SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS
CHAPTER - 10

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The tribals are, by and large, children of nature, their life style is being conditioned by the eco-system. They live far away from the tempo of modern developments; yet they are rich in unfathomable potentialities. They are found in all regions of the world and number among the poorest of the poor. Like elsewhere in the world; the Indian tribals also have been occupying generally the hilly and inaccessible areas in the country. The tribal population is distributed among all states and most of the union territories with large concentration in Mizoram, Lakh a deep, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bihar, Orissa, Madya Pradesh, Maharastra, Andra Pradesh, West Bangal, Kerala etc.

During the first four Five Year Plans, while the tribal problems were recognized, there was no definite tribal development strategy. Instead, there was only an approach based on Nehru’s “Tribal Panchasheel”. It was in the Fifth Plan that a definite strategy namely Tribal Sub Plan Strategy, with the thrust on the problems of scheduled Tribes, was adopted. The Sub- Plan Strategy, modified overtime has the twin objectives namely, the accelerating the socio-economic development of the tribals and protecting them against all kinds of exploitation. The constitutional provisions of protection and promotion of tribal interest got
embodied into a concrete development strategy in the Fifth Plan. Hence we can consider the Fifth Five Year Plan as a watershed in the history of tribal development in the country. Based upon the tribal development strategy, various tribal development programmes have been introduced.

The tribal development strategy followed in Kerala state from time to time has invariably been a part of the tribal development strategy adopted in India as a whole. Further, Kerala is one of the few states, which has made concerted attempts towards tribal development through various government schemes during the post independence periods. Based upon the strategy of tribal development, the state government has been implementing a plethora of legislative measures and various tribal development programmes for the socio-economic transformation of the tribal communities, so as to uplift them socially and economically. If we take the progress of development schemes or protective measures under tribal development programmes as the criterion of socio-economic transformation, it can be observed that the various tribal development programmes have helped the tribal communities for their transformation in Kerala. Nevertheless, the progress of transformation pales into insignificance to the general socio-economic transformation of the state as a whole. Again, the indications are that the pace of transformation varies from community to community. Apart from general tribal development programmes and general tribal welfare schemes, the special programmes for primitive tribes, special schemes for Paniyans and Adiyans reveal the
fact that the pace of transformation varies among different communities. Implicit in this multifold division has been the recognition that there is not one tribal society, but many and there is not one but several tribal economies.

A review of existing studies on tribal problems in Kerala shows that the problems of tribals have been studied from different angles, anthropological, sociological and political. Economists also made certain attempts to study the economic problems of these tribals. Anthropologists have studied the economies of tribals as a part of material culture. They immersed in the study of kingship, marriage, family, religion, rituals etc. On the other hand social scientists of various hues proceed from the premise that tribal community is a homogeneous one and hence their problem demand identical solutions. Further the puritan economists, who went into tribal problems, approached it purely from economic perspective, ignoring the unique and vital non-economic dimensions of tribal existence. All these scholars failed to project the non-linear and non-homogeneous socio-economic transformation of these tribal economies. They conveniently ignored the inter-community and intra-community differences, which are very conspicuous in tribal economies. It is felt that, this is the major lacuna of the studies of afore said scholars. The problems like that of tribals is multi-dimensional nature and hence it needs to be explored by using the tools of inter-disciplinary approach. Therefore, in addition to socio-economic aspects, it is necessary to throw light on the
historical evolution of the tribal economies and its relation with the existing socio-economic problems.

Against this background, an attempt is made to examine whether there exist any close relationship between the historical evolution of the tribal economies of Kerala and different levels of socio-economic transformation among different tribal communities in Kerala. Having studied the economies of tribals and their transformation in Kerala with special reference to Wayanad district, it is now possible to summarise the findings and conclusions of the study.

Our study showed how the emergence of productive forces and the origin of the relations of production gradually changed the primitive tribal economies and how the changes in the productive forces and the relations of production resulted the emergence of incipient capitalism along with the baggage of pre-feudal and semi-feudal relations of production. We found certain social and religious institutions have been checking the smooth development of the capitalist mode of production. The study showed that the evolutions of the tribal economies in Wayanad have been neither homogenous nor uni-linear. And the historical evolution of various tribal communities played a vital role for their existing different levels of socio-economic transformation. The historical factors also influenced the socio-economic transformation of the tribal economies apart from social, economic, and anthropological factors.
The study revealed that majority of the Kurichian households own their houses, while majority of the Paniyan households live in houses provided by the government. Further, majority of the Kurichians are living in good houses. However an equal number Paniyans are living in huts and pucca houses. Provision of toilet and electricity are deprived to majority of the tribals. Eventhough a good numbers of Kurichians houses are electrified, majority of them are residing in non- electrified houses. While, majority of the Kurichians own sources of water most of the Paniyans are deprived of this facility.

The size of the family is quite large in the case of Kurichians. It is due to the prevalence of the joint family system among the Kurichians. However, our study showed that the nuclear family system is emerging among the Kurichians. The size of the family is small among the Paniyans. Only an insignificant and nominal numbers among the Paniyans are following joint family system. Thus it is not possible to prove a negative correlation between the larger size of the family and poor standard of living.

The problem of landlessness is acute among the Paniyans. Paniyan households are the majority among the landless tribals. Our study also shows that the land possessed by the head of the households is very small among them. On the other hand, majority of the Kurichians are landowners. Extend of land possessed by them is also large. The study
also shows that extent of cultivated and irrigated land is less among the Paniyans in comparison with that of Kurichians. It can be seen that not only the average land holdings of the Paniyans is small compared with that of Kurichians but also a small percentage of the land holdings of the former are cultivated and irrigated compared to the later. Our study also shows that a good number of Kurichians lost land consequent upon land alienation. However only a small percentage among the Paniyans lost their land. Kurichians were traditionally cultivators and owners of landed property. Hence they occupied in irrigated and fertile land. On the other hand, Paniyans were landless bonded labourers. So it was no wonder that the non-tribal intruders grabbed the fertile land from the landowners. They lost their traditional occupation irrespective of their community. Even today both Kurichians and Paniyans depend upon agriculture either as self-cultivators or as agricultural labourers. Majority among the Kurichians are engaged in self-cultivation. But majority of the Paniyans are agricultural labourers. The excessive dependence on agriculture both as cultivators and labourers reflect the limited availability of non-agricultural employment opportunities. Hence, the low degree of occupational diversification of tribal economies could be seen.

We could notice significant inter-community disparities in the matter of income pattern. The overwhelming majority of Paniyans belong the lowest income groups. In contrast a good number of Kurichians are better placed in the case of income pattern. Traditionally cultivating and
land holding Kurichians exhibit signs of socio-economic transformation than non-cultivating Paniyans. The literacy rate of the tribals is very low in comparison with the general literacy level of the state. Even though unsatisfactory, more children in the schools going age group are attending schools in the case of Kurichians. Again, inter-community disparities are revealed in respect of pre-primary education.

Co-operative movement made an insignificant impact upon tribals in general irrespective of their tribal community. It also showed that only a minority among them are members of the co-operative societies. Even in the case of membership in co-operatives Kurichians are better than Paniyans. As in the case of immovable assets like land and houses, there exist disparity in the ownership of movable property among Paniyans and Kurichians. Only few members among Paniyans possessed livestock. In contrast, a good numbers among the Kurichians possessed them. In the possession of utensils also Kurichians were found better than Paniyans. Further, all the head of the households from Kurichians community possessed furniture while their number among the Paniyans were insignificant.

Majority of the tribals in general reviewed that tribal development programmes benefited partially for non-tribals and largely for tribals. This can be considered as their perception about the various tribal development programmes. Their relation with political parties, membership in trade union and their positive attitude towards tribal movements showed that the
tribals in general are development oriented. However, our study showed inter-community difference.

Even after years of tribal welfare schemes and tribal development programmes the conditions of the tribals are far from satisfactory and they continued to lag behind the other social groups. It is found that Kurichian in general showed a positive response towards most of the tribal welfare schemes. But even the Kurichians showed a negative response towards educational programmes. Among the tribal communities Paniyans showed a poor response towards many tribal development programmes. It can be seen that the government and the planners overlooked the unique features of each tribal community and imposed common stereotype programmes and schemes for the socio-economic transformation of the tribals.

There is variation in the level of attitude towards tribal development programmes between these two communities and among males and females. Here Kurichians showed better level of attitude than Paniyans. Males also showed higher level of attitude than the females. Tribal development programmes failed to develop homogeneous level of attitude towards transformation in agriculture among tribal communities. Here Kurichians showed better level of attitude towards transformation in agriculture than Paniyans. Tribal males showed higher level of attitude towards transformation in agriculture than females.
Tribal development programmes failed to develop homogeneous level of attitude towards transformation in customs and beliefs among different tribal communities. The study showed that Kurichians are better transformed than Paniyans in respect of the level of attitude towards transformation in customs and beliefs. Like-wise males showed higher level of attitude than females in the case of transformation in customs and beliefs.

The study revealed that there is variation in the level of attitude towards transformation in education among different tribal communities and among males and females. Kurichians showed higher level of attitude towards transformation in education than Paniyans. We noted variation in the level of attitude towards transformation in health among different tribal communities and among males and females. Kurichians among tribals showed higher level of attitude towards transformation in health than Paniyans. Males showed better level of attitude than females in respect of transformation in health. Kurichians showed better level of attitude towards transformation in employment than Paniyans. Like-wise male among the tribals showed higher level of attitude towards transformation in employment than females. There is variation in the level of attitude towards transformation in the use of intoxicants among tribal communities and their sex. Kurichians showed higher level of attitude towards transformation in the use of intoxicants than Paniyans.
There is variation in the level of attitude towards transformation in handicrafts, cottage and small-scale industries among the different tribal communities and different sex. Kurichians showed better level of attitude towards transformation in handicrafts, cottage and small-scale industries than Paniyans and males showed better level of attitude than females. We noticed variation in the level of attitude towards transformation in marketing among different tribal communities and among males and females. Kurichians showed higher level of attitude towards transformation in marketing than Paniyans. In the gender analysis males are better than females, in the level of attitude towards transformation in marketing.

Our study also revealed that there is variation in the level of attitude towards transformation in banking among different tribal communities and their different sex. Here Kurichians expressed better level of attitude towards transformation in banking than Paniyans. Likewise males showed higher level of attitude towards transformation in banking than females. The study showed that Kurichians expressed better level of attitude towards transformation in transport than Paniyans. Like-wise males among tribals expressed better level of attitude towards transformation in transport than females.

In the level of attitude towards transformation in communication, Kurichians are better than Paniyans. In the gender analysis, males are better than females. It showed that community difference and sex difference of
the tribals made difference level of attitude towards transformation in communication. The study showed that community difference and sex difference of the tribals influence the differential level of attitude towards the total socio-economic transformation among the tribals. Kurichians showed higher level of attitude towards the total socio-economic transformation than Paniyans. It also showed that males among the tribals expressed better level of socio-economic transformation than the females among them.

We found that there is significant relationship between community of the tribals and their transformation in their approach towards tribal development programmes in general. It also proved that there is significant relationship between gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in their approach towards tribal development programmes in general. The analysis found that there is significant relationship between the community of the tribals and their transformation in agriculture. It also proved that there is significant relationship between gender difference of the tribal and their transformation in agriculture. There is no significant relationship between the community difference and gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in the customs and beliefs.

The study also showed that there is significant relationship between community difference and gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in education. Kurichians are better transformed than
Paniyans in education. Like wise males are better transformed than females among the tribal in respect of education.

There is significant relationship between community of the tribals and their transformation in health. It is also proved that there is no significant relationship between gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in health. Here Kurichians among the tribals are better transformed than Paniyans. But both males and females are equally transformed.

The test result also proved that there is significant relationship between community difference and sex difference of the tribals and their transformation in employment. Kurichians are better transformed than Paniyans in respect of employment variable. Like-wise males are better transformed than females in respect of transformation in employment.

There is significant relationship between community difference of the tribals and their transformation in the use of intoxicants. Among the tribals, Kurichians are better transformed in the use of intoxicant than the Paniyans. It is also proved that there is no significant relationship between gender difference of the tribals and transformation in the use of intoxicants.

The test result also proved that there is significant relationship between community difference and gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in handicrafts cottage and small-scale industries. It is
proved that Kurichians are better transformed than Paniyans and males are better transformed than females.

Our study showed that there is significant relationship between community and gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in marketing. In respect of marketing, Kurichians are better transformed than Paniyans and males are transformed than females. There is a significant relationship between community and gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in banking. Here Kurichians are better transformed in banking than Paniyans. Like-wise, males are better transformed than females among the tribals.

The study also showed that there is no significant relationship between community difference and gender difference of the tribals and their transformation in transport. Here Kurichians among the tribals are equally transformed with Paniyans in transport. Like-wise, males are equally transformed as females among the tribals in respect of transport variable. There is significant relationship between community of the tribals and their transformation in communication. Here Kurichians are better transformed than Paniyans in respect of communication variable. Like-wise males are better transformed than females among the tribals in the case of communication variable.

Finally, our study showed that there is significant relationship between community of the tribals and their total socio-economic
transformation. It also showed that there is significant relationship between gender difference of the tribals and their total socio-economic transformation. Test result showed that the Kurichians are better transformed than Paniyans. Likewise males among tribals are better transformed than females among them in respect of the total socio-economic aspects.

Policy Implications

1. The governments have been hitherto implementing stereotype tribal development programmes and welfare schemes for all the tribal communities irrespective of the existing differences among the individual communities. We understand that this stereotype approach has been one of the main reasons for the failure of tribal development programmes and welfare schemes. In view of this we shall recommend need based and community specific tribal development programmes and welfare schemes.

The root cause of the present problem of the tribal is land alienation. Step should be taken to restore to them their lost-land and convert them into viable cultivators. Land Reform Act should be suitably amended for the purpose.

Addiction to intoxicants resulted many social and economic problems in tribal societies. Consequently, even at the early ages, the tribal
become the victims of non-tribal exploitation. In view of these realities we shall recommend total prohibition of liquor in the tribal areas.

The life of the traditionally non-cultivating communities like Paniyans has rendered difficult, as they are at present not in a position to gainfully involve themselves in the traditional occupation due to the present forest policy of the government. In this context, forest policy should be changed so as to benefit them. Co-operatives should be set up for the marketing of the tribal products, so that reasonable prices are guaranteed for them. It is necessary to establish training centers and technical institutes to impart them technical know-how and training in manufacturing forest based industrial products. Again, forest areas of Wayanad are famous for medicinal plants. So tribals should be provided training for the collection and re-planting of medicinal plants.

As a part of tribal development programmes the government introduced various tribal development projects so as to provide employment, to re-habilitate the freed bonded labourers etc. However, both the left and right wing coalition governments came to power at frequent intervals divided the employment opportunities among their partners and recruited non-tribals labourers and rejected the claims of the tribal workers. Hence the tribal development projects are not able to gain the expected results. So we shall recommend for a committee of the tribals to monitor the functioning of the tribal development projects.
A revamping of existing educational system is called for. The present educational system is in every sense alienated from the tribal environment. The educational system should be tailored to the socio-economic and cultural milieu of the tribal economies.