CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Wayanad, a Western Ghat region in the southern Indian state of Kerala is one of the agrarian districts in the state. The literal translation of Waya(l)nad is the ‘land of paddy’. At present, however, the land is known for the cultivation of cash crops. The district is also the abode of the largest number of adivasis in the state\(^1\). Living standards of the marginalised sections of adivasis in the district embarrass the world-renowned human development achievements of the state. In indices like literacy rate, birth rate and infant mortality and sex ratio, Kerala ranks better than other Indian states and compares well with many developed countries in the west. Ex-bonded adivasi communities like Paniyans of Wayanad are stark exceptions to the acclaimed model of Kerala development experience: in the development parlance they are best categorized as ‘outlier’ (Oommen 1998, George 1993).

Wayanad has attracted the attention of policy makers and researchers recently with the increased vulnerability faced by farmers and labourers due to the continuous instability in the prices of major commodities and resultant turmoil in the local labour market which has a large ethnic presence with the Paniyans who were the traditional source of labour power.

This district also has the lowest density of population in the state, with 369 people per sq.km. According to the 2001 census, the total population was 6,72,128 of which male population was 3,41,958 and female 3,30,170.

\(^1\) 36% of the total Adivasi population in the state belongs to Wayanad which is 1,14,969. Scheduled caste population comes to only 1% of the state population which comes 27,835(GoK 2003).
Physical features

Part of the Deccan plateau, Wayanad region is situated in the Western Ghats on the eastern portion of north Kerala at a height between 700 meters and 2100 meters above the mean sea level. It is bordered on the north by the Kodagu district of Karnataka state, on the east by the Mysore district of Karnataka state, the Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu state on the south, and the west by Malappuram, Kozhikode, and Kannur districts of Kerala.

Wayanad, lying on the southern tip of Deccan plateau forms the highest altitude of the western border; the plateau of Wayanad gradually slopes downwards. The northern area of the district has high hills where as the eastern area is flatter and open. Towards the south and the west, the mountainous region descends in height except for some lofty hills. The evergreen forests on the slopes and the deep valleys of the east abound in bamboo forests. The hills and valleys of the south and the west are areas of cultivation, there are both east as well as west flowing rivers in the district. The low hills have plantations of tea, coffee, pepper and cardamom (Nair 1986).

High lands comprising parts of the Western Ghats, the prominent geographic feature of peninsular India, is the most prominent physiographic province in Kerala. The presence of the majestic Western Ghats with lofty ridges interspersed with deep valleys is considered as the chief glory of Wayanad region.

Wayanad district consisting of Mananthavadi, Sulthan Bathery and Wythiry taluks came into existence on 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1980. Under the British government, Wayanad was an independent division within the Malabar district, but in 1924 it was given the status of division and was added to the Thalassery division. In independent Kerala, two taluks, south and north Wayanad, fell in two districts situated away from the district headquarters, causing much inconvenience to the people. The north Wayanad taluk was renamed as Mananthavadi taluk and South Wayanad was split into two taluks: Sulthan Bathery and Wythiri taluks.
**Natural resources**

As per revenue records, the total forest area is 76,500.62 sq.k.m. which accounts for 36.58 per cent of the total area of the district. Of the three types of forests in the region, viz., plateau deciduous, tropical evergreen, and tropical semi-evergreen, the most common is plateau deciduous, found at about 700-1000 meters above the mean sea level, mostly located on the eastern side of the district on the Begur and Chedleth range in an area of high precipitation. This area has a valuable belt of teak forests. The tropical evergreen forests found at a height of 300 meters and above are mainly concentrated in the Lady Smith reserve forests in the Chedleth range. Semi-evergreen forests in which teaks grow abundantly are also found here. Most of the thick forest areas were replaced by the plantation of coffee, tea and cardamom (Census of India 2001).

Agriculture is the principal occupation of this district, coffee, pepper and paddy are the most important crops, which are cultivated in all the villages. More than 75 percent of the coffee production in Kerala is from this district. Other major crops are tea, ginger, cardamom, rubber, coconut, lemon grass and cocoa.

**Communities and livelihoods**

Wayanad is a region having a large array of communities with a wide range of livelihood activities. This is due to the presence of indigenous communities, including *adivasis* and early Hindu migrants, late migrants in the 20th century including Hindu, Christian and Muslim populations and the vast stretches of thick forests. Due to this, many suggest that district is the ethnic and cultural showcase of Kerala.

Wayanad had witnessed a massive influx of people from Kerala plains from 1950 onwards. Cash crop cultivation has been the major source of livelihood for most of the people belonging to settler communities who toiled the soil in incomparable

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2 Especially in the post distress period a new thrust has been found in the tourism sector and the promoters, both in government and private sector, find the ethnic diversity as a useful niche for aggressive tourism ‘packages’ for the region.
ways to change the landscape forever in tune with their agrarian dreams. Major inhabitants in the region prior to the migration included indigenous communities like Paniyan, Kattunayikkan, Mullu-Kurumann, Uralli-kuruman, and Adiyann.

Earliest Hindu settlers of the region are Chetty communities - Waynad Chetty, Mandatan Chetty and Idanadan Chetty - who followed a Hindu tradition and were mainly settled farmers who had migrated from the plains of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka from different directions in a very early period dating back to the period of 15th or 16th century. There is also a small section of Jain community members who migrated from the Mysore plains and engaged in agricultural production on a large scale. The rest of the population, the tribal communities who inhabited the Wayanad forests, were gatherers, hunters and shifting cultivators.

Among them, the Kurichiyas are considered as the first agricultural tribe who migrated from the plains of Malabar to Wayanad (Menon 1967). They practiced shifting cultivation, which was referred to as “punam” cultivation in the local language. Kurumans were another indigenous tribe who practiced both paddy cultivation and punam cultivation on the slopes of the hills.

All the “authentic versions of history” of Paniyans and Adiyans start with the settled agricultural production system introduced in a much later period by the Hindu and Jain migrants between the 10th and the 16th centuries (Menon 1997). They are referred to as the bonded labourers. Uralli-Kuruma was the chief artisan tribe of Wayanad. They were skilled black smiths, carpenters, potters, and basket-makers. Kattunaikas collected forest products and their life recorded around the forest till recent decades.

**Wayanad and its Development Space**

In the present study, the central theme - the local and the global- spins around the social scape of Wayanad with cash crop cultivation as the major livelihood base. It is understood in the study that the local – global interfaces in the region have a historical continuity, finally entwined in development space negotiated differently by different local communities. We look at this differential nature of negotiations in relation to different phases in the livelihood practices among various communities.
Problem context of the present study

Globalisation provides the problem context of the present study. Increased interconnections between the global and the local due to the great socio-economic changes at different levels have manifested as different issues within the livelihood realities of local communities. Contemporary changes that pertain to our study context, like elsewhere, are mainly due to the increased flow of money, ideas and technology embedded in a political regime of open economy, but also owing to a widely subscribed global development discourse. We assume that these changes have great potential to reshape the power relations at the local also. In locating the trajectory of changes, it is imperative to lay threadbare these inter-twined interplays of different processes among the communities..

Though living in a marginal spatial as well as social and economic context, the Paniyans are also deeply exposed to and thus interlinked with the various manifestations of globalisation that bring in changes on an unprecedented scale. Our research problem lies in the differential ability of the local communities in negotiating these changes. Capabilities are greatly varied across the communities, especially between marginalised communities like Paniyans and the others. Communities’ ability to negotiate the global and the local is dialectically linked to present changes at the interface in the livelihood practices and local power structures; hence these processes, through the changing structures, relations and practices, become instrumental in shaping the agency of the communities in further negotiating the processes.

The specificities that are of interest to this study are outlined below:

1. Wayanad region has been facing livelihood vulnerabilities due to the extreme instability of the prices of agricultural commodities as a result of increased integration into global economies. As a matter of fact, coffee and pepper have faced an unprecedented fall in prices and price fluctuations since the mid 1990s. This period of price crash corresponds to the restructuring of the global economy – especially under WTO – and the opening up of the Indian borders for free international trade. The fluctuations in the cash crop economy have affected the
already historically deprived Paniyan population, being mostly agricultural labourers in the cash crop economy.

Thus, through their main income source of agricultural labour on the (small) farms of landowning groups (mainly erstwhile settlers), and integrated into global economic processes through the production of coffee and pepper, the Paniyans too are now exposed to the uncertainties of global processes. The livelihood vulnerability has increased, among a section of Paniyans, and consequently, the trend of seasonal labour migration to the neighbouring state of Karnataka as one of the coping strategies has increased.

This local–global interface which is specific to Wayanad and the livelihood issues that stem from it have become a contested global space of livelihood struggles across the national boundaries.

2. Another context of local –global interface, not an area which pertains exclusively to Wayanad, is of state decentralization (as a global discourse) with a focus on participatory local development and the increased role of globally networked NGOs in development actions. In order to promote effective local democracy in India, the Indian parliament has made in 1993 the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, which are known as Panchayati Raj amendments. Accordingly, all the state governments are mandated to conduct regular elections to the local bodies and institutionalize them to govern locally. State governments have to devolve a major part of governmental responsibilities to these local bodies.

Decentralisation has created new sites of development practices in the region, bringing – in principle – the many actors with different interests together to act upon. Governmental and non-governmental organisations have been assigned new roles in this participatory development regime. This has been also an area of divergent interests and conflicts. As a consequence, Paniyans are having to deal with changes in the political sphere as well

Development is a contested category and process, actively resisted, accepted and modified by local actors over time. In these processes though, Paniyans were made
the so called ‘outlier’ in the development pattern of Kerala: marginalised people, not sharing the otherwise high development standards of Kerala.

3. Another space which demarcates the global–local interface is the one of the social and political movements based on new imagination of indigenous (i.e. *adivasi* or *tribal*) identity. New farmers’ movements are also critical in the case of Wayanad. Poor farmers and *adivasis* took part in significant ways in these movements in recent years. Collective action in terms of mobilisation on the basis of identity has been an instrument for negotiating the local institutions. Expansion of indigenist activities have been observed across the world in the recent decade along with the UN declaration of the rights of Indigenous People in 2007 exerting pressure on the national regimes to have a new understanding of indigienity (Merlan 2009).

Wayanad witnessed an *adivasi* uprising in recent years for the legitimate demand for land redistribution, i.e. gaining access to land resources to secure livelihoods. The Paniyan community was in the vanguard of this movement which was supported mainly by civic organisations and the media. Following this, land redistribution became an immediate agenda for the state and political parties also.

4. In this context, the media have become an inevitable part of the everyday life in the region, especially with the emergence of electronic media. It has been a constant catalyst behind various governmental actions. Local happenings including farmers and *adivasi* movements in the region have been widely telecast by the visual media. The voices of the weakest were able to be heard in public spheres through its mediation. People also watch similar events in other parts of Kerala, India and the globe; hence they are able to connect the logic of events transcending the local barriers.

But, the penetration of media relations into the locality does not itself play as a major source of changes but all of the global-local manifestations discussed above are mediated through the live media interventions which have global reach today; globally produced images are most powerful catalysts at present in the formation of ‘identity’ and ‘otherness’.

**Through the history of the region**
In Wayanad, linkages between local livelihood practices and the global markets exist since colonial times. This region for example, was an area where the British government rehabilitated soldiers from the plains of Kerala who took part in the second world war under an agricultural extension programme known as ‘colonisation scheme’. In the postcolonial period of democratic regimes, political parties represented mainly by this settled population became the powerful agents of modernisation and development. These emerging elites in the area represented the "grand nation-building project" based on modern agriculture supported by the green revolution programme.

Evidenced history of the region dates back to the recent past. Only with the British intervention following the invasion of the kingdom of Mysore, the rebellion of the raja of Kottayam against the British and the establishment of the colonial administration in the 18th century, did Wayanad start to become visible in the ‘authentic’ historical accounts. Much of the versions of ancient histories are derived from the local myths transmitted through the local populations and the interpretations made by the experts on inscriptions, which were found in different parts of the region. This has not been fully authenticated. Rest of the writings are mostly produced as part of the larger colonial project.

According to colonial historiography, it is widely believed that the whole region was an abode of ‘jungle tribes’ like Paniyan and Adiyans till the 5th century A.D. and since then the movements of people from the plains started to penetrate into Wayanad region. The Wayanad area, densely covered by malaria -ridden tropical forests, is observed as one of the least hospitable areas for human habitation in prehistoric times. There is archaeological evidence of human occupation in the eastern half of Wayanad during neolithic times. The Paniyans, Adiyans and other ‘backward tribes’ are believed to represent the earliest food gathering settlers of Wayanad. These early settlers are referred to as vedars (hunters) in the legends of Wayanad (Aiyappan 1992).

The presence of Hindus and Jains in different parts of the area from the 10th century onwards is proved by sculptures and the relics of temples mostly in Mysorean style
found in these regions. Thiruneli was known as a Hindu pilgrim centre since the same period and this temple is more than 1,200 years old. Movement of people from Mysore to Wayanad region was believed to be frequent in medieval times especially in the eastern part of this region. But the population declined due to unknown reasons. Malaria is likely to have been one of the causes of this depopulation (ibid.21).

Historically it is believed that Wayanad came under the control of Kottayam dynasty as a gift from the king of kolathiry in the 8th century A.D., though direct control was minimal in the early epochs due to the inaccessibility of these difficult terrains. According to one legend, the vedar chief of Waynad, believed to be a tribal king, was assassinated by the rajas of Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kurumbranad and his country invaded by them as revenge against him for having captured the prince of Kumbla on his way to Thirunelly temple and compelling him to marry his daughter. After the killing of vedar raja Wayanad was shared by the rulers from the plains among themselves. A representative of Kottayam raja was assigned to undertake the administration of some parts of the area. It is believed that the major portion of Wayanad became under the control of Kottayam raja after the tragic event of the vedar raja assassination. This event also ended the tribal dynasty in Wayanad region. As a result, “socio-political system concentrated wealth and power in the hands of a few Brahmins, Kshatriya and samantha chieftains and their Nair feudatories. Both, economic and political power got reduced at the lower rungs of the ladder of caste and became nil among the untouchable communities (ibid.22)”.

Feudal land relations based on slavery of the ‘untouchables’ developed in the subsequent periods. Many characteristics of the Hindu caste system penetrated into the local social life and value system. Internal stratification on the basis of purity and pollution, a universal feature of the pan Indian caste system, made its marks even among the tribal people in the area. It is observed that this process of Hinduisation was not as rigid as it was practiced in the plains, especially for the ‘untouchable’ serfs or slaves due to the reasons discussed below (Aiyappan 1992).
At that point in time, Wayanad area, densely covered by malaria-ridden tropical forests, was perhaps one of the least hospitable areas for human habitation. The extremely inhospitable nature had posed problems to all and many of them could not withstand the devastating epidemics like malaria, which decimated the population until the 19th century. The slave communities like Paniyans had greater adaptive potential within the wild ecology of Wayanad which gave them a comparative advantage over other dominating communities. At another level, a process of ‘tribalisation’ of caste Hindu immigrants might have been taking place as part of their adaptive exercises in an alien ecological setting.

At the end of the 17th century, the king of Mysore, Hyderali and his son Tippu Sulthan invaded the Malabar regions of Kerala via Wayanad for expanding their territory. Wayanad came under the direct control of Tippu sultan, while the rest of the Malabar region came under indirect control which led to conflicts with the British East India company which at the same period was trying to convert their trade interests in the region into political domination. Mysore army passed through the Wayanad four times and each time they conducted raids in these areas and robbed the rich houses and cattle (Nair 1909, Gopi 2002). Ultimately, the British could overpower Tippu and establish rights over the captured areas, but later they had to face rebellion from the raja of Kottayam who had claims over Wayanad. In 1805 the British forces brutally killed the raja of Kottayam, popularly known as Pazhassi raja and established their supremacy over this region. This was an end of one epoch in which royal families and local chieftains had played a crucial role in local politics.

Major shift in the local social setting, after the end of the domination of local rulers, was related to the incursion of colonial power through the new administrative structures and with the introduction of new production process involving the global economic forces. This is the period in which British government introduced new administrative reforms, focusing on revenue collection from the local people; the new governance structures conferred much power to important local Nair families, legitimizing their customary feudal rights.
In the beginning of the 20th century, it was the turn of Christian migrants from southern Kerala to experiment with the large-scale production of cash crops. This event marks the beginning of the historic ‘Malabar migration’, which drastically changed the destiny of Wayanad. These earlier migrants were people who had exposure to European planters and plantation systems and could internalise the logic of agricultural practices that was required for a commercially viable agricultural production.

Immigration from southern Kerala had been qualitatively different from the rest of the migrations to the Wayanad that took place in different phases of its earlier history. The compelling motive for this greater inflow of human beings was exposure to the market, especially global market as far as the cash crop economy is concerned, and the adaptation to a monetised economy.

‘Otherness’ of adivasis in the context of development

As far as the marginal adivasis are concerned construction of ‘otherness’ happens largely in the development context of Kerala society. Popular discourses of development constructs ‘otherness’ in terms of the categories like Forward/Backward, Progressive/Non Progressive, etc. A contrast like non adivasi/adivasi is also often used in the same context. Though adivasi backwardness is a fact in material terms, popular construction and imagination of it works entirely on the basis of a historically constructed otherness.

Anthropological representations have often been questioned and critiqued for constructing such an otherness by presenting ‘them’ in stagnant terms and stereotyping their culture (Marcus and Fischer 1986, Clifford and Marcus 1990). Case of adivasis in Kerala, especially in Wayanad is also not much different. Their life and livelihoods have been documented from the colonial period. Preparation of ethnographic notes and administrative reports during the colonial times was largely part of an overall project of colonial regime to bring all communities and localities in the country under surveillance.

Considerable literature has been produced on Kerala during the British period. Extensive efforts have been made to understand as well as to “introduce the
aboriginal tribes and castes” of the then states of Madras, Cochin and Travancore (Thurston 1907, Iyer 1909). Many administrative reports and gazetteers discussing the socio-economic condition of the area and the people were published in the same period (Logan 1897, Innes 1908, Nair 2000).

Efforts of anthropologists to describe the alien *adivasi* communities and their cultures continued even after independence in tune with the foundational interest of the discipline of the period. Serious attempts were made to identify the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes and for a holistic description of these communities. The primary focus of these efforts had been the issue of tribal integration with mainstream society.

Most of the anthropological studies confined either to the ethnographic descriptions of individual communities, with a major focus on tribal lives and cultures or ethnographic description of village life (Aiyappan 1948, 1988, 1992, Lewis 1962, Mathur 1977, Bhanu 1989, Misra 1977) many of these works produced in the post-independent period contained the narrations on ‘backwardness’ of these communities in their cultural contexts and the issues involved in the state led ‘modernization’ and ‘development’ projects. An emphasis on the specific ways of lives and world views was present in many of these studies. Disciplinary concern was on the in depth description of the communities, which were largely “untouched by the modernization wave” as well as on the public misconceptions about the cultural specificities of tribal communities and their problems in adapting to the modern ways of living.

**Case of Paniyan ‘otherness’**

Paniyans, an ‘exbonded’ labour community, constitute the majority of the agricultural work force in Wayand today. Paniyans in Wayanad consider themselves indigenous to the area and the word Wayanad literally means ‘land of paddy fields’. The meaning of the ethnonym Paniyans - those who toil on the land - is also connected to land and labour. They were part of a livelihood system based on wetland agriculture controlled mainly by the land owning communities like Nair and Chetty. Colonial accounts on the area and people and traditional ethnographies on the community describe them mainly as ‘slave communities’ who were ‘enslaved’
and 'domesticated' by the landed communities as part of the feudalist power relations and hierarchies (Nair 1911, Nair 1976, Aiyappan 1992, Thurston 1907, Menon 1996).

Colonial ethnographers use the information derived mainly from the accounts given by the European planters or the informants at hand. Thurston (1907) introduces the Paniyans as a dark-skinned tribe, short in stature with broad nose and curly hair, inhabiting Wayanad and those portions of the Eranad, Calicut, Kurumbranad and Kottayam taluks of Malabar which skirts the base of the ghats and some parts of the Nilgiri district.

Thurston has recorded “a common belief based on their general appearance, prevailing among the European community that the Paniyans are of African origin and descended from ancestors who were wrecked on the Malabar coast” (Thurston 1907), although he himself does not agree with such a theory.

A definite account about the origin of the Paniyans has been not formed and how they reached Wayanad to choose it as their ‘original’ abode. While inscriptions found from the Wayanad region are silent about the Paniyans, it is only in the British administrative records that Paniyans are mentioned. They were referred to as the slaves whom the British employed as guides and scouts for getting information about the movement of the Pazhassi raja, a great rebel against British, and his followers inside the Wayanad interiors (ibid).

However, according to a tradition, Paniyans consider themselves as the successors of a couple who belonged to the Banasura fort in North Wayanad which they called ‘ippimala’ (Aiyappan 1992, Nair 1976, Nair 2000). Accordingly, later they were ‘trapped’, ‘domesticated’ and trained to be agricultural labourers by the Chettys and Goundas, who were the immigrant agriculturalists. According to this narration, Paniyans feared outsiders and were reluctant to appear outside during day time till they were ‘caught’ by Chettys and Goundas. Healthy Paniyans are described in these narratives as very efficient for doing risky agricultural works in swampy fields. Reportedly they were ‘enslaved’ to do these types of works for the landlords and cultivators belonging to different communities until the mid 20th century.
The system of bonded labourers has been widely reported and discussed in independent Kerala. Earlier reports refer to it as a system of ‘slavery’ and a Paniyan along with his family was supposed to do agricultural work for his landlords for a year (Panoor 1969 Nair 1976, Aiyappan 1992). His master had every right to transfer him like a good to others for a fixed price once his work for the year gets completed. This system was known as ‘kundelppani’ (Nair1976) and in some other parts as ‘vallippani’.

Some of the popular writings though sympathetic ones, had a tremendous impact in constructing an adivasi otherness in Kerala, described the “slavery” in Wayanad on par with that of their African counterparts.Series of such popular representations of Wayanad and Paniyans invoked the images of Africa and the blacks’ historically unjust ways. Naturally, settlers could absorb the image of ‘white invaders’. Common knowledge about a community like Paniyans in their neighbourhoods is also mostly from such popular representations. Personal experience in living in a Paniyan neighbourhood suggests to me that even the local representations are rooted deeply in the cultural bias historically nurtured.

**Development Space and Paniyan ‘Otherness’: Personal Encounters**

My personal encounter with Paniyans did not begin with my role as an outside researcher in a distant marginal environment. It goes further to my childhood days when I met Paniyans in the agrarian neighbourhoods of my maternal home in the highland village of Kannur district which is also situated adjacent to the slopes of the Wayanad hills, where we were sustained in a shared agrarian livelihood environment but with an extremely different existence. As a researcher who is sharing a development space and aspirations of Kerala society, it is now possible for me to look back to my childhood days and see how a ‘development –other’ had been made out for Paniyans in everyday lives.

Manu and Vinu, siblings of Balan who worked as a coconut plucker in our neighbourhood and also did some additional agricultural works for daily wages, were in my age group and they used to take food from our houses along with their father whenever they came for work and even when there was no work. They
climbed on the trees for catching birds or plucking fruits. We watched the boys with curiosity but never played with them. We were told by our elders that they never go to school and were not appropriate company for us to hang around with.

Another Paniyan boy named Babu from a nearby settlement had stayed with us in our home for looking after cows and did other non agricultural works. In those days, it was considered normal for large farmers to employ Paniyan youth as attached labourers in the absence of workers belonging to other lower castes who declined to work in that arrangement. Babu was a good singer but a primary school dropout who did not find any importance in education. I was very happy in his company as he could sing popular Malayalam film songs in a loud voice and introduce me to different types of birds and plants I was completely ignorant of. But I knew nothing about his family.

Another occasion when I happened to hear more about Paniyan during my childhood was in the early 1980s when a conflict occurred between the local landowners including my grandfather, and the Paniyan families. There were accusations on some Paniyan families in the neighbourhood of encroachment and “collective theft” of cashew nuts. There was a heated debate within our family on this issue. My father, as a trade union leader in the region, took a different position on this issue. The incident which was painted as the ‘collective theft’ was actually extension of a customary practice. Paniyan had enjoyed the freedom to collect the leftovers in the cashew plantation when the season was declared to be over by the landowners by ‘kulukki pari’ (clearing of cashews trees) after the vishu festival which marks the beginning of a new agrarian year. But in that particular year farmers enjoyed record price for their product. So they had postponed the ‘kulukki pari’. Unmindful of this, the Paniyan families had collected cashew nuts from the gardens which ultimately led to the conflict that reached an extent of physical harassment on each side. The perceived “arrogance” on the part of the otherwise silent labourers was attributed to be the influence of Naxals (left extremist groups). However, politically and economically powerful farmers could finally manage to suppress the Paniyan voice and collect the crop till the season was over. Continuation of the same practice by
farmers in the following years compelled the Paniyan families to give up their customary rights over the left over produces.

Another curiosity in my childhood days about Paniyans was a tribal school in the area. It was on the way to our barber shop. Children of the school were always seen outside the classrooms and even in the nearby paddy fields and streams. There was always total chaos. My uncle who used to accompany me would explain that it is a school run by the government freely for Paniyans. There would never be enough number of teachers and they run it for a joke, I was informed.

Actually, we were not aware of the real life world of the Paniyans in our neighbourhoods. We knew them as laboureres but of a different sort; labourers from our own community were considered part of ourselves. As children we grew up on stories of the Paniyans being unhygienic, uneducated, and a primitive lot with anarchic family orders. They were often ridiculed by the elders in front of us for speaking their own dialect which was treated as inferior Malayalam.

Underdevelopment was the main marker to notify them in such a lower status. They constituted a development “other” in our neighbourhood, outside a space for which the rest of the communities aspired for. This space was one which was claimed and shared by rest of the communities, broadly sharing similar socio-economic processes which was carving out a specific development pathway for Kerala society. Construction of this “otherness” of the Paniyans and most other adivasi communities is to be understood in the context of development aspirations, mainly based on ethnicity. This development “Otherness” is rooted in the depths of collective consciousness of the Malayalis. Going again by my own experience, once I was sarcastically referred to as an adivasi by a senior professor during my short tenure in a research institute in Thiruvananthapuram when I told him that I did not know cycling or typewriting.

Development processes within Kerala have created a social space in which many of the erstwhile downtrodden communities have been emerging as powerful socio-political agents with increased mobility and dominant socio-economic status by successfully negotiating the modern institutions (Osella and Osella 2000, Frankie
Relatively successful implementation of land reforms in the state helped most of the erstwhile tenants - mainly middle order communities - to procure the entitlement of land. Changes in the economic order were very much in tune with the development aspirations of people of Kerala including those in Wayanad also. Better education, living space and health practice facilities became basic demands for a decent living. National and international migration became an important means for people in Kerala to follow their aspirations and hopes for development. In the case of Wayanad, shift in the livelihood base was from wet land paddy cultivation to commercial crops like pepper and coffee in the absence of international migration.

But communities like Paniyans were largely excluded from these processes which created modern Kerala and its characteristics. This was mainly due to the double subjugation they faced, i.e.: through the absorption into the lowest strata of the Hindu caste system and in the ‘internal colonization’ of their localities in the highlands by Kerala people from the plains in the early 20th century for expanding the cultivation of plantation crops. In this process, Paniyans became landless agricultural labourers and marginalised adivasis.

It is in this context that an inquiry into the livelihood practices of a community like Paniyans, who are excluded from the macro-development processes within the state and also from the circuits of national and international migration – which shaped the development trajectory of Kerala – would be interesting to understand how an indigenous, i.e. adivasi community in Kerala negotiates the globalization process in historically and culturally specific ways and specific times. By livelihood, we mean not merely assurance to means of life, but holistically, a way of life with multiple dimensions that range from labouring ability to the formation of identity. And local level inquiry of globalization is meant here to be the critical investigation into the development trajectory of a community in its wider socio-political and economic contexts. To understand the historic processes of Paniyans' marginalisation, their present livelihood practices, as well as to explore pathways for their social as well as economic empowerment, their livelihood experience needs to be researched by focusing on the 'local' as well as 'the global' – and specifically how global processes shape the local – and thus the lives of Paniyans.
The Research Question

The basic question addressed in the present study is how a community like Paniyan negotiates between the ‘local’ (i.e. Local asset endowment and relations of power) and the ‘global’ (i.e. the accelerating economic, cultural and political forces they are exposed to) in shaping their livelihood practices vis-à-vis other communities. So, the study is trying to put forward an analysis of the presence or absence of capability of the communities in relation with their mode of agencies in negotiating the local and the global which is epitomised as a development space in the present research.

The Research Objectives

Hypothesizing that power relations—access to and/ or ownership of resources— are crucial for the local communities in shaping livelihood practices and in also creating the capabilities to negotiate the global changes, the study has the following major research objectives:

V. To explore the livelihood practices of Paniyans as interlinked with the livelihoods of others in the study village within different regimes of development in a historical perspective;

VI. To investigate the role of decentralized governance and participatory development in the local livelihoods mediated by the governmental and non-governmental organizations with focus on Paniyans;

VII. To examine the livelihood responses within the Paniyan community to the changes in labour and product markets, seasonal migration and social movement in the present context,

VIII. To analyse the differential capabilities and agencies of communities like Paniyans and others at present in negotiating the local and global in relation to their livelihood practices

A comparative understanding of the communities’ capabilities in negotiating a development space would be expected to enhance the scope for further
generalization of study. This is being done by adopting a perspective from below which could sufficiently reflect the *emic* understanding of a marginalised community of Kerala on the empirical realities of their existence.

**Notes on methodology: Conceptual Frame and Tools**

As an anthropological study which focuses on contemporary socio-economic processes, attempt made in this thesis is to bring the communities of a region—Wayanad— and their livelihood practices under ethnographic probe. In line with that study is basically a qualitative one, but quantitative data based on primary and secondary surveys are used for explanatory purposes wherever appropriate. Numbers are used mainly for showing the livelihood activities, resource base etc., across the communities in understanding their differential capabilities in the negotiation of the development processes.

The power of anthropology in giving space to the powerless through incorporation of their own voices is now well-recognised. An *emic* understanding of reality helps produce an alternative perspective to the ‘mainstream’ one or ‘authentic’ understanding of social processes (Oommen 2004). Putting the powerless in the centre and bringing out their voices as a powerful critique of an unjust social order have been anthropological practices for long. So, our inquiry into the processes of globalisation at the local level necessarily brings out the context of asymmetrical power relations incorporating a perspective from below about the contemporary social processes. Micro level processes of globalisation will be zoomed in here with the peripheral lives of Paniyan people of Wayanad region in Kerala brought to its centre. An attempt is made to understand the local –global interconnections with a focus on communities and their livelihoods, thus desisting from the conventional ethnographic practice of probing in to a single community in isolation, but with central focus on the Paniyan.

The methodology adopted here is also bringing to focus a regional perspective. A region is always marked by certain specific geographical and economic characteristics which influence the livelihood practices of the people that may be unlike those found in other regions within same state or country. A regional
perspective also gives us better understanding of a locality by relating to general trends in economy and society with which people in a common cultural environment need to interact continuously. Besides, a micro study of global processes makes the inquiry necessarily move beyond a locality as locality can not be viewed as closed one; many of the influences on it and its people are mediated at the supra-local/regional levels and the local-level actions or decisions decisively linked to the local livelihoods are often, taken outside of it to a regional scale, if not to global.

Present study is done in a village taking into consideration a close representation of the regional characteristics and the manifestations of the local and global interconnections and scanning the social changes over the years but the regional context has been brought to bear in the analysis. This kind of approach is accepted here in tune with the recent trend in anthropology to look beyond the micro locations and to view them not as closed living spaces, but within a political economy framework, especially in the genre of anthropological studies of globalization (Nash 2001, Appadurai 1997, etc). However, this attention to the supra-local is not being done overlooking the traditional ethnographic peculiarities on a particular people shaped in relation to the locality or place they live in. The depth and vigor of an anthropological analysis continues to be a major strength of research in our study too, with the in-depth focus on the Paniyans.

The new thrust on multi-sitedness has methodologically created challenges in ethnographic practices. Research in a single site can no longer elicit the multiple dimensions of change coming into a local culture and society. As a shift in the ethnographic practice, it is attempted to link-up the traditional ethnographic close-up of every day practices, rituals, and social organisations etc. to the global changes. The ‘local’ and the ‘global’ are increasingly and inextricably interpenetrated in our understanding and it informs the methodology of tracing the local-global interpenetrations.

Local linkages with global processes are more significant than ever and such linkages are understood historically and in relation to the changes in the different layers of macro social systems. Thus, to suit the analytical rigours demanded in this
era of globalization, the livelihood practices of the households within a community are explored as being perhaps, intricately linked to the livelihood dynamics of other households in other communities or to the changing structures or practices in the larger social system.


Present study is not strictly a multi-sited ethnography. But we have understood the meaning of multi-sited ethnography in studying the contemporary social changes and it has been used for gathering information from extended sites which are important in explaining the meaning of living and livelihoods under the study village. Sites of social movements, NGO mediated development practices and destinations of the labour migration are some of the extended sites in our study region which have the potential to change the livelihoods in our primary site of ethnographic probe.

So this study on local–global interface fuses three different levels of inquiry i.e. Individual, communal and societal within a broader development space of their interrelations, with the community as the central entry point.

In this study, one of the administrative wards in an agrarian Panchayat of Wayanad district in the Indian state of Kerala was selected as the basic site of the study, which was extended during the course of field work to some other sites found to be relevant for study objective and Paniyan livelihoods in the study village.

As part of the larger study undertook in CDS I had exposure to this selected village which prompted me to take up a deeper ethnographic probe here. The study village was selected on the basis of the manifested local–global interconnections. As part of the earlier study which had undertaken comprehensive survey of livelihoods, household socio-economic data was available. So the basic information about the population profile, asset distribution etc from the first survey, in which I was a part, are used. Some of the other data related to SHGs, labour migration and share cropping among the Paniyan were collected using separate questionnaire. Use of
these data was mainly to draw the general patterns among the population which was helpful for developing the questions with regard to our study objective and to identify the possible exceptions. Case studies used in the study were selected on the basis of this understanding of general pattern and exception to it.

The study starts with a special focus on locality as a physical entity. An administrative ward is the basic territorial unit of political life in the village, especially after the implementation of decentralisation. This division of physical place has a direct impact on the livelihood practices of the communities in different ways, though it reveals little about their social spaces of living and experience or imagination of identity. A focus on physical locality would help us to understand the socio-economic classifications including the population profile, unequal distribution of material resources etc., with the help of quantitative data. Investigation into the socio-economic spaces of living and the livelihood practices at the multiple sites largely at the conceptual level of understanding, it is hoped, would enable us to construct a critical and reflective ethnography of micro processes at local level.

But qualitative probe is not confined merely to the study village alone. Often it goes beyond the boundaries of ward to region for selecting cases which are found important in explaining the connections and differences in terms of the livelihood practices of the communities, especially of Paniyans, in the village. There is a general pattern in the livelihood practices of Paniyan as they constitute the landless agricultural labour force in the area. Practices within and outside the village on the basis of the presence or absence of livelihood assets are treated as separate cases which could explain the meaning of agency and capabilities at the level of community, households and individuals in negotiating the complex changes. The spatial dimensions of the physically bound living get importance in such case studies. An individual journey through different physical sites in different points of time in their livelihood struggles though each identified with a definite site as ones own locality, configures a specific space of existence especially in the context of changes. As far as the Paniyan of this particular village is concerned participation in the land movement is such an experience. Migration is yet another one. Development practices mediated by the local NGOs also construct such a space which goes beyond
the well defined boundaries of the study unit. Case studies are found useful in such contexts to delineate the spatial dimension of livelihood practices.

Translating the practice of multi-sited ethnography in real research experience is highly challenging. Need for such an approach depends upon its appropriateness in a particular research theme. Common strategy behind such ethnographic practice is to follow a person or commodity. Establishing different linkages and identifying relevant sites are important steps.

Inquiry into different sites is used mainly for building different cases related to migration, social movements, and NGO activities.

Interviews and participant/non-participant observations are the main techniques used in this study. Life histories of individuals are used in building cases. Semi-structured interviews of key informants and oral narratives are used to depict the regional history, traced out from secondary sources. Secondary information collected from the earlier team-surveys and newspapers are used in describing the livelihood changes in the region. Sources like oral histories, folk tales, etc. have been corroborated with triangulation of facts (Fielding and Fielding 1986).

Suitable techniques that could complement participant observation like focus group interviews, structured and unstructured interviews and case studies have been employed in addition to secondary data collection from official records, census reports and other government documents, newspapers and magazines allowing synchronic and diachronic data collection on the area and the population under study. From the household survey purposively selected samples of community-wise stratified agricultural labour and cultivator households were drawn for in-depth qualitative interviews.

**Theoretical and Conceptual Outlining**

As it is put elsewhere, the major thrust of the study is to analyse the impact of local–global interpenetrations into the livelihood practices and local power structures of the Paniyans vis-à-vis others – which are being shaped and reshaped by global capitalist processes embedded locally. An empirically informed and grounded theory of
practice has become the underlying framework of the study which interlinks livelihood practices, (development) habitus (Bourdieu 1979), understood in our context as a space, assets or resource base, capabilities and agency.

Implied thesis is that those who have higher claims over the development space with diversified livelihood practices and resource base are having an advantageous position in the local power structures. With increased capabilities and agency they are also found to be in a better position to negotiate the new global processes resulting in further social mobility. Power structure is also meant to be the differential access to various resources (ibid.). The given processes under study have also resulted in the increased conflicts and competition over the limited resources on the one hand and collective mobilisation on the other. In this context, capabilities to negotiate the same processes by the local communities depend on the type of agency they have acquired historically through the changing livelihood practices, resource base and power relations.

Traditionally, the in-migrants from the Kerala plains used to control the land resources in Wayanad, while the landless adivasis like Paniyans had to depend on these migrants for wage labour. But the new processes have become instrumental in bringing fissures in these well established categories. Livelihood practices are analysed here to understand historically the ruptures and continuity which structure and restructure the power relations at local. In the following part we try to elaborate on the different concepts used in the study.

**Livelihood practices-- Bourdieu’s Conceptualisation**

**Practice** is a crucial term in this study which would interlink theory, methodology and empirical context in a logical and meaningful way. According to Bourdieu (1979), practices cannot be deduced either from the present conditions which may seem to have provoked them or from the past conditions which have produced the habitus, the durable principle of their production. Practices can therefore only be accounted for by relating the social conditions in which the habitus that generated the practices was constituted, to the social conditions in which it is implemented.
The concept of practice connects past and present actions which are historically constituted through the habitus. ‘the habitus’ – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. As such it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respect to external determinations of the immediate present (Bourdieu 1977).

Social practices are defined on the grounds of an analysis of their impact on the field and the rules they are guided by within this field. “this means that social practices are highly dependent on the habitus (a “system of dispositions” according to Bourdieu) and on capital (economic, cultural, symbolic) of the practicing party, within a specific field. Thus, we could consider social practices as ways of doing, of acting, actions or activities with practical effects that have an obligatory social, spatial and historic context. “A social practice is what exists dynamically “between” the actor and the system – i.e. a process. It is thanks to social practices that the actor establishes an active relationship with the system he is part of”(Pedderazini et.al 2005). Understanding of the contexts, which are historic, geographic and political, is important in analyzing the logic behind the social practice.

Individuals take decisions on livelihood strategies within the institution of households, which can also be sites of conflict and power relations. Nevertheless, livelihood practices are not merely the outcome of subjective and independent decisions of households, but shaped in relation to the system of collective dispositions shared by the agents within a socially structured situation. Historical epochs bring in changes in the material condition of the society, hence formulating new practices and reproducing existing structures and modes of relations. Livelihood practices also undergo changes according to the macro institutional pressures and policy shifts that often create livelihood crises. It may compel agents to pursue new strategies for survival that ultimately produce new livelihood practices and the changes in the existing structures through collective or individual actions.

**Livelihood approach**

The "livelihood approach" has already become orthodoxy in development research with a huge amount of literature outpoured in empirical as well as conceptual levels.
Livelihood has been widely discussed as a useful concept to understand the dimensions of rural poverty and livelihood strategies for living. A formal framework of sustainable rural livelihoods (SLR) for analysing rural livelihoods promoted by international agencies like DFID, World Bank, etc has become popular in recent years as it was found useful in their poverty alleviation programmes as an evaluation tool. In this approach emphasis is shifted from groups of people obliged to undertake multiple livelihoods for survival to individuals creatively combining multiple activities in order to minimize risk in the context of vulnerability.

Livelihood, according to a definition, comprises capabilities, assets (both material and resources) and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway 1992 in Ellis 2000, Scoones 1994, Ellis 2000).

Generally and conventionally, the starting points of the ‘framework’ are the assets owned, controlled, claimed or accessed by the households through some other means. These are the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labour markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households. Assets are further divided into five categories, physical, natural, financial, human and social categories that constitute the material condition for livelihood strategies (Ellis 2000).

The multi-dimensional orientation of the "livelihoods approach" has been welcomed by many. However, the often mechanical application of the framework has led to much critique. These critiques often focus on the lack of attention to the power structures and processes in multiple levels. Livelihood activities are observed as not neutral, but engendering processes of inclusion and exclusion (Haan and Zoomers 2005).

Therefore, **political asset** is identified in some of the works as crucial, which address the question of livelihoods and local power structures more explicitly (Baumann 2000, Korf 2004). Political asset refers to the relationships and networks of people related to local power centres that they have an advantage over others in enhancing their livelihood chances. In the study about the war economy of Sri Lanka, Korf found that the role of social and political assets is essential as
instrumental in enabling individuals, households, or economic actors to stabilise or even expand their livelihood options and opportunities.

The access that individuals or households have to different types of capital, opportunities and services is an important attribute of livelihoods. Access is defined by the rules and social norms that determine the differential ability of people in rural areas to own, control, otherwise claim or make use of resources such as land and common property (Scoones 1998). Access is also understood in relation with the ability to benefit from things (Ribot and Peluso 2003). Importance of political decisions derived out of the interventions of powerful groups and institutional conditions at the ‘local’ has been realized in order to understand people’s access to various resources and benefit (Sikor and Lund 2009).

In sum, a mere documentation of livelihood complexity and diversity would be ignoring a deeper understanding of social inequalities. The absence of ‘class’ in the analysis has been also subjected to criticism. By focusing on ‘empowering the poor’ while giving little attention to the processes by which people are being disempowered or reduced to being powerless, many of the popular studies limit the political space. From a Marxist perspective, purposeful displacement of the category livelihood is argued accusing it of being a “troubling retreat from history, politics and class analysis” (Laughlin 2002). The livelihood approach thus is critiqued for presenting itself without a theory, especially, without a theoretical understanding of political space that can be translated into empirical analysis.

In the present study we reject the mechanistic models of livelihood analysis dominating in the mainstream development discourse, but share the paradigm shift within the development thinking, which proposes a humanistic perspective by rejecting teleological and functionalist tendencies, with a fresh focus on the actors and their actions in relation to the local structures, following the hermeneutic tradition within anthropology and ethnography. Possession of and/or access to assets -analytical core in the livelihood approach- are not counted in absolute and materialistic terms alone; but more than that, we see it as symbolic power which is capable of producing differential and relative spaces of livelihood actions.
Locality of Study

In the present study, though we look at the processes in the regional level Waynad, which share some common socio–economic characteristics and with regards to the historical changes, a locality called Kappikkunnu is selected to get the concrete manifestations of the global processes. This locality also suitably represents Wayanad region in the population profile with the presence of adivasis and others in similar proportion and the livelihood combination with settler communities as holding major share of the land and landless adivasis as agricultural labouers.

This is also an area which strongly manifests the global –local interconnections better than any other localities in the region. This village has also been in the forefront with an innovative farming community having high development aspirations and increased livelihood diversification. Detailed description of the study village is given in chapter three.

Field work

Filed work extended between January 2006 and January 2007 covered all the important seasons. For a period of five months, my stay was in a Paniyan neighbourhood in a small rented room. It was a two storied building made by a large farmer in the area for accommodating the skilled migrant labourers from other districts of Kerala. There were two carpenters, one mason and also a rubber tapper in the building as my fellow inmates.

Rest of the months I stayed in a rented quarter close to the town which is becoming the heart of local life with people’s increased interactions across communities. There were around ten families living in this quarter, mainly of workers in the formal and semi formal sectors. Most of the important organizations in the village including local Panchayath, tribal development office, agricultural extension office, unit level offices of NGOs, offices of the political parties, etc., with which livelihoods of poor people are getting increasingly enmeshed in, were near to this quarters. This helped me to closely observe the day to day interactions of the people.
Initial access to the field – especially as it was not through local power centers – was extremely difficult for me like to many other researchers. Unless and until the people feel equal stake in the research or are assured of some material benefits out of it, a sensitive researcher is put to tremendous pressure. Building up trust in the people is the real test in the field. People in this Kerala village also were no passive recipients of information, not even when the source appeared authentic. All the explanations and rationale for the research can be continuously contested and challenged. In our situation, much of the cynicism and mistrust was due to the context of vulnerability and increasing interpersonal competition.

Though I did face some problems in the initial phase of my field work, I could soon get over them with the help of my contact persons who enjoyed a good reputation in the area. They became referees when people in the village came to interact with me. Tacitly some of the identity markers, like upper caste, educational background, fellowship from a foreign university etc, also appear to have played some role in making smooth my entry to the field.

In the initial week of my research I was interviewed by a group of people at a teashop during their morning session (it is still a local habit to come and have a cup of tea at around 7-8 am in the morning at the teashop and discuss fresh news in the morning newspaper) In this meeting, an old farmer who enjoyed some clout in the neighbourhood declared: “he looks like a tharavadi” which means a person from a good family or genealogy. Most of the settler community members, now distanced and uprooted from their tharavads place great value on being a tharavadi name and prestige of the family and some of them are even nostalgic about it. Frequently I had to face subtle questions about my whereabouts and identity.

Initial difficulty in getting acceptance among the Paniyans in the village was not due to the well known anthropological reason of ‘cultural otherness’. Past experiences of false promises and cheats from external agencies and individuals have taught them to distrust others. Due to the same reason they used to avoid me in the early days.

Disintegration of their social organization has lost the chances for any researcher to make an entry into the local life with the blessings of powerful elders (mooppanmar)
in the community. In a cultural environment of general distrust, proximity with a particular person or family has been perceived with great suspicion by others in the settlement. Any kind of personal interactions have been tempted to be perceived as a type of ‘vested deal’ involved by economic interests. In the initial days of field work I was confronted by a group of agitated young Paniyans in the midnight at a puberty ceremony in one settlement. Heavily intoxicated, they showered their frustrations and anger on me. This was after the failure of land struggle at Muthanga forest and the settlement was known to be very close to the movement. There is also a deep feeling among them of having being betrayed by outsiders. Naturally it took considerable time and energy to get the trust of people and convince them that I have no secret agenda in my data gathering.

It was the educated young ‘men’ who helped me to have an access to their day to day living. Nowadays educated Paniayas, even though maximum level of education is found to be higher secondary, enjoy good command over others in their community due to a perception that they have better awareness about the outside world. However opportunity to interact freely with female members in the settlements were seriously constrained; as some of my Paniyan friends had cautioned precaution about the possible troubles it could create in the family life. All the interviews with the female members were done mostly in the presence of other members in the family or in the presence of my Paniyan friends.

**Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis is structured in the following order.

In the introduction, we discuss the context of research in general and outline the research objective, questions and methodology. This chapter also gives a brief introduction to the people and area within a historical background.

Chapter II discusses the meanings of the global and the local in relation to the theoretical insights informing the study and the empirical context of the research. Through a focused survey on the literature of globalization it interlinks the global and local in relation to the livelihood practices. In the second section of this chapter, theoretical debate is contextualized in the regional specificities of Wayanad. What is
globalization in general for this region and how the global–local interconnections are manifested in Wayanad and in our study village in the overall context of Kerala and India are explored.

Third chapter looks into the changes in livelihood practices in the area in a historical perspective. It tries to see how a development space has been created over the years and how it caused to diversify the livelihood practices and differentially enhance the capabilities of various communities. This chapter also looks into the recent years of vulnerability and differential responses of communities.

Fourth chapter focuses on the specific question of negotiation between communities and the processes of decentralization and participatory development. Paniyan community is given special attention while doing so. The local politics of complex interactions and interrelations within these processes are sought to be unravelled.

Chapter V is an exclusive highlight of the case of the Paniyan in terms of their livelihood issues at the crossroads of global–local interpenetrations. Differences within the community are looked at in relation to their livelihood strategies within the changing power structures.

In the concluding Chapter, the discussion is on why communities like Paniyan struggle to access the development space as an avenue of diversified livelihood practices and how they fail to break the developmental impasse enmeshed with their identity.

With an understanding that the interpenetration of local and global as a continuous process mediated by the colonial and national governments with an idea of development has resulted in the creation of a development space we argue that new intensive interface of local and global has been instrumental in creating new arena of livelihood practices for Paniyans with a potential to create certain capabilities in order to access the development space. Major constraints observed in the process are the continued absence of social networks beyond the internal networks of the community based on the kinship and friendship and the continued presence of political and economic domination of settler communities who could historically carved a social space of horizontal interactions on the basis of collective action.