 CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Preliminaries 1-42

1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 The Present Situation 2
1.3 Tribes in Kerala 3
1.4 Relevance of the Study 4
   1.4.1 Inter Disciplinary Relevance 6
1.5 Research Design 7
   1.5.1 Research Issues 7
   1.5.2 Objectives 7
   1.5.3 Hypotheses 8
   1.5.4 Conceptual Framework 8
      1.5.4.1 Definition of Key Terms 9
         1.5.4.1.1 Job Reservation 9
         1.5.4.1.2 Christian Malai Arayans 9
         1.5.4.1.3 Hindu Malai Arayans 10
         1.5.4.1.4 Hill Tribes of Kerala 10
         1.5.4.1.5 Other Hill Tribes 10
         1.5.4.1.6 Organized Sector Employment 11
   1.5.5 Theoretical Framework 11
   1.5.6 Analytical Framework 14
1.5.7 Scope and Coverage of the Study 16
   1.5.8 Data Sources and Sampling Framework 17
1.6 Organization of the Chapters 18

1.7 Review of Literature 18
   1.7.1 Tribes and their Classification in India 18
   1.7.2 Tribal Studies 23
   1.7.3 Studies on the Tribes of Kerala 26
1.7.4 Studies Related to the Hill Tribes of Kerala 30
1.7.5 Reservation and Related issues 32
1.8 Research Gap 35
1.9 Limitations of the Study 35
  1.9.1 Biased Versions 35
  1.9.2 Exaggerations and Concealments 35
  1.9.3 Inability to Provide Correct Information 36
  1.9.4 Lack of Authentic History 36
  1.9.5 Limitations of the Secondary Sources 36
  Endnotes 37
1.1 Introduction

In the wake of the scientific advancement of exponential magnitude that humankind has achieved during the past 150 odd years in comparison with what our forbearers did theretofore since the symphony of creation had closed full in man, the wide world we live in has been reduced, as it were, to a sprawling village sans frontiers. The hallmarks of this world are efficiency, productivity, technique, integration and prosperity. People belonging to different nations are engaged in a fierce struggle to attain socio-economic progress. But the absence of a level playing ground makes this struggle highly iniquitous and excludes the underprivileged sections of the society from taking advantage of the new blessings and choices of the fast moving world order.

The principle of social justice demands that the marginalized sections of the people be given protection and preferential treatment for furthering their progress and development. The tribals of India constitute one such group who must be supported and protected by the government. As a result of the peculiarity of the Indian social structure, they have been exploited, discriminated against, and ostracized - socially, economically and politically- from as far back as the Vedic times.

The creation of an egalitarian social order with equity for all sections of the society, free from any form of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, sex or place of birth is the cherished goal of our nation enshrined in the constitution. Equity for the weaker sections of the society, therefore, is the moving spirit of the constitutional schema and permeates the same\(^1\).
“The founding fathers of our constitution desired to secure justice, social, economic, and political for all citizens. They realized that the inequitable forces embedded in the socio-economic system and also political organizations, had resulted in deprivation and disadvantages for the poor and the weaker sections of the society. They, therefore, considered it necessary to provide specific safeguards in the constitution for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who, due to tradition and a combination of circumstances, were the most deprived, weak and vulnerable amongst the various sections of the society. The various safeguards and protective measures sought to ensure for them all round development and freedom from exploitation and social injustice so that they could form part of the mainstream of the society”\textsuperscript{2}.

Article 46 of the Constitution of India provides that “the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”. Thus the Constitution of India gives due recognition to the problems and aspirations of the tribals. The policy of reservation forms the central part of the social justice dispensation of the constitution. Reservation is meant to compensate for the unprecedented discrimination perpetrated against them from antiquity thereby empowering and integrating them with the mainstream society. The global initiative of placing people at the centre of development can proceed with added force through the empowerment of the peripheral socio-economic groups, especially the tribals.

1.2 The Present Situation

An examination of the level of socio-economic development achieved by the scheduled tribes of India shows that there has been no considerable improvement in the living conditions of these groups,
notwithstanding five decades of planned economic development. The neo-liberal development paradigm\textsuperscript{3} adopted by the Government of India has thrown open more problems than solutions and increased the disparities and deprivations of the tribals. The market maximalism\textsuperscript{4} resulted in the centralization and concentration of capital and technology. As a consequence, the unskilled labourers, especially the tribal people, were adversely affected and there was a considerable reduction in the provision of social insurance.

The socio economic development achieved in the tribal front has been most uneven between and within tribes. And even within a tribe a small elite has developed. “It is clear that all the gains of development have not reached the intended class and have been usurped by the better off in many cases”\textsuperscript{5}. This phenomenon has resulted in the widening of the gap between the better off and worse off sections of the same tribe.

In India, we do not “have a comprehensive social security net, for want of resources, for want of a system of management, and, therefore, governments have to play a very important role to fill the gap. This function is exercised mainly in the form of organizing activities directed at providing employment to those who are unable to find gainful work for want of skills and access to resources”\textsuperscript{6}. An overall increase in the capabilities of the people is the primary objective of development\textsuperscript{7}. The intervention of the government is very much required in this field.

1.3 Tribes in Kerala

Kerala is the abode of 48 tribal communities of which 35 are scheduled tribes. As per census 2001, the scheduled tribe population is 3.64 lakhs accounting for 1.14 % of the total population of Kerala. Based on their traditional economic activity, the Scheduled Tribe communities of Kerala can
broadly be placed under four categories, namely, hunters and gatherers, agricultural labourers, shifting cultivators and settled agriculturists.

This study is related to the socio-economic development, achieved by three hill tribes, namely, the Malai Arayan, the Ulladan and the Urali. The Malai Arayans were animists and between 1848 and 1878 many of them embraced Christianity. Thereafter the social and economic advancement of this tribe was under the Christian leadership. Henry Baker Junior, a CMS missionary, provided the leadership in the conversion and social advancement of these people. Now more than half of the Malai Arayans are Christians. The Malai Arayans who had been animists gradually began practicing the Hindu faith. Thus today, there are Malai Arayans of the Hindu and Christian persuasions. Among the Ulladans and the Uralies also conversions occurred but the converts constitute only a miniscule minority. The Malai Arayans who embraced Christianity are estimated to have attained a higher level of socio economic development as a result of the utilization of the reservation provisions. Hence a comparative study is undertaken on the socio-economic impact of Job Reservation on these hill tribes of Kottayam and Idukki Districts of Kerala.

1.4 Relevance of the Study

In India Tribal development proceeded at a slower pace in spite of the increased flow of funds. Even in Kerala, which stands first in terms of human development, there are considerable shortfalls in achieving certain well-defined objectives. The policy of reservation of jobs is a measure by which the tribals are enabled to make use of the available employment opportunities to further accelerate the pace of socio-economic progress. But the policy of reservation is applicable only in the case of appointments in the government sector. Private sector employment is kept out of the purview of reservation. Moreover, the
ongoing process of globalization favours the forces of market and excludes the marginalized sections of the society. This study seeks to find the interrelationship between the policy of reservation and socio economic development in the context of globalization.

There is a general feeling that the benefits of reservation policy flowed only to some selected people and tribes. One of the major findings of the Babu Vijayanath Commission, which inquired into the socio-economic development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of Kerala, is that Malai Arayan community ranks first in terms of their representation in the services. “Malai Arayan/Malayarayar who constituted 4.35% of the total tribal population of Kerala in 1971 had a share of 22.63% of total ST employees in government departments and 33.57% of ST employees in public undertakings. The Ulladan population formed 5.57% of the total tribal population of Kerala and had a share of 6.01% of the total ST employees in government departments and 9.29% of the total ST employees in public undertakings. The Uralies who constituted 2.32% of the total tribal population of Kerala in 1971 had a share of .49% of the total ST employees in government departments and 3.57% of ST employees in public undertakings.”

“A comparative study of Tribal communities using the crucial indices like income, employment, assets, liabilities, education and housing reveal that in the present socio-economic set up tribal communities like Malai Arayans, Kanikkars, Kurichians, Ulladan and Urali are comparatively advanced.”

In terms of their representation in the organized sector employment, the Malai Araya Christians are well ahead of their Hindu counterparts. The representation of other hill tribes, namely, the Ulladans and the Uralies, in the civil services is comparatively less. Hence an attempt is made to study the socio economic impact of job reservation on Christian Malai Arayans
comparing it with that of the Hindu Malai Arayans, the Ulladan and the Urali tribes.

1.4.1 Inter-Disciplinary Relevance

The development and integration of the marginalized sections of the society are the avowed objectives of the national development strategy. In order to achieve this goal, reservation is offered for the weaker sections in political representation, in government employment and in educational institutions. In a stratified society reservation serves as a means to ensure social justice and acts as an incentive to attain greater equality and equity. Reservation is a compensatory mechanism, which can bring about social upliftment, economic advancement and greater political participation.

Most of the Tribals live in inaccessible hilly terrains. If the hill tribes can also take part in the nation building activity at par with the mainstream society it serves as the best guarantee to attain unity and progress. Therefore, this study assumes great economic, political and sociological significance.

It is natural to enquire into the forces and factors that enabled the Christian Malai Arayans to derive maximum benefit out of the reservation policy. These include, educational, religious, economic, political and social factors. Reservation is open to all Scheduled Tribes but why a particular community should have secured maximum benefit is a pertinent question.

In the fast changing global economic equations everybody strives to extend their productive powers. If the hapless tribals are also enabled to harness their potential productive powers, the nation can make rapid strides in the development front.
In a larger sense, quality of human life, strategies of rural development, the concept of *Anthyodaya*, social mobility and capabilities of the people along with tribal development come under the rubric of inter-disciplinary relevance of the present study.

**1.5 Research Design**

**1.5.1 Research Issues**

Following are the issues the researcher is endeavoring to address:

1. What is the impact of Job Reservation on the socio-economic conditions of the hill tribes of Kottayam and Idukki Districts?
2. What are the positive influences on the development of these tribes?
3. What special problems do they confront in getting organized employment as a result of globalization?
4. What are the changes to be brought about in the present policy to make the job reservation policy more effective?

**1.5.2 Objectives**

This study has been prosecuted with the following objectives.

2. To identify the factors that have helped in the development of these tribes.
3. To study the special problems confronted by these hill tribes in getting organized sector employment in the wake of globalization.
4. To suggest measures for a more comprehensive and effective implementation of the job reservation policy.
1.5.3 Hypotheses

The following postulates form the basis for this study.

1. Job reservation and socio economic achievement of the Christian Malai Arayans are positively related.
2. The activities of the Christian Missionaries and the institutions of the Church of South India conclusively influenced the development of the Christian Malai Arayans.
3. Globalization bears a negative impact on the employment opportunities of the tribal communities.
4. There are perceptible differences in the socio-economic status between the Christian Malai Arayans and other hill tribes.

1.5.4 Conceptual Framework

The socio-economic development of a community encompasses both qualitative and quantitative aspects. Standard theories and principles are not very relevant to the evaluation of the level of development achieved by the hill tribes because of the peculiarity of these tribal areas and people. Therefore some indices are to be selected to evaluate the development or the lack of it. Considering the ground realities and importance of some strategic factors, the following variables are employed to assess the level of socio-economic advancement achieved by these hill tribes.

a) Literacy and educational attainment of the family
b) Income per capita of the family
c) Availability of basic amenities like drinking water within 500 meters, sanitation facility and electricity.
d) Access to social infrastructure like school and public health facilities within 2 Kilometers and bus stop within 10 minutes walk.
e) Freedom from social evils like alcoholism, strained family relations and social discrimination.
Based on the values of the above-mentioned five sets of variables, a composite index of development called Socio Economic Development Index (SEDI) has been developed. This index is considered an indicator of the level of socio economic development attained by these hill tribes.

To derive a broader comparison of the tribes under study some more indicators are also considered. These variables include land holdings, representation in organized sector employment, occupational classification, debt burden, extent of social participation and life expectancy.

In order to assess the impact of job reservation on socio economic development, the households that have benefited from reservation are taken as a group and their level of development is compared with that of the other groups. We have Hindu Malai Arayans and Christian Malai Arayans along with Ulladans and Uralies for purposes of comparison.

1.5.4.1 Definitions of Key Terms

The key terms are defined hereunder:

1.5.4.1.1 Job Reservation

Article 16 (4) of the constitution of India empowers the state to make “any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services under the state”. All those appointments falling within the purview of this article are considered in this study as belonging to job reservation.

1.5.4.1.2 Christian Malai Arayans

Malai Arayans of the Christian persuasion are referred to as Christian Malai Arayans. The Church of South India (CSI) has the maximum number of
converts from the Malai Arayan Community. There are also among the Malai Arayans people belonging to other Christian denominations. But their number is infinitesimally low. Therefore, for all practical purposes, the term Christian Malai Arayans refers to those belonging to the Church of South India.

1.5.4.1.3 Hindu Malai Arayans

All the Malai Arayans who have not converted to any other faith are considered as Hindus. The traditional religion of the Malai Arayans was either the tribal faith or animism. But under the influence of Hindu rituals these faiths are disappearing fast.

1.5.4.1.4 Hill Tribes of Kerala

As per the Census of India 1901, the chief hill tribes are, the Kanikkar, the Malayarayans, the Mala Uralis, the Hill Pantarams, the Mannans, the Mutuvans, the Ullatans and the Nayatis\(^\text{11}\).

Samuel Mateer said “various tribes of wild but inoffensive mountaineers, occupy the higher hills and the mountains of Travancore, finding a rather precarious living by migratory agriculture, hunting and the spontaneous products of the forests” \(^\text{12}\). The above classification of hill tribes is not currently in use.

1.5.4.1.5 Other Hill Tribes

In the study the term, “other Hill tribes”, refers to Ulladans and Uralies. The study covers only the Kottayam and Idukki Districts of Kerala. Uralis and Ulladans are found in both the districts. Thus the Hill tribes covered under this study are Malai Arayans, Ulladans and Uralies only.
1.5.4.1.6 Organized Sector Employment

All the appointments, which fall within the purview of the reservation policy, are considered as organized sector employment in this study.

1.5.5 Theoretical Framework

This study has been carried out within the broader theoretical parameters of Amartya Sen’s concept of development as freedom. In a world of unprecedented opulence and extreme deprivation “development can be seen as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”\textsuperscript{13}. In viewing development as freedom Sen asserts “freedoms are not only the primary ends of development they are also among its principal means”\textsuperscript{14}.

The socio-economic development achieved by a community can be assessed on the basis of the capabilities of the members of that community. It is the entitlements of a person, which generate capability. The set of all the alternative bundles of commodities that one can acquire in exchange for what one owns may be called the exchange entitlement of what one owns. There are many influences that determine the exchange entitlement of a person. Sen mentioned the following factors in this connection.

1. “Whether he can find employment, and if so for how long and at what wage rate;
2. What he can earn by selling his non-labour assets, and how much it costs him to buy whatever he may wish to buy
3. What he can produce with his own labour power and resources he can buy and manage;
4. The cost of purchasing resources and the value of the products he can sell;
5. The social security benefits he is entitled to and the taxes he must pay”\textsuperscript{15}
Over and above the market exchanges, the social security programmes provided by the government can influence the exchange entitlement of an individual. In a broader sense the constitutional provision of reservation can also be considered as a social security measure. “The idea of ‘social security’ is that of using social means to prevent deprivation and vulnerability. Social means can be of various types, perhaps the most immediate is to provide direct support to the ability of the vulnerable to acquire the means to basic capabilities”\(^\text{16}\).

“Capability is a broad concept, and it incorporates the concerns that are associated with what is often called the ‘standard of living’, but goes beyond it. Living standards relate specifically to the richness of the person’s own life, whereas a person may value his or her capability also to be socially useful and influential”\(^\text{17}\).

“The intrinsic importance of human freedom, in general, as the prominent objective of development is strongly supplemented by the instrumental effectiveness of freedoms of particular kinds to promote freedoms of other kinds … similarly social opportunities of education and health care, which may require public action, complement individual opportunities of economic and political participation and also help us to foster our own initiatives in overcoming our respective deprivations”\(^\text{18}\).

The relationship between deprivation of individual capabilities and lowness of income is not casual. It “connects in both directions: (1) low income can be a major reason for illiteracy and ill health as well as hunger and undernourishment, and (2) conversely, better education and health help in the earning of higher incomes”\(^\text{19}\).
The problem of poverty is not merely a question of inadequacy of food and other basic things. Sen says “there are good reasons for seeing poverty as a deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as low income”\textsuperscript{20}. Unemployment is considered as a serious impediment in acquiring minimum capabilities. “Unemployment is not merely a deficiency of income that can be made up through transfers by the state; it is also a source of far reaching debilitating effects on individual freedom, initiative and skills. Among its manifold effects, unemployment contributes to the “social exclusion” of some groups, and it leads to losses of self reliance, self confidence and psychological and physical health”\textsuperscript{21}.

The instrumental freedoms mentioned by Sen such as economic opportunities, political freedoms, social facilities, transparency guarantees and protective security “directly enhance the capabilities of people but they also supplement one another, and can furthermore reinforce one another”\textsuperscript{22}.

Sen pointed out some drawbacks of the Indian system thus. “The social backwardness of India, with its elitist concentration on higher education and massive negligence of school education, and its substantial neglect of basic health care, left that country poorly prepared for a widely shared economic expansion”\textsuperscript{23}.

Kerala’s history of ‘support led growth’ \textsuperscript{24} has offered considerable opportunities for the tribals of Kerala to achieve socio economic advancement. But whether the reservation policy and other protective measures meant for the development of the vulnerable sections have borne fruit depended mainly on their ability to enhance the capabilities of the individual members. The present study analyses the development of the Malai Arayan, Ulladan and Urali tribes on the basis of their income, educational attainment, availability of basic amenities, access to social infrastructure and freedom from social evils.
1.5.6 Analytical Framework

The data emanating from the sample survey has been analyzed with the help of the following statistical tools.

1. **Chi-square Test**: This is used for testing the independence of two attributes. The null hypothesis is \( H_0 \): The two attributes are independent.

   The test statistic used is \( \psi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \) where \( O \) denotes the observed frequency and \( E \) denotes the expected frequency of a class and summation is to be done over various classes. When \( H_0 \) is true \( \psi^2 \) follows a chi-square distribution with \((r-1)(c-1)\) degrees of freedom where \( r \) and \( c \) denote the number of rows and number of columns respectively of the contingency table. Statistical packages like SPSS provide the significance level of the observed value of \( \psi^2 \).

2. **Z-test**: This is used for testing the equality of two population proportions. Here the null hypothesis is \( H_0 \): Population proportions are equal. The test statistic used is \( Z = \frac{\hat{p}_1 - \hat{p}_2}{\sqrt{\hat{p}\hat{q}\left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}\right)}} \) where \( \hat{p}_1, \hat{p}_2 \) are the sample proportions, \( n_1 \) and \( n_2 \) are the sample sizes and \( \hat{p} = \frac{n_1\hat{p}_1 + n_2\hat{p}_2}{n_1 + n_2} \) with \( \hat{q} = 1 - \hat{p} \). When \( H_0 \) is true \( Z \) follows standard normal distribution. Statistical packages like SPSS provide the significance level of the observed value of \( Z \).

3. **Two-Sample t-test**: This is used for testing the equality of means of 2 normal populations. The null hypothesis is \( H_0 \): Population means are equal. The test statistic used is \( t = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{n_1s_1^2 + n_2s_2^2}{n_1 + n_2}\left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}\right)}} \) where \( \bar{x}_1, \bar{x}_2 \) are the sample means, \( s_1^2, s_2^2 \) are the sample variances and \( n_1, n_2 \) are
sample sizes. When \( H_0 \) is true \( t \) follows a student \( t \) distribution with \( n_1 + n_2 - 2 \) degrees of freedom. Statistical packages like SPSS provide the significance level of the observed value of \( t \).

4. **Analysis of variance (ANOVA):** This is used for testing the equality of means of several populations. The null hypothesis is \( H_0: \) population means are equal. The total sum of squares is divided into between and within sum of squares. Then the mean sum of squares is calculated. The ratio of the mean sum of squares follows an F-distribution when \( H_0 \) is true. The ANOVA table and the significance level of the observed value of \( F \) are provided in packages like SPSS. When we accept that population means are significantly different the Duncan’s multiple range test indicates which population means are significantly different.

5. **Regression Analysis:** Here a linear relationship between a dependent variable, say \( y \) and a set of independent variables often called explanatory, say \( X_1, X_2, X_k \) is assumed and the parameters involved in the relation are estimated. The equation of the simple linear regression is

\[
y - \bar{y} = r \frac{\sigma_y}{\sigma_x} (x - \bar{x})
\]

where \( \bar{x}, \bar{y} \) denote sample means, \( \sigma_x, \sigma_y \) denote sample standard derivations and \( r \) denotes the correlation between \( x \) and \( y \).

6. **Bar diagram:** This is used for effective representation of data. Here bars are created whose length is proportional to the values of the variable.

7. **Socio-Economic Development Index:** The researcher himself developed an index known as Socio-Economic Development Index (SEDI) to estimate the extent of progress achieved by the tribes under study. SEDI is a composite index of five sets of variables representing the income, educational attainment, availability of basic facilities, and access to social infrastructure and freedom from social evils. These
component indices and the composite index of development (SEDI) are applied in comparative studies.

1.5.7 Scopes and Coverage of the Study

The Kottayam and Idukki Districts of Kerala fall within the ambit of this study. As per the 2001 Census of India, 86.93% of the Malai Arayans and 38.87% of Ulladans and 64.05% of Uralies live in these districts. Therefore the conclusions drawn on the basis of the research have a bearing on the general tribal situation of Kerala. Moreover, greater reliability can also be expected from the findings of this study.

The Kottayam and Idukki districts have been selected for the study in as much as the majority of the Malai Arayans of the State are concentrated here. It was in the district of Kottayam that Henry Baker Junior, the English Christian missionary, began his proselytizing efforts a century and a half ago. The famed Kerala paradigm of development has manifested itself most conspicuously in the district of Kottayam and the researcher has felt an investigation into its likely reflection in the tribal front is an academic imperative.

The Malai Araya, Ulladan and Urali households in the Kottayam and Idukki Districts of Kerala come within the scope of the study. For all purposes of analysis and evaluation a single household forms the sample unit.

Basically, this study is socio-economic in nature. But other issues may come up for analysis contextually. Therefore, the scope of this study cannot remain limited to the socio-economic fields alone.
1.5.8 Data Sources and Sampling Framework

The study is predicated on primary and secondary data material and it is empirical and analytical in nature.

A sample survey has been conducted by the researcher among 435 selected households comprising 145 Christian and Hindu Malai Araya households each and 65 Ulladan and 80 Urali households. The households have been selected on the basis of cluster sampling technique. Different clusters were identified during the pilot study. An interview schedule was used to collect the primary data. A model interview schedule is given in Appendix-I. The sample survey was conducted from March 2005 to January 2006. The sample size of the households was determined on the basis of the principle of proportional allocation. The representative samples were selected at random and the survey covered 17 Panchayats belonging to the Districts of Kottayam and Idukki.

Secondary data materials employed in this study include indigenous Church history books, souvenirs, books authored by missionaries, historians, researchers and social activists, reports of the various commissions enquired into socio-economic status of the tribes and various government documents.

Personal interviews were also conducted to collect information regarding the oral traditions of these hill tribes. The interviewees included religious leaders, social activists, community leaders, tribal experts and agriculturists.

A list of persons interviewed is attached to this thesis in Appendix II.
1.6 Organization of the Chapters

The first chapter is an introduction dealing with the research problem, research design, objectives, and hypothesis, review of literature, and limitations of the study. Second chapter presents a profile of the Malai Arayan, Ulladan and Urali tribes with special reference to their socio-economic development. The third chapter seeks to expound the concept of tribal development and the approaches towards tribal administration and its relation to the constitutional experiment in India. The fourth chapter deals with the negative impact of new economic policy on the tribals of India. Chapter five looks into the present socio-economic status of the tribes under study. Sixth chapter is an analysis of the Job Reservation and its impact on the socio-economic development of these tribes. The concluding chapter gives the findings and suggestions.

1.7 Review of Literature

Tribes are one of the best-studied communities of India. Unfortunately they are also one of the poorest. The information obtained from the past is surveyed here in the form of a review of literature. The relevant literature pertaining to this study falls under the following categories.

1. Studies related to the classification and development of the tribes of India.
2. Literature on the tribes of Kerala.
4. Policy of reservation and related works.

1.7.1 Tribes and their Classification in India

The identification and classification of the communities of India were the primary administrative requirement for the rulers. Therefore, this was done along with the preparation of census records. Anthropologists, ethnographers,
sociologists, political scientists, economists and academicians began to grapple with some of the specific aspects of these communities later on.

A society can be identified and distinguished from others on the basis of caste, tribe, language, religion and occupation. Scholars have defined the term ‘tribe’ differently. According to Majumdar “a tribe is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speaking the same language, and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation”\textsuperscript{26}.

Rivers defines tribe as “A social group of a simple kind, the members of which speak a common dialect, have a single government and act together for such common purposes as war. Other characteristics of a tribe have been listed as common name, contiguous territory, a relatively uniform culture or a way of life and a trace of common descent”\textsuperscript{27}.

The word tribe can be generally understood to mean a group of families bound together by kinship, usually descending from a mythical or legendary ancestor, living in a common region, speaking a common dialect and having a common historical past\textsuperscript{28}.

According to Britannica Ready Reference Encyclopedia, tribe is “any of a variety of social units, including some defined by unilineal descent and some defined by ethnic origin. Cultural Anthropologists now usually apply, the term to a unit of social organization that is culturally homogeneous and consists of multiple kinship groups such as the family, lineage or clan that prohibit marriages within themselves but endorse or require marriages with persons of the other kinship groups. Most tribes are organized as unitary political entities, within which people share a common language and culture. Some tribes are
spread across large territories, and individual members may never meet or know all of the others. Some are small groups, confined to a limited territory, sometimes a single small island, within which everyone knows everyone else very well. What no mites societies of such diverse scales as basic ‘tribal’ is their own internal sense of “being a single people”, but anthropologists would add- a people that lacks the equipment of citizenship, a constitution, or a formalized legal system that would define them as a nation state. Throughout most of the history of modern cultural anthropology the terms ‘tribe’ and ‘primitive’ were usually linked; however, in recent years ‘primitive’ has been avoided by most anthropologists because it appear to carry with it an unintended judgment of moral or technological development of a people”

In this connection it must be pertinent to define what one ethnic group also is. It is a “social group or category of the population that, in a larger society, is set apart and bound together by common ties of language, nationality or culture. Ethnic diversity, the legacy of political conquests and migrations, is one aspect of the social complexity found in most contemporary societies. The nation state has, traditionally, been uneasy with ethnic diversity, and nation states have often attempted to eliminate or expel ethnic groups. Most nations today practice some form of pluralism, which usually rests on a combinations of toleration interdependence, and separatism. The concept of ethnicity is more important today than ever as the result of the spread of the doctrines of freedom, self determination and democracy”.

Different scholars employing different criteria carried out the classification of tribes of India. Some of the classifications are given hereunder.

Elwin speaks about four categories of tribes. Tribal characteristics and Hindu faith formed the basis of this classification. These are:
a. Purest of pure tribal groups
b. Groups in contact with the plains but still retaining the tribal model of living
c. Groups forming the lower rungs of Hindu Society and
d. Groups adapted to the Hindu faith and living in modern style.  
On the basis of the mode of livelihood, Bose classified tribes under
a. Hunters, Fishers and gatherers
b. Shifting cultivators
c. Settled agriculturists
d. Nomadic cattle keepers, agricultural labourers and
e. Plantation and industrial workers  
The eminent anthropologist Roy Burman classified the tribes of India on the basis of their affinity to Hindu Society. They are:
  a. Those incorporated to Hindu Society.
  b. Those positively oriented to Hindu Society
  c. Those negatively oriented and
d. Those indifferent to Hindu Society.  
The criteria used for determining whether a group was tribe or not according to Beteille included.
  a. A small population
  b. Pre-literate people
  c. Pre- agricultural society
d. Geographical isolation and cultural backwardness  
Vidhyarthi made the classification on the basis of the degree of assimilation achieved by the tribes. The various classes were those
  a. Living in forests
  b. Living in rural areas
  c. Semi acculturated
d. Acculturated and
e. Assimilated  

Dubey gives a list of the following characteristics to distinguish a tribe from other groups.

a. Their roots in the soil dates back to a very early period. If they are not the original inhabitants they are at least some of the oldest inhabitants of the land.
b. They live in the relative isolation of the hills and the forests.
c. Their sense of history is shallow, which is more often than not a conflation of myth, fiction and a modicum of truth.
d. They have a low level of techno economic development
e. In terms of their cultural ethos, language, institutions, beliefs and customs, they stand out from the other sections of the society.
f. If they are not egalitarian, they are at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated\(^{36}\).

Thus a tribe is an ethnic category defined by real or putative descent and characterized by a corporate identity and a wide range of commonly shared traits of culture\(^ {37} \).

Kumar made a classification of Indian Tribal population under four broad categories, namely, the settled agriculturists, shifting cultivators, hunting gathering type and tribes practicing handicrafts\(^ {38} \).

The officers in charge of the census operations of India were perplexed by the difficulties of distinguishing the religion of the tribes from that of the lower strata of Hindu Society. Keeping these views in mind Ghurye observed that the so-called aborigins who formed the bulk of the scheduled tribes had been best described as backward Hindus\(^ {39} \).
1.7.2 Tribal Studies

There is a mounting body of literature on the tribal issues. Most of the works focused on the development or the lack of it in their discussions about the tribal life.

Ghurye made a detailed study on the origin and development of the tribal problem in its historical setting. The progress achieved by the ‘un assimilated’ people of the country formed the central theme of his work. The study suggested further areas of development and reform.

Singh brought together the papers presented at a seminar on the ‘Tribal Situation in India’. This volume analysed the various strands in the complex processes of the adjustment of India’s tribal population to the idiom of an emerging nation. The book offered a realistic and sympathetic appraisal of the contemporary situation in a vulnerable, sensitive, and potentially explosive part of Indian society. The contours of a more broader tribal development strategy appeared in these papers.

The main thrust of Thakur’s work on Indian tribes was the socio-economic development of the tribals in India. The study dealt with the problem in a more general way. Therefore the micro aspects of the tribal problem are left out. The author touched upon the social, cultural, religious, economic and civic aspects of tribal life in general and the socio-cultural development of the Santhals in the light of general tribal development.

Jagatdeb offered a critical analysis of the major weaknesses of the tribal development strategies adopted in India. The tribal problem was considered essentially one of the backwardness of the area and of the people. The better placed in terms of population, economic strength and education were cornering
the gains of development and this necessitated a shift in development policy in favour of the poorer sections of the society\textsuperscript{43}.

Haimendorf’s study was related to his observations emanating from the field study among the tribes of Deccan and Arunachal Pradesh from 1940-1980. The relations between the government and the tribes and the problem of education and social change along with economic development were analyzed. He emphasized that a “modicum of literacy is indispensable as a first step towards enabling tribals to operate within the orbit of the advanced communities dominating the economic and political scene”\textsuperscript{44}.

Panigrahi made a study on the different approaches adopted by various agencies for the development of the tribal of India. These approaches found their bases in three general theories of tribal development namely, isolation, assimilation and integration. The role of self-help had been emphasized in the study as a great catalyst to achieve the development objectives \textsuperscript{45}.

Varma’s treatise was an attempt to present the glimpses into the historical perspective of the tribes of India and their demography, working of the constitutional provisions relating to their protection and development as well as the problems and challenges they faced. The author identified education as the key catalyst for attaining freedom from exploitation and poverty \textsuperscript{46}.

Sidikar evaluated the development programmes financed by the institutionalized agencies in the Kabri Anglong and North Cachar districts of Assam. The study projected the role of intuitional finance in a demonetized tribal economy\textsuperscript{47}.

Hasnain undertook a study of the tribal life in India with special reference to their social, economic, political, cultural, and religious aspects.
The study was a comprehensive one as it pointed out the major problems confronted by the tribals of India.\(^{48}\)

Chaudhuri assessed the changing tribal scenario comprehensively and made a detailed account of the primitive customs, kinship, life cycle rituals and socio economic and cultural development of various tribes of India. The authors looked afresh at the micro and macro level dynamics of the tribal situation in India vis-a-vis the socio-cultural realities of the subcontinent, highlighting among other things, how the onslaughts of modernity have vitiated the tribals’ age-old systems and customs.\(^{49}\)

Kumar gave a social, linguistic, ethnic and regional profile of the castes and tribes of India. The need to have a macro perception of the Indian society was found indispensable for a thorough understanding of the tribal caste continuum which formed the unique characteristic of the Indian social structure.\(^{50}\)

Singh gave a descriptive anthropological profile of 4635 communities in India. The study was part of a project launched by the Anthropological Survey of India in 1985. It analysed the impact of change and development on different communities. The links and linkages that brought them together formed one of the vital elements of this work.\(^{51}\)

Jain examined the socio economic conditions of the scheduled tribes of Rajasthan using a composite index of quality of life. This study too expressed concern over the widening of regional disparities as a result of the implementation of development programmes.\(^{52}\)

Hooja scrutinized the policies and strategies for the development of tribal India over the plan period. The study covered the central tribal belt and
the issues like literacy, education, health and hygiene, lack of infrastructure and employment opportunities figured prominently\textsuperscript{53}.

Mitra offered an evaluation of the development programmes among the tribal groups in West Bengal. The author reviewed the history of the administrative measures of the Indian constitution and analyzed the level of integration achieved by these tribes. With the help of empirical evidence, the study also identified the emerging issues and areas of development\textsuperscript{54}.

Deshmukh critiqued the customs, traditions and culture of the Kokana tribe of Maharashtra. The study analyzed the formal and informal approach to tribal education and the socio economic aspects of tribal education. Education has been identified as the most significant variable in the promotion of the socio economic advancement of the tribes\textsuperscript{55}.

\textbf{1.7.3 Studies on the Tribes of Kerala}

Samuel Mateer conducted the earliest studies on the tribes of Kerala. ‘The Land of Charity’ and ‘The Native Life in Travancore’ were useful, comprehensive and realistic works, which served as handbooks on Travancore. The author gave an authentic account of the country and its people and provided the basic information about the hill tribes. The social and political condition of Travancore, the evils of the Hindu caste system, and the missionary work in Travancore occupied central place in the study\textsuperscript{56}.

William Logan’s Malabar Manual was a classic piece, which served as a compendium of the land and people of Malabar. In the manual he dealt at length with the land, its history and its people and their entire social, cultural and religious milieu\textsuperscript{57}.
Iyer ventured an ethnographic study of the tribes of Cochin in four volumes. The study provided important information regarding the hill tribes like the *Kadar*, the *Malayan*, the *Nayadi*, the Ulladan, and the *Paniyan*. This formed one of the earliest and comprehensive studies of the hill tribes\textsuperscript{58}.

Thurston gave a brief account of the tribes and castes of south India. Religious beliefs, way of life, customs and habits and social life were dealt with in this work. Changes in the pattern of life of the hill tribes of Kerala were given more emphasis in this study. The foreign author devoted pages on end to each facet of every caste and tribe of southern India\textsuperscript{59}.

Aiyappan enquired into the socio-economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes in the province of Madras, and identified the problems encountered by the tribals and suggested some possible remedial measures. This was one of the earliest and comprehensive studies, which provided a theoretical and practical framework for the analysis of tribal problems\textsuperscript{60}.

Luiz went into the socio-economic changes taking place among the tribal communities of Kerala. The study had a sociological orientation and was rich in details regarding the social life of these tribes. The author pointed out some of the anomalies with respect to the inclusion and non-inclusion of certain communities in the list of Scheduled Tribes\textsuperscript{61}.

Mathur also studied the socio-economic condition of the tribes of Kerala. Land alienation, bonded labour and indebtedness of the tribals were considered as the major hurdles in the path of tribal development. The political developments taking place in the tribal front were also analyzed by the author\textsuperscript{62}.
The role of welfare programmes in the political socialization of the Scheduled Tribes of Attappady formed the central theme of Thomas’ study. The study found that the welfare programmes initiated by the government had proved futile in creating political socialization among the tribals.

Shashi dealt in detail with the life, culture and customs of the tribal communities in the state of Kerala. The study gave an extensive account of the social organization and level of development achieved by each tribe. The profile of the Ulladan and Urali tribes was found extensive.

In a study related to the political socialization among the Paniyar, Kurichiar, Kurumar, Kattu nayakar and Adiyar tribes of the Wayanadu District of Kerala, Geetha emphasized the need for a change in the mindset of the tribals as a precondition for the attainment of greater heights in the development front.

Regimon made an in-depth analysis of the socio economic impact of deforestation on the Hill Pulayas, Mannans and Muthuvans of the Idukki district of Kerala. Based on the primary data, the study shed light on the depressing socio economic conditions of the affected tribes.

Thressiamma enquired into the socio economic progress of the Paniya community of Wayanadu on the basis of the Human Development Indices like Human poverty Index, Gender Empowerment measure etc. This study revealed the poverty and deprivation among this community.

Different commissions and study groups also conducted studies on various aspects of the tribes of Kerala. Most of these studies are useful in assessing the level of development achieved by the underprivileged tribes.
Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala, conducted a Socio Economic Survey of the Tribals of Kerala. The study identified the major problems confronted by the tribal communities and concluded that “the tribals still continue to be the most neglected and backward section of the society” 68.

The Babu Vijayanath Commission made an elaborate study on the socio economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and classified them on the basis of the progress made by these depressed classes. The socio-economic status of various communities was assessed on the basis of the educational status, income, property owned, investments made, types of houses and household size. The commission observed, “Educational development is benefiting the ‘haves’ more than the ‘have-nots’. This is a negation of social justice and planning proper” 69.

The Manpower Division, Department of Economics and Statistics conducted an enquiry into the socio economic conditions of educated unemployed Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Kerala. This enquiry found that the highest percentage of parents of educated unemployed Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were either labourers or marginal cultivators who were economically backward to equip and motivate their children for an employment in the highly competitive job market70.

Narendran Commission which studied the adequacy or otherwise of representation of the Backward classes in the services under the state government, public undertakings, Universities etc revealed that the representation of Scheduled Tribes in the services was below the required level. “Even with reservation, most of the communities are not getting adequate representation in all the categories of posts” 71.
1.7.4 Studies Related to the Hill Tribes of Kerala

The studies mentioned above considered the tribal issues on a broader canvas. There were some works, which looked into the changes and progress of the hill tribes of Kerala. Here is a survey of the literature.

Rev. Henry Baker Junior was the first effectual Christian Missionary who worked among the Malai Arayans and is considered as the ‘Apostle of Malai Arayans’. The association he had with these tribals found expression in his pamphlet, ‘The Hill Arrians of Travancore and the Progress of Christianity Among Them’. It summarized the mission work done by him and the contextual issues.

Thomas conducted one of the earliest empirical studies on the Muthuvans of Travancore. The study dealt in detail on the habitat, economy, agriculture, social life and culture of this tribe. The anthropological fieldwork undertaken by the author during 1951-53 provided the primary data required for the study.

Kattakkayam highlighted the social structure and changes, which occurred among the Uralies of the Idukki district of Kerala. The focus was on the history, progress and the present conditions of life and the impact of various welfare measures on this aboriginal tribe. Based on the empirical data, the author found that the progress among the Uralies left much to be desired.

Eapen highlighted the educational activities undertaken by the CMS Missionaries and identified this factor as the single largest contributory variable in the overall development of Kerala. The lead role-played by the district of Kottayam in literacy, employment, cultural values etc was all attributed to the missionary work in the field of education.
Paul attempted an analysis of the progress achieved by the hill tribes of Wayanadu district in the socio economic field. The study investigated the reasons for the disparities in the level of development achieved by these people.

Inter regional variation in the socio-economic status of the hill tribes of Kerala formed the central theme of Dr. Kunhaman’s study. The hill tribes belonging to the Kottayam, Idukki and Trivandrum districts formed the target group of this study.

Kooiman analyzed the confrontation between the evangelical missionaries and the low caste communities in the Hindu social order in the social context of Travancore. The conversions to Christianity were considered as an outward expression of the desire of the discriminated groups for social mobility and upliftment.

Daniel analyzed in detail the process of Malai Arayans conversion to Christianity and the resultant changes in their social and economic status. This study revealed that Malai Arayans embraced Christianity voluntarily and the initiative for conversion came from the tribals themselves. Henry Baker Junior’s missionary works figured prominently in this work.

Kawashima examined how Christian missionaries transformed the Hindu state of Travancore into a modern state by their initiatives. The contributions of missionaries in the field of education were found to be the stepping-stone to the modernization of Travancore.

The contributions of the Baker family in the socio-cultural transformation of Travancore constituted the main theme of the work done by Arby Varghese et al. The study brought out Baker’s initiatives in the social
reform movements like the abolition of slave trade and bonded labour in a caste ridden social system$^{81}$.

Shourie considered the problem of religious conversion as an assault on the freedom of religion of the targeted person. Quoting extensively from the Bible, the author questioned the right of the Christian Church and the missionaries to convert the poor and illiterate people rather than the rich and the educated. The study had a fundamentalist orientation$^{82}$.

George highlighted Henry Baker Junior’s missionary endeavors among the Malai Arayans and the effectiveness of the methods he adopted for the overall development of the people under his ministry. This study had a missionary orientation but vividly brought out the changes effected by Baker in the spiritual and temporal realms of the life of Malai Arayans$^{83}$.

Joseph offered an empirical study of the overall development of the Malai Arayan community of Kottayam District. The comparison between the Christian and Hindu Malai Arayans in achieving development was a novel feature of this study. The issue of reservation also found a central place in this enquiry$^{84}$.

1.7.5. Reservation and Related Issues

In addition to the tribal issues, there are some studies, which concentrated on the current issue of reservation. Much heat and debate has been generated on this highly sensitive problem. Here is a survey of such studies.

Adopting historical and analytical methods, Padhy and Mahapatra analyzed the origin and evolution of the policy of reservation, its constitutional backing and the different criteria for determining backwardness. The authors
strongly defended the policy of reservations but cautioned the danger of offering reservations on the basis of caste alone.

S.N. Singh made a comprehensive survey of the Reservation policy in India. The study covered such areas as the caste system, reservation, and the politics involved in a pluralistic society. With the help of recent data the author established the connection between caste and politics. The author also unveiled the politics behind job reservation.

Based on some indicators of socio-economic development, Srinivasan and Kumar assessed the progress achieved by certain specified castes of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Tamil Nadu. The findings of the study showed the increasing differences in socio economic status and the authors suggested the inclusion of economic criteria in the definition of backwardness along with the caste yardstick.

Xaxa analyzed the effectiveness of protective discrimination in removing the disabilities suffered by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The study found that the Scheduled Castes fared better in utilizing the benefits of reservation when compared with that of the Scheduled tribes.

Santhosh Kumar made a study on the politics of reservation in India after the publication of the Mandal Commission Report. The study approached the problem of reservation and its implications from a political angle. The views of all major political parties on the reservation issue clearly brought out the lack of unity in their outlook.

Louis in the study related to scheduled castes and tribes evaluated the reservation policy in detail. The marginalized sections were found suffering seriously from socio economic and political disabilities. The percentage of the
weaker sections employed in government services was also found to be abysmally low. One of the main inferences in the study was related to the role of the dominant castes in using reservation policy as part of an electoral tool.

Mehta reviewed the problem of extending reservation to the private sector and advocated the adoption of a middle path of affirmative action coupled with anti-discrimination legislation to address the real problems confronted by the marginalized sections of the society. Reservation based on caste was considered as a factor contributing to the perpetuation of casteism instead of putting an end to the antediluvian social structure.

Weisskopf assessed the costs and benefits of positive discrimination as a means of reducing the social and economic marginalization of disadvantaged racial castes and ethnic communities and proposed the adoption of class-based preferences as an alternative to caste-based positive discrimination policy.

Jogdand examined the negative impact of the New Economic policy on dalits. A decline in rural non-agriculture employment and income decline in the per capita availability of food grains and cereals, reduction in central expenditure on anti-poverty programmes and decline in expenditures on sector, which improve social consumption, were identified as crucial in their negative contribution. The study highlighted the crucial problems faced by the tribals.

Kunhaman systematically analyzed the factors underlying globalization and addressed appropriately the concerns and apprehensions of the marginalized groups about the changing development trajectory. The study also focused on the future problems of the subaltern groups in a vivid manner.
1.8 Research Gap

The survey of the available literature revealed that enough studies had been conducted on the socio economic status of the tribes of Kerala. Most of the authors agree that the tribals are one of the backward communities in our state. It is not due to the lack of protection and insufficient cover of laws that the plight of tribals remains the same. Majority of the literature fail to identify the positive and negative factors in the development of tribes. Yet seldom does one come across a serious study on job reservation and its socio-economic implications in the context of Kerala. Thus this study is an endeavour to identify the impact of job reservation on different tribal groups with a view to identify the positive and negative factors in their socio-economic progress.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

No study can claim a finality about it. The researcher has chosen only two districts for this study Therefore some areas have been left out from the purview of the study. But extra care has been taken to minimize the influence of this factor. The following limitations are identified.

1.9.1 Biased Versions

There are two types of sources regarding the history of the tribe. The writings of the Western Scholars and Missionaries constitute one vital source. Their account of the tribal situation projected the plight of the tribals-social economic and political. Similarly, the native scholars wanted to project the past glory of the tribes. Both these sources have their own biases. This makes an objective analysis difficult.

1.9.2 Exaggerations and Concealments.

When a sample survey is conducted, the respondents are apprehensive of a loss of their privileges. Therefore they exaggerate the problems and
difficulties they are beset with. At the same time, they are very keen in undervaluing their wealth, possessions and assets.

1.9.3 Inability to Provide Correct Information

Sometimes the respondents were unable to provide correct information because of their ignorance regarding the functioning of the system.

1.9.4 Lack of Authentic History

Oral traditions form the basis of the history of the tribal communities. It is well neigh impossible to collect all the oral traditions of the tribals. More often than not such pieces of information are biased.

1.9.5 Limitations of the Secondary Sources

The sources of secondary data are quite few and most of them are unreliable. Dependable data are not available even with the government departments.
Endnotes

1 B.D. Sharma. *Report of The commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes* - 28th report 1986-87- Govt. of India. 1988, Page 1


3 It refers to the ongoing globalization with greater role of market.


5 *Report of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*. III Report. 1994-95, Govt. of India, Retrospect page (i)


7 Amartya Sen’s approach to Development


9 ibid page 82


11 N Subramanya Iyer, Census Commissioner *Census of India* 1901. Trivandrum 1903.


14 ibid page 10

15 Amartya Sen, Jean Dreze *Poverty and Famines*- The Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze Omnibus, Oxford University Press-1999 page-4


17 ibid page 12


19 ibid page 19

20 ibid page 20
For a detailed analysis see Dreze and Sen. *Hunger and Public Action*—Chapter 10


26 D.N. Majumdar *Races and Culture of India*—Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1961 page 367

27 Luiz A.A.D. *Encyclopedia of Indian Tribes*. Anmol Publications. New Delhi-1994 page 1


30 ibid Vol. III page 275


35 L.P. Vidhyarthi & B.N. Rai—*The Tribal Culture in India*. Concept Publishing Company, Delhi-1977


37 Ibid page-4

38 B.B. Kumar—*The Tribal Society in India*. Omson Publications New Delhi-1998 page 4


40 Ghurye—*The Scheduled Tribes*. Popular Prakasan, Bombay.1963


44 Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf. *Tribes of India the Struggle for Survival*. Oxford University Press, Delhi 1989 page126


49 Buddhadeb Chaudhuri (ed)- *Tribal Development in India*. Inter India Publications New Delhi-1992


54 Kakali Paul Mitra-*Development Programmes and Tribals Some Emerging Issues*. Kalpaz publications Delhi 2004

55 B.A. Deshmukh-*Tribal Education*. Sonali Publications New Delhi 2004


59 Edgar Thurston. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Govt. press Madras-1909


Babu Vijayanath. Chairman, Commission on the Socio Economic Conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Govt. of Kerala-1982


77 M. Kunhaman *Development of the Tribal Economy*. Classical Publishing Company New Delhi- 1989


89 Santhosh Kumar V. *Social Justice and the Politics of Reservation in India-A Study with Reference to the Post Mandal Phase*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis-
School of Gandhian Thought and Development Studies. Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam-2002


Chapter 2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE HILL TRIBES: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW