincere offering to the divine.⁵⁶

Religious Festivals

The *Irula* community celebrates two important religious festivals, *Thaipongal* and *Maha Sivarathri*, with great fervor and devotion. *Thaipongal* is a two-day festival that occurs on the first day of the *Thai* month in the Tamil Calendar, falling in January or February. On the first day of *Thaipongal*, they engage in the ritual of *Kappukettu* and observe fasting until the evening. During the

⁵⁶ Discussion with Kalimuthu (55), former Ward Member, Agali 21st May 2022.

time, the households undergo thorough cleaning and are adorned with cow dung emulsion. To enhance the festive atmosphere, the doorsteps are decorated with garlands made from mango leaves, *cherroola* plants, *erukku* leaves, *thulasi* plants, and neem leaves. Additionally, these leaves are arranged in a circle drawn with hearth ash along the paths leading to water bodies like wells, streams, and rivers where the cattle walk. At regular intervals, approximately every 10 meters, these circles are formed. The purpose of this arrangement is to ensure the healthy growth of cattle and to invoke prosperity in the upcoming harvests. In the evening, family members gather to partake in a ceremonial meal together. The celebratory meal is an important aspect of the *Thaipongal* festival. Later in the evening, offerings are made to the deities, consisting of plantains, incense sticks, puffed rice, and jaggery, all neatly placed on a plantain leaf before a lighted lamp. The festivities continue with the bursting of crackers, and many members of the community visit Temples to seek blessings during the evening and night.⁵⁷

The second day of the *Thaipongal* festival is known as *Mattu Pongal*, derived from "mattu" meaning cattle and "pongal" referring to the ritual cooking of rice and jaggery pudding offered to the goddess. In the morning of the auspicious day, all members of the community partake in a ceremonial bath and meticulously clean their utensils. They then proceed to cook rice and jaggery pudding in a new earthen pot. The delectable offering is served on a plantain leaf in front of the clan deity, represented by the *Gurumadam*, or before the photographs or icons of deities adorning one corner of the traditional hut.⁵⁸ The ritual is particularly significant for families involved in cattle rearing, and they actively participate in these acts of reverence. They diligently clean the cattle shed and goat pen, preparing for the special occasion. By noon, all the cows, oxen, and goats receive a refreshing bath in the flowing water, signifying purification and blessings for the animals. Additionally, the cattle horns are beautifully painted with vibrant colours, and new ropes and nooses are provided for the bullocks. The cattle are also treated to morsels

⁵⁷ L. A. Krishna Iyer, *Op. Cit.*, p. 213.

⁵⁸ J.G, Frazer, *On Certain Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul*. Vol. 15, UK, 1886, p.121.

of the delightful rice and jaggery pudding and are fed sumptuously with nourishing green fodder. Throughout the day, the festivities continue, with the burst of colourful crackers and other celebratory activities adding to the joyous ambiance. It is noteworthy that even the local Tamil population in eastern Attappadi partakes in the *Thaipongal* celebrations with grandeur and enthusiasm.

Mahashivarathri stands as the paramount festival of Attappadi, drawing the attention and participation of the *Irula* community with great enthusiasm. The festivities revolve around the Malleeswara temple, which is situated at the foothills of the majestic Malleswara peak. The week-long temple festival witnesses a vibrant congregation of the *Irula*, who gather in the temple premises to offer their reverential obeisance to the presiding deity. During the auspicious occasion, the *Irular* bring seeds of diverse grains, which they joyfully scatter over the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, beseeching for bountiful crops and prosperity in the upcoming harvest season. As fervent devotees, they also present clay images of oxen, revered as the vehicle of Lord Siva, and iron tripods symbolizing the sacred *trishul*, the weapon of Lord Siva, to fulfill their solemn vows made to the deity.⁵⁹ Adding to the festive aura, a vibrant fair is organized in conjunction with the *Mahashivarathri* celebrations, offering a plethora of household articles, copper vessels, and essential agricultural implements for sale. The *Irula* community views the *Mahashivarathri* festival as a propitious occasion to acquire these essential household articles and agricultural implements. To avail themselves of the opportunity, they proactively sell a significant portion of their harvest produce before the *Sivarathiri* festival. By doing so, they are able to actively partake in the vibrant fair and joyous festivities without incurring substantial debts that would otherwise burden them. The prudent approach allows them to participate wholeheartedly in the celebrations, enhancing their sense of cultural identity and reinforcing their spiritual connection with the revered deity.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Discussion with Vellagiri, (38), Tribal News Reporter, 12th April 2022

⁶⁰ Ramachandran Athippatta, *Op cit.*, p. 120.

Local Shrine Festivals

In the cultural landscape of the *Irula* community, it is a customary practice for all major hamlets to possess a modest shrine dedicated to revered deities such as Lord Ganapathy, Goddess Parvathi (Sakthi), and Lord Subramaniyan. Additionally, one may find icons or photographs of several other deities adorning these sacred spaces. The local festival, which entails a series of celebratory events, takes place in the aftermath of the *Sivarathri* festival during a propitious day meticulously chosen by the residents of the hamlets. The expenses incurred for organizing these festivals are shared among the hamlet people, fostering a sense of communal involvement and joint responsibility. During these joyous festivities, various ceremonial activities take place, including special poojas (ritual prayers) and captivating dance-dramas that recount the divine tales associated with the deities. Such cultural performances serve as captivating expressions of their religious beliefs and heritage, further strengthening the bonds within the *Irula* community. The festivals provide an opportunity for the hamlet members to come together, revel in the shared customs, and invoke divine blessings, deepening their spiritual connections and reaffirming their cultural identity.

Magical Beliefs and Practices

The *Irula* community firmly believes in the existence of individuals endowed with magical powers, enabling them to influence malevolent deities and spirits for harmful purposes. Among these figures of influence, an aged *Mannukkaran* holds significant reverence. Regarded as a custodian of the *Karadaivam*, the *Mannukkaran* is believed to wield supernatural abilities to bring harm upon those who disobey or disrespect him. The commands of the *Mannukkarans* over the earth deity are perceived as a potent tool, enabling him to manipulate the actions of the deity as per his wishes.⁶¹ When an *Irula* feels remorseful for wrong doings that may have antagonized or displeased the clan deity controlled by the *guruvan*, they may also voluntarily submit to the authority of the clan deities. By showing courtesy and

⁶¹ Jha, Makhans. *Readings in Tribal Culture*, Inter India publications, Kolkatha, 1982, p.263.

making token fines, the individual seeks pardon and seeks to mend the relationship with the deity. This act is carried out discreetly, known only to the sufferer and the respective *Mannukkaran* or *Guruvan*.

Economic structure

For generations, the tribes have relied on the collection of minor forest produce (MFP) from the dense forests, which has been a crucial source of sustenance, providing them with essential food, medicinal resources, and materials for shelter. The abundance of MFP also served as a means of generating income during the non-agricultural season, ensuring economic stability for the *Irula* community. Due to their proficient agricultural practices, the *Irula* tribal members were able to produce enough food grains to meet their dietary requirements. Moreover, they supplemented their diet with various forest resources such as roots, nuts, honey, and fruits, further enhancing their nutritional intake. Consequently, the tribe's self-sufficiency in food and resources substantially reduced their reliance on external markets to purchase commodities.⁶² The utilization of minor forest produce has been a time-honored tradition among the tribes, enabling them to maintain a sustainable economic structure that caters to their basic needs. The intricate interdependence between the tribes and the forest ecosystem has fostered a harmonious relationship, ensured a balanced utilization of natural resources and promoted their well-being. During the time of agriculture, they engaged slash and burn cultivation. The practice of collecting MFP not only sustains their livelihood but also preserves their traditional knowledge and cultural heritage for future generations.

(a) Occupation

Historically, the *Irula* community thrived on traditional occupations such as hunting, gathering, bird and animal trapping, as well as animal husbandry and pastoralism. Their nomadic lifestyle involved following the slash and burn method of cultivation, and they would change their settlement every two years. However,

⁶² Sanat, D, Joshi, *Tribals in India, the Changing Scenario*, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, 1998, p.18.

with the passage of time, their way of life has transformed. While some of them still practice animal husbandry, others are involved in occupations such as basket and mat making, along with various other trades.⁶³ Ragi, paddy, and millet remain the major traditional crops they cultivate, and they also grow tapioca and vegetables for their personal consumption. Apart from agriculture, the *Irula* community engages in collecting minor forest products like honey, sealing wax, tamarind, arrowroot, wild pepper, and firewood to supplement their livelihoods.⁶⁴ Moreover, fishing from the rivers has become an essential aspect of their economic activities. Both men and women participate in fishing endeavors, selling their catch to non-tribal locals. Over time, the *Irula* people have adapted their traditional ways to accommodate the changing world, diversifying their livelihoods and embracing settled agriculture while preserving some of their ancestral practices and knowledge of the natural world.

(b) Agriculture

Irulas are persevering and clever agriculturists. They are shifting cultivators. What is cultivated depends on the soil and environment. The cultivation of staple crops such as paddy, ragi, dhal, plantains, chillies, and turmeric are carried out on a large scale. Traditional farming methods employed by the tribe include *slash-and-burn* and shifting cultivation techniques. In the slash-and-burn method, ash serves as a vital source of manure for the crops. Shifting cultivation is practiced on forested uplands, known as "*kottukadu*" where land is cut and cleared for farming. Dry land farming, involving ploughing ("*erkadu*"), and wetland farming, primarily paddy cultivation ("*gedde*"), are also prominent agricultural practices among the *Irulas*. The adoption of "*erkadu*" technology is believed to be an acculturation, as settlers provided cattle and ploughmen for hire. The crops cultivated under the system typically include maize, groundnut, and chilies. Given the prevalence of hills and uneven terrain for cultivation, animal-drawn ploughing is infrequently or never used, and manual labour is relied upon for soil preparation.

⁶³ Boban Jose, *Op. cit.*, p.85.

⁶⁴ Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes, Op cit.*, p.115.

In *Irula* villages, there are no demarcated plots exclusively designated for agriculture. Instead, they cultivate and utilize various parts of the forest based on their preferences and requirements. On the day of sowing, the entire village comes together to clean their houses and take baths.⁶⁵ Agriculture is not limited to a particular gender; both men and women actively participate in agricultural operations, hunting, goat rearing, and poultry vending. Additionally, they engage in the collection and sale or exchange of bamboo, firewood, and forest produce for essential goods and cereals. Their farming implements include choppers, wooden ploughs, spades, and axes. In times of severe cereal scarcity, they resort to subsisting on roots, herbs, and bamboo rice. Over time, the *Irulas* have transitioned from a nomadic lifestyle to a settled one, resulting in reduced crime rates and improved economic conditions. The deciduous forests, which abound in the *Irular* territory, offer a wealth of resources, such as *Accacia intsia* and *myroboams*, which they adeptly collect. During collection seasons, entire families would venture into the forests, relying on trapped small animals for sustenance.

The traditional *Irula* tribes practiced two main types of cultivation: *slash-and-burn* farming and shifting cultivation. In the *slash-and-burn* method, they would clear the land by cutting and burning vegetation, and the ashes left behind served as natural fertilizer for the crops. Rainwater constituted the primary source of irrigation for their fields. Given that a significant portion of their cultivated land was situated on hills or uneven terrain, ploughing with draught animals was uncommon, and instead, the soil was manually prepared by raking it with human hands. In earlier times, bamboo chips were employed for land preparation, but later, a simple tool called *Lowari* became commonly used. On the auspicious day of sowing, the entire village participated in a communal ritual. They would clean their houses and bathe, signifying the purity required for this important agricultural event. On that night, the revered *Mannukkaran* would sleep in the "*Kula Daiva Veedu*" (a room or house specifically set apart for the dwelling of God).⁶⁶ Early in the morning, a man from *Karattiga Kulam* would prepare *ragi* (finger millet) and present it to the

⁶⁵ Discussion with Kakki *Moopan* (59), Mukkali 12th May 2022.

⁶⁶ Discussion with Nanjan *Moopan*, (68), Chindakki, 13th May 2022.

Mannukkaran in an offering known as *Kanikanal*. Before 5 O' clock in the morning, the *Mannukkaran* would proceed to sow the seeds while reciting rites. The ritual was done in privacy, and no one was permitted to witness the sacred act of sowing. Only after the *Mannukkaran* left the village others would come out of their houses. Among the crucial crops cultivated by the *Irular* were *Ragi*, *Chama*, *Thina*, *Varak*, *Pichama*, *Cholam* and Maize.⁶⁷

During the weeding process, a lively and communal tradition called "*Kambalakkadu*" would unfold, wherein all members of the village would engage in singing and dancing while working in the fields. The spirited practice was not limited to weeding alone; it also found expression during the reaping time. On the much-awaited harvest day, usually falling on a Monday, the villagers would begin their day by thoroughly cleaning their houses in the morning. A unique ritual would ensue, featuring seven ladies from the family of the *Mannookkarans* and the *Mannookkarathy* (the wife of *Mannookkaran*). These women would embark on a journey to the nearby river, each carrying a mud pot, in order to fetch water. The trip back to the village would be a joyous occasion as they danced merrily while balancing the water pots on their heads. Upon their return, the water pots would be carefully placed in their designated space, the *Kula Daiva Veedu*, a room set apart for the dwelling of God in the village. Subsequently, the *Mannookkaran*, accompanied by select men from the village, would proceed to the cultivated land where the harvest awaited. There, amid an atmosphere of excitement and reverence, the *Mannookkaran* would personally reap the first sheaf, a significant act marking the commencement of the harvest festivities. Utilizing the corn thrashed from the inaugural sheaf, he would prepare food, thus elevating the ritualistic nature of the event and symbolizing the vital connection between sustenance and the land.⁶⁸

In the agricultural affairs of the village, the *Mooppan*, a key figure in their social structure, plays a pivotal role. The *Mooppan* would be responsible for determining the allocation of land for cultivation, ensuring an equitable distribution

⁶⁷ Discussion with Kuppan (49), ST Promoter, Kallamala, 12th May 2022.

⁶⁸ PRG Mathoor *Op.cit.* p.214.

based on individual needs. Upon the culmination of the cultivation season, the land would be reverted back to the community, exemplifying a communal approach to land usage and management. Through the approach, the tribal folk have displayed a profound understanding of their environment, working in harmony with nature to preserve the biodiversity and fertility of the forests across generations. The intimate bond with their surroundings has not only enriched their way of life but also safeguarded their cultural heritage and traditions for posterity.

Health Culture

The *Irulas* residing in Attappadi region adhere to distinct and localized folk and tribal medical practices, which differ significantly from widely established medical systems like Ayurveda, Allopathy, Yunani, Homoeopathy, and Naturopathy. Instead, their medical beliefs and practices are deeply rooted in magic and sorcery, heavily influenced by religious beliefs, moral codes, social values, and other cultural factors. In such primitive societies, the "health culture" of a community is formed by the intertwining of cultural patterns, religious beliefs, economy, morality, social values, and medical beliefs.⁶⁹

Notably, in various cultures, ideas and practices concerning illness are intrinsically linked to religious beliefs and practices. As part of ensuring the well-being of the community, people engage in periodical offerings and worship to deities and ancestral propitiation ceremonies. Scholars have extensively studied the prevalence of beliefs in charms, magical spells, witchcraft, sorcery, and malevolent spirits in both causing and curing diseases.⁷⁰ The *Irulas*, too, possess their own ethno-medical system to combat illnesses that afflict them. Their ethno-medicine comprises two major components: the use of various medicinal plants and the

⁶⁹ M. N, Karna, '*Etiology of Diseases; a Sociological Study in the Rural Context*', Man in India, 1976. Vol. 56, No. 1, p.149.

⁷⁰ For details see- Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in South India*, Delhi, Cosmo Publication, 1907, L. A. Krishna Iyer, *The Travancore Tribes and Castes*, Vol 111 Trivandrum, Government Press, 1941, Gnanambal, *The religions of the Uralai*, Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1955, Troisi J, *Tribal religion, Religious Beliefs and Practices among the Santals*, New Delhi, Manohar publications, 1979, Remesh Menon, "The Influence of Spirits", *India Today* Vol XIV, No. 22, 1988.

manipulation of supernatural forces through magical techniques. Moreover, their ethno-medicine is profoundly influenced by other aspects of life, including religion, morality, social values, economy, subsistence patterns, and social mobility.

In the *Irula* community, the *Vidhyakkaran* emerges as a significant functionary in the ethno-medical system.⁷¹ The individual possesses an extensive understanding of the properties of various medicinal plants and skillfully employs magical techniques to treat patients. Another crucial figure, the *Vaidyan*, serves as an herbalist with vast knowledge of different medicinal plants and their preparations, a presence that is frequently found in *Irula* hamlets. The practices described in this context resonate with the works of scholars like Mathur⁷², Boban Jose⁷³ and Guha⁷⁴, who have documented and analyzed the various aspects of the *Irula* ethno-medical system.

Death & Burial Rights

Numerous anthropological writings have delved into funerary practices similar to those observed by the *Irula* tribe, not only within their region but across various parts of the world. Authors like W. Eatwell⁷⁵, J. G. Frazer⁷⁶, Boban Jose⁷⁷, and E. H. Mann⁷⁸ provide examples of funerary rituals prevalent in China, Germany, India, and New Zealand, respectively. Like many other tribes, the *Irular* tribe also possesses its own ancient beliefs, customs, and traditions associated with death. A notable aspect of their funerary practice is the burial of the deceased. Upon the death

⁷¹ Discussion with Allen Mooppan (65), ward member, Agali, 21st April 2021.

⁷² P. R. G. Mathur, 'Anthropology of Tribal Medicine; Disease and Curing Techniques among the Tribals of North Wayanad, Kerala', *Man in India*, Vol 62, No. 3, 1982.

⁷³ K. Boban Jose, *Tribal Ethno Medicine*, A. P. H. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1998.

⁷⁴ Anima Guha, 'Folk Medicine of the Boro-Kacharis—A Plains Tribe of Assam', in Budhadeb Chaudhuri (ed), *Tribal Health*, Inter – India Publications, New Delhi, 1986.

⁷⁵ W. Eatwell, "On Chinese Burials", *The Journals of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol –1, 1872, p.210.

⁷⁶ J. G. Frazer, 'On Certain Burial Customs', Vol-15, August, 1886, p.86.

⁷⁷ Boban Jose, *Op cit.*, p.67.

⁷⁸ Edward Horace Man, *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Harvard University, Vol-12, 1883, p.69.

of an *Irula* man or woman, the news is promptly conveyed through an *Irula* male to close relatives, who immediately arrive to express their condolences. In some cases, the burial of the deceased may be delayed for a period of two or three days to allow relatives residing at distant locations to attend the funeral. At the moment of death ceremony, a hut is immediately erected to house the corpse, and singing and dancing continue until the funeral rites are completed, signifying the journey of the souls to the shadow land.

Among the tribes, it is a customary practice to personally inform the headman about the death, granting him the right to dispatch emissaries to notify headmen of other settlements and close relatives living elsewhere. However, the *Irulas* follow a unique approach where a council of elders collectively decides and sends the messengers for this purpose

The headmen of the *Irular* tribe adhere to specific traditions during the process. Their messengers carry symbolic items, including a bamboo stick, a *Silakkuda* (a cloth umbrella with a bent handle), and a knife to signify death.⁷⁹ Upon reaching a hamlet to deliver the news of death, the headman and *Bandari* approach the messengers, and the *Bandari* accepts the bamboo stick, symbolically acknowledging the news of death. Afterward, as they depart, the stick is returned to the messengers as a part of this ceremonial practice.

Upon receiving news of a death, the attendance of relatives and kinsmen in the funeral ceremony is deemed compulsory within the *Irula* tribe. The mandatory presence stems from the belief that the departed individual will take note of the number of attendees and may seek vengeance against those who are absent.⁸⁰ Such a tradition, established by tribal ancestors, serves to reinforce the sense of kinship and foster a spirit of cooperation among the community. In the past, initiating burial ceremonies often took days, sometimes even stretching to three or four days. The delay could be attributed to various factors. Firstly, upon the arrival of the

⁷⁹ Discussion by the *Mooppan* and the *Vandari* of the *Irula* settlement of Thavalam 29th May 2021

⁸⁰ Manjula poyil, *Op cit.*, p. 260.

messenger bearing the news, an obligation was imposed on those who received the message, requiring them to participate in the funeral proceedings. The time-consuming journey to the hamlet of the deceased, particularly for the elderly tribesmen, contributed to the extended period before the ceremony could commence. Secondly, the funeral ritual could only begin after the return of the messengers, ensuring that all individuals who needed to be informed of the death had indeed received the news. With the advent of motor vehicles, the process of notifying people from distant areas has become more efficient than in the past. Presently, it is mandatory for those who have been informed to attend the funeral function. In the case of tribes like the *Irulas* and *Kunduvadiyans*, certain penalties have been imposed on those who fail to fulfill the obligation.⁸¹

Among the *Irulas*, it is a customary practice that at least three individuals, including the headman, from each hamlet must attend the funeral ceremony of a deceased member. It holds significant importance, as any hamlet failing to fulfill the obligation may face certain punitive measures imposed by the headman of the hamlet of the deceased persons. Such penalties involve exclusion of the offending members of the hamlets from participating in social engagements. As a result, all community members perceive it as crucial to avoid such a situation. To address this concern, the *Irulas* have devised a systematic approach. Upon the arrival of representatives from other settlements, carrying the symbolic bamboo stick, the *Bandari*, or village chief, warmly receives them and takes custody of their sticks until all the funeral proceedings are concluded. Only upon their departure, the bamboo sticks are returned to the representatives. The utilization of the bamboo stick in this manner signifies a collective acknowledgment of the funeral ceremony and fosters a sense of unity and cooperation among the *Irula* tribes.⁸²

In the funerary practices a distinct burial ritual is observed, wherein the deceased is laid to rest in a unique manner. The burial structure comprises seven sticks fastened crosswise on two long sticks. During these ceremonies, the son or a

⁸¹ Discussion with Vellagiri (40), ST promoter, 14th April 2022.

⁸² Discussion with Rajani (54), Kudumbashree CDS, Agali Panchayath, 15th April 2022.

designated person serving as the chief officiator is required to shave their head, signifying a solemn act of mourning and respect for the departed.⁸³ Additionally, the headman, senior nephew, and son are mandated to actively participate in these funeral rites, underscoring their significance within the community.

Funeral dance and music hold a significant role in the tribal practice of spirit worship, serving as a means to allay the fear of the spirits of the deceased. Jhon Campbell an American writer contends that music, dance, and songs are utilized by the community to deter the spirits of the departed. Remarkably, the custom of funeral dance and music have not been prevalent among the Malabar tribes, except for those residing in the Attappadi region. The intriguing exception is believed to be a result of strong cultural connections that the tribes in this area have maintained with the tribes of the Nilgiris and Coimbatore regions, where dance and music are essential elements of funeral rites. Following the purificatory rite, the body of deceased is respectfully moved from the house and placed on a specially prepared and adorned bier in the courtyard. In this solemn setting, all men and women gather, paying their respects to the departed. A group of clanswomen congregates at a corner of the bier, engaging in loud wailing as an expression of grief. Subsequently, men and women form a circle around the funeral bier, engaging in a heartfelt dance and song performance to honour the memory of the deceased. It is worth noting that close relatives of the deceased refrain from active participation in this group dance and music. Within the ritual, individuals of any age, possessing expertise in dance or music, have the opportunity to join the performing group. Experienced elders take on the responsibility of playing musical instruments such as *Dhivil*,⁸⁴ *Kohal*,⁸⁵ *Jhalra*,⁸⁶ *Perai*,⁸⁷ and *Dhambatta*. The dancers adorn themselves with anklets while performing the dance. A notable distinction between the *Irulas* and the *Mudugas* and *Kurumbas* is that funeral music and dance among the *Irulas*

⁸³ Manjula poyil *Op.cit.*, p.273

⁸⁴ It has the shape of a *Chenda* (drum), the two sides of which are covered with cow's skin

⁸⁵ Blow pipe.

⁸⁶ Cymbal-like instrument made of brass.

⁸⁷ An earthen pot covered with the skin of the cow and rope (like the *Pulluvakudam*)

commence only at the moment of the transfer of the body to the cemetery and coincide with the dismantling of the funeral bier.

The following is an *Irula* funeral song:

A Chakka Athaka Chakka
Kukke Mannuu Nimanth Varu
A Chakka Athaka Chakka
Mele Vatte Pen Maka
A Chakka Athaka Chakka
Adiya Vatte Pen Maka
A Chakka Athaka Chakka
AttathukkuVayinko. . . rrr. . . urr. . . rrr. . . urr
*A Chakka Athaka Chakka*⁸⁸

In the aftermath of the funeral, the *Irulas* observe a period of death pollution, lasting from six months to a year. Subsequently, a purificatory ceremony is carried out, signifying the conclusion of this mourning period. Central to the beliefs of the *Irula* tribe is the notion that the spirits of their ancestors perpetually serve as guardians of their children and crops. Additionally, they hold the belief that the spirits of the departed ancestors can exhibit malevolence if their funeral and post-funeral ceremonies are not diligently observed and respected.⁸⁹

Burial Rites

The *Irula* community upholds an elaborate and ritualistic approach to burial rites when a member of their community passes away. The deceased individual, referred to as the '*Chavu*' is bathed by members of the clan of the brother-in-laws before being placed inside a ceremonial booth called the *Pattekettal*. The *Ooru Mooppan* and the *Guruvan* are informed of the death, and the latter, as the clan head of the deceased, takes charge of arranging the burial rites. Cooking within the huts is

⁸⁸ Manjula poyil, *Op. cit.* p.162.

⁸⁹ Discussion with Kuppaswami (61), Ward member, Sholayoor, 19th April 2022.

suspended during this period, and communal food preparation takes place near a stream or riverbed.

The body of the deceased is adorned with a new piece of cloth, and additional new cloths are brought by affinal kins to be placed over the corpse. Meanwhile, the *Veenan*, a youth from the hamlet, orchestrates continuous dance around the *Pattekettal*, accompanied by music. These dancers are remunerated for their services, and when their repertoire is exhausted, they may repeat the performance. The instrumentalists might take short breaks, but they return when the corpse is being transported to the burial ground. Throughout the proceedings, it is customary for the attendees to refrain from consuming any food from the house of the deceased persons.⁹⁰ Relatives from distant hamlets express their grief loudly, holding each other and vocalizing their sorrow and admiration for the deceased. The dancers and musicians are given food by the hamlet people. If the corpse is laid to rest in the *Patakettal* at 10 am on a day, the corpse is taken to burial ground on next day 4 pm. Notably, most of the dance participants consist of men and women who engage in the dance before retiring for the night. The belief among the community is that the departed soul also joins in the dance as part of the burial rites, underscoring their spiritual connection with the deceased even during these solemn occasions.⁹¹

The *Irula* tribe, as part of their unique customs, anoints the body of deceased with turmeric paste before proceeding with the washing ritual. The act of anointing with turmeric is considered essential to ensure the peaceful repose of the departed soul in the realm of their lord. Beyond the washing of the corpse, other specific rites are also prevalent among the various tribes in Attappadi. The *Irulas*, for instance, adopt a particular method to purify their deceased by placing crushed and moistened turmeric into the mouth of the departed. The practice is deeply rooted in the belief that such an act will facilitate the eternal rest of the souls in the domain of their lord. These distinct funerary practices highlight the cultural nuances and spiritual beliefs that govern the mourning and purification processes among the tribes of Attappadi.

⁹⁰ C. K. Karunakaran, *Op cit.*, p.35.

⁹¹ Discussion with Chellan Mooppan (65), Narsimukku 27th May 2022.

The process of taking the deceased to the common burial ground is overseen by the *Guruvan*, and the group is referred to as the *Koppe (Chudukadu)*. Within each *koppe*, there are separate sections allocated for each clan. Some hamlets boast spacious *koppe* that span up to 4 acres, while others, especially the newly formed hamlets may not have a burial ground. In such cases the corpse is taken to the man of deceased filial kin's hamlet by the *guruvan* of the clan. His/her clan identity determines the location of burial. A bier, known as *Sopran* or *Chupram*, is prepared for the funeral procession. The *Oru Mooppan* clan uses biers made of *punka* tree, while the *Devanar* and *Vellaga* clans employ bamboo for the same purpose.⁹²

Accompanied by female mourners, the procession reaches the gate point of the burial ground, where the *Guruvan* selects a suitable spot to dig the burial pit. Brother-in-law clan members then proceed to dig the grave to a depth of 5 to 6 feet, with the musicians ceasing their music during the sombre moment. The corpse is seated and then gently lowered into the grave. A member of the brother-in-law clan enters the burial pit and emits a mournful sound, and as a gesture of gratitude, they are given a lamb. Items like betel leaves, beedi, and sometimes a bottle of arrack (for those known for heavy drinking) are placed alongside the corpse. Additionally, a one-rupee coin is affixed to the forehead. The corpse is positioned with the head towards the south, and a pinch of various cultivars is sprinkled over it, symbolizing that the deceased can use these in the afterlife. The *Guruvan* then places fistfuls of soil on the feet of the corpses, middle, and head side, and the assembly promptly covers the burial pit with soil. A stone is erected at the head side of the grave for future identification. Afterward, the *chapram* and remnants of the *pattekettal* brought along with the corpse are placed over the burial pit. The mourners and *Guruvan* proceed to a nearby flowing water source for a bath, without drying their bodies. They then visit the house of the *Guruvans*, open the *Gurumadom* (divine basket), and place the new cloth taken from the corpse inside. A ceremonial lamp is lit, and the mourners pay their respects before departing to their respective homes.

⁹² Discussion with Kannamma Murugan, (58), Ward Member, 28th May 2022.

The expenses of the burial rites are shared by the people of the hamlet, reflecting their collective support during this significant occasion.⁹³

The sacred container known as the *Gurumadam* or *Guruchatti* holds ritual objects, clothes, grain seeds, and other significant items. In some cases, a wooden box may also serve as the *Gurumadam*. Upon the demise of a clan member, a portion of the cloth from the *Gurumadam* is torn and placed on the corpse, while the remaining cloth is preserved within the pot for future use. After the burial rites are concluded, a new cloth piece is taken from the covering of the corpses and kept in the *Gurumadam*.

(B) Kanjicheeru

The *Kanjicheeru* ceremony holds the purpose of guiding the departed souls to the realm of ancestral spirits. Since this is an expensive event the *Kanjicheeru* is generally performed once in three years or four years. The participation in the ceremony is not restricted by clan affiliation, as *Guruvans* from all clans, along with the *Ooru Mooppan*, collectively decide the date of the event. Feasts are arranged in honour of each deceased individual at their respective huts, where the invitees and visitors are treated to a generous meal.

The central attraction of the *Kanjicheeru* is the *Kshatram* (booth), which is meticulously constructed with six pillars. Over the course of three days, dancing takes place around this *kshatram*, led by the chief mourners and their wives, who have observed a life of austerity from the date of burial until the *kanjicheeru*. During the period, they abstain from consuming meat, refrain from cutting their hair, and avoid shaving their beards. Fried items are strictly avoided in their diet. Inside the booth, the chief mourners and their wives prepare a meal using ragi and pulses for the assembly, which is accompanied by vegetable curry and *ragipittu*.⁹⁴ Simultaneously, a ceremonial meal called *chavupittu* is prepared at the house of the *Guruvans* using ragi flour without salt or chili. The *Guruvan* and chief mourners

⁹³ PRG Mathur, *Op. cit*, p.85.

⁹⁴ Discussion with Chathi (63), Karara Ooru 26th May 2022.

partake in the *chavupittu*. The celebrations continue with dance and music. On the third day, the *Guruvan* prepares a meal with *Thina Choru* is taken to the burial spots of all the deceased and a few milliliters of castor oil are poured over the tombstones by the chief mourners. *The Guruvan* eats the *Thina Choru* near the tombstone, followed by a bath in flowing water. Subsequently, they return to the house of the *Guruvans* to pay obeisance to the divine pot (*Gurumadom*) or a lighted lamp. If members of different clans passed away during the intermediate period between two *Kanjicheeru* ceremonies, each clan of the *Guruvan* performs separate obeisance for their clan members. A hamlet may witness more than four or five such performances during a *Kanjicheeru* period, making it a time of festive joy and overcrowding. Even on important occasions like sowing and harvesting, ancestral souls are given offerings.⁹⁵ The *Kanjicheeru* ceremony entails significant expenses, and the *Irula* families often strive to conduct it in a grand way, which may lead them into deep indebtedness in certain cases.

⁹⁵ C. K. Karunakaran ,*Op cit.*,p.35-36.

CHAPTER 6

TRIBES IN TRANSITION: IRULAS OF ATTAPPADI

The secluded tribes of Attappadi, surrounded by thick forest and long rivers, remained disconnected from the wider society and the rapid changes happening around them. Gradually, their unique cultural values and material possessions developed, shaping a distinct ethnic identity. The identity served as the cornerstone of their customs, shaping their behavior and way of life. In the eyes of Robert Redfield, such groups are termed 'Little Communities'¹ with 'little traditions'. He describes the concept of the 'Little Community' as a small gathering of people who share a unique culture and typically exist separately from larger, more intricate societies. He further believed that such small, self-contained communities have been a fundamental aspect of human society throughout history. These 'Little Communities' often exist in isolation, leading to the development of their own distinct cultures, bound by a specific geographic region, often referred to as a 'culture area'.² The geographical seclusion significantly influences the formation of their cultural practices, a concept known as 'Geographic determinism'.³ As S.C. Sinha has highlighted, the tribes are separated not only physically, but also in terms of their ecology, demographics, economy, and politics from other ethnic groups. The historical distinction sets the tribal communities apart from non-tribal groups, solidifying their unique tribal identity.⁴

In ancient times, tribes primarily relied on hunting and gathering for sustenance, with the forest serving as their customary homeland. Each tribe had its designated area where they hunted animals and gathered resources from the forest. These territories were often extensive, as the survival of the groups heavily relied on

¹ Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*, Chicago, 1973, pp. 1-4.

² Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, New York, 1922, p. 218.

³ Franz Boas, *Race, Language and Culture*, New York, 1940, pp. 255-256.

⁴ S. C. Sinha, "Tribes Caste and Tribe Peasant Continuum in Central India", in *Man in India*, Vol, 45, Bihar, 1965, p. 4.

what nature had provided. The forest inhabitants foraged for wild fruits, roots, and tubers to supplement their diet. Additionally, the forest supplied them with timber and bamboo for constructing homes and crafting various tools. They also gathered honey, medicinal herbs, and other forest products, which they could either sell or exchange in weekly markets or trade hubs. Their sustenance also involved hunting in the forest and fishing in the nearby rivers, enabling them to supplement their predominantly plant-based diet with meat. Slash-and-burn agriculture was a key part of their economic activities. Tribes practicing shifting cultivation intentionally settled in hilly forest areas. Furthermore, these cultivators lived in close harmony with the forest, often finding time and leisure to take a break from their repetitive farm work through activities such as hunting, fishing, or gathering forest resources. Hence, it can be inferred that tribal life was inherently eco-friendly and adapted to the natural environment through the process of 'ecological adaptation.'⁵

According to the Government of India Committee on Forest and Tribals, the tribal communities have not only inhabited the forests but have also, over centuries, developed a way of life deeply intertwined with forest ecology and resources. The way of life has simultaneously ensured the protection of the forest from both human and natural harm.⁶ However, a growing restlessness has appeared in the form of newcomers which has brought historical changes in the existing scenario. The tribal customs are gradually losing their authenticity and originality, either assimilating into the migrant culture or being engulfed by non-tribal groups. Their social, economic, religious, and cultural aspects are undergoing transformations, leading to a sense of identity crisis. The shift is primarily the outcome of increased interactions with more advanced non-tribal communities and the subsequent process of acculturation.

The process of cultural transformation resulting from cultural interactions is known as acculturation. The process of Acculturation refers to what happens when

⁵ Radcliff Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, London, 1976, p. 9.

⁶ Government of India, *Report of Committee on Forest and Tribals*, Gazette no 12, New Delhi, 1982.

different cultural groups come into continuous direct contact.⁷ In the context of India, acculturation is a two-way process. According to D.D. Kosambi, the acculturation in India occurred over many centuries, making it challenging to pinpoint specific dates.⁸ D.N. Majumdar discusses the concept of transculturation among the *Hos of Singbhum*, showcasing how the tribal culture also impacted the Hindu castes residing in tribal villages.⁹ Meanwhile, M.N. Srinivas introduced the concept of Sanskritization to describe the acculturation process among Hindu castes in India. Sanskritization involves a lower caste attaining a higher position in the caste hierarchy by adopting the customs, rituals, beliefs, and way of life. Sanskritization involves cultural movement within the context of the established "great tradition" and the caste-based social hierarchy. When a group undergoes sanskritization, it typically leads to an enhancement of its standing in the local caste system. The process usually assumes an improvement in the social, economic, or political status of the group due to its interaction with elements of the great tradition, such as pilgrimage centers, monasteries, or proselytizing religious sects. He argued that the notion of Sanskritization is relevant to tribal communities as well.¹⁰ Hinduization represents another customary transition process among tribal communities. According to L.P. Vidyarthi, around 89% tribal population of India has integrated themselves within the realm of Hinduism.¹¹ Observing the influence of Hinduism on tribals, G.S. Ghurye refers to them as 'Backward Hindus.'¹² Hinduization is an ongoing phenomenon where tribal communities gradually adopt and incorporate Hindu cultural practices from their neighboring Hindu communities, leading to their gradual integration into the larger society.

⁷ Robert Redfield and Others, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation", *American Anthropologist*, vol. 38, 1936, p. 149.

⁸ D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1990, p. 50.

⁹ D. N. Majumdar, *The Affairs of a Tribe: A Study in Tribal Dynamics*, Lucknow, 1950, p. 3

¹⁰ M. N Srinivas, *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India*, Bombay, 1952, p. 30

¹¹ L. P. Vidyarthi, *The Tribal Culture of India*, Delhi, 1976, p. 455.

¹² G. S. Ghurye, *The Scheduled Tribes*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 20,

The integration of tribal populations into mainstream society has been an ongoing process throughout history. Larger tribal communities with settled agricultural practices were better equipped to preserve their distinct identity due to their greater numbers and resulting adaptability. During prehistoric times, the shift from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to one focused on food production occurred gradually. However, in the past millennium, the cultural transformation accelerated significantly.¹³

In recent times, the influx of non-tribal populations into Attappadi tribal areas significantly accelerated the process of acculturation. However, the nature of the change varied depending on the familiarity of tribal people with the religious communities coexisting alongside them. Given the prominent migration of Christians and Muslims, their linguistic and cultural traditions exerted significant influences on the tribal communities. Role of Migration is rightly impacting the lives of the Attappadi tribe. It resulted in the displacement of their ancestral lands and subjected them to exploitation and lead them to a marginalized social status. Despite the pervasive erosion of their socio-economic framework, the tribal situation reveals a slow and limited assimilation of external influences, particularly in relation to customs associated with death. Furthermore, any adaptations observed primarily reflect the Hindu religious practices, with minimal influence from Islamic and Christian traditions.

Migration stands as a prominent driver of cultural change among the *Irula* tribes in the Attappadi region. While the *Irula* communities have increased interaction with neighbouring non-tribal groups such as Christians, Hindus, and Muslims, their relationship with Hinduism differs notably. The primary draw of Hinduism for the tribes lies in the fact that many Hindu cultural elements, including beliefs, rituals, and ceremonies, bear resemblance to modified versions of tribal practices and culture. The cultural shifts observed among the hill tribes of Kerala in the early 20th century are described as a gradual process of Hinduization, or more accurately, Brahmanization, due to their exposure to Brahmin customs prevalent

¹³ Peter Murdock, "The Current Status of World's Hunting and Gathering Peoples" in *Man the Hunter*, R. B. Lee and Irven Devore, ed., Chicago, 1968, pp14-15.

among their lowland neighbours. The *Irulas* often demonstrate reverence for Hindu deities along with their continued worship of their original spirit deities.¹⁴ The process signifies a transition from isolation to assimilation.

The life and culture of the *Irulas* of Attappadi have long been undergoing gradual transformation due to their interactions with the more advanced cultures of the surrounding regions. Sociologists, anthropologists, and archaeologists collectively refer to the process of cultural change through cultural contact as 'acculturation'. The concept encompasses various aspects, with terms like 'disintegration', 'transition', and 'assimilation' used to describe the changes resulting from contact. When studying acculturation, it is crucial to assess the significant conditions of contact and their consequences on the primary aspects of the involved cultures.¹⁵ These contacts are diverse and are often categorized as 'antagonistic contact', 'exploitative contact', or 'philanthropic contact'. Regardless of the specific type of contact, the underlying idea is that change is directional. It involves, first, a departure from the traditional structured activities of one culture without fully adopting the rules of another culture, a process termed 'alienation'. Secondly, it involves a movement towards the structured activities of another culture, adjusting the rules through internalization to align with those of the other culture, termed 'reorientation'.

Background of the *Irula* Transition in Attappadi

Over time, the life and culture of the *Irula* tribes in Attappadi have undergone various significant transformations. These changes have manifested in multiple aspects, including material culture, social interactions, life cycle rituals, settlement patterns, language, family dynamics, kinship, marriage customs, death customs, land holdings, health, education, the economy etc. They have experienced alterations owing to their interactions with other communities and non-tribal groups,

¹⁴ *Census of India*, Vol. VI, Part I, Madras, 1901, p. 38.

¹⁵ Bruce. P. Dohrenwend & J. Smith, "*Toward a Theory of Acculturation*", South Western Journal of Anthropology, Chicago, July, 1962, p. 31.

as well as through the process of being further strengthened by the developmental initiatives of the Government and various voluntary organizations.

The other important tribes of Attappadi such as *Mudugas and Kurumbas* reside within the forest, experiencing significant isolation from migrants. In contrast, the *Irulas* benefited from the conveniences of the changed society. Contact with the hubs of civilization stands as a critical catalyst that accelerates the rate of change within the tribal community.

The history of transition in the tribes traces back to the arrival of Christian, Muslim and Hindu migrants in the region. The influx of migrants created opportunities for engagement with external communities, resulting in both positive and negative consequences of cultural contact. As the migration and settlement expanded, reciprocal cultural assimilation and acculturation took root. The conversion of vast forested regions into plantations opened the door to significant external influence. Furthermore, the large-scale influx of peasants from the plains of Southern and Central Kerala armed with advanced technologies and novel cultivation methods further propelled the process of acculturation.¹⁶

Besides, contemporary factors also contributed to the transformation of the *Irula* community which include the regular interaction with the non-tribals, urbanization, industrialization, tribal development initiatives, modern education, advancements in communication and administration, and missionary activities. The external influences have emerged recently, distinct from the regular interactions between the tribal and non-tribal populations in the area. However, the study mainly focussed on the interaction of Malayali migrants from outside Attappadi and the transition of the life and culture of *Irula* tribes of Attappadi.

During the period of study, a notable influx of non-tribal Malayali populations has permeated the region. The expansive tribal territory of the region, with few exceptions, has witnessed the settlement of numerous advanced groups equipped with improved technologies. The penetration of tourists, administrative officials,

¹⁶ P. T. Sebastian, *Christian Migration to Malabar*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 2002, p. 327.

missionaries, and immigrants, such as cultivators and planters into tribal territories has accelerated the tribes' exposure to the outside world.

The establishment of administrative headquarters, the development of roads, and the enhancement of communication facilities have further facilitated interactions between the tribal and non-tribal communities. Daily necessities are often procured through these channels, and forest products are sold at modern exchange centers, fostering regular contact between tribal people and those more advanced in their ways. The improvement of communication, particularly the construction of motorable roads, has significantly eased such interactions. In the past, communication between tribes and non-tribal communities was challenging, as the existing roads and transportation methods were insufficient. Bullock-carts and buffalo-carts were commonly employed in those times. S.C. Dube highlights that the impetus for changes in traditional customs often originates from urban areas, introduced to the village community by semi-urbanized individuals or inspired by the practices of urban relatives.¹⁷

Cities and towns serve as pivotal hubs for cultural transformations. In the context, Agali town, along with other minor towns like Kottathara, Mukkali, Golikkadavu, Chemmanoor, and Thavalam, play an active role as centers of cultural exchange in the area. Initially serving as early trading posts, these locations eventually evolved into towns.¹⁸ The infiltration of a market economy and consumerism has further amplified the tribal interactions with these urban hubs. The intricate urban-rural network serves as a conduit for the reciprocal exchange of customs and traditions between the dominant and smaller cultural spheres, bridging the gap between tribal and non-tribal communities. The cultural advancements originating in these urban areas naturally disseminate to the interior tribal regions.¹⁹

The interaction between tribes and non-tribes should be perceived as a socio-cultural process. With enhanced communication, the dynamics of the interaction

¹⁷ S. C. Dube, *Indian Village*, London, 1955, p. 231.

¹⁸ On the occasions like *Mahashivarathri*, they come to the Chemmanoor town.

¹⁹ Robert Redfield, *Op. cit.*, pp. 135-148.

have undergone changes. In certain regions, the interaction pattern leans more towards cooperation rather than competition. However, the general trend indicates an exploitative nature, despite the prevalence of cooperation. Thus the interaction is evolving into a socio-economic interdependence between the two groups. As a result of these interactions, acculturation has emerged, particularly in the realms of material and social culture. The degree of acculturation varies from one tribe to another, depending on the extent of their engagement with the tribal tradition and modern culture. The pace of change is notably faster among the tribes residing in the mainland or villages compared to those living in the remote forest interiors.

Special events such as festivals, weddings, plays, dances, musical concerts and recitations play a significant role in hastening tribal transformation. These occasions are commonly referred to as 'cultural performances'.²⁰ Milton Singer emphasizes that each cultural performance possesses distinct characteristics, including a defined time frame with a clear beginning and end, a structured program of activities, a group of performers, an audience, and a designated place and occasion for the performance. These cultural events serve as conduits for the dissemination and transmission of cultural traits through various 'cultural media,' such as song, dance, instrumental music, verbal texts, plots and themes, and the specific setting of the performance. The festivals, such as Mahashivarathri at Malleswaram hill, along with other temple festivals and *poorams*²¹, represent the primary cultural performances in Attappadi, significantly shaping the tribal culture in the area. Additionally, the introduction of modern amenities such as television, radio, telephone, electricity, and the expansion of transport facilities has further accelerated these processes of cultural exchange.

Not only the migrants but also a multitude of factors contribute to the departure from the traditional system. The examination of various aspects of tribal life, encompassing social culture, religious customs, and practices associated with birth, marriage, death, education, healthcare, attire, dietary habits etc.. is crucial in

²⁰ Milton Singer, ed., *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, Jaipur, 1975, p. 13.

²¹ Pooram festivals in Kerala epitomize the vibrant spirit of the region.

comprehending the changes within the traditional society. These changes transpire gradually over time, with certain elements of a society being more receptive to change than others. For instance, it has been observed that significant alterations are occurring in the realm of political organization, while changes in family structure and religious beliefs and practices tend to remain notably stable and progress at a slower pace. The discussion and analysis presented here attempt to observe how the tribe and non tribe interaction shifts in the fundamental socio-cultural profile of the *Irulas*.

Transition in Residence of the *Irulas*: The Hamlets (Oorus)

The *Irula* community resides in settlements commonly referred to as *Oorus* (hamlets).²² Each of these hamlets typically comprises 20 to 50 households and are more widely dispersed compared with those of *Kurumba and Muduga* tribal communities in the region. The proximity of the *Irula* hamlet to Agali town offers ample opportunities for interaction with non-tribal communities, resulting in some shifts in traditional values and social structures.

(a) Construction of Houses

Residential amenities and housing arrangements significantly determine the living standards of a community. In Kerala society, in particular, the type of housing reflects a notable indicator of prosperity. It is within this context that we assess the quality of housing and other infrastructural facilities of the *Irula* community. In the present day, the landscape has undergone a dramatic transformation due to increased interactions with immigrants. A considerable number of houses now feature tiled roofs, asbestos sheeting, and cement concrete construction. Lime is a prevalent material used in the construction of most houses. Both the government and voluntary migrant agencies have displayed a keen interest in providing financial assistance for housing construction in the area. The table below delineates the various entities involved in house construction and the different types of houses erected.

²² Field data taken by the AHADS office, Agali in 15th April 2022.

Table 6.1

Types of *Irula* Houses and Agencies of Construction at Agali

Types of Roof	Number	Types of Walls	Number	Types of Floor	Number	Agency	Number
Thatched	9	Mud bricks	9	Mud	9	Own	9
Sheet	25	Wooden Poles	18	Semi cement	25	Own	11
						District,Block and Grama Panchayat	14
Tile	57	Mud	31	Cement	49	Own	10
						District,Block and Grama Panchayat	41
						NGOs	6
Concrete	109	Cement Bricks	142	Tiled	117	Own	16
						District,Block and Grama Panchayat Panchayath	75
						NGOs	19

Source: Field survey, Agali, 15th to 28th April 2022

Table 6.1 presents the particulars of house construction among the *Irula* community in Agali. Among the 200 households surveyed, the roofing materials varied and included sheets, tiles, concrete, and wild grass. The walls are constructed using bricks, mud, and wooden poles, while the flooring is either cemented or composed of mud. Overall, the majority of their houses are with concrete roofs of two rooms and a kitchen, although some have added small walls to accommodate additional rooms for larger families. Most houses are maintained in a clean and orderly manner, although the facilities remain insufficient. As a result of increased interaction with migrants, the younger generation now displays a keen interest in constructing houses with ample space and facilities. Eight such modernized houses

with amenities like water-sealed toilets, pipes, and smokeless stoves have been observed in the Agali Thazhe Ooru.

Concerning house construction, approximately 25% of them were built by the *Irulas* themselves, while various agencies such as the District Panchayat, Block Panchayat, Grama Panchayat, Tribal Development Department, AHARDS, and the Department of Forests and Wildlife, along with voluntary organizations like the NGO Attappadi Viksana Samithi and SAI Mission, were involved in the construction process.

A careful observation of the above table delineates the housing trends among the *Irula* community, outlining the traditional and altered house patterns. Presently, none of the respondents reside in the traditional grass-thatched dwellings (huts). Approximately 4.5 % of the respondents live in houses with mud walls and grass roofs, while 12.5 % inhabit semi-cemented houses and the 28.5 % are live in tiled roofed houses. The majority, comprising 54.5 percent of the respondents, reside in fully cemented houses with tiled floor, representing the altered house pattern.

Transition in Household Goods and Material Culture

The quantity and quality of household goods owned by tribal communities reflect their economic status, their perspective on economic advancement, and the extent of their savings for the future. The current study has revealed that many *Irulas* in Attappadi now possess a variety of household items. Some households have acquired items such as steel chairs, tables, cots, stools, benches, shelves, radios, tape recorders, and bicycles, which they have become familiar with through the influence of migrants. In *Irula* Ooru of Goolikkadavu 85 out of 100 households are electrified, and they own modern conveniences such as mobile phones, televisions, cars, and bikes. The table below presents information about household facilities in Agali Ooru and Goolikkadavu Ooru.

Table.6.2
Facilities at Agali Ooru and Goolikkadavu Ooru

Ooru	Power Supply	Toilet	TV	Cable	Car	Motor Bikes	Radio	Electric Appliances	Mobile Phones	Tape Recorder	Cycle
Agali	90	81	52	29	7	19	36	56	72	21	27
Goolikkadavu	85	75	41	28	5	18	29	53	69	17	23

Source: Field data Agali and Goolikkadavu colony 15th to 28th April 2022

A significant portion of *Irula* households possess a mix of wooden and plastic chairs, along with a growing trend of acquiring modern furniture such as steel shelves, chairs, and tables, as well as plastic chairs while some continue to use traditional wooden chairs, benches, and tables. Yet some households are found with no proper sleeping arrangements like cots. With contact of non-tribals the use of aluminium and steel vessels for cooking and serving food is common among these households. According to the field data²³, the facilities in the house of the *Irulas* are relatively substantial, but in certain areas there is a scarcity of adequate toilets. In Agali area 81 households, within the study group, have found access of toilets and proper sanitation facilities.

Table.6.3

Evolution of Daily Life Materials of the *Irulas* of Agali: Impacts of Migrant Interaction

Sl. No.	Traditional Item	Frequency	Percentage	Change and adopted Item	Frequency	Percentage
1	Wooden Grinder or Stone Grinder	68	68	Electronic grinder and Mixer	32	32
2	Wooden Agricultural Implement	72	72	Modified plough	28	28
3	Hunting Gathering Stone and Wood Tools	63	63	Modified Hunting and Gathering Tools	37	37
4	Mat items	62	62	Chair, Cot, Stool, Table	38	38
5	Oil lamps	27	27	Electric bulb and torch	73	73
6	Cotton rope	21	21	Plastic rope	79	79
7	Pitcher	11	11	Metal & Plastic buckets	89	89
8	Earthen pots for storing grains	47	47	Aluminium, plastic or steel containers for storing grains	53	53
9	Wooden comb	12	12	Plastic comb	88	88

Source: Field data Agali and Goolikadavu colony 15th to 29th May 2022

²³ Field data, Agali, 28th to 30th April 2022.

The data reveals a gradual integration of evolved material cultures alongside the progression of technology. Presently, the utilization of traditional implements shows a prevalence of stone grinders and wooden grinders among 68 % of respondents, while 72 percent employ wooden agricultural tools, and 63 % rely on stone and wooden tools for hunting and gathering. Additionally, 62 % percent utilize mats, 27 % favor oil lamps, 11 % opt for cotton ropes, and a mere 11 % make use of pitchers. Moreover, 47 % of the respondents store grains in earthen pots, with 12 % use wooden combs. In contrast, a portion of the population, approximately 32 %, has embraced the use of electric grinders and mixers, while 28 % have shifted to modified ploughs, and 37 % now employ altered hunting and gathering tools. Furthermore, a quarter of the respondents have gone for modern furniture like chairs and cots, and a significant 73 % have embraced electric bulbs and torches. Plastic items have also found their way into the community, with 79 % using plastic ropes, 89 % employing plastic buckets, and 53 % resorting to aluminium or steel containers for storing grains. The usage of plastic combs has seen a significant rise to 88 %, attributing this shift to the influence of migrants and the assimilation of contemporary innovations. The cultural diffusion has led the *Irula* community to gradually forsake their traditional customs in favour of the adoption of modernized material ones.

Transition of Attire and Embellishments

Transformations in the adoption of novel customs and fashion trends are conspicuous in the attire and embellishments of the *Irula* community. The erstwhile conventional style of *Irula* clothing and ornaments is gradually making way for contemporary urban cuts and stitched fabrics. Notably, the *Irula* dress composition has undergone significant modifications, disregarding factors such as group affiliation, age, gender, and economic status. Previously, men typically adorned themselves with clothes draped around the waist, extending down to the knees,

leaving a substantial portion of the body exposed. Similarly, women exclusively wore a '*chela*' without the addition of blouses.²⁴

In the contemporary context, the *Irulas* of Agali demonstrate a notable penchant for dressing in their finest attire. Men typically don a cloth and shirt ensemble akin to that of the non-tribal populace within the vicinity. In the colder months, they opt for sweaters, whereas during the labourious summer activities, they often expose their upper torsos. Their wardrobe extends to modern garments including shirts, Western-style pants and T-shirts besides they also keep traditional lower garments such as *mundu* and *lungis*. Women, on the other hand, favour an assortment of attire ranging from sarees, churidar, maxies, and blouses, all adorned in diverse and vivid hues. The younger generation exhibit a proclivity for the most fashionable attire, sourced from neighbouring markets such as Mukkali, Kottathara, and Agali. To shield themselves from the sun during arduous agricultural tasks, they ingeniously utilize towels as head coverings. Notably, their discerning eye for colour coordination is evidenced by their consistent preference for lively and vibrant shades in their clothing choices.

Young male members of the community favour the comfort of shorts paired with shirts, while their female counterparts opt for a variety of garments such as frocks, skirts with blouses, as well as churidar and middies. The youth, in their preference for contemporary fashion, often choose polyester and cotton fabrics for their trousers and shirts. When venturing outside, most community members adorn with footwear, underscoring their awareness of hygiene and cleanliness. Their reliance on market-bought washing soap reflects their integration into the wider consumer economy.²⁵ Furthermore, the inclination of younger generation towards clothing made of polyester and cotton fabrics suggests an inclination toward modern textile materials. The amalgamation of traditional and modern clothing materials signifies the gradual assimilation of tribal community into a broader fabric and garment culture.

²⁴ Field Data Goolikadavu Colony 14th May 2022.

²⁵ Interview with Allen Mooppan (65), Ward member, Agali Grama Panchayath, Thavalam 21st March 2022.

The growing influence of urban centers has led many tribal women to incorporate cosmetics into their daily routines, signifying a significant shift toward modern practices. Hair grooming, including combing, oil application, and floral adornments, is commonly observed among young women and children. Talcum powder is frequently used, along with the application of *kanmashy* (collyrium) to beautify their eyes, and the adornment of a *bindhi* on their foreheads for added aesthetic appeal. Moreover, the adoption of modern footwear, such as sandals and shoes, by the younger generation, highlights their assimilation into contemporary fashion trends, which stand in contrast to the traditional attire and accessories that are gradually becoming obsolete. They have also adopted the use of perfumes and cosmetics for personal adornment. Traditional jewellery, once favoured by the elderly women, is now scarcely seen among them. Traditional ornaments, including bangles, earrings, finger rings, necklaces, and nose rings, have been largely replaced by more contemporary variations crafted from gold, silver, glass, and jade, in alignment with the evolving market economy and the limited knowledge of younger generation on traditional craftsmanship.²⁶ A minority of individuals still adhere to traditional clothing and adornments, while many have also incorporated wrist watches into their daily attire. Daily bathing become common practice for young women and children, while the elder members of the community typically bathe twice a week, using soap for cleansing. Post-bathing, it was customary for the elderly to bask in the sun for a brief period. Additionally, the practice of reusing clothing for multiple days before washing, with frequent changes when leaving the hamlet, signifies an awareness of hygiene within the lifestyle of tribal communities

²⁶ Field Data Chindakki Colony 21st to 25th March 2022.

Table 6.4**Changes in the Dress pattern of *Irulas* of Agali and Gooli kadavu**

S.No	Traditional dress	Frequency	Percentage	Modern dress	Frequency	Percentage
Male	Dhoti, Ganji, Kurta, Gamcha	23	23	Pants, Shirt, T-Shirt, Jeans etc.	77	77
Female	<i>Chela</i>	21	21	Blouse, Salwar, kameez Churidar Frock	79	79
	Total	44	44			156

The findings of the above table demonstrate the profound influence of non-tribal interactions and modernization on the costumes of the *Irula* tribe. The above table shows that the *Irula* people has increasingly favoured western attire over traditional clothing, with a substantial 77 percent of male and female respondents opting for western garments as opposed to the remaining 23 percent who continue to wear traditional clothing.

Shifts in Food Culture

The noticeable detachment from their previous lifestyle is evident in the altered dietary practices and consumption habits of the tribal community. Formerly, they would partake in meals two to three times a day, relying on their own cultivated crops, which not only fulfilled their basic needs but also generated surplus. Their diet was supplemented with a variety of forest-sourced provisions such as roots, nuts, honey, and fruits, while meat, obtained through hunting activities, constituted a significant component of their daily sustenance.

With the influence of migrants it noted a shift from natural protein-rich diet to one that is less nutritious has diminished their physical resilience, rendering them susceptible to various ailments. The successful procurement of wild boars, rabbits,

and deer not only satisfied their hunger but also fortified them for the arduous fieldwork. The robust food security system was sustained within the community, with any temporary scarcity being mitigated through the collective act of sharing, facilitated by their strong communal bonds. According to the accounts of several elder community members, the ethos of mutual assistance had long been ingrained as an integral aspect of their communal existence.²⁷

The practice of *beedi* and cigarette smoking, along with the habit of betel chewing, has increased considerably among the *Irula* community. Previously, ragi porridge held a central place in their dietary routine. Nowadays Rice serves as their primary staple food, often accompanied by a side dish comprising fish or vegetables. However, the cultivation of ragi has ceased in their hamlet, leading to its substitution with maida flour. The unavailability of various components of their traditional diet and interaction with non tribals has resulted in a greater reliance on rice, maida, vegetables, and processed and fast food items such as modern Arabic and Chinese dishes, bread and biscuits etc.²⁸

The recent changes in food culture have placed significant strain on the community, both physically and mentally, largely due to shifts in agricultural production methods. The abandonment of traditional farming practices, such as shifting cultivation, has led to a decline in the cultivation and consumption of staple grains like millets. As a result, most food items, including essential vegetables like tomatoes and okra, are now sourced from local markets rather than being grown locally. To assist those living below the poverty line (BPL), the *Public Distribution System* (PDS) offers subsidized rice at 2 Rupees per kilogram. However, concerns have been raised by elders about the health impacts of this dietary shift, as rice was not historically a staple in the community's diet. Additionally, the enactment of the Indian Wildlife Protection Act of 1972 has led to a decrease in meat consumption, as it restricted hunting practices targeting animals like wild pigs and elephants, which previously threatened tribal agricultural lands.

²⁷ Interview with Shivamani N. (52), ST Promoter, Kavundikkal, 13th April 2022.

²⁸ Interview with Rajeevan, R.(52), ITDP Officer, Agali, 09th April 2022.

Additionally, the cultivation of *ganja* in close proximity to their dwellings facilitates the smoking of its inflorescence. Notably, the female members of the *Irula* community display a greater inclination towards chewing 'pan'. Both men and women in the hamlet indulge in the consumption of *arrack* or brewed liquor, often expressing a fondness for foreign liquor. A significant amount of financial resources is allocated towards the purchase and consumption of alcohol during various communal events, including weddings, festivals, and other ceremonies.

Economic Transition

A crucial transformation in the economy of the *Irula* community in Attappadi is owing to the shift from gathering roots, tubers, and wild fruits for personal consumption to the extensive collection of minor forest produce for commercial purposes. The transition to a cash-based economy has primarily been facilitated by the efforts of the Girijan Co-Operative Marketing Society, a government-established organization, and migrant spice shops designed to support the tribal population. Through the income earned, they acquire grains for their daily sustenance and to gain access to the various urban commodities, leading to an enhancement in their overall standard of living. However, the substantial deforestation that has ensued altered the natural resources considerably. Owing to their frequent interactions with the market and non-tribal communities, their reliance on the forest has undergone a notable shift. Consequently, the wage labouring has become their primary source of income now, the collection of forest produce serving as a secondary occupation. Hunting and fishing are now sporadic activities primarily pursued by those tribal members still residing deep within the forest.²⁹

The disruption of the traditional *Irula* tribal economy relegated the tribes to the position of wage labourers, compelling them to procure most of their necessities from the market. Consequently, the previously self-reliant and non-monetized tribal economy underwent a gradual transformation into a dependent and monetized economy, rendering them highly susceptible to external economic and social influences. With the influx of outsiders and their profit-oriented culture, the socio-

²⁹ Field Data, Agali colony, 26th to 28th March, 2022.

economic interdependence disintegrated.³⁰ The incoming migrants played a pivotal role in developing the local economy, establishing educational institutions, and leading a prosperous lifestyle. Simultaneously, *Irula* perception and attitude toward money also underwent a significant shift. The altered attitude was primarily confined to specific communities that subsequently prioritized the provision of better health and education for their children.

Young men belonging to the *Irula* community began to access various income-generating avenues facilitated by migrant and government-sponsored programs. They started to participate in Government jobs, engage in trade, operate shops, drive automobiles, practice medicine, teaching, serve as nurses, work as electricians, offer their services as tourist guides, forest trackers, forest watchers and provide assistance in offices etc.³¹ Concerning tribal women, certain activities that they undertake are such as childcare, household management, tending to domestic animals, cultivating vegetable gardens, and gathering firewood from the forests.

Transition in Occupational Pattern

In the past, the *Irula* community sustained themselves primarily through shifting cultivation in forested areas of the high ranges. This agricultural practice required collaborative efforts among families within settlements. The transition has brought about a more individualistic approach, with families focusing on selling their produce for monetary gain rather than relying solely on communal efforts. Additionally, some *Irula* individuals are now compelled to take up wage labour roles, particularly as agricultural workers on fields owned by non-tribal settlers. These changes reflect broader shifts in livelihood patterns and socio-economic dynamics within the *Irula* community.

The *Irula* women not only make substantial contributions to the advancement of their society and community but also play a significant role in

³⁰ T. Madhava Menon (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Dravidian Tribes*, Vol. I, Trivandrum, 1993, p. 89.

³¹ Interview with Rajani, *Irula Doctor* (42), Kottathara Tribal Specialty Hospital, 8th April 2022.

supplementing the family income through various means, including wage labour, fishing and the trade of its yield, as well as the domestication and trade of animals such as cows, goats, and fowls. Furthermore, they engage in the collection and sale of fuelwood and biomass, alongside crafting items such as baskets, kidiyams, mats, and other useful goods for both personal use and commercial purposes. Certain women within the community are recognized for their exceptional skills, particularly in the domain of weaving. While the traditional practices of bamboo-reed mat weaving and basket making persist, they have become less financially rewarding over time, often requiring the collective effort of the entire family over extended periods.

During the fieldwork at Goolikkadavu³², The investigator had an opportunity to observe the production of various items, including baskets, Kidiyams, lampshades, pen stands, bamboo glasses etc within the hamlet. These items were crafted for both domestic use and for sale in the external market. The surging popularity of metal and high-end wood-based products like teak, rosewood, and plastics has led to a notable decline in the local demand for homemade articles within the *Irula* communities. Challenges faced by the *Irulas* of the area include a lack of technical expertise, limited access to modern equipment for production, inadequate availability of credit facilities, the absence of product diversification, reliance on family-based production methods, issues pertaining to marketing, low wages, and the scarcity of raw materials.

Transformation of the Labour Force

The non-tribal settlers held a prominent position of significant political, economic, and social power within the community. Many tribal members expressed grievances regarding the settlers negative stereotyping, alleging that they viewed tribal agricultural labourers as indolent and lacking the necessary skills for effective fieldwork. They further propagated the notion that tribal workers were solely responsive to instructions and were prone to lavish spending on alcohol and other

³² Field data at Goolikkadavu Ooru, 20th to 21st May 2022.

forms of entertainment.³³ Throughout various regions, such stereotypical depictions persistently target tribal labourers, portraying them as lethargic, undependable, and unsuitable for labour-intensive tasks. These characterizations align with the narratives prevalent within the framework of modern capitalist economies, which exploit the labour of tribal communities in numerous tribal regions across India.³⁴

The *Irulas* have transitioned from their traditional roles of hunting and agriculture to becoming agricultural wage labourers. The shift was primarily compelled by the influx of migrations, the construction of new roads linking the regions to major market centers, and widespread deforestation. The adoption of new agricultural techniques and modern technology by incoming settlers significantly affected the tribal populace. Male *Irula* labourers presently earn approximately Rs. 400 per day, while their female counterparts earn around Rs. 350 as daily wages in the estates of the migrants. Those unable to engage in wage labour often turn to fishing in the Bhavani River as an alternative means of sustenance.³⁵

Over the past six decades, significant shifts have been observed in the sources of income among the *Irula* community. Traditional agricultural activities like soil preparation, sowing, and harvesting now provide financial sustenance for only a small minority of men in the settlement. Instead, the evolving modern sector has introduced alternative income streams, including work in construction, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) works, transportation, road building, and small-scale industries. The shift from agriculture to diverse occupations is readily discernible in their changing economic landscape. Kali, a 75-year-old agricultural labourer, corroborates these changes, emphasizing how labour relations have transformed. People no longer remain tied to a single employer or estate owner; rather, they now find employment with a variety

³³ Interview with Hareesh Kannan (54), ST Promoter, Ambalankunnu on 24th May, 2022.

³⁴ Susana, B. C, *Discourses of Ethnicity: Culture and Protest in Jharkhand*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1992, p. 162.

³⁵ Interview with Alex Mathew (65), Migrant Farmer, 27th May 2022.

of employers, highlighting the diversification and flexibility within their current occupational engagements.³⁶

Shift in Agricultural Practices

Historically the *Irulas* relied on agriculture and pastoralism, employing slash-and-burn techniques or shifting cultivation as their primary means of subsistence.³⁷ In the *Irula* hamlets of Attappadi, crops such as millet (ragi), corn, and tamarind were cultivated, alongside a rich abundance of nutritious leafy vegetables packed with essential vitamins. However, the cultivation of these crops for self-consumption has dwindled significantly in contemporary times. The influx of settlers precipitated a notable shift in the cultivation practices, particularly as the market system swiftly compelled *Irula* communities to engage in the production of market-oriented crops.³⁸ At present, the majority of *Irula* communities have shifted their agricultural focus towards the cultivation of cash crops, such as coconuts, bananas, coffee, and tapioca. While tender coconuts are primarily sold, dried coconuts are utilized by locals to produce oil for personal consumption. The agricultural landscape now includes the cultivation of various vegetables, including Bengal gram, beans, peas, spinach, brinjal, tomatoes, bitter gourd, and pumpkins. However, the transition to newer crops has resulted in the abandonment of older crop varieties. Notably, the abundance of traditional leafy vegetables that once thrived has diminished significantly over time.³⁹

The intervention of middlemen from nearby small towns has led to the procurement of locally grown premium crops at significantly reduced prices, which are subsequently resold at inflated rates, creating a detrimental reliance on these intermediaries and exacerbating the vulnerability of the growers. Consequently, the

³⁶ Interview with Kali Mooppan (75) Thazhe Agali Ooru, 15th May 2022.

³⁷ Development Report, “Demographic Structure of Attappadi”, Attappadi Hill Area Development Society, 2001, Agali, p. 36.

³⁸ M. Kunhaman, ‘*The Tribal Economy of Kerala: An Intra-Regional Analysis*’, Economic & Political Weekly, 20(11), 1985, p. 67.

³⁹ Interview with Fr. Rambachan (68), Director, St. George Church, Goolikkadavu, 19th - 22nd June 2023

shift has resulted in severe economic challenges, as the cultivation of new crop varieties demands increased inputs, rendering profitable farming and high returns increasingly difficult. Furthermore, the cultivation process is largely carried out by the terms and conditions dictated by these middlemen, who often exploit tribal communities by supplying costly fertilizers, including potassium and urea. The prolonged use of these chemical additives has precipitated adverse effects on soil quality and productivity, giving rise to a host of new challenges.

A significant shift in the cropping pattern has been observed across a considerable number of households, with a nominal increase in the average cultivated area for individual crops. There has been a notable transition favouring perennial cash crops, particularly coffee and pepper, at the expense of paddy cultivation and other assorted crops. It is crucial to highlight that the cultivation of coffee and pepper was not previously undertaken by any of the tribal households.⁴⁰ Following the migration period, it has been observed that numerous *Irula Oorus* have allocated substantial acreage to the cultivation of coffee and pepper for commercial purpose. Consequently, there has been a decline in the cultivation area dedicated to miscellaneous crops and general agricultural activities. The ascendancy of pepper and coffee as primary commercial crops in Attappadi, owing to the systematic initiatives of settlers, has significantly influenced the tribal communities, highlighting the direct impact of interaction of non-tribals.⁴¹ Initially, the settlers managed their own agricultural plots and gradually, they evolved into a significant labour force for the agricultural operations. The transformation has led to the discontinuation of traditional agricultural methods, compounded further by forest regulations that prohibit villagers from accessing forest resources, including the collection and sale of wild honey, which was previously gathered while tending to their cattle in the forests. Presently, the forest areas are inaccessible, restricting their ability to fulfil daily necessities.

⁴⁰ Interview with S. Joseph (64), Cash crop cultivator, Agaly, 13th March 2022.

⁴¹ Interview with Varghese (65), Cash crop cultivator, Kavundikkal, 11th March 2022.

Certain scholars have exclusively emphasized the favourable implications of migration, highlighting the potential for tribal communities to acquire new agricultural techniques from the settlers. This, in turn, led to significant enhancements in the production and yield of their primary crops. It is argued that migration facilitated the introduction of valuable skills to the region, where they could be effectively harnessed for optimal productivity and the more efficient utilization of human resources.⁴² While the non-tribal peasants possessed superior agricultural technology compared to the *Irulas* and other tribal groups in Attappadi, they relied heavily on tribal labourers to generate surplus production⁴³. Although the establishment of farms and estates by the settlers generated additional employment opportunities, the self-employment prospects in dairy farming suffered a decline, owing to the conversion of grazing lands into cropland by the settlers.

A considerable number of *Irula* households possess fundamental agricultural tools for their cultivation endeavours. In an effort to emulate the market-driven cropping strategies of immigrant non-tribal farmers, they have adopted crop diversification practices tailored to meet market demands and agro-climatic conditions.⁴⁴ Notably, the *Irulas* have embraced organic farming, with particular emphasis on the cultivation of pepper, which has garnered significant attention in foreign markets. The implementation of eco-development initiatives jointly organised by the migrants and the Governments such as AHARDS, Attappadi farming community has enabled the *Irula* community to secure fair prices for their produce. The approach has not only bolstered their economic well-being but has also engendered a notable improvement in their self-image and self-esteem.⁴⁵

⁴² K. C. Zachariya, *Bombay Migration Study: A Pilot Analysis of Migration to an Asian Metropolis*, ” in General Breese (ed.), Princeton University, 1969, p. 374.

⁴³ Vidyut Joshi, *Tribal Transition in India Issue and Development* (ed.), Jaipur, 1998, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Interview with Agustian (68), Migrant Farmer, Chemmannor, 13th April 2022.

⁴⁵ Interview with Dr. Sheeba (48), Project Officer, AHARDS, 19th May 2022.

Transition in Land Holdings

During the period of significant migrant influx, *Irula* tribal lands were unlawfully expropriated through various means. Migrants employed tactics such as gifting, selling, forceful encroachment, and mortgages to acquire land from the tribals. Documentation for most of these transactions is scant. The various strategies adopted by settlers to acquire tribal lands included (a) providing loans during off-seasons at exorbitant interest rates and taking possession of land without any formal record, (b) transferring land to non-tribals through lease agreements or mortgages, (c) encroachment, and (d) forceful acquisition through threats and coercion.⁴⁶

During the late 19th century, British entrepreneurs initiated plantations in the verdant hills of Attappadi. Notably, when Moopil Nair leased land to the British, tribal lands were intentionally excluded, and only the private forests were made available. Even after the British divested these plantations to wealthy landlords, the exclusionary policy persisted in the records. Over time, infrastructural development and the expansion of plantations exerted significant pressure on the tribal communities. Numerous tribal households were forcefully displaced from their land, sometimes through the lure of liquor and promises of job security within the plantations.⁴⁷ Hence, the advent of plantations marked the commencement of a process that alienated the tribals from their ancestral habitat, a process that received implicit support from government officials.

In the early stages of settlement, the *Irulas* approached the settlers with fear and suspicion. Consequently, any land transactions that occurred were not conducted through direct interaction but rather through exploiting loopholes in the local political system. Concurrently, the monetization of the tribal economy has heightened the cash requirements of the *Irulas*. Settlers began purchasing land

⁴⁶ Interview with Rajeevan (59), Irula member, Retd. Village Assistant, 16th June 2023.

⁴⁷ Discussion with Uthaman (61), Ward viksana samithi convener, Chemmanoor Ooru, 21st May 2022.

directly from the *Irulas*, initially leveraging the dominant position of the Ooru *Moopans*, and later engaging in direct dealings⁴⁸.

Consequently, the easiest method adopted by the migrants, to acquire tribal land was through lending money to the tribals during off-seasons at exorbitant interest rates, employing dubious practices in their trade dealings with the tribals. The non-tribal moneylenders, predominantly wealthy Malayali settlers, typically obtained written statements from the borrowers indicating that in the event of defaulting on the loan within the specified timeframe, the borrower would have to relinquish their land to the moneylender. This type of conditional sale deed was prevalent in various parts of Attappadi during the mid-1960s. Given the tribals fatal lure for money, the consequences of such borrowing often did not manifest at the time of borrowing. Those unable to repay the principal and accrued interest within the stipulated time were compelled to surrender their lands to the lender. The extent of land lost by the tribals due to non-repayment of cash loans was considerably higher in Attappadi compared to other tribal regions.⁴⁹

Establishment of tea shops by certain settlers served as another avenue for land transactions. During the rainy and winter seasons, the *Irulas* faced significant challenges. Unable to provide immediate payment, they resorted to obtaining items such as tea, beedi, and similar goods on credit. Given the general illiteracy among the *Irulas*, these accounts were typically maintained by the tea shop owner. After several months, the shop owner would approach the tribal to settle the account. Unable to repay the substantial amount they might offer their land to the shop owner for cultivation for a period of one or two years. Subsequently, the new occupants would continue to provide cash to the tribals and gradually displace them from their land. Many *Irulas* lost their land due to their inability to repay loans obtained from Cooperative Societies, Banks, and Moneylenders. Encroachment of their land by settlers was also prevalent in various regions during the early 1960s.

⁴⁸ Interview with Suresh (50), Secretary, Attappadi Bhoo Samrakshana Samithi, 2nd May 2022.

⁴⁹ Mathruboomi Daily, 2nd August 1999.

In the Kallamala Ooru, approximately 60 acres of land were forcefully acquired by a Malayali settler. The action resulted in the displacement of 27 tribal households, rendering them landless. During the forceful eviction, he claims, the action was based on the purchase of the land from Moopil Nair. The land that he seized was subsequently sold to the new settlers.⁵⁰ Similarly, in another incident, a Tamil settler forcibly occupied three acres of land belonging to Gumban, son of Sooriyan, in Agali Ooru in 1967.⁵¹ These reported cases represent only a fraction of the numerous incidents of land dispossession in Attappadi. Data indicates that the *Irula* community experienced the highest rate of land alienation (49.72%), whereas the Kurumbas, residing in the most remote forest tracts and having minimal exposure to the external world, faced the lowest rate of land loss.

The process of land transfer from *Irulas* not only dispossessed them of their land but also forced them to move to the steep slopes of hills and uncultivable areas within Attappadi. As a result, the total cultivable area available to the tribal community shrunk significantly, while that allotted to non-tribals experienced a substantial surge. Furthermore, a considerable portion of the remaining cultivable land lay fallow due to various factors such as disputes, financial constraints, and the unsuitability of the land for cultivation. Between the years 1960 and 1970, approximately 44% of the cultivable land of tribal communities remained unused. The percentage surged to a staggering 80% by the period between 1975 and 1980.

The profound social ramifications of the influx of migrants into the hilly regions and the resultant threat faced by the indigenous tribes were brought to light in 1961 by an Evaluation Committee of the Kerala Legislative Assembly. Concerned about the societal issue, the committee proposed the enactment of special legislation equipped with a protective shield and preventive measures to facilitate the restoration of alienated lands to the tribal communities and prevent deceitful transfers in the future. Subsequently, in 1975, the Government introduced the Kerala

⁵⁰ Suresh. P. *Op. cit.*, 17th July 2023.

⁵¹ Discussion with Allen Mooppan (65), Ward member, Agali, 11th July 2023.

Scheduled Tribes Act (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands).

Social Transition of *Irulas*

Previously, the *Irula* community adhered strictly to social customs and traditions, which have now undergone a discernible change and ambiguity as the result of the influence of the migrants. The tribe was organized into various clans or gothras, each of which was further subdivided into multiple families. Ancestral lineage was the central factor that binds the members of these groups together, representing a fundamental characteristic of tribal society. The principle of blood relation was the foundation of family units.⁵²

(a) Family

Through the analysis of the current family structure, the researcher has identified two distinct types of households among the *Irula* community: nuclear and non-nuclear families. The details regarding the number of *Irula* households and the corresponding family types are presented in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5
Types of families among the *Irulas*

Type of family	Number of households	Percentage
Nuclear	74	74
Non-Nuclear	26	26
Total	100	100

Source: Field data Agali colony from 1st to 15th May 2022.

The majority of *Irula* households, more than 74%, consist of nuclear family units comprising a husband, wife, and children. On the other hand, about 26% are joint families where multiple family units reside together. The dissolution of the joint family system represents another contributing factor that has hastened the erosion of tribal social cohesion. The traditional joint family structure within the tribal community fostered a culture of cooperation and discipline, emphasizing the

⁵² Some *Irula* youths engaged marriage alliance with Tamil and Malayali Migrants - Discussion with Kali Mooppan (71) 15th May 2022.

pursuit of communal well-being. In recent times, however, there has been a notable trend among married couples to establish their own separate households at the earliest opportunity, leading to the upbringing of their children in an environment that starkly contrasts with the communal atmosphere of their ancestral joint family.

The social framework of the *Irulas*, a prominent aspect of their community, has significantly altered in contemporary times. The younger generation in the hamlet displays minimal interest in comprehending the historical structure of their society, except during specific events like marriages, birth ceremonies, and naming rituals, when they demonstrate a modest degree of attachment and reverence for their social heritage. The traditional social setup of the *Irulas* was highly intricate, founded on democratic principles.

(b) Matrimonial Concepts

The influx of migrant influences and the gradual adoption of Hindu customs in tribal societies have brought about notable changes, particularly evident during marriage ceremonies. The process of cultural assimilation is accompanied by a simultaneous trend of insular identity formation. Among the *Irula* tribe it has observed the inclusion of the *Panigraha* ceremony, symbolizing the grooms taking of the hand of the bride; the *Lajahoma* ceremony, where the bride presents fried grains to the groom; the *Saptapathi* ceremony, wherein the groom guides the bride in seven steps around the *agni* or sacred fire; and the *Griha pravesa* ritual, whereby the newlyweds are welcomed with a ceremonial lamp known as *Nilavilakku*, and others that reflect the incorporation of Hindu traditions.⁵³ It is important to notice that these practices are not uniformly prevalent across all tribal communities within the Attappadi region.

Nowadays, marital unions within the hamlets are strictly prohibited. Individuals sharing the same lineage traditionally did not intermarry and refrained from engaging in sexual relations. Recently drastic changes have been observed in marriage customs like inter-tribe marriages are commonly favoured within the *Irula*

⁵³ Field data on Karayoor Ooru, on 17th to 23rd May 2022.

community, whereas inter-tribal unions, especially with non-tribal individuals, find acceptance within some settlements. Now there is no objection to Women from the hamlet marrying into other tribes such as Muduga and Kurumba. Presently, individuals are afforded more autonomy in selecting their life partners, and the shift is notably respected and acknowledged by the parents.⁵⁴ The erstwhile practice of marriage by capture has receded into obscurity, giving way to instances of elopement with non-tribal individuals.

Historically, there existed no standardized regulations concerning the age at which marriage could occur. In the contemporary setting, both boys and girls within the *Irula* community, much like their non-tribal counterparts, are deemed eligible owing to the government legislation for marriage at the ages of 21 and 18, respectively. Presently, there is a preference among the younger generation, both male and female, and tribal family conduct marriage ceremonies at auditoriums and Panchayath halls. While adhering predominantly to the principle of monogamy, it has come to our attention, upon thorough investigation, that certain individuals within some settlements still uphold the system of polygamy.⁵⁵

(c) Inheritance Laws

The *Irula* community, initially adhering to a matrilineal form of inheritance, has undergone discernible shifts in their property rights and inheritance practices. The transformation can be attributed to the increased interactions with non-tribal groups and other castes, leading to a gradual adoption of patrilineal descent. Presently, the distribution of property among the *Irula* children occurs in an egalitarian manner, the transition serves as a clear indicator of the growing preference for the patrilineal system within the tribal community. Notwithstanding the shift, the preservation of clan membership through maternal lineage remains entrenched in their customs, enduring without any discernible alteration.

⁵⁴ Discussion with Balan *Moopan* (64), Karayoor, 22nd April 2022.

⁵⁵ Chellan *Moopan*, Chhindakki Ooru (65), married two wives, field data 17th April 2021.

(d) Power Dynamics

Across various tribal societies, the pivotal role of local chieftains (*Moopans*) has historically encompassed both social and religious authority. However, the past few decades have witnessed substantial transformations within these tribal enclaves, leading to the gradual erosion of the influence and power of *Moopans*. While the shift can be attributed to the encroaching impact of non-tribal settlers, it is also intricately linked to the emergence of nuclear families and the growing prevalence of self-centered social and familial attitudes among the settlers. The prevalent culture of extreme individualism, coupled with the system of private property and direct management of familial assets by the settlers, has unmistakably left an imprint on the tribal communities. Furthermore, the introduction of democratic political processes has effectively curtailed the *Moopan* authority, while the dissemination of modern medical practices within tribal domains has contributed to the dwindling significance of the *Moopan* as an indigenous healer. The present generation of politically conscious tribes has begun to view the *Moopan* as an unnecessary intermediary, one who potentially interferes with the familial, social, and political realms of tribal life.⁵⁶

The dissolution of the traditional social fabric among the *Irula* community can be attributed to several pivotal factors. Primarily, the commercialization of the tribal economy has led to the emergence of individualistic inclinations that run counter to established traditional institutions. In the erstwhile economic structure, the *Moopan* held a central role as the facilitator of forest resources, thus serving as a cohesive force within the community. Furthermore, the waning influence of traditional beliefs and practices among the younger generation has significantly impacted the position of the *Moopan*. In the past, the *Moopan* was revered as the guardian of ancestral spirits and deities, wielding the power to invoke retribution through mercenary spirits, manifesting as accidents, illnesses, and natural disasters. Lastly, the diminishing status of the *Moopans* within their community stems from the integration of the *Irula* people into the broader societal framework. The authority

⁵⁶ Balan *Moopan Op. cit.*, 22nd April 2022.

of *Moopans* has been progressively curtailed by the expanding bureaucracy and the heightened presence of government personnel engaging with tribal settlements. Consequently, the *Moopan* no longer functions as a vital intermediary between the *Irula* communities and the governing authorities.

The authority of the *Moopan*, once a paramount figure within the *Irula* community, has progressively diminished over time, rendering his position largely symbolic. In effect, the traditional authority once vested in these leaders has been superseded by the overarching power of the government administration. Moreover, there has been a discernible shift in the internal dynamics of the community, with the edicts of the *Moopan* increasingly getting disregarded, particularly by the younger members of the community. Notably, the relevance of the Panchayat or Pothukoottam (council of elders) has markedly dwindled, largely attributed to the encroaching influence of modern cultural paradigms. The transformation has fostered a pronounced trend toward individualism among the *Irula* people.

Earlier the *Irulas* didn't have any connection with the modern democratic political party system. In the changed perception the community has undergone a marked shift towards political organization, aligning themselves with various political parties, including the Communist Party, Bharatiya Janatha Party, Congress Party etc.. Notably, over 70% of the populace lends their support to the Communist Party, with an increasing rejection of caste-based identities and differentiations. The proactive engagement of the Congress and Communist parties has garnered significant traction among the *Irula* people, prompting a considerable number of both men and women to actively participate and align themselves with these political factions. The engagement has facilitated the emergence of a newfound participatory space, allowing women to contest and secure positions in the Grama Panchayath elections. Notably, exemplifying the transformative trend, Sri Ambika Lakshmanan of Kallamala Hamlet was elected as the President of Agali Grama Panchayat (2020-2025), while Sri. Kannamma Murukan of Gooli Kadavu (2020-

2025) Hamlet assumed the role of a ward member.⁵⁷ They serve as influential representatives, championing the interests of the *Irula* community and fostering initiatives aimed at enhancing their economic stability. Markedly influenced by heightened interactions with non-tribal settlers, the majority of the *Irula* populace now actively engage in party politics, demonstrating a familiarity with various political parties, their respective symbols, and direct affiliations with these political entities.

(e) Life Cycle Ceremonies

In the *Irula* community, notable shifts in life cycle in terms of rituals and ceremonies have been largely noticed. Historically the *Irulas* were characterized by stringent adherence to customs surrounding puberty, pregnancy, birth, death, and annual festivals like *Cheeru (adiyanthiram)*. Contemporary *Irula* practices have seen a departure from these customary traditions. The transformation can be attributed to various factors. Primarily, migrants' interaction and financial constraints have impeded the adherence to these rituals, as the customary lavish feasts demanded substantial monetary investment.⁵⁸ Moreover, significant portions of the younger generation within the *Irula* community are not interested about these tribal customs and traditions, and many have integrated into non-tribal societies. Additionally, since many of their celebrations are intricately linked with agricultural activities, any fluctuations in the domain directly impact their ritual observances. The confluence of these aspects, coupled with the rapid proliferation of modern influences, has eroded the longstanding customs and traditions that were once deeply ingrained in the tribal fabric.

⁵⁷ Interview with Kannamma Murukan (58), *Irula* Ward member of Goolikadavu hamlet, 25th May 2022.

⁵⁸ Report of the Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas, states that the huge expense required for the observance of life cycle ceremonies is one of the major reasons of tribal indebtedness, official website of Government of India, Department of Social Welfare, Annual Report of the Committee on tribal Economy in Forest Areas, New Delhi, 1967, p. 11.

(f) Religious Beliefs

The traditional religious convictions of the *Irula* community have their origins deeply intertwined with a profound reverence for nature. The profound impact of the acculturative process and transition has significantly reshaped tribal religious practices. Traditionally rooted in animism⁵⁹, shamanism⁶⁰, polytheism, and naturalism; reverence for nature, alongside the veneration of ancestral spirits, tribal communities have experienced a notable transformation in their belief systems.

Owing to the influence of migrants, the pervasive influences of Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam have permeated deeply into their religious customs, leading to a comprehensive reconfiguration of their spiritual ethos. In other words, in contemporary times, the once-pervasive ancient tribal faiths and worship practices have gradually waned, primarily under the significant influence of migrant populations. A substantial portion of the *Irula* tribe has gradually adopted the beliefs and rituals of the broader Hindu tradition. Adding to that, the tribal communities in Attappadi have undergone a process of 'hinduization,' resulting in a fusion of traditional animistic practices with elements of Hinduism. Hinduization, as a phenomenon, denotes the assimilation of cultural characteristics from the neighbouring Hindu communities, signifying a noteworthy transformation in the

⁵⁹ Animism, a spiritual doctrine, revolves around the notion of countless spiritual entities actively engaged in human affairs, possessing the capability to either aid or jeopardize human interests. This theory posits that an immaterial soul, known as the anima, serves as the fundamental essence of life. Within the animistic framework, all locations are considered sacred, as they are believed to be the dwellings of spirits. Animals, plants, trees, bodies of water, stones, as well as hills and mountains, are all regarded as the abodes of these spirits. Edward B. Taylor's arguments underscore animism as the earliest manifestation of religious beliefs, originating from the concept of the soul, Edward B. Taylor. *Primitive Culture*, London, 1871, p. 81.

⁶⁰ Shamanism is a traditional practice characterized by the involvement of specialized religious figures who engage in intermittent spiritual endeavours. These individuals establish and nurture personalized connections with particular spirit entities by inducing controlled and culturally defined altered states of consciousness (ASC). Through these altered states, shamans harness powers bestowed by these spirits to fulfil various roles within their communities. Among their diverse responsibilities, shamans utilize these powers to remedy ailments, guide departed souls to their ultimate destinations, exert influence over animals and natural phenomena for the betterment of their communities, initiate attacks against adversaries, and safeguard their societies from external threats.

spiritual and customary landscape of the *Irula* community.⁶¹ Hinduism, known for its adaptability to indigenous beliefs and sentiments, has seamlessly integrated itself within the cultural milieu of the *Irulas* of Attappadi. The amalgamation has fostered a notable coexistence of traditional animistic practices and Hindu religious tenets, demonstrating a remarkable harmony between the two belief systems.

The interactions between these communities have ranged from partial integration to complete assimilation, resulting in a noteworthy trend where the majority of *Irula* individuals identify themselves as Hindus. Evidently, they adopt Hindu names, frequent visit Hindu temples, partake in customary rituals, venerate Hindu deities, and participate in Hindu festivals. Due to the absence of their own designated shrines, they readily engage in pilgrimages to various revered Hindu pilgrimage centers. They do not practice in the reading of Hindu scriptures such as the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* *Bhagavad Gita* etc. Nonetheless, they hold a fondness for the oral narratives of these ancient epics by the temple storytellers. By embracing the customs and rituals of the caste Hindus, the *Irula* community secures a measure of social acknowledgment, thereby integrating themselves within the hierarchical caste system.⁶²

Evidently, a significant segment of the *Irula* community has adopted the worship of Hindu deities such as *Rama*, *Krishna*, and *Bhaghavati*. Under the profound influence of Hinduism, the modality of tribal worship has undergone a marked transformation. Historically, the absence of idols, depictions of deities, or well-structured temples for religious offerings characterized their religious practices. The assimilation of tribal customs with Hindu practices is notably exemplified in the veneration of deities including '*Sree Raman*,' '*Sivan*,' '*Parvathy*,' '*Ganapathy*,' '*Murugan*,' '*Mahavishnu*.'⁶³ Yet legend has it that the worship of Lord Aiyappa in Sabarimala had originated in the belief system of the *Irula* community. Similar instances of cultural fusion are observed in the tribal folklore of the Oriya People. According to tradition, it is believed that Lord Jagannadha was initially

⁶¹ Manjula Poyil *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 216.

⁶³ Discussion with Selvan, (52), ITDP Clerk, 18th May 2022.

worshiped by the indigenous Shavara chief Visvabasu within the forested terrain of Orissa.⁶⁴

As a consequence of heightened interaction with immigrant population, the *Irula* community now actively participates in the jubilant commemoration of the widely celebrated festivals such as Onam, Vishu etc⁶⁵ Notably, the historical narratives underpinning the traditional observance of the Onam festival bear no direct relevance to the tribal history⁶⁶, yet it has gained prominence within their cultural milieu. Significantly, the observance of Onam within the Attappadi tribes is perceived as a state-sponsored festival, acquires a distinct contextual significance. The participation enables them to avail credit facilities for procuring household essentials at subsidized rates from the government shops. The incorporation of the celebration, along with the associated factors, is attributed to the influence exerted by tribal students from non-tribal regions and the active involvement of non-tribal individuals themselves. These religious festivities serve as a respite from the mundane daily routines, fostering a sense of communal cohesion and facilitating a harmonious communal existence.

Now each hamlet within the *Irula* community has established dedicated temple structures for the reverential worship of their deities, often adorned with idols of various gods and goddesses. These temples are overseen by religious practitioners known as *Pujari* who are tasked with conducting ritualistic ceremonies.⁶⁷ Remarkably, these *Pujaris* lack specialized knowledge in Hindu theology and primarily emulate the practices of non-tribal Brahmin pujaris.

⁶⁴ G. C. Tripathy (Ed.), *The Cult of Jagannatha and the Regional Traditions of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 79-82. Also see Shishir Kumar Panda, *Situating Tribals in the Early History of Orissa*, 2004, p. 87.

⁶⁵ Field data, Karayoor Ooru, 6th to 12th September 2022.

⁶⁶ For details: K. N, Panikkar. “*Keezhalante Onam (Mal)*”, Bobby Joseph, *Attappadiyile Onangal(Mal)*., Basheer Madala, “*Adivasikal Onam Aaghoshikkarundo*”(Mal)., K. E. N, Kunhammad (ed), *Utsavanglude Rashtriyam*”(Mal)., Thiruvananthapuram, Maithri Books, 2006.

⁶⁷ Discussion with Chellan *Moopan* (66), Kavundikkal on 3rd April 2022.

The *Irula* community perceptions concerning death and the afterlife have experienced notable shifts over time. They now believe in life after death. The embrace of the concepts of rebirth and the reincarnation of the soul into the tribal pantheon stands as a pivotal manifestation of Hinduization within the tribal cultural framework. A noteworthy transformation is also evident in their reverence for certain plants, such as the *Tulasi* (*ocimum sanctum*) and Papal trees etc. Some households have embraced the practice of maintaining a *Tulasithara* (holy basil plant) in front of their dwellings, engaging in regular *pooja* (ritual worship) and *Vilakkuthelikkal* (lighting of lamps) before it.⁶⁸

The domain of death customs and funeral rites among the *Irula* tribes has undergone notable transitions in the following key areas:

1. Previously, the *Irula* tribes predominantly attributed death to unnatural causes, often associated with malevolent spirit interference. However, contemporary perspectives highlight the emergence of beliefs surrounding *Ayussu* (life expectancy) and *Vidhi* (destiny) as determining factors in the culmination of one's life.
2. Presently, some of the *Irula* tribes have embraced the notions of *Swarga* (heaven) and *Naraka* (hell), along with a steadfast belief in *Kalan* (*Yama*) as the deity presiding over the realm of death. In contrast, their earlier tribal convictions suggested that the spirits of the deceased resided either within the confines of their hamlets or in the nearby hills. The departed ancestors, venerated within the tradition, were believed to be in close proximity, readily accessible to respond to any invocation. The adoption of the concept of *Swarga* and *Naraka* marks a notable departure from the deeply entrenched tradition. Similarly, the recognition of a god of death undermines the prevailing beliefs associated with the ancestral spirits and their tangible presence within the community.

⁶⁸ Manjula Poyil, *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

3. The recent integration of the belief in the cycle of rebirth and the reincarnation of souls into the tribal belief system stand as a prominent illustration of 'Sanskritization.' We notice that it is those tribal groups who are dependents of the upper caste Hindu communities and therefore more acquainted with upper caste norms and traditions that offer *Bali* to the crows during pollution period.⁶⁹
4. The practice of offering *Punyaham*, sacred water obtained from temples, or water infused with basil leaves signifies a clear manifestation of 'Sanskritization.' Basil plant holds a sacred position within Hindu rituals, with water combined with its essence deemed equivalent to the sanctity of the revered Ganga water.
5. The *Irula* tribes have a tradition of celebrating Mahashivarathri and worship at the Malleswaran temple on that day after making pilgrimage to the Malleswaran peak nearby. The Malleswaran temple is a shiva temple and it is constructed in the traditional Hindu style, where an *Irula* priest performs ritual functions in the Brahmanical way.
6. The practice of lighting *Nilavilakku*, utilizing a spouted vessel, and arranging coconut halves and rice on a plate adjacent to the body of deceased represents a subsequent cultural incursion. With the pervasive influence of the market economy, the traditional dietary practices in the rituals underwent a shift, with rice replacing indigenous dietary staples. Concurrently, the intrusion of Brahmanic ideals introduced the use of rice in ceremonial practices such as those observed during marriages and funerals, often in the form of placement in brass plates (*talika*) or brass pots. Similarly, the usage of edible oil for lighting lamps, as exemplified by the *Nilavilakku*, was entirely unfamiliar to the tribal community until the contact with the migrants.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Field data at Malliswaran Temple, 4th April 2022.

⁷⁰ Interview with Raman. K (45), Tribal Priest, Malleswaran Temple, 4th April 2022.

7. Among the *Irula* tribes, recent cultural accretions have become evident during funeral ceremonies, encompassing practices such as the ritualistic washing of the deceased, the observance of *Kodiyidal*, the adornment of the corpse with flowers, the application of vermilion marks on the forehead, and the removal of the *tali* or marital badge before burial which symbolizes lifelong subordination before buried was originally an exclusive upper caste Hindu practice.
8. The custom of payment to all funeral functionaries for their services - for grave-diggers, bier-makers, death messengers and funeral functionaries - is an imitation of caste-Hindu practice because among the tribal people the concept of payments for services didn't exist at all. Among them services for all social functions including death were voluntary. The commoditization of services is a relatively recent phenomenon even for the upper castes and for the tribals it is certainly the absorption of a non-tribal norm.⁷¹
9. Recently most tribes have reduced the duration as well as the rigidity of death pollution. The early years of the twentieth century had witnessed a conscious attempt on the part of many Hindu castes in the direction. It was an attempt to realize the importance or the value of time in the emerging busy material life as well as an attempt to apply reason in analyzing rituals leading to identify them as superstitious. The condemnation of even the very practice of pollution at the hands of the migrant Christian or Muslim settlers also might have made its impact along these lines.⁷²
10. Most of the tribes have been vegetarian during the course of pollution (pula), but blood sacrifices, alcoholic drinks and vegetarian food were essential for the ceremony to mark the end of it. Today, restrictions on hunting and animal sacrifices combined with a penetration of Brahmanic values have induced most tribes to prefer vegetarian food being served at

⁷¹ Manjula Poyil *Op. cit.*, 210

⁷² Manjula Poyil, *Op. cit.*, 215

the feast that marks the end of pollution. Avoidance of blood sacrifices and preference of vegetarianism are supposed to erase the erstwhile wild character of the tribal people and help accommodate them into the Hindu fold.

11. The practice of offering homage to ancestors during specific occasions such as the New Moon Day, Onam, Vishu, and similar festivities represents a relatively recent phenomenon. Traditionally, the tribal communities refrained from participating in the popular festivals of the plains, such as Onam and Vishu, until the recent times.
12. Over the span of more than a century, Christian missionaries have actively engaged with Indian tribes, offering them prospects for a more fruitful existence. Particularly in the North-eastern regions, their efforts have resulted in significant conversions among tribes such as the Nagas, Kukis, Khasis, Garos, Oraons, and Santhals. In South India, sections of a few tribes like the Todas, Kurichiyas, Koyagas, Paniyas, Ajar, and Ulladans have also shown interest in embracing Christianity. These conversions have not only altered tribal funeral practices, aligning them with Christian norms, but have also catalyzed a shift from animism to monotheism as well. At the same time in areas like Attappadi, consistent interactions with Christian settlers and missionaries have not led to substantial conversions or significant changes in tribal religious practices.⁷³
13. The adoption of the Sanskrit term *pretham* to refer to the spirit of the deceased among the *Irula* community exemplifies a significant case of cultural adaptation. Traditionally, the term *peyi* or its local variants like *kuli* was commonly employed by the *Irulas* in reference to the same concept. The utilization of the term *pretham* by the more assimilated tribal factions serves as a clear indication of its non-tribal origin and underscores the extent of external cultural influence on their linguistic practices.

⁷³ Michel Tharakan, *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

14. In recent times, the escalating influence of the market economy has prompted the *Irula* community to incorporate various commercially available materials into their funeral and post-burial ceremonies. Notably, the utilization of modern substitutes has become prevalent, with the adoption of incense sticks in lieu of traditional dammer, the inclusion of rice in place of ragi, and the preference for new garments over older or preserved ones as *kodi*. Additionally, the use of soap and oil for cleansing the deceased during the funeral rites, alongside the incorporation of various other requisites essential for the final rituals, signifies the growing permeation of market-driven commodities within these customary practices.

The customs of funeral dances and music have experienced notable transformations in recent times, primarily due to by the cultural intervention of the neighbouring communities from the plains. Traditionally, the musicians would perform indigenous tribal dirges, whereas contemporary musical compositions draw inspiration from popular eastern and western cinematic melodies. These performances are currently restricted to brief intervals, typically lasting five to ten minutes or occasionally extending upto an hour. In the past, such rituals would commence with the demise and conclude only upon the burial.⁷⁴ Presently, the engagement of musical instruments entails additional expenses, which must be borne by the concerned parties. Individuals without any relatives or successors are now deprived of these customary privileges, as there is a notable absence of individuals willing to undertake the significant financial burden associated with these practices.

Shifts in the Status of Women

The status of women within the *Irula* community has undergone a discernible transformation, from traditional to contemporary norm. As asserted by PRG Mathur⁷⁵, in numerous tribal enclaves in Kerala, particularly in Palakkad, women have historically enjoyed parity with their male counterparts, serving as vital

⁷⁴ Discussion with Vellagiri (40), Irula Social Worker on 12th May 2023.

⁷⁵ PRG Mathur *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

pillars of the societal framework in regions like Attappadi. K.S. Sing⁷⁶ also suggests that *Irula* women have traditionally held a moderate status within the community. While actively engaging in economic pursuits such as agricultural activities, basket weaving, and mat crafting, they have been found excluded from certain ritualistic practices. During the era of shifting cultivation, women played a pivotal role in agricultural endeavours alongside their responsibilities in domestic affairs, including nurturing and providing for their families, and maintaining household equilibrium.

Irula women maintain their entitlement to ancestral property, actively contributing to the family income with a relatively balanced involvement. They engage in various occupations such as casual wage labour, basket making, and honey collection, while also providing support to their male counterparts in agricultural activities and animal husbandry. In the domestic sphere, they shoulder responsibilities including tasks like fetching potable water and preparing meals. Despite their participation in social, religious, and ritual practices, they do not partake in traditional dispute resolution mechanisms. Their involvement in political affairs remains limited with that of men.

Interactions with external communities have significantly diminished the standing of women within the *Irula* community. The influence of caste-based Hindu customs and practices has compelled the abandonment of numerous religious rituals that once elevated the role of women. Embracing the cultural norms of the Hindu community has curtailed the autonomy of women and compromised their societal stature. However in contemporary times, the advent of education and the migrant educational institutions has emerged as a catalyst for fostering women empowerment, a renewed status for women and facilitated by the advancements in communication technology, have expanded their access to various opportunities.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ K. S. Sing, *People of India*, Kerala, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1992, p. 458.

⁷⁷ Discussion with Lakshimipriya, *Irula Docter*, 30th May 2023.

Education and Social Transition

The scholar on tribal studies Sachidananda⁷⁸ highlights the transformative impact of educational dissemination within the tribal communities. Anthropologists have extensively documented various traditional educational formats, emphasizing the prevalence of village dormitories serving as educational institutions for single youths across tribal societies in India and around the globe.⁷⁹

The advent of education through migrants has instigated substantial shifts in the lifestyle and cultural ethos of the *Irula* community. Through the process of acculturation, they have come to recognize the intrinsic value of education, fostering a heightened awareness that encourages the pursuit of higher academic endeavours and professional courses. The educated cohort demonstrates a keen interest in the developmental initiatives spearheaded by the Government, actively seeking to partake in the associated benefits.

Moreover, the educated youth exhibit a favourable disposition towards both indigenous traditional healing practices and modern medicine, effectively integrating elements from both spheres. Their inclination towards advanced education is evident, with several members now possessing professional qualifications, likely stemming from increased interaction with the mainstream populace beyond their tribal community. The educated and employed youth showed a strong inclination to elevate their societal standing by forgoing age-old customs and traditions, readily adopting the practices prevalent among the neighbouring communities.

The primary purpose of dormitories initiated by some of the migrants with the support of the Government lies in the provision of social education to tribal children. These spaces function as hubs for fostering social cohesion, offering a platform for communal bonding, and serve as training grounds for the youth,

⁷⁸ Sachidananda, *Culture change in Tribal Bihar: Munda and Oraon*, Calcutta, Book land Pvt. Ltd. 1964, p. 163.

⁷⁹ Grigson, W. V, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, London, Oxford University Press, 1944, p. 257.

drawing upon traditional knowledge and experiences. The rich tapestry of their folklore, encompassing folk tales, songs, and dances, imparts valuable lessons pertaining to diverse agricultural practices, hunting techniques, woodcutting, honey collection, and other economic pursuits. Furthermore, practical instruction in traditional arts and crafts is imparted to the youth, including the fabrication of fishing traps, mats, ornaments, beads, and palm leaf products. A. R. Kamat delineates various facets of the transitional dynamics associated with the advancement of education among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the post-independence era.⁸⁰

Despite all the developments there were some grievances in educational profile of Attappadi. Many *Irula* parents and guardians, grappling with illiteracy themselves, often fail to grasp the significance and benefit of the education of their children. Consequently, they do not actively encourage their children to attend school or assist them with their academic pursuits. The absence of a conducive academic environment within their households exacerbates the issue, leading to high dropout rates and academic stagnation among the *Irula* tribal children. Furthermore, financial constraints and the lack of income pose significant hurdles in their educational journey. Complicating matters, the educators in tribal schools typically hail from non-tribal backgrounds, frequently viewing tribal children through a lens of intellectual and cultural inferiority. Often results in an this inability to recognize the potential of these students, leading to a lack of investment in fostering their regular attendance. According to the majority of respondents, the primary reasons for school dropout include issues related to inaccessibility or distance from the educational institutions.

In earlier times, the educational landscape in Attappadi revealed a stark reality, with half of the respondents, primarily aged over 40, struggling with illiteracy. Notably, a significant portion of this illiterate population comprises women. However, there's a noticeable shift where their children now have access to

⁸⁰ A. R. Kamat 'Education and Social Change among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 1, Vol. XVI, No. 31, A Sameeksha Trust Publication, Mumbai, 1981, pp. 279-280.

educational opportunities, with many achieving at least a secondary level of education. Only 75 % of the total population has educational qualifications beyond the plus-two level, indicating limited higher educational prospects for the group. Allen, a Member of the Agali Grama Panchayath, affirms, "Although I haven't attained higher educational qualifications myself, I've consistently encouraged my children to pursue loftier aspirations. My efforts bore fruit as my eldest daughter pursued a Bachelor of Arts degree, and my son ventured into Engineering. Witnessing my children seize the opportunities presented by higher education and utilizing them to advance their prospects has been immensely gratifying." According to the 2011 Census data, the literacy rate within the *Irula* community was 60.21%. During the same period, the male literacy rate was recorded at 65.18%, while the female literacy rate was notably lower, at 57.30%.⁸¹

Several contributing factors exacerbate the severity of the situation, including the inadequate presence of schools in the vicinity of their settlements, a dearth of suitable hostel facilities, as well as the prevailing factors of parental and teacher apathy, negligence, and irresponsibility. Furthermore, coupled with the lack of accessible library resources and reading materials, significantly hampers the educational prospects of the community. The inclusion of unfamiliar and challenging languages within the curriculum, along with the pervasive influence of consumerism that remains obscure to from their intrinsic way of life and cultural heritage, further compounds the complexity of these challenges.

The diverse mediums of instruction employed by state governments in various schools often fail to engage the interest of tribal children. The disparity between the number of tribal students and the limited availability of educational establishments remains a pressing concern. Notably, 25% of the *Irula* population comprises students pursuing higher education, while the region itself accommodates only 3 institutions offering educational facilities. The accessibility and utilization of higher education resources in Attappadi are markedly insufficient, prompting the

⁸¹ Report on Socio Economic Status, Scheduled Tribes of Kerala, 2014.

majority of tribal students to seek educational opportunities beyond the confines of Attappadi.

As recorded in the 1961 Census Report, the tribal populace, burdened by illiteracy, initially exhibited a natural reluctance in sending their children to schools, lacking the realization of the necessity and significance of education for their offspring. Notably, during the harvesting season, when both parents were occupied with work, the younger children were often left at home, under the care of their older siblings. The familial arrangement served as a predominant factor dissuading parents from enrolling their children in educational institutions. However, in contemporary times, the landscape has witnessed a substantial transformation.

In recent times, the government and migrant educators have initiated measures to facilitate the enrolment of tribal students in schools and colleges. Given the scarcity of educational institutions within reasonable proximity to their settlements, the children of the *Irula* community often rely on hostel facilities for their educational pursuits. The Government and migrant NGOs recognizing these challenges, extend support to these students by covering various hostel expenses, encompassing provisions for food, tuition fees, textbook charges, and uniform costs. However, a limited portion of the students does not demonstrate a serious commitment to pursuing higher education, primarily due to a lack of interest. Yet the educational engagement of migrants has contributed to an increased enrolment of students, with a significant number of pupils now actively attending educational establishments

Table 6.6**Status of ST Education: Profile of Attappadi**

Educational Institutions Agali Grama Panchayat	Number	Name of school (Aided)	Aided	Govt.	Enrolment of Students Aided/ Govt.
Lower Primary Schools	11	St.George LPS Sheenkara St.Stephen LPS Kallamala	2	9	382+313
Upper Primary schools	3	MT Carmel ,Jellippara	1	2	208+337
High Schools	4	MT Carmel HS,Jellippara SPCHS,Kookkamp alayam	2	2	153+449
Colleges	3	Aries Polytechnic	1	2	72+ 80

Source: Agali Block Resource Centre (BRC) Report, 2022, p.13.

With interaction and educational engagement with the migrants, several *Irulas* from the Agali region have secured employment in various government sectors. These individuals, through their interactions with high-ranking officials and non-tribal society members, have exhibited a keen interest in advancing educational prospects for their fellow tribal members. The current tribal youth demonstrates an enhanced awareness of the pivotal role of education, as evidenced by the increasing numbers of male and female children attending schools and colleges. Education, being a potent instrument for elevating the marginalized populace to a more advantageous position, has indeed catalyzed transformative changes within the *Irula* community, largely facilitated by governmental educational initiatives and privately run educational institutions established by the migrants. In the past, their adherence to superstitions acted as a barrier to pursuing educational endeavours. K. Panur in His work '*Keralathile Africa*', recounts a tribal individual expressing apprehension about the opening of a school, attributing it to divine disapproval. He describes a tribal perspective on the school opening, stating that "The Gods are angry when the school opening".⁸² However, contemporary educational pursuits have fostered a

⁸² K. Panur, *Keralathile Africa* (Mal.), SPCS, Kottayam, 1963, p. 50.

process of assimilation with the migrants, leading to a growing scepticism towards erstwhile superstitious beliefs among many tribal members.

Transition of Language

The pervasive influence of migrant communities has significantly transformed the daily customs and outward expressions of the *Irulas*, particularly in terms of their language. Now in interaction with migrants, *Irulas* primarily speak Malayalam, through their use of the language differs considerably from the contemporary standardized version, rendering it comparably less accessible to outsiders. Newcomers are often struck by the relatively slower pace of the *Irulas* speech compared to that of individuals from the plains. A distinct cadence characterizes *Irula* speech patterns, wherein each sentence commences with a high tone level that gradually descends until it reaches a low point at the sentence conclusion. However, when conversing with plainsmen in Malayalam, the distinctive cadence becomes less prominent. Another notable characteristic of their speech is its deliberate and measured pace, their pronunciation being comparably slow.⁸³

Nowadays, the *Irulas* utilize the Malayalam language for both internal family communication and interactions with those outside their community, employing the Malayalam script for written communication. Presently, only a small number of elder male and female members retain fluency in their native tongue, yet they often exhibit hesitancy in openly expressing themselves in the primitive language in the presence of others.

Evolution of the Health Sector: A Journey of Transition

Historically, the tribal communities relied predominantly on traditional healing practices to address illnesses. Reluctant to seek external medical assistance, because of the absence of hospitals, medical facilities and accessible roads, they resorted to limited options, primarily relying on traditional treatments involving herbs, plant roots, magical rituals, and witchcraft. Through Increased interactions

⁸³ Discussion with Manikandan (52), Agali Panchayath Clerk, 16th May 2022.

with educated non-tribals and the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries in nearby areas, many tribal members have now embraced modern medicinal practices and pharmaceuticals.

The *Irulas* of Attappadi have benefited from numerous educational programs focused on health and hygiene. These initiatives were organized by various agencies, including the Primary Health Center in Agali, the Kottathara Sub Centers, AHARDS, NGOs, youth clubs, and local migrant groups. Such efforts have helped to raise the awareness about the importance of preventive healthcare. Additionally, the availability of free modern medicines from government hospitals has encouraged the *Irulas* to utilize these resources to treat the illnesses. Chakraborty⁸⁴ and Sahu⁸⁵, scholars on tribal health, have documented the adoption of modern medicine by other tribes in regions such as *Bihar* and *Orissa*.

The susceptibility of *Irulas* to diseases can be attributed to unclean practices, unsanitary living conditions, and inadequate nutrition. The unique climate of the area, combined with the scarcity of quality drinking water and environmental contamination resulting from increased tourism and local activities, further exacerbate the vulnerability. In addition to these natural factors, the tribes attribute the occurrence of diseases to supernatural causes, such as sorcery, the evil eye, malevolent spirits, magical poisons, anger of the ancestral spirits, divine retribution, violation of taboos and curses of elders. Although their exposure to modern civilization has raised awareness about new diseases, some of them continue to rely on traditional ethno-medicine to address ailments stemming from supernatural origins.

The consequences of deforestation and the shift towards monoculture have led to profound changes in their dietary quality, exposing them to malnutrition, adulteration, and contamination from external food sources. The eradication of

⁸⁴ For details see, Anirudha Chakraborty, "Some findings on the use of Traditional Medicine in the rural areas of Palamau" in Budhadev Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Tribal Health*, New Delhi, Inter India Publications, 1986. p. 36.

⁸⁵ S.K. Sahu, "Health of the Tribes Issues and Perspectives", Paper presented at the National Workshop on tribal health and medicine in Forest Environment, Department of KIRTADS, Kozhikode, Kerala, 1987.

traditional herbs due to deforestation, coupled with the limited accessibility to modern medicine and the escalating ecological imbalance, has given rise to various ailments, including tuberculosis, gastrointestinal disorders, and malaria.⁸⁶

Typically, the tribal community tends to avoid immediate medical intervention when afflicted by an illness. For minor ailments, they prefer rest at home and prolonged exposure to sunlight. If symptoms persist beyond 2 or 3 days, they seek medical assistance, while concurrently administering traditional remedies as guided by the household elders. However, the dwindling traditional knowledge of medicinal plants has led only a small number of individuals to leverage it for sustenance, often organizing indigenous medical camps in towns, cities, and distant regions. Notably, the Kerala Institute for Research, Training, and Development Studies (KIRTADS) serves as the sole government agency aiding indigenous medical practitioners.

Currently, the younger generation exhibits a waning interest in traditional home remedies and the acquisition of magical knowledge. The practice of ethno-medicine is undergoing a phase of transformation. Large-scale deforestation has led to a significant reduction in the availability of diverse medicinal plants, posing a significant challenge in treating certain diseases. In their forest-dwelling days, reliance on ethno-medicine was paramount. However, as they transitioned to settled agricultural life, they found modern medicines to be more effective, readily accessible at lower costs, and sometimes even available for free.⁸⁷ Presently, under the influence of migrants in Agali, all children receive adequate vaccination and immunization. As part of the welfare initiatives of the government and NGOs, a series of dispensaries, primary Health Centers (PHCs), and hospitals have been established in tribal regions, facilitating easy access to medicines and medical care. Chaudhuri has noted that health and treatment are intricately linked to the

⁸⁶ Geetha Menon, "*Tribal Women: Victims of the Development Process*", Social Action, Vol. 37, 1987. p. 69.

⁸⁷ Interview with Athira C.A (49), ST Promoter, Chemmannor Ooru, 30th May 2022.

environment, particularly the forest ecology. Several tribal groups have been known to utilize specific plant species for population control.⁸⁸

Table 6.7
Health Facilities

Health facilities Agali Grama Panchayath	Number	Area	Govt/ Private	Facilities
Govt. Tribal Speciality Hospital	1	Kottathara	Government	Outpatient treatment averaging 750 per day 152 beds 31doctors
Mobile Medical Unit	1	Various parts of Agali	Government	2 Ambulance Service.
Sub-centres	12	Various parts of Agali	Government	14 Doctors
Allopathic Hospitals	6	„	Government2 Private -4	6 Doctors 9 Doctors
Homeopathy Dispensary	4	Agali	Government-2 Private -2	2 Doctors 4 Doctors
Ayurveda Dispensary	3	Agali	Government-1 Private -2	2 Doctors 3 Doctors

Source: Agali Grama Panchayath Developmental Report, 2015.

The primary health centers serves as the principal institution for imparting health education and promoting awareness about hygiene and family planning among the *Irulas* of Attappadi. Regular visits by the Junior Health Inspector and Head Nurse to the hamlets with the support of non-tribal organisations facilitate the implementation of health awareness initiatives and the organization of various medical camps, including those focusing on Leprosy Eradication, Eye Care, Nutrition, Total Sanitation, Mosquito Control, and Pulse Polio. The Attappadi Hills Area Development Society (AHARDS) and the Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) are actively engaged with the *Irula* tribes, providing assistance in

⁸⁸ Budhadeb Chaudhuri, *Social and Environmental Dimensions of Tribal Health*, New Delhi, Inter India Publications. 1990.

transporting patients to nearby allopathic hospitals and ensuring their treatment. Additionally, they conduct seminars on AIDS awareness and organize screening camps for the early detection of individuals who are HIV-positive.

Tribal health and nutrition have historically posed significant challenges in Attappadi, resulting in a notable number of tribal infant deaths. In response, both governmental and private entities have undertaken concerted efforts to address the issue. The Government Tribal Speciality Hospital at Kottathara in Attappadi has emerged as a pivotal institution for the screening and management of health-related concerns among women, adolescents, and children. The establishment of three Nutritional Rehabilitation Centers (NRCs) under this hospital has facilitated the provision of specialized care for prenatal and postnatal anomalies. Furthermore, 172 Community Kitchens have been set up across the 192 settlements in Attappadi, funded by the government and supported by migrant NGOs, in addition to various services offered by the Health Department, Social Justice Department, and Local Self-Government Department. These combined efforts have resulted in a significant reduction in infant mortality rates, with the number of infant deaths dropping from 32 in 2013 to a mere 12 in 2017. Notably, some government reports say that recent deaths have been attributed to congenital anomalies rather than malnutrition. Attappadi is equipped with two allopathic outpatient clinics. Nowadays the government has provided financial aid to tribal patients, pregnant women, newborns, and patients with sickle cell anaemia.

During the summer and rainy seasons, medical teams comprising doctors, nurses, and pharmacists often make visits to the hamlet to distribute medication to the patients in need. The *Irulas* display a notably positive response to these medical teams, with certain non-tribal doctors taking time to establish rapport and ensure their well-being. While the *Irulas* express satisfaction with symptomatic relief, some display reluctance in continuing treatment and are less inclined to adhere to the advice of doctors on matters such as diet, smoking and drinking. They remain unaware of the importance of preventive injections, personal hygiene, and environmental sanitation in disease prevention. Maternal and child care, an essential

aspect of health-awareness, is largely neglected within the Tribal Groups.⁸⁹ Despite their growing awareness of their health issues and a desire for improvement, the economic backwardness of the *Irulas* hampers their ability to enhance their living conditions and access better healthcare.

The disappearance of tribal characteristics and the ensuing identity crisis represent the most salient aspect of the tribal landscape in the Attappadi region. Tribal life, deeply rooted in eco-friendliness, has historically demonstrated a profound adjustment to the physical environment through the process of "ecological adaptation". The unique geographical setting of Attappadi has confined the tribals to a state of isolation, fostering the development of a distinct ethnic identity and culture. The ethnic identity serves as the cornerstone of their cultural framework, governing their individuality, behaviour, and way of life. To safeguard their cultural heritage and tradition, they have adopted a habit of reserved seclusion. However in the early decade of 20th century, the influx of migration and immigrants has catalyzed significant changes in their social, economic, religious, and cultural spheres, precipitating an identity crisis.

The factors contributing to the tribal transition can be categorized into two main streams: traditional and modern. The traditional process is characterized by the influence of certain customs and practices of larger communities on the tribal populace. These phenomena are expounded in concepts such as Sankritization, Hinduization, Universalization, and Parochialization, among others. On the other hand, the modern factors comprise recent developments such as not only migration but also urbanization, and industrialization, as well as tribal development initiatives, modern education, and the modernization of communication and administrative systems. These external influences have arisen due to interactions beyond the ordinary scope of the tribal communities engagements with the non-tribal populations in the region.

⁸⁹ A, Basu *Anthropological Approach to Tribal Health*, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1990, p. 133.

The historical trajectory of *Irula* transition in the Attappadi region of Kerala can be traced back to the era of migration to the area. The narrative of the migrant community in Kerala unfolds as a narrative of the evolution of the traditional society resulting from interactions with a more established and culturally significant group. As the settlements of immigrants expanded, the process of reciprocal acculturation was set in motion. The substantial influx of farmers from the plains of Southern Kerala and neighbouring Mannarkkad area bringing with them advanced technologies and novel cultivation methods, injected a fresh momentum into the ongoing process of acculturation. Examining the impact of migration on the *Irulas*, it becomes evident that the arrival of migrants from diverse cultural backgrounds introduced a plethora of new ideas and practices to the tribal communities. The dynamics of cultural exchange brought about by the influx became a catalyst for change, leading to the adoption of novel customs and habits among the *Irulas*. Moreover, the assimilation of migrant culture fostered a sense of familiarity with external societal norms, encouraging the *Irulas* to emulate and integrate these practices into their own way of life.

Also, the process of tribal transition is unfolding across various regions of the Attappadi area, characterized by different degrees of acculturation. The intensity of the acculturative process is notably pronounced among the *Irula* tribes inhabiting the mainland. In contrast, the rate of transition is considerably slower among the *Kurumbas* and *Mudugas*, who continue to reside in the forest interiors. This indicates that the geographical area of habitation serves as a crucial determinant in the dynamics of cultural transformation.

The traditional lifestyles of the *Irulas* have undergone significant changes owing to external influences. The once enduring ethnic identities of the *Irulas* have now become more transient. The loss of agricultural land, coupled with various administrative constraints restricting their access to the forest, has compelled them to modify their traditional rituals and practices associated with hunting and cultivation. Furthermore, frequent interactions with people from the plains have led to alterations in their dietary and sartorial preferences.

The transition experienced by the *Irulas* while being significantly influenced by the process migration. Migrants initiated the process of Modernization emerged as a force contributing to the transformation, leaving a discernible imprint on their cultural landscape. This Modernization and multiple modernity entered as one of the vital instrumental force in the transition of *Irula* community, contributing to the restructuring of their social, economic, and cultural fabric. The advent of modern education and the subsequent exposure to new ideas and knowledge significantly altered their worldview and outlook. The dissemination of modern values and ideologies, coupled with the growing influence of contemporary communication systems, reshaped the perceptions and beliefs of *Irulas*. As a result, traditional practices gradually gave way to modern practices, leading to a gradual erosion of their erstwhile cultural distinctiveness. The clash between traditional values and modern aspirations often gave rise to a sense of dissonance among the tribal populace. The younger generation, exposed to the allure of modern lifestyles and aspirations, increasingly embraced modern practices, leading to a generational divide within the community. The cultural bifurcation led to a gradual erosion of the older traditions and customs, as the *Irulas* grappled with the complexities of a rapidly changing world. Also, the process of cultural imitation, observed in the assimilation of migrant customs and practices, also played a crucial role in the transitional phase. The cultural ethos and material culture of the *Irulas* underwent a gradual shift, as their interactions with migrant communities led to a synthesis of diverse cultural elements. The intermingling of different cultural traits engendered a unique fusion, marking a significant departure from their traditional way of life.

CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

The study in the title “*Tribes in Transition: Influence of Immigrants on the Life and Culture of Irula community in Attappadi (1925-2000)*” tried to explore the nuanced socio-cultural dynamics characterizing the *Irula* tribe within the geographical confines of the Attappadi region in Kerala, India. The attempt spans from 1925 to 2000, a period marked by significant events, including the initial influx of non-tribal settlers to Attappadi. The investigation adopted a judicious combination of historical and ethnographic methodologies, drawing insights from diverse sources such as oral traditions, Government records, Archival materials, and deep fieldwork within *Irula* communities. The study mainly focused on Agali Grama Panchayath, employing a targeted random sampling strategy covering 50 *Irula* hamlets in 200 samples.

Renowned for its rich cultural heritage and diverse ethnic milieu, Attappadi served as the central focus for the scholarly endeavour. Situated within the Palakkad district and embraced by the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve, the area stands as the abode for three primary tribal communities-the *Kurumbas*, *Mudugas*, and *Irulas*- the *Irula* tribe representing a significant 80% of the tribal populace. The demographic predominance underscores the paramount importance of the *Irulas* in shaping the socio-cultural fabric of the region. The study seriously made an examination of socio-cultural and economic transitions, cultural assimilation, linguistic shifts, acculturation processes, and other transformative dimensions in evolving tribal dynamics within the area. The *Irula* tribe has derived its name from the Malayalam word "Irul," meaning darkness, possibly referring to their dark complexion or their dwelling in dense forests, arrived from Coimbatore district in Tamil Nadu. They display distinct physical features like medium height and narrow noses. Linguistically, they use "*erlanarya*," a mix of Malayalam, Kannada, and Tamil, indicating deep cultural ties to South India. Historical records, notably the Madras Census Report of 1901, highlight their presence across Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka, revealing their extensive cultural impact. Traditionally, the *Irulas*

practiced honey gathering and hunting, shifting to swidden agriculture over time. Their settlements, characterized by bamboo and clay huts, also include livestock like poultry and goats.

Additionally, the study addressed the dynamics of migration in the Attappadi region. While acknowledging the presence of Tamil migration, a strategic exclusion from the main focus is executed due to its limited scale and influence. The selective approach enables a more nuanced examination of changes directly linked to the influx of the migration from different places of Kerala. Between the 1950s and 1980s, Kerala witnessed a substantial demographic shift marked by the migration of non-tribal groups from central Travancore regions to the hilly and forested terrains of Malabar districts. The migration, predominantly comprised of socio-economically challenged individuals, involved in the acquisition of land, often from tribals and landlords, as these migrants established settlements in the new territories. By the 1970s, a significant demographic transformation occurred, with non-tribal groups becoming the majority within tribal heartlands. The transition intensified, reaching its zenith in the 1980s, leading to the marginalization and minority status of tribal communities within their ancestral lands.

By concentrating on the impact of the migration, the study seeks to provide a clear understanding of the changes within *Irula* communities in Attappadi, particularly highlighting the effects of a major demographic shift on the indigenous *Irula* community. The focus on the influence of migration facilitates a detailed exploration of how tribal societies in Attappadi have been reshaped in terms of social structure, cultural practices, and economic activities.

In the scrutiny of migration and transition, the study recognized the multifaceted nature of these concepts and argues against their confinement within a singular theoretical framework. In the specific context of migration into Attappadi, the Push-Pull theory emerged as more fitting, considering push factors like state-level unemployment and poverty, juxtaposed with pull factors such as promising agricultural opportunities and availability land in Attappadi.

Concerning the socio-cultural sphere and the transitions in Kerala, the modernization theory is acknowledged for encompassing diverse changes, yet criticized for its Eurocentric and unilinear nature. The theory of multiple modernity is posited as a more apt framework for analysing the socio-cultural life of tribals in Kerala. Proponents of multiple modernity contend that traditional societies were evolving independently before the advent of Western modernity, rendering Eisenstadt's theory more appropriate for elucidating the social and cultural transitions of the tribals in Attappadi. The process of Modernity and multiple modernity can be attributed in the transition process of Attappadi due to the coming of migrants.

The socio-cultural landscape of the *Irula* tribe has undergone substantial transformations, primarily under the influence of non-tribal populations and external elements. The transformation is a compelling example of how indigenous groups adapt to the evolving cultural, economic, and technological landscapes. The phenomena, driven by various modern factors including migration leading to urbanization, industrialization, education, and government initiatives, has manifested in multiple terrains of their life. The pivotal investigation delves deep into key realms of change, encompassing shifts in land use patterns, economic structures, traditional attire, dietary practices, sacred rituals, religious beliefs, etc. within the *Irula* community. The influx of non-tribal populations, including tourists and missionaries, has expedited their exposure to external cultures. Developments like road construction and enhanced communication facilities have also facilitated interactions, leading to a blend of tribal and non-tribal customs, particularly in urban areas like Agali, Kottathara, and Mukkali.

Socio-cultural engagements between tribes and non-tribes range from cooperation to exploitation, resulting in socio-economic interdependence. Acculturation, particularly in material and social culture, varies among tribes based on their exposure to dominant traditions. Cultural performances and modern amenities like television and radio which were introduced by the migrants have further accelerated their cultural modifications. Government initiatives with the support of non-tribes since Independence have aimed at uplifting tribal

communities, though the transformation has been gradual, with certain elements more receptive to change than others.

Initially, the *Irula* community predominantly resided in traditional grass-thatched dwellings, which were emblematic of their lifestyle and economic affordability. These structures were not just homes; they represented a harmony with the natural environment and a reliance on locally available materials. The coming of migrants leads shifts to modern constructions and marks a significant transition. The adoption of cemented houses with tiled roofs is not merely a change in living conditions but also a reflection of increased access to resources and a desire for modern comforts. Approximately, majority of the community now lives in fully cemented houses, a stark contrast to the traditional dwellings of the past. The transformation extends to household possessions, indicative of the changing economic status and aspirations of the community's. Items like steel chairs, tables, and electrical appliances, once considered luxuries, are becoming commonplace. The presence of televisions, mobile phones, and other gadgets in many households reflects an increased integration with contemporary technology and a shift in lifestyle preferences of the *Irulas*.

The sartorial evolution within the community is a vivid illustration of cultural assimilation and identity change. Traditional attire, which was once a strong marker of their cultural identity, is gradually giving way to modern clothing influenced by neighbouring urban centers. Mens adoption of shirts, trousers, and T-shirts, and shift of women to sarees, churidars, and blouses represent more than just fashion choices; they signify a deeper integration with broader societal trends. The change is even more pronounced among the youth, who, influenced by market trends and media, are quick to embrace contemporary fashion.

The adoption of modern beauty products and accessories underscores a cultural shift towards mainstream beauty standards. The use of cosmetics, modern footwear, and contemporary accessories, especially among the *Irula* tribal women, indicates a departure from traditional practices. The reduced use of traditional

jewellery and the preference for items available in the market reflect changing economic conditions and a shift in aesthetic values.

The dietary habits of the *Irulas* have seen a significant shift from a protein-rich diet, predominantly sourced from hunting and forest produce, to a reliance on rice, vegetables, and processed foods. The change can be attributed to various factors, including legal restrictions on hunting, the availability of market-supplied food products, and a decline in traditional agricultural practices. For instance, The impimentation of Indian Wildlife Protection Act of 1972 has reduced meat consumption, leading to a reliance on the Public Distribution System for essential food items. At the same time the transition is accompanied by increased smoking and liquor consumption. In addition, the shift from robust food security systems, supported by communal sharing and reliance on natural sources, to a market-dependent diet has implications for their health and nutrition

Economically, they are witnessing a transition from a self-reliant subsistence model to a more market-dependent economy. The collection of minor forest products for commercial purposes, facilitated by organizations like the Girijan Co-Operative Marketing Society, has become a significant source of income. The shift has brought about an improvement in living standards but also made the community more vulnerable to market fluctuations and external economic pressures. The traditional roles in hunting and agriculture are being supplemented, or in some cases replaced, by wage labour in various sectors. The economic diversification, however, does not always equate to economic security, and the community faces challenges in navigating this new economic landscape.

The social and cultural fabric of the community is undergoing profound changes. Marriages that once strictly adhered to clan-based alliances are now seeing a trend towards exogamous relationships. The shift, while offering individual autonomy, is also indicative of the dilution of traditional social norms. The transition from joint family systems to nuclear families is altering the social structure, impacting communal living and shared responsibilities. Religious practices have incorporated elements of Hinduism –a phenomenon that can be seen as part of a

broader 'peripheral sensitization.' This blending of belief systems is indicative of the interaction of communities and adaptation to external religious influences. Traditional animistic practices are giving way to more mainstream religious practices, leading to a complex religious identity within the community. Inheritance laws have moved from matrilineal to patrilineal descent, and traditional posts like *Moopans* have seen a decline in authority due to rising democratic processes. Life cycle ceremonies and rituals have also undergone changes, reflecting financial constraints and integration into non-tribal societies.

The community has also experienced transformations in death customs and funeral rites, shifting from traditional beliefs to concepts influenced by Hinduism, such as rebirth and the adoption of Hindu funeral rituals. Funeral practices now include elements of Brahmanic origin, and dietary shifts during ritual pollution periods show a trend towards vegetarianism. The linguistic landscape is also evolving. While Malayalam has become the primary language of communication, the retention of their native tongue among elders preserves a link to their cultural heritage. The linguistic shift is reflective of broader educational and cultural transformations within the community.

Education has emerged as a significant catalyst for change within the *Irula* community. The introduction of modern education has led to a heightened awareness and pursuit of academic and professional goals. This has been accompanied by an integration of traditional healing practices with modern medicine, reflecting a blending of indigenous knowledge with contemporary healthcare practices. However, challenges remain, including high dropout rates and limited access to higher education. The efforts of governments in promoting education among tribal children have faced obstacles in terms of accessibility and resource allocation. Government healthcare and migrant NGOs initiatives have improved access to modern medical facilities, yet economic constraints and a lack of awareness about preventive measures continue to pose challenges.

The pace and nature of these transformations vary across different regions of Attappadi. The variance is influenced by factors such as geographical location,

degree of interaction with non-tribal communities, and access to modern amenities. Tribes residing in closer proximity to urban centers and roads have experienced more rapid and profound changes compared to those in more remote areas. The geographical variation highlights the complex nature of cultural transition, shaped by a mosaic of different experiences and adaptations.

In the late 1800s, British businesspeople saw the lush hills of Attappadi as a prime spot for setting up plantations, like the famous Siruvani Group Estate. This move brought about some positive changes, such as better roads and more jobs, thanks to the booming agriculture. However, it wasn't all good news, especially for the local tribal communities. These communities found themselves pushed to the sidelines, their way of life upended as they watched their lands slip away.

Many of the new settlers came from Travancore and were keen to get their hands on tribal land. Unfortunately, they didn't play fair. Using tricks and taking advantage of the tribal people's hard situations, such as not being able to read and needing money, these settlers often got the upper hand. Tea shops became unlikely centers for these shady deals, where tribal people, unaware of the full consequences, would agree to terms that eventually cost them their land.

The shift had deep and lasting effects on the tribal communities. They were forced off their fertile lands and had to make do with areas where nothing much could grow. This not only made it harder for them to farm and live off the land as they had always done but also hit their cultural practices hard, leading to a decline in their traditional agricultural know-how and shaking the foundations of their community life.

The situation got so dire that in 1961, the Kerala Legislative Assembly had to step in and set up a committee to really dig into the issue. Their findings were stark, showing just how much damage had been done by the influx of settlers and the loss of tribal lands. In response, the Kerala government passed a law in 1975, the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act, aiming to put a stop to these unfair land grabs and help return some of the lands back to the tribal people.

So, the introduction of plantations in Attappadi was a mixed bag. On one hand, it brought development and jobs; on the other, it caused a lot of harm to the original inhabitants of the land. The story of Attappady is a reminder of the need to find a balance, to ensure that progress doesn't come at the cost of justice and fairness for all.

In wrapping up this exploration of the journey with *Irulas* in Attappadi from 1925 to 2000, one cannot help but marvel at the delicate dance between tradition and change. The impact of non tribal migration, intertwined with the forces of urbanization, modernisation, education, and governmental interventions, has crafted a rich narrative of transformation across the socio-cultural landscape of the *Irula* community. The shift from traditional thatched huts to cemented houses, the evolving dietary preferences, and the fusion of traditional beliefs with elements of Hinduism all depict a community influx. Yet, within the sea of change, the *Irula* people stand resilient, navigating the delicate balance between preserving their cultural roots and embracing the winds of modernity. It serves as a poignant reminder that the story of the *Irula* tribe in Attappadi is not just one of transition but a testament to the human spirit's capacity to adapt, evolve, and find its unique rhythm in the ever-changing melody of time.

SUGGESTIONS:

- Proper coordination between different Government departments is very much necessary to avoid over flow or lapse of fund on the same tribal development programme and making it available for other purposes.
- Revival of Agro biodiversity is the ultimate solution to *Irula* food, nutrition and agricultural issues, when it should primarily focus on production, processing and marketing.
- Public Distribution System in tribal areas may be designed by considering their health, food, and nutrition needs
- The employment generation programmes through PFM and MGNREGS may be imparted

- The eligible *Irula* students may be selected and trained to create a workforce in different fields like education, health, and other areas to work in their own settlements. They will become a model to be followed and inspiration for next generation
- Multigrade Learning Centers and single teacher schools should be strengthened with more facilities including library. The content of the syllabus can be framed with the help of teachers experienced in different fields.
- The syllabus of early schooling in *Irula* settlements should impart with their history, art forms, music, crafts and indigenous technologies.
- The Government may give opportunity to perform and exhibit *Irula* arts and crafts, help them to preserve their traditional art forms and knowledge. It may be imparted with the tourism promotion programmes nearby their settlement. Further, it is highly recommended to document the history of *Irula* and preserve their traditional wisdom.
- The knowledge in herbal medicines should be recorded and preserved. Furthermore, a support and opportunity should be given to the traditional healers from the government level to spread this knowledge to others. The researches should be done on *Irula* knowledge herbal medicines.
- The PHCs and CHCs in tribal areas may be equipped with more facilities in order to reduce the incidental expenses for tribes.
- More opportunities and trainings should be given to the political leaders from *Irula* settlements to represent their needs before the governing body, without affecting their cultural bond.
- Provisions be made for the re-enrollment of the drop-out *Irula* students and special classes be held for them so that they do not think of discontinuing the schools again.
- Balancing the positive and negative aspects of immigrant influence on tribal life in Attappadi requires careful consideration of socio-cultural, economic, and environmental factors, as well as inclusive policies aimed at preserving indigenous identity and promoting sustainable development.

- Land alienation stands as the primary cause of the backwardness experienced by tribal communities. Therefore, legislation should be put in place to restrict the transfer of tribal lands and to restore those lands that have been alienated. It is imperative to safeguard tribal culture and traditions.
- Priority must be given to formal education as well as job-oriented training to empower tribal populations. Efforts should be made to create employment opportunities to enhance their income.
- Access to a well-equipped library facility is essential for the people, including students, residing in tribal regions. NGOs should consider providing such facilities in Atappady. Approximately 50% of tribal households are living in poverty, with poverty being the foremost challenge faced by the tribes in Attappadi. Job insecurity exacerbates this poverty, leading to periods of unemployment, especially during the off-seasons.
- Another significant issue is ignorance, particularly concerning illiteracy, especially among women in Attappadi. The lack of education affects their social interactions and renders them unable to voice their grievances against exploitation.
- Various government schemes aim to uplift tribal communities; however, their implementation often lacks proper planning, leading to ad hoc and stereotyped approaches. Unfortunately, instead of focusing on capacity building, these programs often result in the mere distribution of benefits

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The present study conducted among *Irula* tribes only, since Kerala has around 36 groups of tribes with different culture and capabilities. hence, Similar studies among other tribes in Kerala can be conducted to get a comprehensive picture about the wellbeing perspectives of tribes in Kerala.
- To study in deeply whether emigrant-led initiatives or interventions have improved educational opportunities for tribal youth and adults.
- In depth studies on the lapses and limitations of the constitutional provisions and government agencies related to Kerala may also be carried out so that, if necessary, further changes may be effected.
- An examination of the existing problems in Attappadi may be conducted especially with respect to tribal transition to it. Attappadi is the most beautiful territory with rich culture and traditions.
- Assess the effectiveness of existing policies and programs aimed at promoting the well-being of tribal communities in the context of emigrant influence.
- By conducting research in these areas, scholars can contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex interactions between emigrants and tribal communities in Attappadi, facilitating informed decision-making and promoting sustainable development strategies.
- The present study, confined solely to the '*Irula*' tribe of the Attappadi region, suggests avenues for further inquiry into the socio-cultural dynamics of neighboring tribal communities such as the '*Kurumba*' and '*Muduga*.' Given the evident interconnectivity and shared ecological context, investigating the experiences and adaptations of these tribes would contribute significantly to our understanding of regional tribal dynamics.
- Moreover, while acknowledging the historical complexity of migration patterns, particularly the influx of Tamil migrants alongside Malayali settlers into Attappadi, it is noteworthy that no comprehensive examination of this phenomenon has been undertaken. Delving into the implications of such

demographic shifts, including their socio-economic ramifications and cultural interplay, presents a compelling research trajectory.

- Furthermore, the transformative impact of governmental interventions on the *Irula* tribal populace warrants meticulous investigation. By scrutinizing the efficacy and repercussions of various state-sponsored schemes within this specific socio-cultural milieu, scholars can illuminate the intricacies of governance and indigenous community dynamics.
- Lastly, the dearth of large-scale anthropological inquiries into the diverse tribal communities of Attappadi underscores the untapped potential for ethno-historical research endeavors. Such endeavors hold promise in elucidating the historical trajectories, cultural continuities, and adaptive strategies of these indigenous groups, thereby enriching our scholarly comprehension of the region's socio-cultural tapestry.

GLOSSARY

<i>Adhikari</i>	:	Village officer in Malabar.
<i>Adivasi</i>	:	Tribal, early inhabitant (Original inhabitant)
<i>Adiyinthiram</i>	:	Last rite/ pollution ending ceremony.
<i>Arrack</i>	:	A strong alcoholic drink made by brewing nwith sprouted paddy and jaggery.
<i>Ayussu</i>	:	Life expectancy
<i>Bali</i>	:	The ritual of offering of food to the crows
<i>Bandari /Vandari</i>	:	The functionary who manages economic matters among the <i>Irulas</i> , Mudugas and Kurumbas.
<i>Cela</i>	:	Female upper garment covering their breast.
<i>Chavu</i>	:	Term for corpse among <i>Irulas</i> , Mudugas, Kurumbas,
<i>Dakshina</i>	:	Gift offered to venerable person or deities.
<i>Dhambatta</i>	:	Drum used by the <i>Irulas</i> in ritual occasions.
<i>Dhivil</i>	:	A musical instrument of <i>Irulas</i> .
<i>Girijan</i>	:	Hill dweller
<i>Gurumadom</i>	:	Earthen pot kept by the <i>IrulaMooppan</i> containing Funeral cloths.
<i>Guruvan</i>	:	<i>Irula</i> religious head
<i>Janmam</i>	:	Literally birthright, used in Malayalam to denote a superior form of land tenure.
<i>Janmi</i>	:	The feudal lords of former Malabar.
<i>Jhalra</i>	:	Symbal-like musical instrument of the <i>Irulas</i> .
<i>Kaanam</i>	:	Literally property or possession, used to denote a quasi-mortgage form of land tenure in Malabar
<i>Kalan</i>	:	The Hindu God of death.

<i>Kammal</i>	:	Ear-ring
<i>Kanjichiru</i>	:	Death rite of the <i>Irulas</i>
<i>Karadaivam</i>	:	<i>Irula</i> clan deity
<i>Kathukuthukalyanam</i>	:	Ear piercing ceremony
<i>Kavu</i>	:	A term for small forests or wooded areas considered sacred by certain tribal groups, often associated with religious or spiritual practices.
<i>Koothu</i>	:	Puranic dance-drama performance during the <i>Kanjichiru</i> .
<i>Kodi</i>	:	New clothes used for covering the corpse.
<i>Kohal</i>	:	Blow pipe of the <i>Irulas</i> .
<i>Koppai</i>	:	<i>Irula</i> graveyard.
<i>Kudi</i>	:	Hut
<i>Kuladeivam</i>	:	Family deity
<i>Kulam</i>	:	Clan
<i>Kuruthala</i>	:	The Executive Officer of the <i>Moopan</i> and the Hamlet
<i>Kuthaka</i>	:	Lease
<i>Mala</i>	:	Hill
<i>Marumakkathaayam</i>	:	Matriliny
<i>Maruthadi Pukku</i>	:	Customary grave visit among <i>Irulas</i> after burial mourners during death pollution.
<i>Mattu pongal</i>	:	<i>Mattu-cattle</i>
<i>Mooppan</i>	:	General term for the tribal headman.
<i>Mundu</i>	:	A traditional garment worn by men in Kerala, often associated with tribal communities as well.
<i>Naduvazhi</i>	:	Local ruler
<i>Namboothiris</i>	:	The Malabar Brahmins.

<i>Naraka</i>	:	Hell
<i>Nilavilakku</i>	:	Brass oil lamp used in ritual occasions.
<i>Pandal</i>	:	Temporary hut for ceremonies.
<i>Pariyapanam</i>	:	Bride price among the <i>Irulas</i> , Kurumbas and the Mudugas.
<i>Pattayam</i>	:	Document given to occupants of land. showing the terms of the lease area held etc
<i>Pattekettal</i>	:	Ceremonial booth
<i>Perai</i>	:	A musical instrument of the <i>Irulas</i> .
<i>Peyi</i>	:	The term for spirit among <i>Irulas</i>
<i>Pongal</i>	:	Ritual cooking
<i>Pretham</i>	:	Spirit of the dead
<i>Puja</i>	:	Religious ceremony.
<i>Pula</i>	:	Pollution
<i>Punam cultivation</i>	:	Shifting cultivation
<i>Punchacheet</i>	:	It was a receipt from <i>Adhikaries</i> after the payment of tax on cultivated land.
<i>Punyaham</i>	:	Sacred water collected from temples
<i>Puramboke</i>	:	Wasteland
<i>Sapram</i>	:	Funeral car of the <i>Irulas</i> .
<i>Savu</i>	:	Term for corpse among the <i>Irulas</i> , Kurumbas and the Mudugas.
<i>Shola</i>	:	Forest
<i>Silakkuda</i>	:	Cloth umbrella with a bent handle
<i>Swarga</i>	:	Heaven
<i>Taali</i>	:	Marriage badge
<i>Taalikettukalyanam</i>	:	The marriage ceremony of tying a tali around the neck of an unmarried girl

<i>Taravad</i>	:	Matrilineal joint family.
<i>Thulasithara</i>	:	Mud raised place where tulasi is planted
<i>Vanavaasi</i>	:	Forest dwellers
<i>Verumpattom</i>	:	Surplus lease
<i>Vidhi</i>	:	Fate

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ethnographic Field Work

Field work at Agali 4th to 15th April 2020.

Field work at Agali Thazhe Ooru 2nd to 8th April 2021.

Field work at Migrant settlement area Chemmannoore 12th to 15th April 2021.

Field work at Migrant settlement area Goolikkadavu 21st to 28th April 2021.

Field work at Migrant settlement area Agali 7th to 13th May 2021.

Field work at Chindakki colony 21st to 25 March 2022.

Field work at Mukkali 6th to 11th April 2022.

Interview with Rajani, Age 42, Kottathara Tribal Speciality Hospital, 8th April 2022.

Field work Agali and Goolikkadavu 18th to 29th April 2022.

Field work at Agali 1st to 15 May 2022.

Field work at Karayoor 4th to 11th, May 2022.

Field work at Goolikkadavu colony 14th May 2022.

Field data, Karayoor Ooru, 6th to 12th September 2022.

Field work at ITDP Office 1st to 10th April 2023.

Field work in the tribal settlements at Agali-Chemmannor on 2nd to 25th May 2023.

Discussion with Sivamani, Age 52, ST Promotor, Kavundikkal, 13th April 2021.

Discussion with Allen *Moopan*, Age 65, Thavalam, 15th April 2021.

Discussion with Kaliyamma, Age 54, Panchayath clerk, 27th April 2021.

Discussion with Vellagiri, Age 38, *Irula* News Reporter, 4th May 2021

Discussion with Janaki, Age 68, elderly women of Narasimukku on 18th April 2022

Discussion with Kuppuswami, Age 61, Ward member, Sholayoor, 19th April 2022

Discussion with *Irula* elders of Narsimukku on 4th May 2021

Discussion with Ravi, Age 50, Ooru *Moopan* of Kakkuppadi Thazheooru 26th May 2021

Discussion with Kuppan, Age 49, ST Promotor, Kallamala, 12th May 2022.

Discussion with BRC Staffs at Agali, 14th May 2022.

Discussion with Vasanthi, Age 70, elderly *Irula* women of Narasimukku 21st May 2022

Discussion with Maruthi, Age 53, *Irula* women working in Govt Eco shop at Mukkali, 22nd May 2022.

Discussion with Kalan *Moopan*, Aged 76, elderly Ooru *Moopan* of Kalkandi 22nd May 2022

Discussion with Nanjan *Moopan*, Age 68, Kakkuppadi, 25th May 2022.

Discussion with Maruthi, Age 71, Elderly *Irula* Women of Agali, 25th May 2022.

Discussion with Ponni, Age 70, elderly women of Chundakkulam 25th May 2022

Discussion with Malli, Age 69, elderly women of Kadukumanna 26th May 2022

Discussion with Manichan, Age, 65, Tribal researcher, Kottathara ,27th May 2022

Discussion with Panali, Age 69, elderly women of Jellippara 28th May 2022

Discussion with Kannamma Murugan, Age 58, Ward Member, Ward member Agali, 29th May 2021.

Discussion with Kali, Age 71, *Irula* elder women at Karayoor, 29th May -2022

Discussion with Chellan *Moopan*, Aged 65, Narsimukku 30th May 2022

Discussion with AHARDS/KILA staffs at Agali 25th to 29th December 2022.

Discussion with Ranjini, Age 63, ST promoter of Cheramankandi 25th June 2023

Discussion with Raveendran, Age 63, Ooru *Moopan* (Karayoor), 12th June 2023

Interview with S. Joseph, Age 64, Cash Crop Cultivaor, Agali, 13th March 2022.

Interview with Rajeevan, Age 52, ITDP Officer, Agali, 9th April 2022.

Interview with Varghese Puthanpurayil, Age 65, Cash Crop Cultivator, Kavundikkal, 11th April 2022.

Interview with Agastin Thekkumpuram, Age 63, Migrant Farmer, Thavalam 13th April 2021.

Interview with Sainudheen, Age 62, Ward Vikasana Samithi Convenor, Agali, 29th May 2021.

Interview with Palathil Muhammed, Age 65, Shop Owner, Goolikkadavu, 18th May 2021.

Interview with John Zakaria, Age 65, Retd. Head Clerk, Agali block Panchayath 4th April 2022.

Interview with Baby Vettupara, Age 63, Attappadi Block member 2nd April 2022.

Interview with Varghese K.P, Age 65, Agali Panchayath Member,12th April 2022.

Interview with Palaparambil Joseph, Age 69, Retd. Village officer,12th April 2022.

Interview with Alex Kuruvila, Age 69, Migrant Farmer, 13th April 2022.

Interview with Narayanan Nair, Age 63, Retd. Village Officer, Agali, 26th April 2022.

Interview with Suresh, R. Age 50, Secretary Attappadi Bhoosamrakshana Samithi, 2nd to 5th May 2022.

Interview with Dr. Sheeba, Age 48, Project Officer, AHARDS, 19th May 2022.

Interview with Abdu Nasar, Aged 55, Ward member, Agali Grama panchayath 23rd May 2022.

Interview with Harish Kannan, Age 54, ST Promotor, Ambalam Kunnu, 24th May 2022.

Interview with Ramachandran, Age 65, Retd. Village Officer, Agali, 29th May 2022.

Interview with K.J Mathew, Aged 65, Migrant farmer, 21st May 2022.

Interview with Annamma George, Age 70, Migrant lady ,1st May 2022.

Interview with Kannappan, Age 71, Early Tamil Settler, 19th May 2022.

Interview with Uma, Age 23, Irula young lady, 16th May 2023.

Interview with Fr. Rambachan, Age 68, Director, St. George Church, Goolikkadavu, 19th June 2023.

2. Kerala State Regional Archives

A) Proceedings of Revenue Department, Madras

Bundle No. 118, Serial No.17,File No.217,1911

Bundle No. 133, Serial No.27,File No.117,1919

Bundle No. 129, Serial No.47,File No.568,1931

Bundle No. 19, Serial No.9,File No.117,1929

B) Records from Sub-Collectors' Office, Ottappalam

Bundle No. 63, Serial No.29,File No.247, 1971

Bundle No. 315, Serial No.247,File No.817, 1931

Bundle No. 239, Serial No.15,File No.1023, 1942

Bundle No. 594, Serial No.119,File No.617, 1937

Bundle No. 98, Serial No.4117,File No.207, 1911

C) Settlement Registers of Attappadi Mannarkkad 1925-1975

Desams

Agali

Kallamala

Kottathara

Padavayal

Pudur

Sholayur

3. Reports & Government orders

Attappadi Hills Area Development Society: *AHADS Status Report 2008*, Palakkad, 2008.

Attappadi Hills Area Development Society: *AHADS Status Report 2006*, Palakkad, 2006.

Attappadi Hills Area Development Society: *Tribal Population Estimate 2005*, Palakkad, 2005.

Attappadi Block Panchayat: *Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2007-2012*, Attappady, Palakkad, 2010.

Administrative Report of the Madras presidency 1923-31, Madras, 1930.

Ayyappan, A., Report on the *Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras*, Madras, 1948.

Annual handbook on The Institute for Climate Change Studies, Trivandrum, 2011

Annual plan 1990-91, *Plan Progress Report (financial) for the month of March 1991*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1992.

Annual Report of Attappadi, *Social Service Society 2000*, Attappadi, 2001.

Chapter 5 Development of Wastelands and Degraded Lands, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 2002.

District Human Development Report, Palakkad, 2010, HDRC unit, Kerala Planning Board, Trivandrum.

Graeme, H.S., *Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar*, Calicut, 1822.

Government of India, *Report of a Committee on Forest and Tribals*, New Delhi, 1982.

Health Report, "*Health and problems in Attappadi*", Reports of the Health, Department on Health, Block Panchayath, Attappadi. 2001.

Kerala Development Report 2001, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 2002.

Madras State Administration Report 1932-33, Madras, 1934.

Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1940, Madras, 1941.

Malabar Gazetteer 1997, Vol. I and II by C. A. Innes, ICS, Trivandrum, 1999.

Municipal Development Records, Mannarkad, Vol.121, 1997.

Proceedings of Forest Department Madras(Calicut, 1917), dated 10th October,1941.

Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission 1960-61, Vol.I, New Delhi, 1961.

Palakkad District Human Development Report 2010, HDRC Unit, Kerala State Planning Board, Trivandrum.

Palakkad Jilla Report, Scheduled Tribe Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010.

The Ekbal Committee Report, *Genocide in Attappadi*, Report on the visit to Attappadi by the Medical Team Constituted by the CPI (M), Kerala State Committee, May.1903.

Government of India: *Tenth Five Year Plan 2002-2007 (Vol. II) Sectoral Policies and Programmes*,

Survey report of Kerala State Land Use Board and National Remote Sensing Agency, 1994.

United Nations, Department of Economics and Social Affairs. Methods of measuring Internal migration, Series Population Studies, No. 47. New York, 1970

4. Census

Census of India 1871- Malabar, Madras, 1874.

Census of India 1911 Vol. XII, Madras, Part I, Report (by J. Charles Molony ICS),Government Press, Madras, 19 12.

Census of India 1921 Vol. XIII, Madras, Part I, Report (by G.T. Boag), Government Press, Madras, 1922.

Census of India 1931 Vol. XIV, Madras, Part I, Report (by M.W.M. Yeatis), Government Press, Madras, 1932.

Census of India 1931 Vol.I, Part 111-B, 'The Racial Affinities of People of India' (by B.S. Guha), Shimla, 1935.

Census of India 1931 Vol. 111, 'Ethnographical', Delhi, 1986, (Reprint by Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi)

Census of India, 1951, Madras and Coorg, Part 11-B, Vol. 111 (by S.Venkateswaran I.C.S), Madras, 1953.

Census of India, 1961 (Kerala), Vol. VII, District Census Handbook- Cannanore, Kozhikode and Palakkad.

Census of India, 1961: Vol. VII: Kerala, Part VI-A, Village Survey Monograph Cannanore and Kozhikode Districts.

Census of India, 1971 (Kerala), Series IX, Part VI-A Census of India, 1971, Series 9: Kerala, Part V-B (1) Ethnographic Notes on *Scheduled Tribes (Hill Pulaya, Malai Vedan, Kurubar, Irular Uraly and Kadar)*, Controller of Publications, New Delhi.

Census of India, 1981 (Kerala), Series X, Part IX (i & ii)- Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Census of India, 1981 (Kerala), Series X, Primary Census Abstract for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Census of India, 1981 (Kerala), Series X, District Census Handbook- Palaghat and Malappuram Districts.

Census of India, 1991 (Kerala), District Census Handbook- Palaghat and Malappuram Districts.

Census of India, 2001 (Kerala), District Census Handbook- Palaghat and Malappuram Districts.

5. Manuals and Gazetteers

Gazetteer of India, Kerala state, Trivandrum, Vol. II, part I, Govt. press, Trivandrum, 1986.

Innes, C.A., and Evans, F.B., *Malabar District Gazetteers: Malabar, Madras*, 1951.

Logan, William., *Malabar Manual*, Madras, 1951.

Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III, Madras, 1940.

Pillai, T.K. Velu, *The Travancore State Manuel Vol-IV*, Trivandrum, 1940.

6. Hand Books

Census 1961, 1971, 1981 Kerala, District Census Hand Book, Palakkad, 1971, 1981.

Census of India 2001, District census Hand book Palakkad, 2001.

District Census Hand Book, Palakkad 1981, Trivandrum, 1982.

District Handbook of Kerala- Palakkad, Government of Kerala 2001

A. SECONDARY SOURCES

a. English Books

Aiya, V. Nagam, *The Travancore State Manual* 3 vols, Trivandrum, 1906.

Aiyappan, A, *Report on the Socio-Economic Condition of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras*, Madras, 1948.

_____, *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village*, Bombay, 1965.

_____, *Tribal Culture and Tribal Welfare*, Madras, 1988.

_____, *The Personality of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1982.

- Anantha Krishna Iyer, L.K. *Tribes and Castes of Cochin*, Landmarks in Indian Anthropology: Vol. 15 (ii), Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1987.
- _____, *Kerala and Her People*, Palaghat, 1961.
- _____, *The Social History of Kerala*, Madras, 1968.
- _____, *The Pre-Historic Archaeology of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1948.
- Anwaruzzaman, A. K. M, *Immigration in Jalpaiguri, West Bengal: Nature, Trend and Consequences*, Geographical Review of India, 2009.
- Bala Rathnam L.K, and Iyer, L.A, Krishna, *Anthropology in India*, Madras, 1961.
- Bhanu. B. Ananda, *Cholanaikkan of Kerala*, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1989.
- Bose.N.K, *Tribal Life in India*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1971.
- Boserup, E, *Population and Technological Change*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.1981.
- Brown, Radcliffe, A.R, *Structure and Functions in Primitive Society*, London, 1976.
- Brown, Radcliff. A. R, *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1922.
- Buchanan, Francis. (1807): *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, In Volumes Threes (Vol.I)*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Chaudari, Buddhadeb, *Transformation of Indian Tribes*, Vol. I. Desai, A.R., *Rural India in Transition*, Mumbai, 1979.
- Chattopadhyaya, K.P, *Tribalism in India*, New Delhi, 1978.
- Chant, S, *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*, London: Belhaven, 1992.
- Cohn, S. Bernad, *India: The Social Anthropology of a Civilization*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000.
- Daniela, B., & Andrew, C, *The Impact of out Rural Migration on Land Use in Moldova*.Center for Policy Studies (CPS).Hungary,2010.
- Desai. A.R, *Tribes in Transition*, in Problems and Prospects, ed., Buddhadeb Chudhuri, Inter-India, Publications, New Delhi, 1982.
- Dube. S.C, *Tribal Heritage of India*, Vol.I, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1977.
- Dube, S.C, *Antiquity to Modernity in Tribal India*, Vol. I, Inter-India publications, New Delhi, 1999.
- Ehrenfels, Baron Omar Rolf, *Mother Right in India*, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Ehrenfels, U.R, *Kadar of Cochin*, Madras, 1952.

- Elwin, Verrier, *The Aborigines*, London, 1934.
- Fairchild, H. P, *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*. New York: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd, 1925.
- Firth, F.B.A. Raymond, *Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd, London, 1956.
- Foster, M, George, *Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change*, New York, 1965
- Fuchs, Stephen, "The Religion of the Indian Tribals" *Tribal Transformation in India*, Vol. V: Religion, Rituals and Festivals, ed., Buddhadeb Chaudhury, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, 1992.
- Fuchs, Stephen, *The Aboriginal Tribes of India*, Macmillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 1982.
- Fuchs, Stephen, *The Gond and Bhurnia of Eastern Mandala*, New Literature Publishing Co., Bombay, 1968, 2nd Edition.
- Ghurye. G.S, *Anthropo-Sociological Papers*, Popular Prakasan, Bombay, 1963.
- Ghurye. G.S, *The Scheduled Tribes*, Bombay, 1959.
- Ghurye. G.S, *The Aborigines - So called and their future*, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1943.
- Gough, Kathleen, "Cults of the Dead among the Nayars" in *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, ed., Milton Singer, American Folklore Society, Philadelphia, 1959.
- Haimendorf and C. Von, "Ethnographic Notes on Some Communities of the Wayanad". *Eastern Anthropologist*, 1952.
- Jackson, J. A, (Ed.), *Migration-Sociological Studies*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969
- Janeen, C.A, *Readings in the Sociology of Migration*, London: Pergamon Press, 1970.
- Joseph, K. V, *Migration and Economic Development of Kerala*. New Delhi: Mittal publication, 1988.
- Kaliya, S. L, 'Sanskritization and Tribalization' in *Changing Tribes* (Ed.) in T.B.Naik, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, 1961.
- Karwe, Irawathi, *The Tribals of Maharashtra*, Urgent Researches In Social Anthropology, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1969.
- KIRTADS, "Tribal Communities in Kerala", Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2018.
- KIRTADS, "Evaluation Report on Integrated Tribal Development Project", Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, Kozhikode, Kerala, 1982.
- Kattakayam, J. John, *Social Structure and Change among Tribals*, New Delhi, 1983.

- K.G. Shivaswamy, *Food Famine and Nutritional Diseases in Travancore (1943-44)*, Coimbatore, 1945.
- Kotari. K.L, "*Tribal Social Changes in India*", Himansu publications, New Delhi, 1985.
- Kosambi, D.D, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1990.
- Krishna Iyer, L.A, "*The Travancore Tribes and Castes*", in 3 volumes, Reprint, 1937.
- Kumar, B. B., *The Tribal Society in India*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1998.
- Kumar, V.S.A., *Tribal Societies of India; A Macro perceptive*, Omsons Publication New Delhi, 1998.
- Kulirani. B. Francis, "*Identiy and Integration of the Paniyan of Waynad*" Tribal Identity, Kumar Educational publishers, Agra, 1992.
- Kuppuswamy, B., *Social Change in India*, Vikas publications, Uttar Pradesh, 1981.
- Kunhaman, M, "*Alienation of Tribal Land: The Case of Attappadi in Kerala*", State and Society, 1981.
- Kunhaman, M, "*Understanding Tribal Life: Kerala Dossier.*" State and Society 4 (2, April-June), 1983.
- Kumar, Bachchan, *The Bhils, An Ethno-Historic Analysis*, Delhi, 1997.
- Lee, Everett S., "*A Theory of Migration*" in J.A Jackson (ed.) *Migration*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Lewis, C.J, *Human Migration: A Geographical perspective*, London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982
- Logan, William, *Malabar Manual, Vol. I & II*, New Delhi, 1989.
- Luiz. A.A.D, *Tribes of Kerala*, The Bharatiya Adima Jati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi, 1962.
- Mathew, Joshy, *Tradition, Migration and transformation- Agrarian Migration to Wayanad 1928-2000*, (A socio-historical perspective), 2011.
- Mathur, P.R.G., *Tribal situation in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1977.
- Mann. E.H, *The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, Sanskaran Prakashak, Delhi, 1975,
- Majumdar, D. N. and Madan, T. N., '*An Introduction to Social Anthropology*' Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1970.
- Mandal, R., *Frontiers in Migration Analysis*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1981.
- Mateer, Samuel, '*Native life in Travancore*', London, 1883.
- Majumdar, D.N, *The Affairs of a Tribe: A Study in Tribal Dynamics*, Lucknow, 1950.

- Mandal, R. B, *The Role of Migration in The Peopling of North Eastern India*. In *Frontiers in Migration Analysis*, Concept Publishing Company New Delhi, 1981.
- Menon Madhava T. & Sasikumar M. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Dravidian tribes*, Vol.II, The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum,1996.
- Milton Singer, ed., *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, Jaipur, 1975
- Mohanlal, Sam, M, *A Descriptive Analysis of Uralis*, Mysore, 1991.
- Mollett, J. A, *Migrants in Agricultural Development: A Study of Intra Rural Migration* (1st edition), London, Macmillan academic and professional Ltd, 1991.
- Morgan, Lewis H, *Ancient Society: Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization*, World Publishing Company, Cleveland, 1877.
- Naik, T.B, "Anthropology in India", in M" N. Srinivas et.al., (ed) *A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology*,Bombay, Popular Prakashan.1972.
- Nair, Sukumaran, M.K. *Tribal Economy in Transition*, Published on Behalf of Indian Institute for Regional Development Studies, New Delhi, 1948.
- Nair. K.N., Menon, Vineetha, *Social Change in Kerala, insights from Micro Level Studies*, Danish Books, 2007.
- Nair, Viswanathan, "Land Alienation among the Tribes of Attappadi", Kerala Institute for Research, Trivandrum, 2001.
- Ogden, P. E, *Migration and Geographical Change*. London: Cambridge University Press,1984.
- Ravenstein, E. G, *The Laws of Migration*. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1889.
- Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*, Tenth Impression, Chicago, 1974.
- Rothermund Dietman, *India in Great Depression 1929-1939*, New Delhi, 1902
- Roy. S. C., *The Mundas and their Country*, Calcutta, City Bar Library, 1912.
- Russel, K, *People on The move: An Atlas of Migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Saberwal, Vasanth & Rangarajan Mahesh, '*Battle Over Nature – Science and Politics of conservation*', Permanent Black, 2003.
- Sachidananda.N, *Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, Vol. 1, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi 1996.
- _____, *Culture Change in Tribal Bihar: Munda and Oraon*, Calcutta, Book Land Pvt. 1964.
- _____, *The Tribal Village, in Bihar: A Study in Unity and extension*, New Delhi, Munshi Ram Manohar Lai, 1968.

- _____, *Social Change in Village India*, Concept Publishing Company New Delhi, 1988.
- Sherring, M.A, *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1909.
- Shashi, S.S., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Tribes*, Vol. VIII, New Delhi, 1997.
- Shashi, S.S., *The Tribal World in Transition*, Anmol publications, New Delhi, 1989.
- Singh, A.K., *Tribal Development in India*, New Delhi, 1984.
- Singh, K.S, *Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Lucknow, 1983.
- _____, *Antiquity to Modernity in Tribal India*, Vol.4, Inter-India publications, Delhi, 1998.
- _____, *Introduction and Tribal Movements in Kerala*, Manohar publications, Delhi, 1984.
- _____, *Economies of the Tribes and Their Transformation*, New Delhi.
- _____, *People of India- Kerala*, Vol. XXVII-part I, New Delhi, 2002.
- _____, *People of India, India communities*, New Delhi, 1998.
- _____, *Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Jaipur, 1983.
- _____, *Tribal Society in India*, Manohar publications, New Delhi, 1985.
- Singh, & J. Varkey (Eds.), *Migration in South India*, New Delhi: Shipra Publication, 2005.
- Skeldon, R, *Migration and Development, A Global Perspective*, England: Longman,1997.
- Srinivas, M.N., *Social Change in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1995.
- Sundara Pandian, M., *Tribal development in India*, Anmol publishers, New Delhi, 2000.
- Thurston, Edgar, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Part I, Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1975.
- Thurston, Edgar, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vols.I, 11, 111, IV &V, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1975.
- Thurston, Edgar, *Some Marriage Customs in Southern India: Deformity and Mutilation-Uralis, Sholagas and Irulas*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Society. 1903.
- Valliamattam, G, *Migration to Malabar and the Archdiocese of Tellicherry*,2001.
- Varkey, J, *Peasant Migration to Waynad and its Impact on Tribal People*, Kottayam, 1996.
- Velluva, S, *Developmental Effects on Livelihood Strategies of Tribes People in Attappadi, Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram: Centre for Development Studies, 2006.
- Viswanathan, P, *Farmer Migration and Agrarian Transformation in Kerala, Impacts on the Local Economy, Society and the Agrarian Landscape in the Erstwhile Malabar*

Region. National research programme on Plantation Development (NRPPD), Trivandrum, 2015.

Vidyarthi, L.P and Rai, B.K., *The Tribal Culture of India*, New Delhi, 1975.

Vishwambhar, P. S., & Singh, R. B., *Migration and Agrarian Changes in Mountain Regions - A case Study of the Pindar Basin of Uttarakhand Himalaya, India*, 2009.

Von Furer, H.C, *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Vyas, N. N, *Banjaras: The Mercantile Nomads of Rajasthan Tribe*, Vol.3, No.2, Udaypur-1967.

Vyas and Menon, R.S “*Indian Tribes in Transition*”, Rajkamal Electrical Press, New Delhi, 1980.

Wong, S. T, *Migration and Agricultural Change in Sri Lanka*. In Mandal, R.B (Ed.), *Frontiers in Migration Analysis*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1981.

Zachariah, K. C. et al, *Dynamics of Migration in Kerala: Dimensions, Differentials and Consequences*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2003.

Zachariah, K.C and Irudaya Rajan (eds.), *Kerala's Demographic Transition, Determinants and Consequences*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997.

Zeligman, Brinda.Z, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, Routledge & Kegen Paul Ltd., London, 1964.

Zipf, G. K., *Human Behavior and The Principle of Least Effort: An Introduction to Human Ecology*. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press. 1949.

b. Books in Malayalam

Attappadi Hills Area Development Society, *Paristhithika Samoohika Vikasanam: Oru Attappadi Mathruka*, Agali, Palakkad, Kerala, Attappadi Hills Area Development Society, 2010.

Chandramohanan, S.R., *Attappadi Adivasipattukal*, Kottayam, Kerala: D.C. Books, 2007.

Choondal, Chummar, *Karutha Kalakal*, Thrissur, 1991.

Damodaran, Nettur. P, *Adivasikalude Keralam*, N.B.S, Kottayam, 1974.

Ekbal, B. *Attappadiyil Sambavikkunnathu*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala: Chintha Publishers, 2013.

John, O.J, *Attappadiyile Adivasikalude Duravastha Oru Nerkazcha* (Mal.), In B. Ekbal (Ed.), *Attappadiyil Sambavikkunnathu*, Thiruvananthapuram: Chintha Publishers, 2013.

Kallil, P. Unnikrishnan, *Attappadi, Adivasikalude Devabhoomi*, Prabhath Book House, Thiruvananthapuram, 2004.

- Kali, K., *Adivasi Sthree Jeevitham*, In B. Ekbal (Ed.), *Attappadiyil Sambavikkunnathu*, Thiruvananthapuram: Chintha Publishers, 2013.
- Karunakaran, C.K, *Adivasikalude Lokam Vanavasikal* (Malayalam), Thiruvananthapuram: The State Institute of Languages, 2007.
- Kuruvilangad Joseph, *Konippadikal*, Kozhikkode, 1991.
- Nair, Ambattu Sukumaran, *Adivasikalude Nattil*, Kottayam, 1982.
- Nair, Somasekharan, *Paniyar*, Kottayam, 1976.
- Panoor, K., *Keralatile Africa*, Kottayam, 1963.
- _____, *Malakal, Manushiar, Thazhvarakal*, Kottayam, 1982.
- _____, *Sahyante Makkal*, Kottayam, 1990.
- _____, *Yente Hrudhayathile Adivasi*, Kottayam, 2005
- Pazhyaparambil, Thomas, *Swapnabhoomiyil*, Muvattupuzha, 1978.
- Parishilaka kaipusthakam, KIRTADS* (Recognition of the Rights of the Forest Dwellers and Scheduled Tribes), Kozhikkode, 2005.
- Ravindran, P. *Akalangalile Manushyar*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1980.
- Unnikrishnan, P.N, *Attappadiyil Cheyyendiyirunnathu* (Malayalam), In B. Ekbal (Ed.), *Attappadiyil Sambavikkunnathu*, Thiruvananthapuram: Chintha Publishers, 2013.
- Vargees Thottekad, *Malabar Kaudiyettam, Trivandrum*, 2015.
- Velappan, K. *Adivasikalum Adivasi Bhashakalum* (Mal.), The State Institute of Languages, Thiruvananthapuram, 1994.

C. Theses and Dissertations

- Alex, Meera, '*Periyar Tiger Reserve and Tourism: An Impact Study*', M.G. University, Kottayam, 1999.
- Anilkumar, K. A. "*Phytosociology and Plant Diversity of Attappadi, Western Ghats, India*". University of Kannur, Kerala, 2015.
- Bindu. B, *Socio-economic Change among Three Waynad Tribes: A Study of Kattunaikkans, Adiyans and Mullakkurumans in Eco-Cultural Context*, Department of Anthropology, Palayad, University of Calicut, 1997.
- Hoeschele, W., *Land Degradation, State Power, and Peasant Livelihood in Attappadi (Kerala), India*, Department of Geography, USA: Pennsylvania State University, 1998.
- Jayasree A, "*Impact of Tourism on an Ecologically Fragile Zone. A case study of Idukki District*", M.G. University, Kottayam. 1994.
- Jose, M.J. *Karimpalarute Nadodi Samskaram*, (Mal.), Department of Malayalam, University of Calicut, 1994.

- Joseph, J, *Peasant Migration to Malabar - A case study of Peravoor (1925-1970)*. Mangalore University, 1991.
- Kakkoth, Seetha, *Three Tribes of Nilambur Valley: A Study in Interrelationship between Habitat, Economy, Society and Culture*, Anthropology, University of Calicut, 2001.
- Kulirani, Baby Francis, *Emergence of a small Town in Tribal Waynad: a Study of Pulpalli*, Department of Anthropology, University of Calicut, 1996.
- Muhammad, *A Study on Socio-Economic Impact of Neighborhood Groups (NHGs) in Attappady: Tribal and Non-Tribal Communities: a Comparative Analysis*, MG University 1957.
- Mohandas, P. A., *Historical Study of the Colonial Investments in Malabar and Nilgiris in the 19th Century*, University of Calicut, 2005.
- Nair B. Veena, "Tribe Apart; the Anthropology of interaction between Muthuvan and Malapulayan", M.G. University, Kottayam 2002.
- Nagaraju, G, *Peasant immigration and agrarian change, A study from Raichur district of Karnataka*. Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation. Centre for Development studies, Trivandrum, 1989.
- Poyil, Manjula, *Hero Worship in Medieval Karnataka: A Study based on Hero-stone Inscriptions*, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1994.
- Sebastian. P.T, *Christian Migration to Malabar: 1930-1980*, Department of History, PhD thesis , University of Calicut, 2002.
- Tharakan, P. K. M, *Migration of farmers from Travancore to Malabar, from 1930 to 1960: An Analysis of Its Economic Causes*, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, 1976.
- Sivadas, S., *Conservation, Development and Incompatibilities: Transition of a Sacred Geography*, SSS, M. G. University, Kottayam, 2001.
- Velluva, S, *Dynamics of Land Use in Recently Selected Forest Areas: A Case Study of Attappadi, Kerala*, Kerala Forest Research Institute, Peechi, Thrissur and Department of Applied Economics, Cochin: Cochin University of Science and Technology, 1999.

D. Articles in Journals: English

- Bhowmick. P.K, "Tribes in The Changing Circumstances of India", *Man India*, 71:1&2, 1991.
- Beals L, Ralph. "The Contemporary Culture of the Cahita Indians", Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, 142, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1945. *Deccan Herald*, 2001, June, 23.
- Devi, M, "Economic History of Nepali Migration and Settlement in Assam". *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(29), 3005–3007, 2007.
- Economic Review* 1990, 2000, State Planning Board, Trivandrum.

- Economic and Political Weekly*, Mumbai, 10, 30, July 30, 1979.
- Economic and Political Weekly*, Mumbai, 33, June 10, 1999.
- Economic and Political Weekly*, Mumbai, 36, 40 October 6-12, 2001.
- Economic and Political weekly*, Mumbai, 36, 43, Oct 26,2002.
- Eisenstadt, S. N, Analysis of Patterns of Immigration and Absorption of Immigrants.*Population Studies*, 7(2), 177–180.,1953.
- Fligstein, N. “The Transformation of Southern Agriculture and the Migration of Blacks and Whites”,1930–1940. *International Migration Review*, 17(2), 268–290,1983
- Front Line*, Chennai, 6, 18, September 2-15,1990.
- Front Line*, Chennai, 20, 01, January 18-31, 2005.
- Journal of Kerala Studies* 5, part 3, Trivandrum, Dec 1978.
- Gnanamabal, K, “Kanikkar of Travancore: Their Religious and Magical Practices”, in Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Vol.III, No.2, 1954.
- Gregory, S, Migrant Settlements and Native Alienation in Malabar - A Human problem requiring humanistic response.In K S. Mathew, M. Singh, & J. Varkey (Eds.), *Migration in South India* (1st Edition, pp. 174–187). New Delhi: Shipra Publication, 2005.
- Gosal, G. S, Internal Migration in India: Regional analysis, *Indian Geographic Journal*, 36(3), 106–121, 1961.
- Gray, C.L., Bilsborrow, R.E., Bremner, J.L., & Lu, F. “Indigenous Land Use in the Ecuadorian Amason: A Cross-cultural and Multilevel Analysis”, *Human Ecology*, February, 2008, 36(1), 97-109.
- Grewal, S.S., Mittal, S.P., & Singh, G, “Rehabilitation of Degraded Lands in the Himalayan Foothills: Peoples Participation”, *Ambio*, February, 1990.19(1), 45- 48.
- Gupta, S., & Sharma, R.K, “Dynamics of Land Utilisation, Land Degradation and Factors Determining land degradation in Himachal Pradesh”, *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 2010, April-June, 65(2), 245- 260.
- Iyer, L.A. Krishna, “Marriage Ceremonies of the Primitive Tribes of Travancore”, *Man in India*, 8 (1), Bihar, 1944. pp. 227-280.
- John, T. A, “Out Migration among Migrant Peasant Groups in Malabar. In K.S.Mathew, M. Singh, & J. Varkey (Eds.), “*Migration in South India*” (1st edition). New Delhi: Shipra Publication, 2005.
- Joseph, K. V, Factors and Patterns of Migration: The Kerala Experience. *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, 13(1), 54–69,2001.
- Joseph, K. V, “Migration and the Changing Pattern of Land Use in Malabar”.*Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, 14(1), 62–80, 2002.

- Kalathil, M.J, Withering Valley: Alienation, Degradation and Enslavement of Tribal Women in Attappady, KRPLLD Discussion Paper No.66,Thiruvananthapuram: Centre for Development Studies,2004.
- Kamat A.R. "Education and Social Change among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes", in *Economic and Political weekly*, August 1, Vol. XVI, No.31, A Sameeksha Trust Publication, Mumbai, 1981.
- Kapp, D.B, "A Palu Kurumba Mantra for Curing Head-Ache", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1987,1, 48-52.
- Kapp, D.B. "The Kurumbas' Relationship to the "Megalithic Cult" of the Nilgiri Hills (South India)", *Anthropos*, 80(4/6), 493-530, 1985.
- Kapp, D.B: "Palu Kurumba Riddles: Specimens of a South Dravidian Tribal Language", University of London, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1978, 41(3), 512-522.
- KIRTADS Biannual*, Calicut, Vol. I, No. I, April, 1995.
- KIRTADS Biannual*, Calicut, Vol. I, No. I, April, 1996
- KIRTADS Biannual*, Calicut, Vol. I, No. I, April, 1997
- Kudilil, G, "Historiography of Migration to Malabar" In K. S. Mathew, M. Singh, & J. Varkey (Ed.), *Migration in South India* (1st edition, pp. 95–104). New Delhi,2005.
- Kunhaman M, "Tribal economy of Kerala an intra-regional analysis", *Economic and Political weekly*, Sammeksha Trust publications, vol-20, No. 11, March, 1985.
- Kunhaman, M, "Bonded Labour in Kerala among the Hill Tribes of Waynad", *The Kerala Dossier*, Vol.3, No.2, Kottayam, 1982.
- Kumar, B.M.: "Land Use in Kerala: Changing Scenarios and Shifting Paradigms", *Journal of Tropical Agriculture*, 2005, 42(1-2), 1-12.
- Lee, Everett. S., 'A Theory of Migration' - *Demography* No. 1 in Francis Cherumilanam, *Migration: Causes, Correlation, Consequences, Trends and Policies*, Bombay,1987.
- Mokeri, R., *Adivasi-Kurumba Corpses Perform their own Burial*, KRPLLD, (KRP/00/155/1997), October 12, Thiruvananthapuram: Centre for Development Studies.2000.
- Menon, Geetha, 'Tribal Women: Victims of the Development Process', *Social Action*, Vol. 37. 1987.
- Morris, Brian, "Settlement and Social Change among the Hill Pandaram", *Man in India*, Vol.56, No.2, Bihar, 1976.
- Mukherjee, B, "Acculturation among the Kanikkars of Travancore", *Geographical Review of India*, 17(1), 1955.
- Osella, Filippo and Caroline Osella "Migration, Money and Masculinity in Kerala", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 6(1), March: 119,2000.

- Raghavan. M.D, "Jain-Kurumbers- an Account of their Life and Habits", *Man India*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Jan-March 1929.
- Raj, R, Patterns of Social Change among the Migrant Farmers of Kannur District– A Case Study.Report, Centre for Development Studies. Trivandrum, 2003
- Ramachandran Guha, “Scientific Forestry and Social Change”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, November, 1985.
- Redfield Robert, Ralph Linton and Melville. J. Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 3 8, 19, 1998.
- Saxena, D.P., ‘Approaches to the problems in Changing Tribal India’, in *Kerala Sociologist*, Vol.5, December 1997.
- Saxena, D.P., ‘Approaches to the problems in Changing Tribal India’, in *Kerala Sociologist*, Vol. 5, December 1997.
- Sahu, S. K., “Health of the Tribes issues and Perspectives”, *Paper presented* at the National Workshop on tribal health and medicine in ForestEnvironment, Department of KIRTADS, Kozhikode, Kerala,1987.
- Sanathanan Velluva, “Development effect on Livelihood Strategies of Tribes people in Attappadi ”, Discussion Paper No.99, Kerala Research Programme on Local Development, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 2000.
- Singh. K.S, "Hinduism and Tribal religion: An Anthropological Perspective", *Man India*, 73:1, 1993
- Srinivas, M. N., “Social Structure’, *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol.13, No. 1. March, 1964.
- Sinha, S.C, “Tribes Caste and Tribe Peasant Continuum in Central India”, in *Man in India*, Vol, 45, Bihar, 1965.
- Tharakan, George. C, "Mudugas of Kerala", *Man and Life*, 23: 1-3, Jan-June 1997.
- Tharakan, George. C, "The Mixed Economy of the South Indian Kurumbas”, *Ethnology*, Vol. XLII, No.4, Fall 2003.
- Sebastian, T.K., ‘Educational and Occupational Mobility among the Migrant cultivators of Malabar’, in the Journal of the Institute for Research in *Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2, 2 (2007).
- Shivalingappa, B. Rural change and migration in Western Ghats. *Annals of the National Association of Geographers, India*, 18, 99–109, 1998.
- Todaro, M. P, A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. *The American Economic Review*,1969.
- Vidyarthi, L.P., Tribal Development in independent India and its future, in *Man in India*, Vol. 54, No.1, 1954.
- Varghese, V. J, Migrant narratives: Reading literary representations of Christian Migration in Kerala, 1920-70. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 2006.

E. Articles: Malayalam

Ibrahim, P, "Kudiyethathinte Shishtam", *Chandrika Weekly*, 28 August, 2004.

Jamaluddeen.M, "Velicham Thedunna Guhamanushyar" *Mathrubhoomi Weekly*, August 17, 1978.

Kerala Yukthivadhi Samajam, *Attappadiyil Kanendathu, A Report*, May, 2013

Mathur.P.R.G, "Mala nambuthirimar", *Kalakaumudi*, July, 151, 1978.

APPENDIX 1 ORAL TESTEMONIALS

Sl.No.	Name	M/F	Age	Tribe/Community/Status	Place	Date
1	Palapparambil Joseph	M	63	Retd Village officer	Agali	18-05-2020
2	Allen	M	65	<i>Irula</i> Ward Member	Thavalam	01-4-2021
3	Baby Vettupara	M	66	Former Attappadi Block member	Agali	02-04-2021
4	Balan	M	64	<i>Moopan</i>	Karayoor	22.4.2021
5	Jhon Zakaria ,.	M	65	Retd, Head clerk,	Agali	06-04-2021
6	Agastian Thekkumpuram	M	68	Migrant farmer	Thavalam	10-04-2021
7	Varghese,.K.P	M	65	Ward member	Agali	12-04-2021
8	Varghese.K	M	56	Former ward member	Agali	12-4-2021
9	K.M.ALEX Vattakunnel,	M	65	Retd. Staff, Agali water authority	Agali	14-4-2021
10	Kannappan	M	55	Tamil settler	Naikarpadi	19-4-2021
11	Kannappan	M	71	Tamil settler,	Agali	19-04-2021
12	Joymon	M	45	UD Clerk, ITDP	Agali	19-04-2021
13	Vargheese.K	M	61	Shop owner, Mukkali	Mukkali	21-4-2021
14	Thankachan	M	51	Christian- Neighbor	Goolikadavu	22-4-2021
15	Dr. Mena,	F	52	Director, KILA	Agali	22-4-2021.
16	Narayanan Nair,	M	63	Rted. Village officer	Agali,	27-04-2021
17	Sathyan	M	42	<i>Irula</i> Social worker	Narsimukku	04.05.2021
18	Kannan,	M	49	Tribal promoter	Chemmannor ,	16-05-2021
19	Palapparambil Joseph,	M	63	Rted. Village officer, Agali,	Agali,	18-5-2021
20	K.J. Mathew,	M	55	Migrant farmer	Mukkali	21-5-2021
21	Murukeshan	M	42	<i>Irula</i> Panchayath clerk.	Agali	26-5-2021
22	Kaliyamma	F	54	Panchayath clerk.	Agali	27-5-2021
23	Sainudheen	M	62	Ward Viksana samithi convener ,Chemmanoor	Agali	29-5-2021
24	Kannamma Murugan	F	58	<i>Irula</i> Ward Member	Agali	29-5-2021
25	Baby Vettupara ,	M	48	Migrant farmer	Agali	18.2.2022
26	S. Joseph	M	64	Cash crop cultivator,	Agali	13 -3- 2022.
27	Murugan ,	M	75	Tamil Settler	Agali	12-3-2022
28	Rajeevan,R	M	52	ITDP Officer	Agali	9-04-2022
29	Sreenija	F	25	Promoter ITDP	Agali	11-4-2022
30	Shivamani.N	M	52	ST Promoter	Kavundikkal	13-4-2022
31	Rajani .A	F	53	Kudumbashree CDS,	Agali Panchayath	15-4-2022.
32	Saraswathi.M	F	45	ST Promoter	Kakkuppadi-	17-4-2022
33	Chellan	M	65	<i>Irula</i> , Vandari	Agali	17-4-2022
34	Ramani,	M	70	Elderly women of <i>Irula Ooru</i>	Agali	18-04-2022

35						
36						
37	Kuppuswami,.V	M	61	Former ward member,	Sholayoor	19-4-2022.
38	Joseph. P.A,	M	51	Ward member, Agali.	Agali	23-4-2022
39	Chathi,	F	63	<i>Irula</i> Lady	Karara Ooru	2-5-2022
40	Annamma Jorge	F	63	Christian, Neighbour, <i>Irula</i> Colony	Jellippara	1-5-2022
41	Monichan	M	61	Migrant farmer,	Kottathara	11-5-2022
42	Kakki	M	68	<i>Moopan</i>	,Chindakki	12-5-2022
43	Kuppan	M	49	ST Promoter, Kallamala ,	Kallamala ,	12-5-2022
44	Joseph Padinjaredath,	M	58	Malayali Settler	Goolikadavu	15-5-2022
45	Sudhesh	M	42	Adivasi mahasbha leader	Karayoor	19-5-2022
46	Dr.Sheeba.	F	48	Project Officer, AHARDS	Palakkad	19-5-2022
47	Krishanaveni ,	F	44	ST Promoter, ITDP,	Agali	20-5-2022
48	Vasanthi	F	70	Elderly women	Narasimukku	21-05-2022
49	Kalimuthu,	M	55	<i>Irula</i> social worker	Agali	21-5-2022
50	Uthaman.A			Ward Viksana samithi convener,	Chemmanoor	21-5-2022
51	Maruthi,	F	53	<i>Irula</i> women working in Govt Eco shop,	Mukkali	22-05-2022
52	Abdu Nassar	M	52	Ward member-Agali Panchayath	Kottathara	23-5-2022
53	Kalan	M	76	Ooru <i>Moopan</i>	Kalkandi	22-05-2022
54	Bindu	F	29	ST Promoter	Chindakki	24-5-2022
55	Chekkku	M	55	Muslim Neighbour- <i>Irula</i> settlement	Goolikkadavu	24-5-2022
56	Janaki,	F	68	Elderly women	Narasimukku	25-05-2022
57	Ranjini.A	F	63	ST promoter	Cheramankandi	25-05-2022
58	Nanjan ,	M	62	<i>Moopan</i>	Kakkupadi	25-5-2022
59	Ponni,	F	70	<i>Irula</i> Elder Member	Chundakkulam	25-05-2022
60	Ravi,	M	50	Ooru <i>Moopan</i>	Kakkupadi Thazheooru	26-05-2022
61	Malli,	F	69	Elderly women of Kadukumanna	Kadukumanna	26-05-2022
62	Ramani .	F	42	<i>Irula</i> Teacher.	Kottatahara	26-5-2022
63	Kannamma,	F	49	AHARDS member	Nakkupathi	27-05-2022
64	Manichayan	M	65	Local Migrant Historian	Kottathara	27-5-2022
65	Panali	F	69	Elderly ST women	Jellippara,	28-05-2022
66	Kali	F	68	<i>Irula</i> elder women	Karayoor	29-5-2022
67	Ramachandran.A	M	65	Rted. Village officer	Agali	29-5-2022
68	Vargheese kozhikkal	M	60	Malayali Settler	Jellippara	29-5-2022.
69	Kannan	M	61	ST farmer,	Kavundikkal	29-5-2022
70	Dr.Suresh Kumar	M	45	Director, KIRTADS	Calicut	17-6-2022
71	Dr.S.Bindhu.	F	46	Director, KIRTADS	Calicut	17-6-2022
72	Kali	M	71	Elderly Ooru <i>Moopan</i>	Kalkandi	29-6-2022
73	Suresh.S	M	45	Secretary, Attappadi Bhoo Samrakshana Samithi	Kollam	2-5-2023

74	Raman.K	M	45	Tribal Priest	Malleswaran Temple	4-4-2023
75	Giri	M	40	ST Promoter	Agali	4-5-2023
76	Vellagiri.	M	38	<i>Irula</i> Journalist	Naikarpadi	4-5-2023
77	Raveendran,	M	63	Ooru <i>Moopan</i> ,Karayoor	Karayoor	12-6-2023
78	Fr.Rambachan	M	68	Director, St. George Church,	Goolikkadavu	19-6-2023
79	Nanjan			<i>Moopan</i>	Chindakki,	13-05-2022
80	Lakshimipriya,	F	32	<i>Irula</i> Docter	Kottathara	30-5-2023

APPENDIX II
TRIBAL SETTLEMENTS IN AGALI -
ATTAPPADI - 2021

Sl.No.	Settlement	Tribe Inhabited	Panchayath/Village
1	Kottiyoorkunnu	<i>Irula</i> Muduga	Agali
2	Karuvara Ooru	Muduga	Agali
3	Chindakki 1 st	<i>Irula</i>	
4	Chindakki 2 nd	<i>Irula</i> Muduga Kurumba	Agali
5	Chindakki 3 rd	Muduga Kurumba <i>Irula</i>	Agali
6	Chindakki Ooru	Muduga Kurumba	Agali.
7	Chindakki Thazhe Ooru	Muduga Kurumba	Agali
8	Kakkuppadi Thaze Ooru	Muduga Kurumba	Agali
9	Veeranoor	Muduga Kurumba	Agali
10	Chemmanoor	Muduga Kurumba <i>Irula</i>	Agali
11	Kollamkadavu	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
12	Seenkara	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
13	Adiya Kandiyoor	Muduga <i>Irula</i>	Agali
14	Osathiyur	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
15	Mele kandiyoor	<i>Irula</i>	
16	Koravankandi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
17	kookampalayam	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
18	Cheramankandi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
19	Kottamedu	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
20	Kunnanchala	<i>Irula</i>	Agali.
21	Thazhe parappanthara	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
22	Mele parappanthara	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
23	Karivadam	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
24	Narasimukku	<i>Irula</i> Muduga	Agali

25	Pattimalam	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
26	Vellamari	<i>Irula</i>	Agali.
27	Vannanthamedu	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
28	Naikarpadi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
29	Nattakalloor	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
30	Vadakkottathara	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
31	Omapadikayoor	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
32	Klakandiyoor	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
33	Bhoothivazhi ooru	<i>Irula</i> Muduka	Agali
34	Agali Mele ooru	<i>Irula</i>	Agali.
35	Agali Thazhe ooru	Muduka Kurumba	Agali
36	Nakkupathi Pirivu	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
37	Goolikadavu	Muduka Kurumba	Agali
38	Kavundikkal	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
39	Nakkupathi Pirivu	Muduka Kurumba	Agali
40	Alamkandi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
41	Plamaram	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
42	Nallippathi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
43	Nellikuzhi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
44	Mettuvazhi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
45	Koravanpadi	Muduka	Agali
46	Kattekkad	Muduka	Agali
47	Pothupadi 1 st	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
48	Pothupadi 2 nd	Muduka	Agali.
49	Chitoor	Muduka	Agali
50	Karara	Muduka	Agali
51	Anagadha	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
52	Karadippara Ooru	Muduka	Agali
53	Kathirampadi	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
54	Guddayoor	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
55	Dundoor	Muduka	Agali
56	Mandhimala	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
57	Mamana	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
58	North Ommala	Muduka	Agali
59	Dhoonikundu	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
60	Daivakundu	<i>Irula</i>	Agali

61	Jellippara	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
62	Onthamala	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
63	Ommala	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
64	Mavumkundu	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
65	Odappetty	<i>Irula</i> Muduka	Agali
66	Paravalavu	<i>Irula</i> Muduka	Agali
67	Kallamala	Muduka	Agali
68	Vandanpara	Muduka	Agali
69	Karuvara fam	<i>Irula</i>	Agali
70	Ambalamkunnu	Muduka	Agali
71	Mele Kakuppadi	Muduka Kurumba	Agali
72	Mukkali	Muduga	Agali
73	Cholakkad	Muduga	Agali

Source: ITDP Report, Agali, 2023, p.67

APPENDIX III QUESTIONNIRE

Demographic Features

- 1) Name of the Tribe :
- 2) Panchayath:
- 3) Age :
- 4) Marital Status
Married-1, Unmarried-2, Widowed-3, Separate-4, Divorced-5
- 5) Religion: Hindu-1, Muslim-2, Christian-3
- 6) Traditional Occupation / Recent occupation
Agricultural Labourer-1, Daily Wages-2, Govt. Contract-3, Private employment-4, Self- Employment-5, Others-6, No Occupation-7
- 7) Total Number of Family Members AdultChildren.....
- 8) Joint family or Nuclear -----
- 9) Number of illiterates in family Male..... Female.....
- 10) Holding or member of any political partyies: (Yes-1, No-2)

I HOUSE STATUS & HOUSEHOLD ASSETS

- 1) House status: own-1, Rent-2, Lease-3, Govt.contract-4
- 2) Total Land area:
- 3) Housing pattern -Old and New
- a) Roofing: Tiled-1, Thatched-2, Concreted-3
- b) Wall : Brick-1, Stone-2, wood-3, Bamboo-4, Hallow Bricks-
- c) Flooring: Polished -1, Concreate-2, Redoxide-3, Cow Dung-4, Tiled- 5, Others-
- 4) Source of energy for cooking:
Electricity-1, Gas-2, Kerosene-3, Firewood-4, Bio Gas-5
- 5) Source of Drinking water:

Own well-1, Neighbors well-2, Public Tap-3, River-4, Public Well-5, Pond-6

- 6) Toilets/ Latrine Facility: Yes/ No
- 7) Electrified: Yes , No-, Applied-
- 8) Did you get any grant from Govt/ NGOs for housing project Yes / No If yes mention?
- 9) Do you or your family members own any of the following items?
(Table....., chairs....., Almirahs , coat....., fan....., radio.....TV.....DVD....., Fridge....., Mixi.....Oven....Iron box....., Stove (Gas/Kerosene)....., Pressure Cooker....., Computer.....Mobile phone.....Gold/Ornaments.....Other
- 10) Business Assets
(Sewing machine....., Vehicles , Cow..... Goat..... , Buffalo.....Others)

II EDUCATION STATUS

- 1) Education Status
Illiterate-1, Primary Schooling-2, Secondary Schooling-3, Higher Secondary-4, Graduation- 5, Post-Graduation-6, Professional Degree- 7, Others-8
- 2) Do you or your family members have Internet connection accessibility: Yes / No
- 3) Do you have a computer literacy: Yes-1, No-2
- 4) Social Media accounts (Facebook-1, whatsapp-2, Twitter-3, Youtube-4, Others-5)
- 5) Do u have a bank account (Yes-1, No-2)
If yes, started year..... Name of the Bank.....
- 6) Do you use banking service
ATM Card-1, Credit Card2, E-Banking-3, Loan-4, Locker Facility-5, Gold Mortgage-6

III HEALTH STATUS

- 1) Whom did you consults for your health problems
Traditional practitioner-1, Govt. Doctors-2, Private Doctors-3, Others-4
- 2) More your preference

Alloopathy-1, Homeopathy-2, Ayurveda-3, Ethno- Medicines-4

- 3) Do you know about the Govt. Health care policies: (Yes-1, No-2)
- 4) Do you know about the Alloopathy sytem, How? (Yes-1, No-2)
- 5) Do you have a health any health insurance: (Yes-1, No-2)
- 6) Have you get any types of education about marriage life: (Yes-1, No-2) If yes, Schooling-1, Family-2, Motherhood-3, social environment-4
- 7) Did u deliver your child in a health facility: (Yes-1, No-2)
- 8) Place of delivery - Govt.hospital-1, Private Hospital-2, Home-3
- 9) Where did you know about family planning?
PHC-1, Non-tribes-3 Voluntary organisations-4, Media advertising-5, Family Discussion-6
- 10) How Non -tribal– influence your Health Status.

Session -2

1. Type of house
a) Hut b) Katchaa c) Semi-pucca d) Pucca.
2. Ownership
a) Own b) Rented c) Government provided
3. Housing condition
a) Good b) Fair c) Bad
4. Are you satisfied in staying this house?
a) Yes b) No.
5. If no, state reasons,
6. Do you have subsidiary occupation?
a) Yes h) No.
7. Are you getting wages in money or kind?
a) Moncy b) Kind c) Both
8. Do you have any outstanding debt?
a) Yes b) No

9. If yes, reason for debt.
10. Do you possess land? If yes how many acres of land?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
11. Number domestic animals in household.
 - a) Cow
 - b) Sheep
 - c) Geat
 - d) Bull
 - c) Buffalo
 - f) Any other specify
12. Do you have saving habit?
 - a) Yes b) No.
 - 1) If, yes where do you save?
 - a) bank b) post office c) in the house d) any other specify
13. Mention, the distance between hamlet and school.
 - a) 1 to 4 km 2) 5 km to 10 km 3) above 10 km
14. Are you in the habit of reading Newspaper daily?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No.
15. Are you reading magazines?
 - a) Ycsb)No
16. Source of getting Newspapers and Magazines
17. After educating and getting good employment do you believe that they cut their bonds with family?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No.
18. How many days you have work per week?

- a) 7 days
 - b) 6 days
 - c) 5 days
 - d) 4 days
 - c) 3 days
 - f) 2 days
 - g) 1 day
19. Who are employed members in your house hold?
- a) All male members, b) Head of the house hold only c) All female members
 - d) All male and female members those who are able to do.
20. What type of land you use for agriculture
- a) Revenue land
 - b) Reserve land.
21. What type of crops you cultivate in the field?
- a. Ragi b) Thuvara c) Chama d) Any other specify
22. Distance between your hamlets and medical aids.
- a) 1 km b) 2 km c) 3 km d) 4 km e) if more than four specify
23. Are you suspicious about modern medicine?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
24. If yes, why?
25. Do you consult ethno medicine practioner?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
26. Ifyes ,Why^ ?
27. Have you put Vaccination for your children?
- a) Yes

- b) No
28. Do you think that diseases are caused because of the "evil spirit"?
- a) Yes
- b) No
29. If yes, state the disease caused because of evil spirit?
30. How will you recognize that these diseases are caused by evil spirit?
31. Do you purify water before drinking?
- a) Yes
- b) No.
32. Do you take bath daily?
- a) Yes
- b) No.
33. If no, how many days once you take bath?
34. Do you brush your teeth daily?
- a) Yes
- b) No.
- If No, why?
35. Do you have knowledge on, if you are not cutting your nails regularly it will lead to disease?
- a) Yes
- b) No.
- If yes, how do you come to know?
36. Do you change your clothes daily?
- a) Yes b) No.
- If no, how many days once you change?
37. Do you wear slippers?
- a) Yes b) No
38. Do you apply oil and comb your hair daily?

- a) Yes b) No
If no, why?
39. Which non-veg you prefer to eat?
a) Fish, b)Chicken, c)Goat, d) Above all
40. Do you smoke?
b) No
a) Yes
41. If yes, what do you smoke?
42. Do you consume liquor?
a) Yes b) No
43. If yes, specify the reasons.
44. Are you aware of the harmful effects of liquor?
a) Yes
b) No
45. Whether you believe if anybody undergoes for inter-caste marriage god will punish them?
a) Yes b) No
46. Are you having the belief those epidemics are a curse of God?
a) Yes
b) No.
47. In first pregnancy in which month, the news should be reported to head man?
a) Second month
b) third month
c) fourth month
d) fifth month
e) others specify
48. How many days are considered as pollution for the mother of spouses who attended at the delivery?
a) 5-6 days
b) 6-7 days
c) 7-8 days
d) 8-9 days.
49. At which month child will be fed with boiled rice?
a) 6 months
b)7 months
c) 8 months
d) 9 months.
50. At what age marriage takes place?
a) 15-16
b) 17-18
c) 19-20
d) 21 and above
e) any others specify
51. Whether you include in your group, if they eloped from village?
a) Yes
b) No If no, why?

52. How many days body is laid in the state?
(1 day) * 2 days c)3 days
53. How many years once Secondary funeral ceremony of ciru is conducted to honor the departed clan or settlement?
a) 2 years once b) 3 years once c) 4 years once d) 5 years once
54. Are you using musical instruments?
a) Yes
b) No
55. Do you have the habit of using fruits as sign of welcoming the outsiders?
a) Yes
b) No

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN KERALA

(As Amended by The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act. 2002 (Act.10 Of 2003) vide para – VII- Kerala – Second Schedule notified in the Gazette of India, dt. 8.1.2003)

Sl. No.	English	Malayalam
(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	Adiyan	: ഡടിയാൻ
2.	Arandan (Aranadan)	: ഡരനാടൻ
3.	Eravallan	: ഇരവാലൻ
4.	Hill Pulaya (Mala Pulayan. Kurumba Pulayan, Karavazhi Pulayan, Pamba Pulayan)	: ഹിൽ ഡുലയാ, (മല ഡുലയാൻ, കുറുമ്പ ഡുലയാൻ, കരവഴി ഡുലയാൻ, പമ്പ ഡുലയാൻ)
5.	Irular, Irulan	: ഇരുളർ, ഇരുളൻ
6.	Kadar (Wayanad Kadar)	: കാടർ, വയനാട് കാടർ
7.	(xxx)	:
8.	Kanikaran, Kanikkar	: കാണിക്കാരൻ, കാണിക്കാർ
9.	Kattunayakan	: കാട്ടുനായിക്കൻ
10.	Kochuvelan	: കൊച്ചുവേലൻ
11.	(xxx)	:
12.	(xxx)	:
13.	Koraga	: കൊറഗ
14.	(xxx)	:
15.	Kudiya Melakudi	: കുടിയ, മേലക്കുടി
16.	Kurichchan (Kurichiyan)	: കുരിച്ചൻ, കുരിച്ചിയൻ
17.	Kurumans(Mullu Kuruman)	: കുറുമൻ, മുളള കുറുമൻ, മല കുറുമൻ
18.	Kurumbas (Kurumbar, Kurumban)	: കുറുമൻ, കുറുമൻ
19.	Maha Malasar	: മഹാമല-ർ
20.	Malai Arayan (Mala Arayan)	: മലൈ ഡരയാൻ, മല ഡരയാൻ
21.	Malai Pandaram	: മലൈ പന്ദാരം
22.	Malai Vedan (Malavedan)	: മലൈ വേടൻ, മല വേടൻ
23.	Malakkuravan	: മലക്കുറവൻ
24.	Malasar	: മല-ർ
25.	Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan (excluding the areas comprising the Kasaragod, Kannur, Wayanad and Kozhikode Districts)	: മലയാൻ, നാട്ടു മലയാൻ, കൊങ്ങ മലയാൻ (കാ-ർഗോഡ്, കണ്ണൂർ, വയനാട്, കോഴിക്കോട് എന്നീ ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ടുകൾ ഒഴികെ)

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status – 2014,Regional archives, Calicut.

(1)	(2)	(3)
26.	Malayarayar	: മലയരയർ
27.	Mannan (to be spelt in malayalam script in parenthesis)	: മന്നാൻ
28.	(xxx)	:
29.	Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan	: മുതുവാൻ, മുഡുഗർ, മുഡുവാൻ
30.	Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	: പള്ളിയൻ, പള്ളിയാർ, പളിയൻ
31.	(xxx)	:
32.	(xxx)	:
33.	Paniyan	: പണിയൻ
34.	Ulladan (Ullatan)	: ഉള്ളാടൻ
35.	Uraly	: ഊരാളി
36.	Mala Vettuvan (in Kasaragod and kannur Districts)	: മലവേട്ടുവാൻ (കാ- രഗോഡ്, കണ്ണൂർ ഡിസ്ട്രിക്റ്റുകളിൽ)
37.	Ten Kurumban, Jenu Kurumban	: തേൻ കുറുമ്പൻ, ജേനു കുറുമ്പൻ
38.	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Moopan	: തച്ചനാടൻ, തച്ചനാടൻ മുപ്പൻ
39.	Cholanaickan	: ചോലനായിക്കൻ
40.	Mavilan	: മാവിലൻ
41.	Karimpalan	: കരിംപലൻ
42.	Vetta Kuruman	: വെട്ടു കുറുമ്പൻ
43.	Mala Panickar	: മല പണിക്കർ

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

—

SPREAD OF COMMUNITIES IN GRAMAPANCHAYATS

Sl.No.	Community/District	Gramapanchayat/Municipality	Population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Annexure 2.1 Adiyam Community			
(1)	Kottayam	(1) Mundakkayam	: 1
(2)	Idukki	(2) Udumbannur	: 1
		(3) Velliyamattom	: 1
(3)	Eranakulam	(4) Eloor (municipality)	: 19
(4)	Kozhikode	(5) Valayam	: 3
(5)	Wayanad	(6) Mananthavady	: 3113
		(7) Vellamunda	: 15
		(8) Thirunelly	: 5089
		(9) Edavaka	: 181
		(10) Thavinjhal	: 49
		(11) Pozhuthana	: 14
		(12) Panamaram	: 1871
		(13) Mullamkolly	: 4
		(14) Pulpally	: 860
		Total	: 11221
Annexure 2.2 Aranadan Community			
(1)	Malappuram	(1) Amarambalam	: 32
		(2) Karulai	: 83
		(3) Moothedam	: 14
		(4) Vazhikkadavu	: 19
		(5) Edakkara	: 5
		(6) Kalikave	: 7
		(7) Chokkad	: 74
		(8) Pothukkallu	: 13
		Total	: 247
Annexure 2.3 Eravallan Community			
(1)	Kottayam	(1) Melukavu	: 6
(2)	Palakkad	(2) Eruthempathy	: 38
		(3) Kozhinjampara	: 465
		(4) Nalleppilly	: 31
		(5) Perumatty	: 1497
		(6) Muthalamada	: 2159
		(7) Pattencherry	: 217
		(8) Elavancherry	: 5
		Total	: 4418
Annexure 2.4 Hill Pulaya Community			
(1)	Idikki	(1) Marayoor	: 1436
		(2) Kanthalloor	: 1797
		(3) Santhanpara	: 5
		(4) Chinnakanal	: 171
		(5) Kattappana	: 6
		Total	: 3415

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Annexure 2.5 Irular Community			
(1)	Thiruvananthapuram	(1) Vellarada	: 4
(2)	Idikki	(2) Mariyapuram	: 5
(3)	Palakkad	(3) Kanjirapuzha	: 4
		(4) Agali	: 9474
		(5) Pudur	: 6703
		(6) Sholayur	: 9076
		(7) Muthalamada	: 24
		(8) Nelliampathy	: 69
		(9) Nenmara	: 5
		(10) Akathethara	: 5
		(11) Malampuzha	: 245
		(12) Puthusseri	: 907
(4)	Malappuram	(13) Kannamangalam	: 4
		Total	: 26525
Annexure 2.6 Wayanad Kadar Community			
(1)	Wayanad	(1) Mananthavady	: 7
		(2) Vellamunda	: 144
		(3) Thondernad	: 94
		(4) Edavaka	: 78
		(5) Thavinjhal	: 4
		(6) Vythiri	: 13
		(7) Pozhuthana	: 57
		(8) Thariyode	: 180
		(9) Padinjharethara	: 53
		(10) Muppainadu	: 16
		(11) Poothadi	: 27
		Total	: 673
Annexure 2.7 Kanikaran Community			
(1)	Thiruvananthapuram	(1) Thiruvananthapuram (Corporation)	: 103
		(2) Pazhayakunnummel	: 40
		(3) Pulimath	: 22
		(4) Pullampara	: 64
		(5) Pangode	: 991
		(6) Nanniyode	: 1524
		(7) Peringammala	: 2650
		(8) Manickal	: 22
		(9) Aryanad	: 489
		(10) Poovachal	: 292
		(11) Vellanad	: 239
		(12) Vithura	: 3875
		(13) Uzhamalakkal	: 51
		(14) Kuttichal	: 1205
		(15) Tholicode	: 2425
		(16) Kattakkada	: 70
		(17) Anad	: 14
		(18) Panavoor	: 246
		(19) Vembayam	: 153
		(20) Maranalloor	: 125
		(21) Vilappil	: 185
		(22) Vilavoorkkal	: 22
		(23) Kalliyoor	: 29
		(24) Ottasekharamangalam	: 107

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON FAMILIES, POPULATION AND SEX RATIO

Sl.No.	Community	Families	Population			%	Sex Ratio
			Male	Female	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Adiyan	: 2576	5389	5832	11221	2.63	1082
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	: 80	107	140	247	0.06	1308
3	Eravalan	: 1255	2210	2208	4418	1.04	999
4	Hill Pulaya	: 960	1709	1706	3415	0.80	998
5	Irular, Irulan	: 7617	13163	13362	26525	6.22	1015
6	Wayanad Kadar	: 174	348	325	673	0.16	934
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	: 5872	9212	10243	19455	4.56	1112
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	: 195	458	453	911	0.21	989
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyam	: 8362	18129	17780	35909	8.43	981
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	: 5252	10625	10750	21375	5.01	1012
11	Maha Malasar	: 40	74	69	143	0.03	932
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	: 7957	14716	14683	29399	6.89	998
13	Malai Pandaram	: 514	821	841	1662	0.39	1024
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	: 1313	2285	2443	4728	1.11	1069
15	Malasar	: 1267	2115	2086	4201	0.99	986
16	Malayan	: 1461	2711	2839	5550	1.30	1047
17	Mannan	: 2511	4588	4757	9345	2.19	1037
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	: 5106	9685	9478	19163	4.50	979
19	Mudugar	: 1274	2225	2443	4668	1.10	1098
20	Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	: 423	741	743	1484	0.35	1003
21	Paniyan	: 21605	45112	47675	92787	21.77	1057
22	Ulladan	: 4864	8560	8997	17557	4.12	1051
23	Uraly	: 2099	3848	3711	7559	1.77	964
24	Mala Vettuvan	: 4586	9744	9984	19728	4.63	1025
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	: 391	814	835	1649	0.39	1026
26	Mavilan	: 7736	15229	15937	31166	7.31	1046
27	Karimpalan	: 3765	7254	7514	14768	3.46	1036
28	Vetta Kuruman	: 1703	3193	3289	6482	1.52	1030
29	Mala Panickar	: 236	458	524	982	0.23	1144
	Sub Total	: 101194	195523	201647	397170	93.18	1031
	PVTG	:					
30	Kadar	: 545	967	1007	1974	0.46	1041
31	Kattunayakan	: 5137	9953	10042	19995	4.69	1009
32	Koraga	: 445	802	842	1644	0.39	1050
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	: 543	1128	1123	2251	0.53	996
34	Cholanaickan	: 101	223	186	409	0.10	834
	Sub Total	: 6771	13073	13200	26273	6.17	1010
	Others	: -	1223	1542	2765	0.65	-
	Total	: 107965	209819	216389	426208	100	1031

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

COMMUNITY WISE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENTS (OORUS)

Sl.No.	Community	Settlements (Oorus)	
		Number*	%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Adiyan	: 177	2.76
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	: 15	0.23
3	Eravalan	: 70	1.09
4	Hill Pulaya	: 26	0.41
5	Irular, Irulan	: 193	3.02
6	Wayanad Kadar	: 35	0.55
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	: 246	3.84
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	: 11	0.17
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyen	: 614	9.58
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	: 415	6.47
11	Maha Malasar	: 2	0.03
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	: 265	4.13
13	Malai Pandaram	: 25	0.39
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	: 71	1.11
15	Malasar	: 85	1.33
16	Malayan	: 85	1.33
17	Mannan	: 80	1.25
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	: 189	2.95
19	Mudugar	: 80	1.25
20	Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	: 12	0.19
21	Paniyan	: 1586	24.75
22	Ulladan	: 239	3.73
23	Uraly	: 92	1.44
24	Mala Vettuvan	: 356	5.55
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	: 46	0.72
26	Mavilan	: 489	7.63
27	Karimpalan	: 155	2.42
28	Vetta Kuruman	: 175	2.73
29	Mala Panickar	: 24	0.37
	Sub Total	: 5858	91.40
	PVTG	:	
30	Kadar	: 21	0.33
31	Kattunayakan	: 479	7.47
32	Koraga	: 18	0.28
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	: 23	0.36
34	Cholanaickan	: 10	0.16
	Sub Total	: 551	8.60
	Total	: 6409	100

* Remarks: The number of settlements with prestence of a community will be multiple and hence the variation.

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON LITERACY RATE

Sl.No	Community	Population (Above 5 Years)	Illiterates	Literate Persons			Literacy Rate
				Neo Literates	Formally Educated	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Adiyan	10055	3393	243	6420	6663	66.26
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	209	106	1	102	103	49.28
3	Eravalan	3956	1963	174	1819	1993	50.38
4	Hill Pulaya	3080	1061	265	1758	2023	65.55
5	Irular, Irulan	23965	9583	988	13394	14382	60.01
6	Wayanad Kadar	613	83	6	524	530	86.46
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	17726	1757	237	15727	15964	90.06
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	852	173	59	620	679	79.69
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyan	32896	5324	669	26903	27572	83.82
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	19736	2670	511	16555	17066	86.47
11	Maha Malasar	124	70	2	52	54	43.55
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	27369	878	291	26200	26491	96.79
13	Malai Pandaram	1388	670	31	687	718	51.73
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	4235	579	134	3522	3656	86.32
15	Malasar	3744	1857	232	1655	1887	50.4
16	Malayan	4923	1810	112	3001	3113	63.23
17	Mannan	8507	2326	445	5736	6181	72.66
18	Muthuvan (Maduvan)	17171	5327	1199	10645	11844	68.98
19	Mudugar	4014	1439	206	2369	2575	64.15
20	Palleyan, Palliyan, Paliyar, Paliyan	1363	296	12	1055	1067	78.28
21	Paniyan	81936	28521	2858	50557	53415	65.19
22	Ulladan	16142	1865	325	13952	14277	88.45
23	Uraly	6994	758	141	6095	6236	89.16
24	Mala Vettuvan	17784	5786	1441	10557	11998	67.47
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	1500	289	104	1107	1211	80.73
26	Mavilan	28816	6415	1872	20529	22401	77.74
27	Karimpalan	13547	1876	778	10893	11671	86.15
28	Vetta Kuruman	5830	1891	118	3821	3939	67.56
29	Mala Panickar	914	155	30	729	759	83.04
	Sub Total	359389	88921	13484	256984	270468	75.25
30	PVTG Kadar	1704	703	69	932	1001	58.74
31	Kattunayakan	17436	7084	719	9633	10352	59.37
32	Koraga Kurumbar	1483	321	126	1036	1162	78.35
33	(Kurumbas)	1888	824	72	992	1064	56.36
34	Cholanaickan	323	195	12	116	128	39.63
	Sub Total	22834	9127	998	12709	13707	60.02
	Others	2755	338	76	2341	2417	87.73
	Total	384978	98386	14558	272034	286592	74.44

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON MALE LITERACY

Sl.No.	Community	Male Population		
		Above 5 years	Literates	Literacy Rate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Adiyan	: 4825	3487	72.27
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	: 91	51	56.04
3	Eravalan	: 1978	1076	54.40
4	Hill Pulaya	: 1537	1078	70.14
5	Irular, Irulan	: 11989	7815	65.18
6	Wayanad Kadar	: 317	282	88.96
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	: 8481	7798	91.95
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	: 437	372	85.13
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyan	: 16670	14852	89.09
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	: 9812	9098	92.72
11	Maha Malasar	: 66	32	48.48
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	: 13835	13478	97.42
13	Malai Pandaram	: 735	396	53.88
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	: 2112	1875	88.78
15	Malasar	: 1896	1012	53.38
16	Malayan	: 2395	1632	68.14
17	Mannan	: 4206	3318	78.89
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	: 8718	6554	75.18
19	Mudugar	: 1932	1344	69.57
20	Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	: 673	569	84.55
21	Paniyan	: 39725	28138	70.83
22	Ulladan	: 7948	7238	91.07
23	Uraly	: 3576	3266	91.33
24	Mala Vettuvan	: 8727	6202	71.07
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	: 729	617	84.64
26	Mavilan	: 14083	11736	83.33
27	Karimpalan	: 6690	6011	89.85
28	Vetta Kuruman	: 2887	2131	73.81
29	Mala Pamickar	: 421	357	84.80
	Sub Total	: 177491	141815	79.89
	PVTG			
30	Kadar	: 844	525	62.20
31	Kattunayakan	: 8643	5389	62.35
32	Koraga	: 724	591	81.63
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	: 997	611	63.85
34	Cholanaickan	: 187	69	36.90
	Sub Total	: 11355	7185	63.27
	Total	: 188846	149000	78.90

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON EDUCATIONAL STATUS BELOW SSLC

Sl.No.	Community	Population (Above 5 Years)	Percentage	Below SSLC	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Adiyan	10055	2.61	5777	2.63
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	209	0.05	91	0.04
3	Eravalan	3956	1.03	1590	0.72
4	Hill Pulaya	3080	0.80	1638	0.75
5	Irular, Irulan	23965	6.23	10435	4.75
6	Wayanad Kadar	613	0.16	410	0.19
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	17726	4.60	12016	5.47
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	852	0.22	432	0.20
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyan	32896	8.54	21229	9.66
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	19736	5.13	10931	4.98
11	Maha Malasar	124	0.03	49	0.02
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	27369	7.11	15500	7.06
13	Malai Pandaram	1388	0.36	622	0.28
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	4235	1.10	2819	1.28
15	Malasar	3744	0.97	1425	0.65
16	Malayan	4923	1.28	2547	1.16
17	Mannan	8507	2.21	5048	2.30
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	17171	4.46	9726	4.43
19	Mudugar	4014	1.04	1931	0.88
20	Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	1363	0.35	900	0.41
21	Paniyan	81936	21.28	48164	21.92
22	Ulladan	16142	4.19	10351	4.71
23	Uraly	6994	1.82	4701	2.14
24	Mala Vettuvan	17784	4.62	9234	4.20
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	1500	0.39	969	0.44
26	Mavilan	28816	7.49	15357	6.99
27	Karimpalan	13547	3.52	8678	3.95
28	Vetta Kuruman	5830	1.51	3379	1.54
29	Mala Panickar	914	0.24	545	0.25
	Sub Total	359389	93.34	206494	94
	PVTG				
30	Kadar	1704	0.44	821	0.37
31	Kattunayakan	17436	4.53	8857	4.03
32	Koraga	1483	0.39	909	0.41
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	1888	0.49	783	0.36
34	Cholanaickan	323	0.08	104	0.05
	Sub Total	22834	5.93	11474	5.22
	Others	2755	0.72	1725	0.79
	Total	384978	100	219693	100

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

**COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON EDUCATIONAL STATUS AT SECONDARY
AND HIGHER SECONDARY LEVELS**

Sl.No.	Community	Population (Above 5 Years)	SSLC	PDC/+2	Total	Percentage to Population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Adiyan	10055	423	173	596	5.93
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	209	9	1	10	4.78
3	Eravalan	3956	135	72	207	5.23
4	Hill Pulaya	3080	68	36	104	3.38
5	Irular, Irulan	23965	1543	1177	2720	11.35
6	Wayanad Kadar	613	65	45	110	17.94
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	17726	2206	1133	3339	18.84
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	852	88	74	162	19.01
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyan	32896	3358	1920	5278	16.04
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	19736	2993	2129	5122	25.95
11	Maha Malasar	124	2	1	3	2.42
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	27369	5461	3026	8487	31.01
13	Malai Pandaram	1388	44	17	61	4.39
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	4235	499	154	653	15.42
15	Malasar	3744	132	82	214	5.72
16	Malayan	4923	289	148	437	8.88
17	Mannan	8507	465	169	634	7.45
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	17171	557	260	817	4.76
19	Mudugar	4014	270	151	421	10.49
20	Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	1363	106	39	145	10.64
21	Paniyan	81936	1696	609	2305	2.81
22	Ulladan	16142	2104	1069	3173	19.66
23	Uraly	6994	870	389	1259	18.00
24	Mala Vettuvan	17784	823	427	1250	7.03
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	1500	103	33	136	9.07
26	Mavilan	28816	3078	1654	4732	16.42
27	Karimpalan	13547	1384	646	2030	14.98
28	Vetta Kuruman	5830	283	140	423	7.26
29	Mala Panickar	914	110	54	164	17.94
	Sub Total	359389	29164	15828	44992	12.52
	PVTG					
30	Kadar	1704	63	44	107	6.28
31	Kattunayakan	17436	515	234	749	4.30
32	Koraga	1483	77	43	120	8.09
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	1888	117	73	190	10.06
34	Cholanaickan	323	9	3	12	3.72
	Sub Total	22834	781	397	1178	5.16
	Others					
		2755	397	149	546	19.82
	Total	384978	30342	16374	46716	12.13

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

**COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON EDUCATIONAL STATUS AT GRADUATE AND
POST GRADUATE LEVELS**

Sl.No.	Community	Population (Above 5 Years)	Percentage	Graduation	Per centage	Post Graduation	Per centage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Adiyan	: 10055	2.61	36	0.80	3	0.36
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	: 209	0.05	-	-	-	-
3	Eravalan	: 3956	1.03	18	0.40	1	0.12
4	Hill Pulaya	: 3080	0.80	2	0.04	-	-
5	Irular, Irulan	: 23965	6.23	188	4.20	27	3.28
6	Wayanad Kadar	: 613	0.16	4	0.09	-	-
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	: 17726	4.60	325	7.26	38	4.62
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	: 852	0.22	21	0.47	-	-
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyar	: 32896	8.54	352	7.87	26	3.16
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	: 19736	5.13	429	9.59	53	6.45
11	Maha Malasar	: 124	0.03	-	-	-	-
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	: 27369	7.11	1641	36.67	505	61.44
13	Malai Pandaram	: 1388	0.36	2	0.04	1	0.12
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	: 4235	1.10	36	0.80	12	1.46
15	Malasar	: 3744	0.97	11	0.25	2	0.24
16	Malayan	: 4923	1.28	15	0.34	1	0.12
17	Mannan	: 8507	2.21	37	0.83	13	1.58
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	: 17171	4.46	54	1.21	7	0.85
19	Mudugar	: 4014	1.04	14	0.31	1	0.12
20	Palleyan, Palliyar, Palliyar, Paliyan	: 1363	0.35	6	0.13	3	0.36
21	Paniyan	: 81936	21.28	74	1.65	-	-
22	Ulladan	: 16142	4.19	363	8.11	52	6.33
23	Uraly	: 6994	1.82	101	2.26	21	2.55
24	Mala Vettuvan	: 17784	4.62	66	1.47	-	-
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	: 1500	0.39	2	0.04	-	-
26	Mavilan	: 28816	7.49	390	8.72	22	2.68
27	Karimpalan	: 13547	3.52	160	3.58	15	1.82
28	Vetta Kuruman	: 5830	1.51	17	0.38	1	0.12
29	Mala Panickar	: 914	0.24	14	0.31	5	0.61
	Sub Total	: 359389	93.34	4378	97.82	809	98.39
	PVTG						
30	Kadar	: 1704	0.44	3	0.07	-	-
31	Kattunayakan	: 17436	4.53	16	0.36	5	0.61
32	Koraga	: 1483	0.39	7	0.16	-	-
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	: 1888	0.49	12	0.27	1	0.12
34	Cholanaickan	: 323	0.08	-	-	-	-
	Sub Total	: 22834	5.93	38	0.86	6	0.73
	Others	: 2755	0.72	59	1.32	7	0.85
	Total	: 384978	100	4475	100	822	100

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON DIPLOMA AND CERTIFICATES HOLDERS

Sl.No.	Community	Population (Above 5 Years)	Percentage	Diploma and Certificate Holders	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Adiyan	: 10055	2.61	17	0.46
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	: 209	0.05	2	0.05
3	Eravalan	: 3956	1.03	16	0.43
4	Hill Pulaya	: 3080	0.80	8	0.22
5	Irular, Irulan	: 23965	6.23	351	9.52
6	Wayanad Kadar	: 613	0.16	1	0.03
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	: 17726	4.60	349	9.47
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	: 852	0.22	15	0.41
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyar	: 32896	8.54	210	5.70
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	: 19736	5.13	278	7.54
11	Maha Malasar	: 124	0.03	-	-
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	: 27369	7.11	920	24.96
13	Malai Pandaram	: 1388	0.36	9	0.24
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	: 4235	1.10	55	1.49
15	Malasar	: 3744	0.97	25	0.68
16	Malayan	: 4923	1.28	28	0.76
17	Mannan	: 8507	2.21	31	0.84
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	: 17171	4.46	56	1.52
19	Mudugar	: 4014	1.04	45	1.22
20	Palleyan, Palliyar, Palliyar, Paliyan	: 1363	0.35	5	0.14
21	Paniyan	: 81936	21.28	155	4.21
22	Ulladan	: 16142	4.19	386	10.47
23	Uraly	: 6994	1.82	66	1.79
24	Mala Vettuvan	: 17784	4.62	73	1.98
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	: 1500	0.39	4	0.11
26	Mavilan	: 28816	7.49	330	8.95
27	Karimpalan	: 13547	3.52	113	3.07
28	Vetta Kuruman	: 5830	1.51	14	0.38
29	Mala Panickar	: 914	0.24	19	0.52
	Sub Total	: 359389	93.34	3581	97.16
	PVTG				
30	Kadar	: 1704	0.44	10	0.27
31	Kattunayakan	: 17436	4.53	38	1.03
32	Koraga	: 1483	0.39	6	0.16
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	: 1888	0.49	17	0.46
34	Cholanaickan	: 323	0.08	-	-
	Sub Total	: 22834	5.93	71	1.92
	Others	: 2755	0.72	34	0.92
	Total	: 384978	100	3686	100

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

COMMUNITY WISE DATA ON PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Sl.No.	Community	Population	Per centage	Engineering Degree	Percentage	Medical Degree	Percentage	Others	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1	Adiyan	: 10055	2.61	-	-	1	1.54	1	0.21
2	Arandan (Aranadan)	: 209	0.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Eravalan	: 3956	1.03	-	-	-	-	1	0.21
4	Hill Pulaya	: 3080	0.80	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Irular, Irulan	: 23965	6.23	4	4.21	2	3.08	16	3.42
6	Wayanad Kadar	: 613	0.16	-	-	-	-	1	0.21
7	Kanikaran (Kanikkar)	: 17726	4.60	5	5.26	3	4.62	31	6.62
8	Kudiya, Melakudi	: 852	0.22	-	-	-	-	3	0.64
9	Kurichchan, Kurichiyar	: 32896	8.54	7	7.37	-	-	26	5.56
10	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	: 19736	5.13	2	2.11	5	7.69	38	8.12
11	Maha Malasar	: 124	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	: 27369	7.11	52	54.74	48	73.85	198	42.31
13	Malai Pandaram	: 1388	0.36	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	Malai Vedan, Malavedan	: 4235	1.10	-	-	2	3.08	11	2.35
15	Malasar	: 3744	0.97	-	-	-	-	1	0.21
16	Malayan	: 4923	1.28	2	2.11	1	1.54	1	0.21
17	Mannan	: 8507	2.21	2	2.11	-	-	6	1.28
18	Muthuvan (Muduvan)	: 17171	4.46	-	-	-	-	11	2.35
19	Mudugar	: 4014	1.04	-	-	-	-	1	0.21
20	Palleyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	: 1363	0.35	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Paniyan	: 81936	21.28	-	-	-	-	11	2.35
22	Ulladan	: 16142	4.19	9	9.47	3	4.62	28	5.98
23	Uraly	: 6994	1.82	2	2.11	-	-	17	3.63
24	Mala Vettuvan	: 17784	4.62	-	-	-	-	4	0.85
25	Thachanadan, Thachanadan Mooppan	: 1500	0.39	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	Mavilan	: 28816	7.49	5	5.26	-	-	39	8.33
27	Karimpalan	: 13547	3.52	1	1.05	-	-	10	2.14
28	Vetta Kuruman	: 5830	1.51	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	Mala Panickar	: 914	0.24	-	-	-	-	2	0.43
	Sub Total	: 359389	93.34	91	95.8	65	100	457	97.62
	PVTG								
30	Kadar	: 1704	0.44	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	Kattunayakan	: 17436	4.53	1	1.05	-	-	2	0.43
32	Koraga	: 1483	0.39	-	-	-	-	1	0.21
33	Kurumbar (Kurumbas)	: 1888	0.49	2	2.11	-	-	1	0.21
34	Cholanaickan	: 323	0.08	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sub Total	: 22834	5.93	3	3.16	-	-	4	0.85
	Others	: 2755	0.72	1	1.05	-	-	7	1.50
	Total	: 384978	100	95	100	65	100	468	100

Source: Scheduled Tribes of Kerala : Report on the Socio Economic Status - 2014

Survey and Settlement Register of No.

Survey 10,000 Sq. Yds. 1963 G.P.E.

Balaganur Village, Perambalur Taluk, Palghat District

As per Revenue Accounts of Fall 13....																As per Settlements														
As per survey		As per Revenue Accounts of Fall 13....														As per Settlements														
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
Survey field number	Sub-division number	Plot number and area of fall	Government or Private	Class of soil	Area in acres	Area in guntas	Area in cents	Area in annas	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Number of plots	Area in acres	Area in guntas	Area in cents	Area in annas	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces	Area in paces
52A																														
52B	1		U	N	S	U	R	V	E	Y	E	D																		
52C	1		U	N	S	U	R	V	E	Y	E	D																		

Office of the Assistant Director
Survey and Land Revenue
Palghat - Palghat.

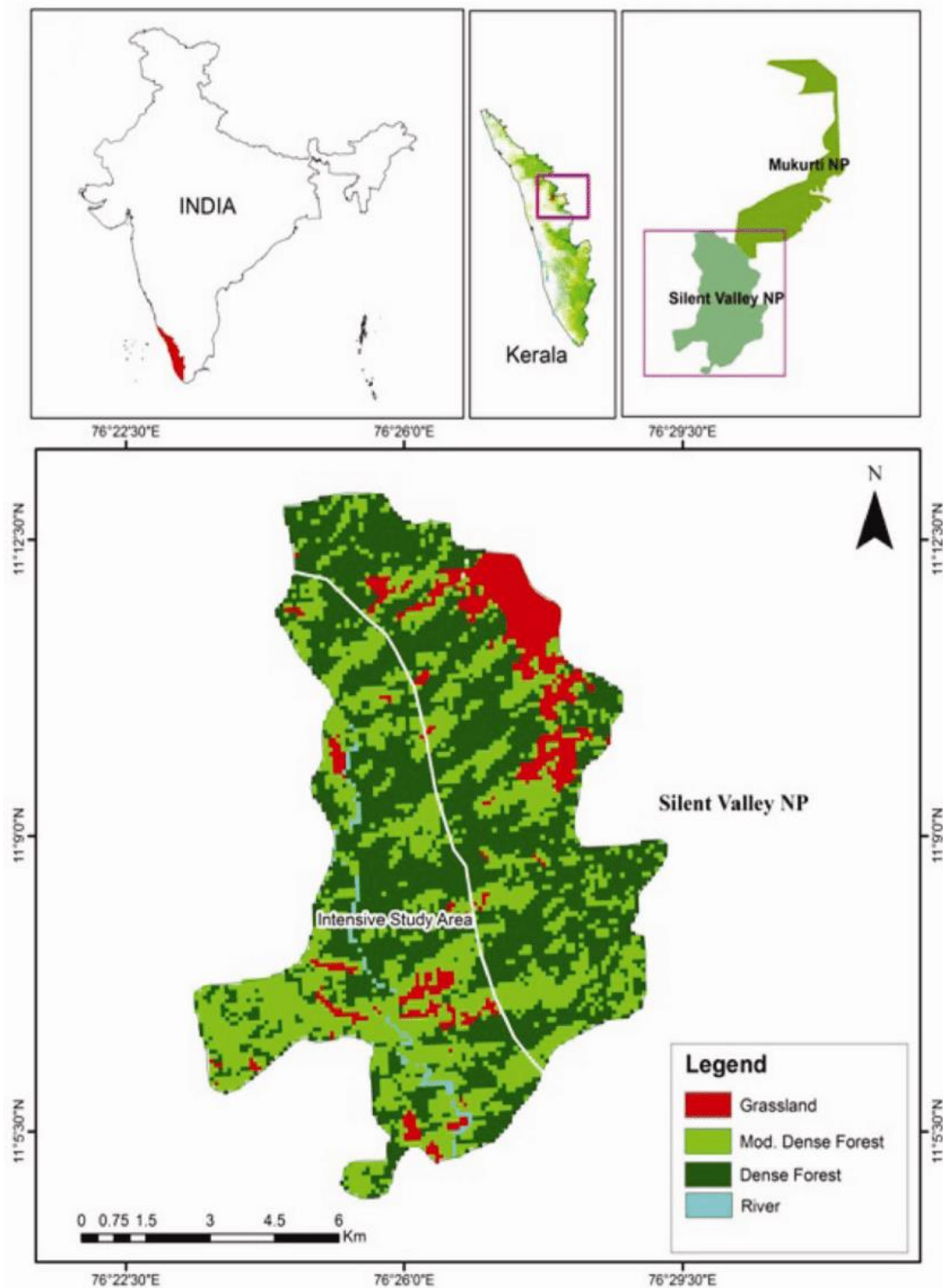
Source: Bundle No. 315, Serial No.247, File No.817, 1963. Sub-collector's Office, Ottappalam

APPENDIX VI PHOTOGRAPHS



Palakkad District

Source :<http://Burningcompass.com>



Map of Silent Valley National Park

Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/wildlife/silent-valley-national-park.html>



Map of Attappadi Block Panchayath

Source: <https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Attappadi-Block-Panchayath>

രാഷ്ട്രീയ നമ്പർ: 2117 (1954) രശീതി നമ്പർ: 1774

രാജ്യാധികാരി സബ് കോർട്ടിൽ 1956ൽ ആദ്യം 65-ാം നമ്പറിൽ നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെട്ട റസിഡൻ്റ് വേണ്ടി മണ്ണാക്കാട്ട് മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.

രാജ്യാധികാരി സബ് കോർട്ടിൽ 1956ൽ ആദ്യം 65-ാം നമ്പറിൽ നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെട്ട റസിഡൻ്റ് വേണ്ടി മണ്ണാക്കാട്ട് മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.	വിവരം	വസുൽ		റിമാർക്സ്.
		പ. നാ. നാ.	ക. നപ.	
കായ്ക്കുവർ മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.	മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.		9	മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.

അസ്സൽ രശീതി ഒരു മാസത്തിനകത്ത് എസ്റ്റേറ്റാപ്പീറ്റിസിൽ തിന്നം നേരിട്ട് അയച്ചുതരുന്നതാണ്.

1955 മാർച്ച് 12 - 3000
1150 നമ്പർ 29 - 3000

W. S. Kalyan
കായ്ക്കുവർ.

MR Cheet, Source: Photo taken from Regional Archives, Calicut.

MAR 1954

രാജ്യാധികാരി സബ് കോർട്ടിൽ 1956ൽ ആദ്യം 65-ാം നമ്പറിൽ നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെട്ട റസിഡൻ്റ് വേണ്ടി മണ്ണാക്കാട്ട് മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.

രാജ്യാധികാരി സബ് കോർട്ടിൽ 1956ൽ ആദ്യം 65-ാം നമ്പറിൽ നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെട്ട റസിഡൻ്റ് വേണ്ടി മണ്ണാക്കാട്ട് മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.	വിവരം	വസുൽ വിവരം		റിമാർക്സ്.
		പ. നാ. നാ.	ക. നപ.	
കായ്ക്കുവർ മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.	മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.		3	മുപ്പിൽ സ്ഥാനം എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് വക പാട്ടം, മിച്ചവാരം മുതലായവ വസുലാക്കുന്ന തിന്നം കായ്ക്കുവർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തല്ലാല രശീതി.

നമ്പർ: 2117 (1954) രശീതി നമ്പർ: 1774

1955 മാർച്ച് 12 - 3000
1150 നമ്പർ 29 - 3000

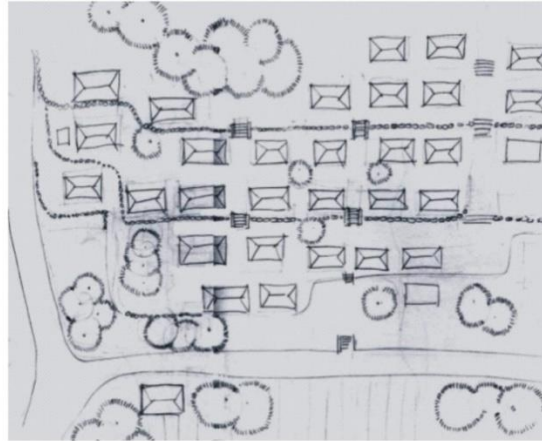
W. S. Kalyan
കായ്ക്കുവർ.

N. B: - റിമാർക്കുകളിലൂടെ രശീതി എസ്റ്റേറ്റാപ്പീറ്റിസിൽ അയച്ചുതരുന്നതാണ്.

Source: Photo taken during the field work on 2nd may 2023.



Kakkupadi Hamlet, Attapadi



Unscale plan of Khotattara Hamlet, Attapadi



Irula Hamlets- Source: Photo taken during the field work on 5th may 2022.



Irulas in Nilagiri Hills

Source: Photo taken https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irula_people.



A replica of an old Irula family - Malli and Janaki



Rangan Mooppan



Old Irula lady Chelli



Present Nakkupathi Ooru Mooppan Kali.



Present Cheemmannor Ooru Mooppan Nanjan



Naikkarpadi Temple Festival

Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on april 13th 2023.



Irula Funeral Cart



Irula Funeral Dances

Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on April 22nd 2022.



Gurumaadam-Sacred Pot



Ritualistic instruments of *Irulas*

Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on ,May 2nd 2022.



Agricultural and daily utensils of *Irulas*



Malleswaran peak



Malleswaran Temple

Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on ,11th february ,2023



Inside view of *Irula* temples-Malleswaran Temple

Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on ,13 March 2023



*Nanjiyamma is an Indian singer who hails from a *Irula* tribal community in Attappadi.*

Irula Family- A present Irula couple Uma and Ratheesh.



Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on september 8th 2022.



Presnt Irula Adolacents



Present Irula couples-Photo recieved from Shyamkumar , Irula social worker on 12th may 2022.



Presnet Irula Youths - Photo recieved from Shyamkumar , Irula social worker on 12th may 2022.



Irula Child -Vignesh,Viswanath



Irula Docter Dr.Udayakumar

2022 Onam Programme at ITDP



Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on 28th August 2022.

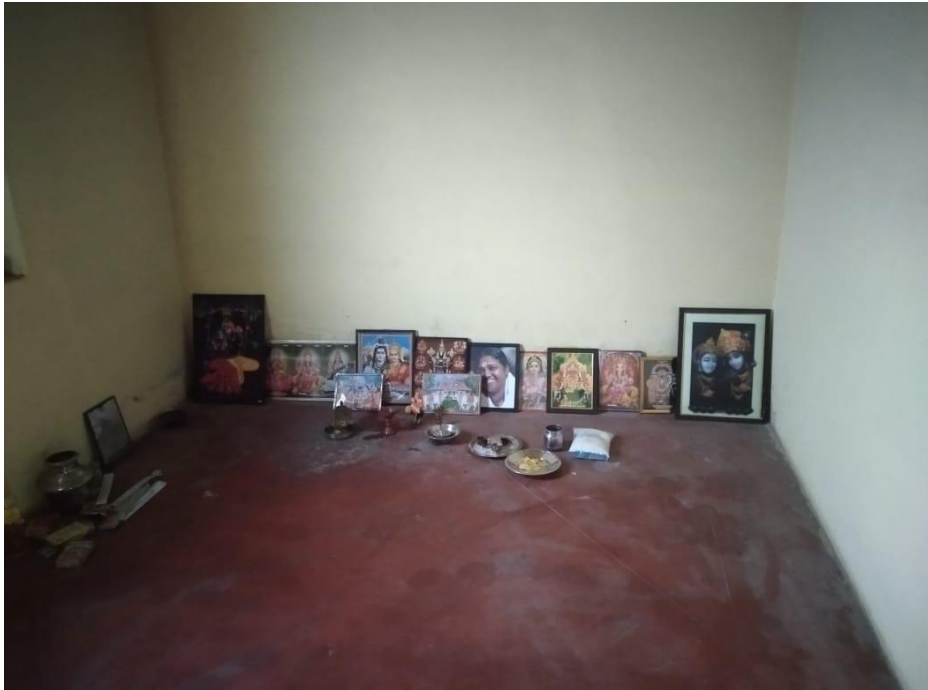


Irula Dance

Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher on 12th September 2022.



Source: facebook.com/weluvattappady



Modern Irula Pooja Room



Modern Irula Dining & Living Room

Source: Photo taken during the field work by the researcher at Karyoor on , 5th June 2023