STRATEGY OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES
CHAPTER - 7

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Any deliberate attempts at development calls for a strategy. The viability of the strategy determines the fruitful results of the development programmes. However, the nature of the strategy depends on the problems and potentials of the given situation and the objectives that are to be achieved. The definition of the problem and the goals to be attained are, therefore, the pre-requisites for understanding the strategy.

India, a democratic and secular nation is committed to the development and welfare of the tribals who form approximately 8.1 percent of the total population. Accordingly several tribal development programmes have been undertaken from time to time entailing enormous human, financial and material resources. Here, we propose to examine the strategy of the colonial rulers as well as that of independent India. We will also examine the major administrative measures and the development programmes adopted during the five-year plans. Such kind of an analysis will enable us to get a systematic view of the efforts made overtime for uplifting the tribals who constitute historically the most marginalized sections of Indian society. Further, a detailed review of the tribal
development projects and welfare programmes will help us to examine the pace of the socio-economic transformation of tribal economies.

Even before the attainment of independence, the tribal economies of India had been subject to transformation shedding many of the traditional characteristics and slowly acquiring the features of the larger, mainstream economy of the non-tribals. In other words, the forces of transformation did not leave the isolated and static tribal economies untouched. It needs to be emphasized that all the major changes taken place in the larger non-tribal economy had its inevitable impact on the tribal economies. However, the tribal economies represented by different tribal communities safeguarded some of their distinctive tribal characteristics. In fact, the forces of transformation acted differently upon various tribal communities and the various tribal communities responded differently. The historical reasons examined elsewhere were mainly responsible for this variation in the levels of responses so as to develop different tribal economies.

History of the development of capitalism and more specifically that of colonialism revealed that nowhere in the world that the colonial powers had a common and consistent policy towards aborigines. The British East India Company passed the scheduled District Act in 1874, the normal law should not automatically apply to the tribal areas was the principle that underlay the passage of scheduled District Act. In the 1919 Act the
concept of backward area was shaped. However, without overlooking the vested interest of the British, it is a tribute to British ruler that they recognised the need of special protection for the tribals. In this sense, the British can be considered as the pioneers of tribal policy in India. In 1930s there was thought provoking debate about the pros and cons of the principle. The imperialist school contended that the aborigines formed a distinct element in India and should be placed in charge of British government. On the otherhand nationalist school saw in this proposition, the continuation of the imperialist policy of divide and rule. Gandhiji reacted sharply to the segregation of various communities, particularly the tribals, under the dangerous spell of the policy of the isolation and status quo. The Act of 1935 separated tribals from the rest of the inhabitants. Under the provision of the Act of 1935, the Excluded Area (tribal area) was placed under the government control. The adivasis were put into watertight compartments and classified as the tribal people by the government.

The need to provide adequate safeguard: for the tribals was again extensively discussed in the Constitutional Assembly, and the nationalist opinion favored incorporation of far more radical provisions for the safeguard of the tribals interest in the form of the V and VI schedule of the Indian constitution. This was a radical change of the nationalists about the tribal question owing to the efforts of Gandhiji and Thakkar Bapa.

Nevertheless, consequent upon the various measures undertaken by the British rulers and the national opinion about the tribal question, first
half of the 20th century witnessed a tribal scenario, which was in a flux. The tribal isolation and its static existence became a thing of the past. In other words, their transition towards the mainstream socio-economic system had become clear and irreversible.

This transitional process described above was not lost sight by the anthropologists, social scientists and policy makers. As a matter of fact, a great constructive and scholarly debate ensured the approach towards the tribals to be adopted after the emancipation of India from the British yoke.

It was in his monumental work "A Philosophy of NEFA", first published in 1957 that Dr. Verrier Elwin elaborated the strategy. Jawaharlal Nehru, a profound humanist, was able to appreciate the spirit as well as the operational feasibility of Elwin's policy suggestions. Nehru had no doubt that development should not be at the cost of the inherent qualities and accumulated experiences of these people. This basic philosophy underlies the famous 'Pancha Seel' or five principles enunciated by Nehru for the administration of tribal areas. These five principles are:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

2. Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical
personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribals.

4. We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

5. We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

Jawaharlal Nehru’s philosophy and vision shaped the tribal policy in the 1950s in India. He avoided the extreme of the two stand points, namely the anthropological approach which sought to treat the tribals as museum specimens to be kept apart, for study and observations and the other approach which sought to destroy their individually, distort the process of their development and absorb them in the culture and way of life that was alien to them.

In harmony with this philosophy a strategy of tribal development was framed. The Nehru era laid the foundation of tribal policy in independent India. This policy was recommended by Elwin and shaped and endorsed by Nehru constituted the cornerstone of the development strategy in conjugation with the protection provided under the sixth schedule of the constitution succeeded to a very great extend in promoting development and welfare of the North Eastern tribes. However, the most
unfortunate fact is that this strategy adopted and proved a great success in North Eastern States could not be replicated in other parts of India. Hence, the tribals in those areas have experienced a structural retrogression in the socio-economic base. It may be mentioned parenthetically, that the distortion of the strategy multiplied the traditionally accumulated problems of the various tribal communities and is the major cause of tribal frustration and discontent among the tribals in the tribal belt including that of Wayanad.  

The Nehru era laid the foundation of tribal policy in India after independence. Scheduled tribes commission (1961) evaluated the working of constitutional safeguards for the tribals and the tribal development programmes. The commission while endorsing Nehru’s approach made wide ranging recommendations involving protection of tribals land, their right in forests, their rehabilitation etc. all within the framework of Nehruvian policy. In this context it is necessary to emphasis that the framework of the tribal policy and the strategy of development imbued with the well-known Nehruvian humanism held the ground for about two decades. In fact it still provides the sheet anchor or India’s Tribal Policy. Even though in recent years there has been a considerable broadening and deepening of the structure of the policy, the basic principle of the policy is unaltered. After middle 1960s especially in the V and VI five year plans the policy makers understood the diversities of tribal situation, which called for a more area specific approach to planning and development. "This
means a gradual moving away from the schematic pattern of the earlier plans and formulation of more integrated approach to the tribal problems. Hence, more backward communities have been identified as tribes and the areas of tribal concentration were enlarged to bring within the ambit of planned development. Each tribal region was entrusted to prepare its own sub-plan, which formed apart of the plan prepared by the state. Consequently, a plethora of legislation has been enacted to prevent alienation of land, regulate money lending, to abolish bonded labour system and to organize labour. The resources being mobilised for the development of the tribal regions from many sources, outlay in the state plan, investment of central government ministries, institutional finance and the special central assistance, have reached an all time high. The funds allocated for tribal development by successive governments, both centre and state, since independence might not have been commensurate with the proportion of the tribal population and they were very low upto the IV five year plan. But after the IVth five-year plan there was a change in the framework of the tribal policy without altering the strategy. Hence, the fund allocation rose to 3.1 percent on the Vth Five Year plan and 4.37 percent in the VIth five-year plan, thus inching very close to their share in the plan efforts. The above-mentioned evolution of the strategy for tribal development shows that the Indian experiment with tribal development is a unique one in the case of developing economies.
Tribal Development in India

After the attainment of independence India has developed a unique tribal development strategy imbued with Nehru’s humanism, which held the ground for our tribal development programmes especially in the initial period. It still provides the sheet anchor of India’s tribal policy though there has been considerable broadening and deepening of the structure of the policy and programmes.

After independence India adopted planned economic development to strengthen its strategy of mixed economy and make it more effective. Hence, we formulated the Five-year plans where the state makes long term plans for integrated development of the country. On the basis of these plans, India molded her tribal development programmes. A review of the tribal development programmes of the first six five year plans show that tribal development programmes in India have been marked by two broad approaches such as:-

1. Community approach at Block level

2. The Integrate Tribal Development Approach under the Tribal sub-plan

To understand the rationality behind the community approach to tribal development, we have to review it in the context of community Development programme envisaged during the first Five Year Plan. Under this programme, a comprehensive approach aiming at a balanced
development of the entire country was adopted to encourage peoples’ participation in development and to cater to the needs of the smallest unit. Consequently, the country was divided into a number of development blocks. Following the area development approach programmes for community development related to such basic amenities as supply of drinking water, health care, construction of roads and other development works were encouraged. To meet the special needs of the tribals, tribal Development Blocks were set up on these lines in areas of high tribal concentration. The original idea for setting up of Tribal Development Blocks was to cater to the specific needs of the tribal areas most of which fall in geographically isolated and hilly terrain with no development infrastructure. This approach contained during the First Five-year Plan period.

The community approach to tribal development though conceptually sound met with little success. In this context it may be pointed out that the tribal development here constituted but an insignificant part of the development activities. Compared to the volume and size of its different sectors, in physical and financial terms, the requirements of the tribal development were often overlooked. In this connection, the National Committee on Development of Backward areas started. The total development efforts in the states and the centre was growing from plan to plan. It was expected that the benefits would accrue to the tribals under various development programmes. However, the Tribal Development
programmes and schemes taken up under backward class sector failed to attain the expected goal.

The failure of the Tribal Development Blocks to achieve the desired objectives called for a more serious attention of the problem. This led to the adoption of the tribals sub-plan approach. Under the tribal sub-plan an integrated approach to tribal development was attempted. Guided by the principle that development had to be specific to reach each area and each community the first step that the plan did was to identify certain common elements which characterise tribal societies. Some of the major issues, which the plan identified, were social and economic exploitation, shifting cultivation, deforestation and loss of command over the resources due to urbanization, modernization and non-tribal immigration. The strategy under the tribal sub-plan was to build their inner strength to enable tribes to meet new challenges. Education and health services in addition to direct economic programmes were seen to be the right investment in this direction.

Tribal development under the Tribal Sub-Plan is treated as an integral part of the state plan itself. Both in its implementation and financial inputs, tribal development programmes are merged within the sectoral heads of the state plan. It is for this reasons that Tribal sub-Plans are found only in predominantly non-tribal states, where the population constitute the minority of the population. On the other hand, in states
where tribals are in majority such as Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram, the concept of Tribal sub-plan itself is considered to be for the tribes. It can be observed that the tribal under-development during the first Six Five Year Plan period was not due to lack of planning for the welfare of the tribals but due to lack of meaningful planning and under implementation of planned programmes and schemes. The tribal development programmes lacked the flexibility it required to meet specific needs of these complex and heterogeneous tribal communities even though some scholars had taken due cognizance of the fact that tribal economies are not homogeneous in nature and vary according to their socio-economic conditions. The development planners failed to take this fact into consideration during the first three decades of our economic planning. Many programmes failed to effective due to this blanket approach in planning and implementation.

If our planning process prevented our planners from getting a proper perspective of the needs of the tribes, they have further been confounded by our implementation agencies. The basic idea behind the integrated tribal development programmes is the optimum utilization of resources for a comprehensive development of the tribals. This approach means that the development of the tribals has to be taken up in a holistic basis. This implies that for a proper implementation of the programmes there has to be a close co-ordination of the sectors involved. A review of the progress of the tribal development programmes has shown that a large number of them are at various stages of stagnation. Initially, our planners
were of the opinion that given economic inputs, our tribals would absorb the benefits of development and later regenerate them for their further development. While this principle is theoretically plausible, it discounted the economic and social structure within which tribes had to operate.

During the Seventh Five Year Plan period there was radical changes in the formulation of tribal plans. Consequently, these changes reflected in the implementation also. Even though the decentralization of planning process started in 1979, it was in the VII Five Year Plan Period that the formulation and implantation of plans for tribals were done with great vigor and enthusiasm. Consequently, the District Collectors were assigned the task of plan formulation and implementation at district level. The activities of the District level-working Group became more efficient during this plan period.

Recently, there are changes in the implementation of Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy. Under this, integrated Tribal Development Programme areas are given more importance. The District level working group concept gradually became an ideal set up for the formulation and implementation of Tribal Sub-Plan mainly due to the administrative and financial powers vested with it. Till 1995-96 the Planning and Economic Affairs Department in Government in states were vested with the nodal role for the formulation and implementation of Tribal-Sub Plan in the states. However, in 1996-97 various changes were taken place in this field. Accordingly, 75 percent of the Tribal sub-Plan funds were allocated to the
Districts. The inter-sectoral co-operation and co-ordination brought through this system ensured linkage among sectoral programmes to a certain extent. This changes in turn reduced wasteful expenditure considerably. The financial and physical achievements in the district level were comparatively good, but several grass root level problems of the tribals remained unsolved. It was in this context that central government issued orders allowing pooling of funds under different heads of the Tribal sub-plan. Accordingly, pooling of funds was introduced in certain states like Kerala and Maharashtra. However, the states were allowed freedom for minor changes in the formulation and implementation stages. While fixing the priorities, centrally sponsored scheme are given top priority. The pooling system has helped to formulate the Tribal sub-plan in a more realistic manner. It offers freedom to the scheduled Tribe Development Department in choosing only those sectors, which are really needed and useful to the tribals. Moreover, the system has eliminated the national flow component towards tribal sub-plan.

**Tribal Development in Kerala**

The tribal development strategy followed in Kerala state from time to time has invariably been apart of the tribal development strategy adopted in India as a whole. Again these strategies have been in conformity with the general development strategy. Thus at the initial stages of planned development when the community Development programmes were adopted in India, the same community development programmes were adopted in
Kerala. It was found that the Community Development Approach was inadequate for the speedy interaction of the tribals with the large society; some of the Community Development Blocks in the area of tribal concentration were modified into Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks or Tribal Development Blocks. On the basis of the national strategy, the Tribal Development Block in Kerala starts functioning in Attappady in April 1962.

The establishment of Tribal Development Block in Kerala from 1962 marked a more systematic and comprehensive effort in this direction. These institutions were able to initiate some measures especially on the social front. Isolated attempt at improving the welfare of the tribals made only marginal impact as the agencies created were not properly equipped to restrain the activities of the socio-economic forces exploiting the tribals. However, the Tribal Development Block was able to succeed in building up a fairly sound infrastructure, which was used for further advancement of the tribal areas in the succeeding years.

The failure of the Tribal Development Blocks to achieve the desired objectives called for a more serious attention of the tribal problem. During the Vth Five Year Plan, a major shift in strategy was affected with the adoption of Tribal sub-plan, which envisaged a total development effort in the identified area with resources pooled from

a) Outlay from state plans
b) Investments by central ministeries
c) Special Central Assistance of Ministry of Home affairs

d) Institutional finance.

As we noted earlier, the mode of implementation of Tribal Sub-plan strategy launched during V Plan was through comprehensive socio economic development in consonance with the development of tribal areas. Accordingly, considering the peculiar nature of the tribal concentration and to ensure effective co-ordination of development programmes, integrated Tribal development projects (ITDPs) were started during V Five Year Plan. Consequently, the first ITDP in the state was started in Attappady in Palakkad district by covering the Tribal Development Block Attappady. Subsequently, four more ITDPs namely Punalur, Idukki, Nilambur and Mananthavady were formed. The Panalur ITDP formed in the southern most part of the tribal belt and fell in the forest ranges of Thiruvananthapuram and Kollam districts. The Idukki ITDP comprised the forest ranges in the Idukki district. Areas under Mannarkkad and Olavacode forest ranges are the former Tribal Development Block area of Attappady, came under Attappady ITDP. The tribals living in the forest areas of Malappuram and Kozhikode district came under Nilambur ITDP and those forest ranges of Wayanad and Kannur came under Mananthavady ITDP. These ITDPs covered an area of 6142.22 sq.kms and a total tribal population of 73,942 as detailed below. These ITDPs were formed on the basis of the proportion of tribal population. Out of the tribal population, 40.47 percent was covered by these projects. But all the ITDPs except
Attappady were spread over more than two or three revenue districts, which naturally created administrative problems. Again majority of the tribals failed to get the benefits under ITDPs as they were out side the area and were treated as dispersed tribes. Table 7.1 gives the particulars of the ITDPs in Kerala during the initial stages.

**Table 7.1: Particulars of ITDPs in Kerala, 1977-78**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the ITDP</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Tribal Population</th>
<th>Tribal population as % of the total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Punalur</td>
<td>2,648.37</td>
<td>26510</td>
<td>13480</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Idukki</td>
<td>1062.10</td>
<td>15786</td>
<td>13565</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nilambur</td>
<td>1,173.96</td>
<td>15117</td>
<td>15117</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mananthavady</td>
<td>1503.06</td>
<td>18549</td>
<td>15255</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Attappady</td>
<td>740.65</td>
<td>39183</td>
<td>16536</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


During 1989-90, the field level offices and the ITDPs were reconstituted. Again, in 1995 a new Tribal Development office started at Palakkad. Consequent upon these reconstitution now eight Tribal development offices are functioning in the state. The Tribal development offices are:

1. Punalur (Kollam district)
2. Ranni (Pathanamthitta district)
3. Moovattupuzha (Eranakulam district)
4. Palakkad (Palakkad district)
5. Sulthan Bathery (Wayanad district)
6. Mananthavady (Wayanad district)
7. Tamarasserry (Kozhikode district)
8. Kasaragod (Kasargod district)

After the re-constitution of the ITDPs, now seven ITDPs are functioning in the state.

The ITDPs are:
1. Nedumangad (Thiruvananthapuram District)
2. Idukki (Idukki district)
3. Nilambur (Malappuram district)
4. Kanjirappally (Kottayam District)
5. Attappady (Palakkad district)
6. Kalpetta (Wayanad district)
7. Kannur (Kollam district)

The details of the total tribal population, and area covered in ITDPs are shown in Table 7.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Name of ITDP</th>
<th>Total tribal population in the district (as per 1991 census)</th>
<th>Total tribal population in ITDP area (as per 1991 census)</th>
<th>% of tribal population of the total tribal population in the district</th>
<th>Area under ITDP (Sq km)</th>
<th>% of total area of the District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nedumangad</td>
<td>16181</td>
<td>13976</td>
<td>86.37</td>
<td>1097.56</td>
<td>50.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kanjirappally</td>
<td>17996</td>
<td>13874</td>
<td>77.09</td>
<td>604.60</td>
<td>17.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Idukki</td>
<td>50269</td>
<td>50269</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>5019.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Attappady</td>
<td>50269</td>
<td>50269</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>5019.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nilambur</td>
<td>10555</td>
<td>10555</td>
<td>85.70</td>
<td>1426.23</td>
<td>40.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wayanad</td>
<td>114969</td>
<td>114969</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>2121.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kannur</td>
<td>18243</td>
<td>18243</td>
<td>73.72</td>
<td>968.32</td>
<td>20.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>263678</td>
<td>239811</td>
<td>90.95</td>
<td>11782.94</td>
<td>30.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2 shows that, after the re-organization of the ITDPs, the total ITDP area covered 90-95 percent of the tribal population of the districts covered by the seven ITDPs of Kerala. These ITDPs covered an area of 11782.94 sq.kms, which formed 30.37 percent of the total areas of the districts consisting these ITDPs. However it can be noted that even after the re-constitution of the ITDPs, it is able to cover only 75.24 percent of the total tribal population of Kerala as per 1991 census. This highlights the fact that even after the re-organization of its ITDPs, one fourth of the tribal population of state failed to acquire the benefits of tribal development. Another matter that we want to stress here is that, the Tribal development programmes planned and implemented under ITDPs, lacked the flexibility it required to meet the specific needs of this complex and heterogeneous tribals. It highlight that the development planners have not taken due cognisance of the fact that tribals are not homogeneous in nature and vary accordingly to their ethnic, social, economic conditions and historical evolutions.

As we have already examined the seven ITDPs are covering only 74.24 percent of the total tribal population of the state. At this juncture, it is also necessary to examine what administrative steps have taken by the government and the tribal development department of Kerala to implement the programmes for the one fourth of the tribal population those who are not covered under ITDPs. After the re-organization of ITDPs, 14 Punchayats are identified as cluster areas. Prior to the re-organization,
there cluster areas were part of the ITDP area. The cluster areas identified in the state are Aryankavu, Thenmala and Kulathupuza Panchayats in the Kollam districts, Konni, Malayalapuza, Pramadam, Thannithode and Aruvappalam Panchayats in Pathanamthitta district, and Kodencherry, Thiruvampady, Koodaraji, Narippatta and Maruthomkara Panchayat in Kozhikode district. The details of the cluster areas are given in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Particulars of Panchayats declared as Tribal cluster in Kerala

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>District and Block</th>
<th>Name of Panchayat</th>
<th>Population as per 1991 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kollam Anchal</td>
<td>Aryankavu</td>
<td>15585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thenmala</td>
<td>24214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kulathupuza</td>
<td>33271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pathanapuram</td>
<td>Pirvanthur</td>
<td>35613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>Kollam District</td>
<td>108683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pathanamthitta</td>
<td>Konni</td>
<td>27800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malayalapuza</td>
<td>17293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pramadam</td>
<td>29990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thannithode</td>
<td>14885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aruvappalam</td>
<td>21712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>Pathanamthitta District</td>
<td>112300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kozhikode</td>
<td>Kunnanangalam</td>
<td>32996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kodancheerry</td>
<td>16503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thiruvampady</td>
<td>23968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Narippatta</td>
<td>24393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maruthomkara</td>
<td>16985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>Kozhikode district</td>
<td>114845</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tribal development projects and Welfare Schemes in Kerala

We have seen that tribal development strategy followed in Kerala from time to time has been a part of the tribal development strategy adopted in India as a whole. Accordingly, after the re-organisation of Kerala State, the government of Kerala inaugurated the introduction of tribal development programmes. Subsequently, the state government of Kerala established certain tribal development projects and introduced various tribal welfare schemes in Kerala. In this context it is imperative to examine the major tribal development projects in Kerala. Further, we have to examine the various tribal welfare schemes in Kerala.

Major tribal development projects

During the initial stages of tribal development programmes itself, the government of Kerala has established certain major tribal development projects so as to provide settlement and employment to the tribals of Kerala. A review of the major projects will help us to trace how far these projects helped to accelerate the process of socio-economic transformation of tribals.

Chengeri Tribal development project

The Chengeri tribal development project was started in 1957 in Chengeri in Ambalavayal panchayat in Wayanad district. Eventhough the
main objective was to provide employment to 100 tribal households, the project failed to achieve the target. Another fact that we want to stress here is that except for four or five years both the modal farm and the coffee estate working under this project have been running at a loss.

2. Sungandhagiri Cardamom Project

The project envisaged the settlement of 750 tribal families in 1500 hectares of vested forest land of Achooram village in Wayanad district and a joint farming co-operative society was formed in 1978, mainly for cultivation of cardamom. However, out of 1500 hectares of land, cardamom is cultivated in 800 hectares, coffee in 133 hectares, pepper in 160 hectares and fuel trees in 42 hectares. The unprecedented drought in frequent spell (1982-83, 1986-87, 2000-2001) affected the cardamom yields adversely. Further, the steep fall in the price of cardamom and shortage in the production also contributed to an unhealthy situation. Lack of timely application of inputs, lack of timely agricultural operations, plant diseases, adverse climatic conditions etc. also adversely affected the progress of the project. Against the original target of 750 tribal families there were only 521 families in 1999-2000. All the working members of families settled in the project have been employed as wage labourers. These families have been provided with permanent houses. But drinking water facilities, sanitation and other facilities have not reached all the families.
3. Pookot dairy project

The pookot dairy project was started in Wayanad district under Western ghats development programme. This project envisaged settlement and rehabilitation of 110 freed bonded labourers. However, only 100 families were actually enrolled as members. Out of this 84 families have been given permanent houses and are settled in the project. The major and are settled in the project. The major components of the project are dairy farming, cultivation of cardamom, coffee and other miscellaneous crops. The unforeseen outbreak of brucelosis on the one hand and the mismanagement of the farm resulted the accumulation of debt and failed to attain the project target.

4. Attappady Co-operative farming Society

Attappady Co-operative farming Society was started in 1975 under the westernghats development programme with the object of rehabilitating 420 tribal families. Nearly 1040 hectares of vested forest land was assigned and the other four farms viz. Chindakki (250 hectares), Pothupady (280 hectares) Karuvara (105 hectares) and Varadimala (275 hectares) were established. For the rehabilitation of the tribal families and for the implementation of development programme a Co-operative Society was registered. During the VII Five Year Plan period, the project adopted several revitalization procedures. As a result of these revitalization programmes, the functioning of the Society has reached a satisfactory level.
5. Tribal Collective farm project, Vattachira

The Collective farm, Vattachira, was established in 1981 for the rehabilitation of 60 selected freed bonded labourers of Kodenchery village of Kozhikode district. An extend of 120.5 hectares of assignable forest land in Kodenchery Tribe Development Department for the formation of the Collective farm. Several Crops like ginger, bananas, Paddy, Coconut, Silver oak, Cashew have been raised in the farm. The project has been facing the problem of a wide gap between the anticipated income and expenditure. It is distressing to note that the return from the farm is very meager. A major portion of the farm is lying idle as forest lands. Lack of irrigational facilities is another acute problem. Consequent upon these limitations, the project has failed to attain the expected target.

6. Priyadarshini Tea estate project

Priyadarshini Tea estate was established in 534.26 acres of land in 1984 for rehabilitation of 118 freed bonded labourers of Mananthavady taluk of Wayand district. A tea factory as set up at the tea estate and it started production in July 1993. The tea factory is functioning well and it has already crossed its production more than double that of the installed capacity. The project ensures employment to nearly 250 tribals of a regular basis.
7. Chikkod Girijan Colony Project, Malappuram

Chikkod Girijan Colony project, a colonization scheme was established in 1976 for rehabilitating 60 families of different tribal communities who were freed bonded labourers. An extent of 105 hectares of assignable land in Erankol malavarm of Chikkode village in Malappuram district was set apart for establishment of the girijan colony. The settled families have been allotted land at 1.71 hectares each. All the infrastructural facilities such as pucca dwelling houses, protected water supply, pre-primary education centres, primary schools, health centres, electricity facilities have been provided. The settled families have been provided employment all round the year. All the schemes proposed in the colony have been materialised.

As we have examined the major tribal development projects envisaged for the rehabilitation of the tribals of Kerala, it can be observed that their projects functioning under tribal development department experienced both gain and loss. The greatest achievement is that these projects enabled to provide housing facilities, drinking water facilities, electricity, educational facilities, employment opportunities and other infrastructural facilities for 1500 tribal families who are residing in 3000 hectares of land. In this context it is not incorrect to assume that the projects have made a service to raise the standard of living and also helped to accelerate the processes of socio-economic transformation of the tribals
of Kerala. Nevertheless, the financial conditions of all the projects except that of Chokkad Colony and Priyadarshini Tea Estate are not satisfactory. Recently the conditions of the Attappady Project have improved much. As the Monitoring and stirring committee of Legislative Assembly of Kerala for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes rightly observed in the report in 1997, the fall in the price of coffee, tea, rubber, pepper, cardamom, unscientific agricultural operations, financial and administrative managerial defects etc retarded the progress and resulted poor performance of the projects. It can also be observed that the projects were established without considering the heterogeneous socio-economic conditions of the various tribal communities. Transferring the vested forestlands to non-tribal development created a "non-tribal enclave" in the tribal areas. Hence the benefits of certain tribal development schemes proposed for the tribals in project areas are gained by the non-tribals. Even though representatives of the tribals exist in the administrative set up of all these projects, the bureaucrats are the defacto decision makers who are ignorant about the tribal economies and the pulse of each tribal society. Hence they adopt stereotype proposal for all projects. Consequent upon these defects many tribal development projects are facing stagnation.

Tribal Welfare Schemes in Kerala

In addition to the tribal development projects that we have already examined and analysed, various tribal welfare schemes have been
introduced and implemented in Kerala for the socio-economic transformation of the tribals. Even though plethora of tribal welfare schemes have been implemented in Kerala since the inception of Five Year Plans, we have focused our study on the tribal welfare schemes implemented during the last four Five year plans.

1. Education

In all the five year plans, priority was given to educational development of scheduled Tribes. Major chunk of the non-plan expenditure of the Scheduled Tribes Development Department has been spending on educational development activities including scholarship, boarding and lodging charges, incentives to the parents etc. The following list of the major educational schemes will give us the magnitude of the educational development programmes of the government.

(1) Scheme for raising enrolment of scheduled Tribe children in schools and for remedying drops-outs.

(2) Schemes for financial assistance to high school children and students failed in S.S.L.C/ PDC/+2 for studying in Tutorials.

(3) Schemes for pre-primary education

(4) Schemes for tribal hostels.

(5) Schemes for construction of girls hostels.

(6) Schemes for construction of boys hostels.

(7) Schemes for subsidised hostels.
(8) Schemes for purchase of land for construction for tribal hostels.
(9) Schemes for Model Residential School for Scheduled Tribes.
(10) Schemes for special incentives to brilliant scheduled tribe students.
(11) Schemes for incentive to specially talented tribal youths in arts and sports.
(12) Schemes for Bharat Darsan.
(13) Schemes for Technical education.
(14) Schemes for nursing education.
(15) Schemes for industrial training.
(16) Schemes for vocational Institute for Scheduled Tribes.
(17) Schemes of production cum training centres.

2. Health, Hygiene and Nutrition

Various measures are taken for timely medical attention to scheduled tribes. Since the tribal settlements are situated far away from hospitals and health centres, the tribals are not able to make use of the available medical facilities. Inspite of the health facilities already existing in tribal areas, tribals of certain locality are found prone to several communicable as well as malnutrition based diseases. Hence the government has introduced three major health projects for the tribals of Kerala namely, Mananthavady health project, Attappady health project and Idukky health project. In addition to these health projects the government has implemented the following and welfare schemes for the tribal of Kerala.
(1) Scheme for training to tribal women in health, hygiene and nutrition.

(2) Scheme for treatment and rehabilitation of tribals affected by various diseases.

(3) Scheme for food support.

3. Housing

The problem of housing among scheduled tribes is very crucial. The number of homeless tribal families at the end of VIII plan was estimated as 12700. A more realistic estimate showed that there were 15000 homeless families at the beginning of 1998-99. During the VIII plan period, an amount of Rs.517.5 lakhs was budgeted for housing and total number of 4523 houses were constructed. The government has implemented the following schemes for solving the housing problems of the tribals in Kerala so as to accelerate the process of transformation.

(1) Scheme of rehabilitation of scheduled tribe - pauramboke dwellers

(2) Scheme of rehabilitation of tribals in remote areas.

(3) Scheme of construction of houses for houseless scheduled tribe families.

(4) Scheme of construction of houses under Mythri sponsored programme of Housing Board.

(5) Scheme for rehabilitation of primitive tribes.
(6) Scheme of total housing of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes in selected panchayats.

(7) Scheme for rehabilitation of landless, houseless scheduled tribe families.

In addition to the housing schemes, the government has also implemented schemes for improving the housing facilities and other amenities under the colonization scheme.

4. Other Schemes

Apart from the schemes that we have already observed, the government has introduced the following schemes for the economic development, cultural development, enhancement of social awareness etc.

(1) Scheme of assistance to tribal co-operative societies.

(2) Scheme for promoting self-employment to tribal youths.

(3) Scheme for intensive habitat development.

(4) Scheme for Aadikala Gramam.

(5) Scheme for assistance to Scheduled Tribe Mahila Samajam and Voluntary organizations.

(6) Scheme of assistance for the marriage of scheduled tribe girls.

(7) Scheme of assistance for inter-caste married couples.

(8) Scheme of water supply to tribal areas.
(9) Scheme of assistance for promoting tribal medicines.

(10) Schemes of rehabilitating un-wedded mothers.

**Socio-Economic Impact of Tribal Development Schemes in Wayanad**

In the earlier part of the chapter, we have made an attempt to analyse the tribal development strategies of colonial rulers as well as that of independent India. We have also examined the major administrative measures adopted during the last nine Five Year Plans. Further, we have reviewed the various tribal development projects and welfare schemes planned and implemented in Kerala during the plan periods by the government and its various agencies. At this juncture, it is imperative to examine the social and economic impact of the important tribal development schemes upon the various tribal communities. Such an attempt will help us to face the process of socio-economic transformation of the tribal economies and also to verify whether the process of transformation has been unilinear and homogeneous among different tribal economies.

As we stated elsewhere, our study is confined to Wayanad district of Kerala and also on two tribal communities of Wayanad namely Paniyans and Kurichians. Even though various tribal development projects and welfare schemes have been planned and implemented in Wayanad since the inception of the state re-organization in 1956, for the convenience of our
analysis, we have focused our study on the tribal welfare schemes implemented in Wayanad since 1980. Wayanad district came into being on 1st November 1980 unifying the south Wayanad and North Wayanad taluks of erstwhile Kozhikode and Kannur districts. It can be noted that many of the tribal development programmes initiated by the government are focused on individuals and some of them are even inchoately implemented and hence not in a position to trace the impact quantitatively. However, here we have made an attempt to trace the scheme wise impact upon Paniyans and Kurichians in respect of agriculture, housing, education, assets etc with the help of primary data collected through the same survey covering 200 Paniyan and 100 Kurichian head of the households.

I. Agriculture Development Programmes

Government of Kerala introduced various schemes for the tribals to improve their agriculture and allied activities. In addition to the development of agriculture these schemes also intended to provide employment opportunities so as to increase their income and standard of living. In this context it is worthwhile to examine some of the important agricultural development schemes introduced in Wayanad so as to trace the impact on the selected tribal communities.

1. Schemes for supply of work bulls

As we examined elsewhere, majority of the tribals depend on agriculture for their livelihood. They are using bullocks for ploughing their
land for cultivation. But majority of them are not able to invest the money required for purchasing bullocks. Hence, the government introduced a scheme to give the required fund to purchase a pair of bullocks for each selected tribal head of the households. In addition to expand agricultural production, the scheme also intended to provide employment opportunities and generation of additional income. The scheme has been introduced in Wayanad since 1980. Our sample survey revealed that out of 200 sample head of the house holds from Paniyans community 84 of them received financial assistance under this scheme. Among100Kurichain head of the households 58 of them also received financial assistance for the same purpose. In this context it is worthwhile to examine how they utilized these financial assistance and also to trace the impact of the scheme upon the benificaries among Paniyans and Kurichians. Table 7.4 shows the details regarding bullocks purchased under this scheme.

**Table 7.4: Community wise distribution of work bulls from 1980-1998**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Number of selected beneficiaries who received the financial assistance</th>
<th>Whether actually purchased</th>
<th>Number of head of the households now possessing a pair of bullocks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paniyans</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Yes: 68; No: 16</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurichian</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Yes: 58; No:</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Sample survey

The table 7.4 shows that even though 84 head of the households among the Paniyanas received the financial assistance under this scheme, only 68 among them actually purchased the bullocks and 16 among mis-utilised the amount. Further, it can be noted that now none among them
possesses the bulls. However, all the beneficiaries in Kurichian community properly utilized the financial assistance. The table also shows that the Kurichians properly maintained the bulls. On enquire the Kurichian beneficiaries revealed that 28 among them exchanged the old bulls to new ones and paid an additional amount upto Rs. 1500/- for one pair of bulls. They also revealed that after their own agricultural operations they provide service of the bulls to non-tribal farmers. They agreed that they are getting 30 to 40 days additional work from this. In this context it can be deduced that Kurichian beneficiaries of the scheme get at least an additional income ranging from Rs.3000 to Rs.4000/- per year.

From the foregoing analysis it can be infer that Paniyans and Kurichians showed differential response towards this particular scheme and consequently the impact of the scheme is also different among these two tribal communities. Paniyan beneficiaries are not able to increase the agricultural production nor able to expand employment opportunities and generating additional income. On the other hand, Kurichian beneficiaries attained the desired results of this particular scheme. Prima-facie, our study shows that uniform policy and schemes are not helpful for the social and economic transformation of all tribal communities.

2. Scheme for supply of agricultural implements

The scheme for supply of agricultural implements was another regular tribal welfare scheme implemented in Wayanad. Under the scheme
the government supplied agricultural implements, which they are not able to purchase from their meager income. Spades, Pickaxes, Choppers, and sickles etc costing Rs.200/-were supplied to all the sample head of the households. They were also given option to select the items. Our sample survey revealed that out of 200 beneficiaries, 184 beneficiaries sold their agricultural implements to a non-tribal road contractors for an amount of Rs.100/- per set and 14 among them mortgaged the implements to the non-tribal for Rs.20-Rs. 25 after few days. The survey revealed that majority of them opted pickaxes according to the directions of the road contractor. It is observed that among the Paniyan beneficiaries only two members are maintained these implements with them. On the other hand all the Kurichian beneficiaries opted choppers, spades and sickles, which are essential for agricultural operations. It can be seen that they properly utilized the scheme. However, the failure on the part of Paniyans to attain the desired result shows the necessity of tribal wise and need based schemes instead of stereotype tribal welfare schemes for accelerating the process of transformation.

3. Scheme for Coconut Cultivation

The scheme aimed at the introduction of coconut cultivation in the tribal areas. The tribal development department supplied 20 coconut seeds per selected head of the households without considering the availability of land under their possession. The scheme has been introduced in Wayanad
since 1981 and hence all the head of the households under our survey have received the benefits of the scheme. Our sample survey revealed that non-tribal farmers purchased majority of the good seeding from the Paniyan beneficiaries. Hence they actually got the remaining substandard coconut seeds without seedbeds. Consequently, majority among them failed to cultivate a single coconut tree. In contrast, all the Kurichian beneficiaries got the coconut seeds under this scheme. However, due to lack of irrigational facilities and substandard quality of the seeds, the growth of the tree is not satisfactory. Our survey revealed that some plants are in the yielding stage. Kurichian beneficiaries made certain complaints about the planning and implementation of the scheme during our survey.

The authorities have supplied Cocanut seeds without considering the availability of land of the beneficiaries and their requirements. Further, the tribal development department collected the seeds from the private contractors instead of collecting from government agricultural farms. Hence there was no quality control in the collection of seeds. Without considering the suitable climate conditions for planting the seeds, the tribal development department supplied the seeds in February- March months. In this context it is not incorrect to assume that the department has more concerned with the spending the allotted funds before the concerned financial years than proper utilisation of the scheme. Here also we can observe the differential response and differential impact of the scheme upon
these two tribal communities. The differential impact upon these two communities highlight the fact that the scheme was imposed upon Paniyans who are ignorant about coconut plantations and having different socio-economic back grounds. Hence tribal- wise and need based programmes and schemes are necessary to stimulate the tribals to attain the desired socio- economic transformation.

4. Schemes for Rubber Cultivation

Even though this schemes started in 1980 and focused especially in the Punaloor ITDP area of the state, the scheme extended to Wayanad in 1990. The scheme intended to expand the rubber cultivation in tribal areas and also to provide training in taping and other manual works so as to generate employment opportunities. However, under the schemes 4 Kurichia head of the households received an amount of Rs. 8740/each as the first installment of the scheme. Our sample survey revealed that all the four Kurichia beneficiaries diverted the entire amount to Paddy cultivation. The failure of the scheme highlights the fact that the programmes introduced by the government for non-tribal cultivators cannot be transplanted and implemented among the tribals of Wayanad. It can be observed that even among the traditionally cultivating community like that of Kurichia prefers to cultivate food crops and spices rather than plantation crops. So the failure of the scheme can be explained in terms of the traditional agricultural pattern of the tribals of Wayanad.
5. Scheme for supply of higher yielding varieties of seeds and chemical fertilizers

Since the introduction of ITDPs, the scheme has been introduced in Wayanad by the tribal development department in collaboration with agriculture department. Under the scheme 10Kgs of high yielding variety of Paddy seeds have distributed among the selected tribal head of the households. In addition to paddy seeds, a kit of chemical fertilisers was also supplied. Our sample survey showed that all the 300 sample head of the households received the items in a year or other. It can be noted that the authorities supplied the seeds and fertilizers without considering their requirements of the tribals and the availability of the irrigated land in their possession. It can be noted that Kurichians properly utilized the benefits of the scheme. On enquiry they admitted that consequent upon the use of higher yielding seeds and chemical fertilizer their paddy cultivation has increased and majority of them was able to sold out their surplus production in the market. On the contrary, majority of the Paniyan beneficiaries have either sold the supplied items to the non-tribal farmers for throwaway prices or exchanged the items for other food crops.

The differential impact of the scheme upon these two tribal communities highlight the fact that the government implemented the schemes without understanding the pulse of the different tribal communities in Wayanad. The failure of the scheme in respect of Paniyans
also unraveled the fact that the poor socio-economic status prevented them to inculcate the desired awareness for utilizing the scheme. On the other hand, Kurichians traditionally a cultivating community cultivated the indefatigable awareness towards agricultural development schemes.

II. Housing Schemes

As we noted elsewhere, the problem of housing among the tribals is very crucial. Hence, during the last Four Five Year Plans, high priority has been given by the government to solve the problem of housing. Hence, the government and its various agencies introduced various schemes in Wayanad. At this juncture we can examine the impact of certain housing schemes upon the two major tribal communities in Wayanad.

1. Scheme for construction of houses for houseless tribal families

The scheme is intended to provide houses for houseless tribal families. During VII and VIII Five Year Plan Period, the rate of assistance was Rs.32000/- per houses. However, the government has increased the rate of assistance for the construction of each house during the IX Plan. Now the assistance rate for the house is Rs.42000/- in Wayanad. Moreover, Rs.800/- for electricity wiring grant and Rs. 400/- for improved choolala will be given to each completed houses.

Under the scheme, out of the 200 selected sample head of the households of Paniyan community, 102 among them received the financial
assistance. However, out of 102 houses constructed under this scheme, 18 houses are collapsed. In our enquiry, Paniyan beneficiaries admitted that none of them directly involved in the construction of houses, but they entrusted the construction activities upon non-tribal private contractors. They used unburned bricks and other sub-standard raw materials like soft woods and poor quality tales. We have also observed that the contractors used low ratio of cement for plastering the walls. Apart from these kinds of irregularities on the part of the contractors, the poor maintenance on the part of the tribal beneficiaries resulted the collapse of the buildings. Some of the beneficiaries admitted that in addition of these schemes they enjoyed financial assistance from other government sources. We have also traced the instances of allotment of houses for the very persons twice in the same places without knowing the official-contractor nexuses, the poor tribal entrusted the construction to the same contractors time and again.

On the other hand, the Kurichian beneficiaries properly utilized the scheme. Under the scheme, 16 head of the households of our sample survey enjoyed the financial assistance for constructing the houses. Unlike Paniyan beneficiaries, Kurichian directly involved in the house construction activities. Better economic conditions helped them to accumulate additional materials for their houses. Our survey revealed that they constructed better houses than the expected ones under the scheme. Primafacie, it can be understood that government and its various agencies
considered the tribals as a homogenous group and consequently implemented homogeneous welfare schemes without considering the unique tribal features of each tribal community. The unsatisfactory result of the housing schemes in the case of Paniyans highlight the point that instead of imposing stereotype schemes for all tribals, tribal wise and need based schemes are necessary for solving the housing problems of the tribals of Wayanad.

III. Educational Programmes and its impact

In all the Five Year Plans, Priority was given to educational development of scheduled tribes. Hence the state government has given prime importance to the education of the scheduled Tribes' children as a means to their development. Major chunk of the non-plan expenditure of scheduled Tribes Development Department has been spending on educational development activities including scholarship, boarding and lodging charges, incentive to parents etc. In addition to formal educational programmes the government also implemented informal educational schemes at grass root level through literacy programmes. Special provision has been given to increase the literacy level of the tribals. Unfortunately, tribal literacy rate continues to remain as the lowest compared to that of other social group. The literacy rate of different population groups in Kerala is given in the following Table 7.5.
Table 7.5: Literacy rate in Kerala

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>60.42</td>
<td>70.42</td>
<td>89.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Tribe</td>
<td>24.72</td>
<td>31.79</td>
<td>57.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table 7.5 shows that though literacy rate of the tribals is increasing since 1971, it continues to remain as the lowest compared to the other social groups.

In this context it is also necessary to examine the literacy level of the selected communities in Wayanad and also the literacy rate of the sample head of the households understudy. It helps us to trace the impact of literacy programme introduced among the tribals of Wayanad since 1980. Table 7.6 shows the details regarding the literacy rate of selected tribal communities in Wayanad according to 1991 census.

Table 7.6: Literacy rate of selected tribal communities in Wayanad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community of the tribal</th>
<th>Literacy rate in 1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paniyans</td>
<td>33.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurichians</td>
<td>60.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total tribal in Wayanad</td>
<td>50.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 7.6 shows the literacy rate of Paniyans and Kurichians in Wayanad. The literacy rate of these two major tribal communities highlight the fact that the literacy programme introduced in Wayanad made
differential impact upon these two tribal communities. The literacy rate of the sample head of the households consisting these two tribal communities helps us to trace the impact of literacy programmes upon these two tribal communities in Wayanad. Table 7.7 shows the disparities between Paniyans and Kurichians sample head of the households in respect of literacy rate.

Table 7.7: Community wise literacy rate of the selected sample head of the households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Literacy rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paniyans</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurichians</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample Survey

Table shows that the literacy rate of the head of the households under our study is very low. Eventhough the conditions of Kurichians are not satisfactory, it is more deplorable in the case of Paniyans. Here also we can observe the differential impact of literacy programmes upon Paniyans and Kurichians.

In this context it is also worthwhile to trace the impact of another educational programme implemented among the tribal children. Pre-primary education scheme is a multi purpose scheme. Apart from providing education and nutritious food in the daytime, the scheme also intended to cultivate educational aptitude among the children. The sample survey traced that there are sufficient pre-primary education centers in the selected Panchayats area. For the convenience of the tribal children tribal
development department is also started pre- primary schools apart from the
general Anganvadies started by social welfare department. Our sample
survey revealed that all the tribal children in the concerned age group is not
attending in pre- primary education centres. Our sample survey showed
that out of 186 children from Paniyan community only 29 (15.59 percent)
children are going to pre- primary education centres. On the other hand out
of 132 Kurichain children 87 (65.91 percent) of them are going to pre-
primary education centres. Even though the condition of the Kurichian
children is not satisfactory in respect of pre- primary education, the low
level enrolment of Paniyans can be explained in terms of the poor impact of
pre- primary educational schemes of the government.

As we have examined the impact of educational schemes upon
Paniyans and Kurichians on pre-primary school level, it is necessary to
trace the impact of educational schemes in terms of school going children
in the 5-15 age group. Our sample survey revealed that out of 467 children
in the 200 households only 38.12 percent (178) are going to school among
Paniyans. However, out of 293 children of Kurichian, 207 (70.65 percent)
are going to school. This disparity shows that the educational schemes of
the government and its various agencies made differential impact upon
these two tribal communities.

In this context it is also necessary to examine the impact of
educational programmes in terms of higher education. Our sample survey
revealed that out of 300 head of households 2 members have passed high schools. Among them one member is a Paniyan who is also a Teachers Training Certificate holder. The other one, a Kurichiya, is now employed in the nationalised bank. The dismal picture of higher education highlight the fact that the educational programmes failed to attain the desired results among the tribals.

IV. Tribal Development programmes and employment and income

It is very difficult to establish that the tribal development programmes helped these two tribal communities to make a significant change in their occupational structure so as to make a positive impact in the income pattern. However, as we have examined elsewhere possession of cultivable land and self-cultivation helped the Kurichians to attain better economic status than Paniyans who were traditionally agricultural labourers. Some beneficiaries among the sample head of households from Kurichian community agreed that certain schemes helped them to increase their agricultural production and income. As we stated elsewhere, those who got financial assistance under the scheme of supplying work bulls enabled them to get additional employment so as to increase their income. Again the Kurichia beneficiaries agreed also that under the scheme of providing financial assistance to purchase milk cows helped them to supply the surplus milk to the Co-operative societies and also to earn additional
income. However, as we noted earlier, the schemes failed to attain desired results in the case of Paniyan beneficiaries.

V. Tribal Development programmes and awareness

As we examined the impact of certain tribal development programmes upon agriculture, housing education, employment, income etc, it pertinent to trace whether the tribal welfare programmes and schemes made a positive impact upon the awareness of these two selected communities so as to accelerate the process of socio-economic transformation. Awareness of scheduled Tribes about tribal welfare schemes has generally been considered as the most important factor for their socio-economic transformation. Despite the genuine efforts by the government and various agencies to promote social and economic progress, the condition of the tribals are far from satisfactory and they continue to lag behind the other social groups. As we have examined earlier, there are inter-tribal and intra-tribal variations in the awareness of tribal welfare schemes. Lack of awareness on the part of a sizeable sections of Paniyans sample head of the households resulted the under utilization of certain welfare schemes. This can be reflected in the poor enrolment of children in schools and pre-primary educational centres. Even though Paniyan head of the households are aware of the tribal welfare schemes like educational concessions and financial assistance, they seldom direct their children to get admission in Ashram School and Model Residential School. Our
sample survey revealed that they either mis-utilized or under utilized many welfare schemes. However, it is no longer possible to blame them for their negative and apathetic attitude. On the contrary they have become development oriented. Our study on them showed that they are having the potentiality for socio-economic transformation. It can be stressed that Kurichians in general showed a positive response towards most of the tribal welfare schemes. However, even the Kruichians showed a negative response towards certain schemes like expanding rubber plantation in tribal areas. Again they failed to attain desired results of many tribal educational programmes.

The foregoing analysis stresses the fact that the tribals no longer constitute a homogeneous and undifferentiated socio-cultural entity. However the government and the planners overlooked the unique features of each tribal community and imposed common and stereotype programmes and welfare schemes for their socio-economic transformations. They re-planted certain non-tribal seeds in the alien tribal soil. Here we have not any alternative explanations for the failure of certain tribal welfare schemes implemented for the tribal in general. Our analysis highlights the fact that tribal wise and need based welfare schemes are necessary to accelerate the process of socio-economic transformation.
Notes and References


2. Singh K.S. OP. cited P.1219

3. Ibid


5. Singh OP. cited P. 1320

6. Ibid


10. Singh K.S.OP Cited O. 1321

11. Ibid
