CHAPTER 3

BASIC ISSUES ON TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

The concept of development in tribal situations poses complexity. Tribal development is defined as social and economic development of the tribal people through phased manner and time-bound integrated area development and other programmes suiting the genius and the economic situation of the people, ensuring progressive elimination of all forms of exploitation and ensuring a move towards the goal of equality and social justice.

In India, the government’s foremost concern which moulded its tribal development policy was securing the welfare and socio-economic enhancement of the tribal people. The policy imbued with a high sense of respect for the tribal cultures and traditions, is stoutly opposed to any kind of interference by outside agencies which are likely to contribute to the destruction of the tribal art, culture and so on.\(^1\)

Many commissions and study teams have repeatedly emphasized the importance of the principles of tribal development. The Dhebar Commission (1961) opined the objective of development among the tribes as, “The problem of problems is not to disturb the harmony of tribal life and simultaneously work for its advancement”. Shilu Ao Team on Tribal Development (1969) pointed out the aim of the policy on tribal development and suggested it as, socio-economic and progressive advancement of the tribes with a view to their investigation with the

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rest of the community on a footing of equality within a reasonable distance of time. The basic issues on tribal development include not only economic development of tribes, but also preservation of their ethnic identity, ecology, language, culture, style of living, traditional practices, political ideas etc.  

3.2 Primary objective of the Government Policy

The government aimed to safeguard tribal people and tribal areas and preserve tribal culture and social customs from erosion, safeguard traditional occupations, protect them from exploitation by the more sophisticated groups, and promote their economic and social development. Protection is provided to the tribal communities through various laws, regulations and government orders based on the provisions of the constitution.

The problem of development of tribal areas in the country is primarily linked with the backwardness of these areas, poverty of tribal people and the concept of integration of tribes with the rest of the population. For promoting the welfare of scheduled tribes and raising the level of administration of the tribal areas to the state level, Article 275 of the Constitution provides for grants-in-aid from consolidated fund of India to states for implementation of development programmes.


\[\text{Ibid. p.118.}\]

Elwin supported the establishment of a sort of ‘National Park’ of the tribes and advised that their contact with the outside world should be reduced to the minimum. Elwin supported the idea of ‘isolationism’ to a great extent.

In the Post-independence period, the Government of India also adopted the policy of isolation, in a slightly modified form. The partial exclusion of large tribal areas was followed by special welfare measures.

3.3 The Anthropological view points on Tribal Development

Prof. Dube summarizes as follows:-

1. Understanding of tribal organizations and values through sustained scientific studies.

2. Identifying the problem of tribes at different levels of technological, economic and cultural development.

3. Identifying the areas of minimum and maximum resistance to innovations in their culture.

4. Identifying the integrative forces in tribal life.

5. Recognizing vital linkages in their cultural fabric.

6. Orienting the administrators to tribal life and culture in all aspects considered above and giving them special training for the tasks they have to undertake among the tribes.

7. Cautious formulation of welfare plans with a view to accommodate tribal needs with regional and national interests.

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8. Careful watch on the trends set in motion by these measures, with a view to eliminate elements that destroy the social solidarity of the tribes and kill their zest for life. 

3.4 The Limitation of the Tribal Development Blocks

The Shilu Committee referred the following aspects as the major limitations in the process of tribal development:

1. Fragmented approach to development planning.
2. Application of large number of standardized schemes in tribal areas.
3. Neglect of the employment aspect of development.
4. Failure to take up settlement of land disputes in the pre-extension stage.
5. Investment of as much as 20 percent in productive schemes in agriculture, animal husbandry etc.

Vidyarthi and Rai refer to the following deficiencies in the earlier plans for tribal development.

1. Neglect and lack of special attention to tribal and scheduled areas in spite of constitutional provisions.
2. Poor and inadequate allotment of funds in both general and special sectors to cover all aspects of development of the tribal areas.
3. Inadequate administrative machinery.

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7 Roy Burman, Perspective for Administration and Development of the Scheduled Tribes: in Perspective on Tribal Development and Administration, Hyderabad, 1975, p. 54.
4. Tribal development blocks are too small a unit of development for overall development.

5. Lack of effective personnel policy.

6. Lack of reliance on the part of the government on the anthropology of the folk, and

7. Excess politicization of the tribal issues.  

Tribal development and tribal problems are topics of in-depth discussion among the scholars of different social sciences. Though various theories on these issues originated one after another, the tribal problem and their backwardness are intriguing and needs to be addressed.

3.5 Approaches to the Tribal Problems

S. C. Dubey presents four main approaches to the tribal problems.

1. The social service approach

2. The political approach

3. The religious approach.

4. The anthropological approach.

Another view showcases five approaches, for the welfare of the tribes in India

1. Political


In the Fifth Five Year Plan, the introduction of the ‘Sub-Plan’ Policy for total and integrated development of different tribal areas was done. The programmes are

1. Economic
2. Educational
3. Health and Sanitation.
4. Communication and housing.
5. Socio-Cultural and
6. Political


1. Their land should be guaranteed to them and that any further alienation of it by outsiders should be stopped.
2. Their rights in forests should be respected and that an entirely new attitude should be taken.

10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., p.30.
3. The problem of indebtedness should be solved without delay, partly by legislation and partly by a great intensification of the co-operative movement and the availability of easy credit from official sources.

4. The problem of industrialization of the tribal areas must be regarded much more seriously. The tribal people are dispossessed of their lands and settled elsewhere, intelligent and generous measures should be taken to compensate them.

5. The long isolation of the tribes should come to an end that they should be welcomed everywhere with warm affection and on equal terms, and that they should be given every opportunity of public service¹².

   Elwin illustrates five other points, to preserve the tribal culture and at the same time ameliorate their hardships.

1. We must help the tribes to come to terms with their own past. So that their present and future will not be a denial of it, but a natural evolution from it.

2. It is essential to avoid creating a sense of inferiority in the tribal people. We must not make them anxious and afraid; we must not make them feel ashamed, of their own “natural ways”.

3. We must fight the danger of pauperization, the creation of a special class called ‘Tribal’, who will want to be labeled ‘backward’ in order to get material benefits from the government.

4. We should lay much greater stress on the possibility of the tribal people helping us.

5. We must try to ensure that the people do not lose their freedom and their zest for living¹³.

¹² Ibid., pp. 39-40.
3.6 Educational Development

The success of any tribal development programme needs a balance between the felt needs and the real needs, a two way learning process, in which tribes are educated by the development agents and the agent has apt knowledge of the tribe. During the last 50 years, the planning process has failed to narrow the disparity between the tribal and non-tribal populations. Such inequality is persistent in the realm of social and economic life. The school attendance rate (5-14 age groups) among the tribes is quite low in comparison to others. According to the latest survey, (55th round in 2000), the highest illiteracy is recorded in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, followed by Karnataka, West Bengal and Rajasthan. Rural Rajasthan has a higher concentration of female illiteracy. Himachal Pradesh has more distribution of higher education (graduation and above) among the males and females in both rural and urban areas than Kerala, Nagaland and Uttar Pradesh.\(^1\)

Among the eight States of the North-East, Nagaland holds the top position in more than one developmental indicator. The literacy rate in the State is 80 per cent, which is above that of the North-East as well as on an all India level, and the gap in literacy of male and female is negligible.\(^2\) If we take the general category of population, the highest literacy rate in India is in Kerala i.e., around 90 percent, but Kerala has only meager tribal population ratio, when compared to the North-Eastern States.

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\(^2\) Ibid. p.19.
The quality of tribal life and contribution of present generation to the overall national economy can appreciate with the addition of educational dimensions to their personality. The Union and State Governments have given maximum importance to tribal education. It is a part of the realization from the planners and well wishers of tribal development that the progress of tribe rests on their literacy and education. Hence a number of educational institutions have been started in the tribal areas to provide informal and formal technical education, general education along with adult education to them. Education can build up the inner strength of tribal communities. Direct educational incentives like free scholarships, stipends, hostel facilities, material aids in the forms of stationery, books, uniforms etc., have contributed to increase enrolment of scheduled tribes in various stages of education. It will also help to increase tribal literacy\textsuperscript{16}.

A very few among the educated tribal youth may get jobs in the public sector and the remaining majority will be hard pressed to find suitable employment. Their educational foundations are weak and their skills in English language or computers are not up to the mark. So the government should consider all means to upgrade their skills in English, Sciences, Mathematics, Management, Computers etc., through career counseling, special coaching camps so that they can get employment in the open market\textsuperscript{17}.

Education can definitely improve the mental ability of tribal people and expose them to modern agriculture and allied aspects. It can also help them to realize and think broadly about the changing world and subsequently help to adopt

\textsuperscript{16} Singh R., \textit{op.cit.} p.132.
new technology. Basically the illiteracy among the tribes is more and hence it is an important block in their way to development\textsuperscript{18}.

Tribes mostly live in hills and remote forest areas, where agro-economic conditions greatly restrict the adoption of new technologies\textsuperscript{19}.

Due to the low level of participation and exposure, tribes have very less knowledge about new technologies. This might be changed by educating them, by improving the thinking power and this influences the adoption behavior of farmers\textsuperscript{20}.

The emergence of the middle class is largely the result of the spread of modern education among the tribes. The provision of reservation is available for the tribes not only for employment purposes, but also to get direct access to the mainstream. With the consolidation and expansion of colonial rule in the tribal regions, the winds of change began to blow among the tribes\textsuperscript{21}.

Some tribes have made rapid progress through the education system. Both education and the increase in ready cash from government spending have permitted tribal people a significant measure of social mobility. The role of early missionaries in providing education was crucial\textsuperscript{22}.

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\textsuperscript{20} Rathod M.K., op.cit., p.46.
\textsuperscript{22} Nishi K Dixit, \textit{op.cit.} p.9.
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Extending the system of primary education into tribal areas and reserving places for tribal children in middle and high schools and higher education institutions are central to government policy, but efforts to improve the tribes’ educational status have had mixed results. Recruitment of qualified teachers and determination of appropriate language of instruction also remain challenging. Commission after commission has called for instruction, at least at the primary level, in the student’s native tongue\textsuperscript{23}.

The commitment of tribes to acquire formal education for their children varies considerably. Tribes differ in the extent to which they view education positively. Most of the tribes are reluctant to send their children to school, as they require them to work in the fields. The effectiveness of education policy varies from region to region. In the North-Eastern part of India, schooling has helped tribal people to secure political and economic benefits. There the education system has provided a band of highly trained tribal members in professional and high ranking administrative posts.

3.7 Lack of Educational Facilities

During British rule there was no systematic plan to provide education to the tribal communities except the work undertaken by the Christian missionary Organizations. In Independent India, the bulk of tribal communities except in certain North Eastern States are outside the orbit of formal education system. In some remote tribal areas, even today, educational facilities are provided by Christian organizations. The neglect of education has led to the highest percent of illiterate among the tribes\textsuperscript{24}.

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.}, p.10.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Ibid.}, p.22.
The constant fight for survival and forced migration in search of settled agriculture has left the tribes with no opportunities for their education. The high rate of illiteracy among some of the primitive tribal sub-groups has ensured that the children do not acquire any other occupational skills apart from shifting cultivation and collection of forest produces. The low level of education and awareness, high mortality, social hazards like child marriage and child motherhood are some of the legacies of low literacy.

Lack of awareness among the tribes to educate their children is another phenomenon. Tribal areas are commercially not lucrative. Private sector is reluctant to step in, leaving the job to philanthropic and voluntary organizations to fulfill the need of education\(^\text{25}\).

### 3.8 Literacy Profile

The literacy rate of common Indian masses is below 50 percent. The rural literacy rate is further very bad. The tribal literacy rate is comparatively very less to the general population. The literacy status of the tribes presents a mixed picture. In five States, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Kerala and Manipur, the literacy level of the tribal population is higher than the national level. Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh are States with a significant proportion of tribal population and very low level of literacy. The literacy gap between the tribal population and general literacy level has been getting wider. Among the tribals themselves, the literacy level of the male is higher than the female. But, in the States where the literacy level of the tribal population is high, the gender gap is low, reflecting a healthy trend\(^\text{26}\).

\(^{25}\) Ibid., p.46.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., p.154.
Right from the first plan period, emphasis was given to the educational programmes and large sums of money was spent for different schemes like grant of free scholarships, free hostel facilities, mid-day meal, stipends for technical education etc. Setting up of Ashram schools for boys and girls was one of the ventures. All these efforts notwithstanding inter-area and intra-area differences as well as differences at inter and intra-community levels are still observed in respect of the educational and literacy attainment\(^{27}\).

### 3.9 Drop-out among the Tribes

In the post independent India, the cause of education has attained paramount importance in the development programmes. The rate of literacy has been low in early periods of independent India. But later the incentives and encouragements given by the Central and State governments enhanced the rate of literacy. In spite of all the plans for educational progress of the backward classes, especially for the tribals, the rate of growth of progress is negligible. Children who attend the first three to four years of primary school classes gain a smattering of knowledge, only to lapse into illiteracy later. When they reach the upper primary classes, they lose interest in studies and gradually retire from school. Few who enter the high school, continue up to the tenth grade, of those who do, few manage to finish the high institutions of higher education, where the high rate of attrition continues\(^{28}\).

Drop out rate among tribal children is highest in the primary level itself. The literacy rate among the tribals is the lowest in India. The female literacy rate is worse than the male literacy rate.

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\(^{28}\) Nishi K. Dixit, *op.cit.* p.11.
With displacement and alienation, along with drastic cuts in State subsidies on food and basic amenities and with policy shifts to user pay models, the quality and reach of education to the tribal people has come down tremendously. They are further caught in the vicious trap of illiteracy and new forms of exploitation from landlords, money lenders and even the State machinery\textsuperscript{29}.

Most of the tribal communities have their own language. They use that language in their settlements and community gatherings. But in many cases, they will be used only for communication. A proper script will be absent for such languages. Normally, the syllabus and the textbooks, the medium of instruction will be in the official language of that particular State. The students from the tribal community will not be in a position to understand the knowledge imparting in the State language. In the examinations, the tribal students will get only the last positions and their morale will be affected adversely by that. Besides these, education seems futile to the tribals because, they are more interested in the traditional occupations and way of life. In their concept the formal schooling seems a waste of time. The mid-day meals and other monetary incentives are the leading factors that attract the tribal children to the schools. Gradually their interest to education will decline. Some exceptional cases are found among certain tribal communities like Mala Arayans in Kerala, tribals in North-Eastern states etc. The literacy level among these communities is high and they become a model for their community as they have utilized education in a positive manner. With the neglect of tribal languages, the State and the dominant social order aspire to emasculate the tribals culturally and socially, subdued by the dominant cultures.

The educational agencies like National Council for Education, Research and Training (NCERT), State Council for Education, Research and Training (SCERT) etc., owned and run by the Centre - State governments did not show any interest to

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p.47.
include tribal language in the area of instruction. As a result of that the tribal languages are at the verge of extinction\textsuperscript{30}.

3.10 Ten Points for Tribal Education

Alienation from the society, lack of adequate infrastructure like schools, hostels and teachers, abject poverty and apathy towards irrelevant curriculum stood in the way of tribals’ getting formal education. In the National Policy, the educationalists and the experts interested in the progress of tribals have formulated complete participation of them in the education process. Priority must be given to the following aspects to ensure and enhance tribal literacy.

1. The Ministry of Human Resources Development has introduced the national programme of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) to give education to all, including Tribals.

2. Schools and hostels must be opened in areas where such facilities are not available to the tribals.

3. Beginning of at least one Model Residential School, in areas where tribal concentration is more.

4. Special provision of supplementary nutrition to all tribal children along with education.

5. Additional incentives like financial assistance, pocket allowance, free distribution of text books and school uniforms should be provided.

6. Tribals must be instructed in their mother tongue, at least in the primary level. Educated tribal youth are given employment as teachers where ever possible.

7. Pedagogy is made relevant so that tribals do not find it as alien.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p.151.
8. Curriculum and co-curriculum include aspects of genuine skill up gradation of tribal children.

9. Curricula for genuine skill up gradation are to include aspects of tribal games and sports, archery, identification of medicinal plants, crafts, art and culture, folk dance and folk song, folk paintings etc.

10. Emphasis is laid on vocational/professional education and setting of polytechnics for studies in subjects like forestry, horticulture, dairying, veterinary sciences, polytechnic etc\textsuperscript{31}.

### 3.11 Uniqueness of Tribal Wisdom

Centuries of closeness with the nature helped the tribals to develop vast and precious knowledge about the environment and sustainable livelihood. They have developed their own system of medicine for treatment. They have a good idea about the vast forest resources, including herbs, shrubs etc. They have developed various methods of treatment for different diseases. It is the need of the hour to protect and promote the tribal treatment and tribal medicines.

The tribals have an efficient system of meteorological assessment. Their knowledge should be properly documented and preserved. A National Policy is required to:

1. Preserve and promote the traditional knowledge and wisdom and properly document it.

2. Establish a centre to train tribal youth in areas of traditional wisdom.

3. Disseminate such true models and exhibit at appropriate places.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., pp. 221-22.
4. Transfer such knowledge to non-tribal areas\textsuperscript{32}.

3.12 Tribal Development and Land

In modern times, the quest for land is very severe among the tribes. The tribes were not bothered about the possession of land and they did not get any record or document showing the ownership of land. They viewed land as a communal resource, free to whoever needed it. By the time, the tribals accepted the necessity of obtaining formal land titles, they lost the opportunity to lay claim on lands. They were severely disadvantaged in dealing with government officials who granted land titles\textsuperscript{33}.

Migration into tribal lands increased dramatically. The deadly combination of constabulary and revenue officers caused the deprivation of land holdings to the tribes. The means of subverting protective legislation provided scope for local officials to ignore land acquisition by non-tribal people. They altered land registry records, lease plots of land for short periods and then simply refuse to relinquish them, or induce tribal members to become indebted and attach their lands. Government efforts to evict non-tribal members from illegal occupation have proceeded slowly. The non-tribals exploited the tribals by giving them liquor and other intoxicants, which they like than anything else, enticing tribal members into debt and mortgaging their land\textsuperscript{34}.

Conflicts over land rights have introduced a point of cleavage into village social relations, increased functional conflict and have seriously eroded the ability

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 222.
\textsuperscript{33} Nishi K. Dixit, \textit{op.cit.} pp. 4 - 5.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., pp. 6-7.
of tribes to ward off the intrusion of outsiders. Changes in land holding pattern have altered the role of the joint family.

3.13 Land Alienation among the Tribes

The introduction of the land revenue and money economy deprived the tribal right to ownership of the forest land. Through legal manipulation and other fraudulent means large scale transfer of tribal land has taken place to non-tribal people. This is a problem common to all tribal areas. The Fifth Schedule of the Constitution for the protection of the tribal lands in the Scheduled Areas could not prevent alienation of tribal lands and large scale transfers. The loopholes in the laws, the convenience of the bureaucracy and the political authorities have subverted the existing legal safeguards.

Through mortgages, lease agreements, benami transfers, false title deeds in coalition with revenue officials, by marriage to tribal women and holding land in the name of their bonded tribal agricultural labourers, the non-tribes have taken the tribal lands. In the absence of education and literacy they were not in a position to read and understand the provisions, mentioned in the constitution and other reforms introduced and implemented by the authorities. Inadequate knowledge prevented the tribals to go forward with any legal action against the snatchers of their land property. Later when they realized the loss, it was too late, because the non-tribes who have taken the land illegally made it legal with sufficient documents, with the help of officials.  

The tribals generally did not have a documented system of land rights. Tribal deprivation is a reality and in the process, their traditions of community ownership of resources, their dependence on forests and their practice of shifting

\[35 \text{Ibid., p.16.}\]
cultivation have all suffered. The tribal population is sought to be sucked into the mainstream formal economy, in which they are at a clear disadvantage\textsuperscript{36}.

3.13.1 Different types of land alienation.

1. Manipulation of land records: the tribals were never legally recognized as owners of the land which they cultivated.
2. ‘Benami’ transfers.
3. Encroachment.
4. Concubinage or marital alliance\textsuperscript{37}.

The tribals have been relegated from their earlier ‘self-reliant’ status to a dependent one. Exploitation by the non-tribes, the State legislations were proved detrimental to their interests. In the modern period, in all States and Union Territories the transfer of tribal land to non-tribes is banned. Even after the passing and imposing of Acts, for the protection of tribals, right over land, the tribal struggle for land still continues in many parts of the country. These questions and concerns of the tribals demand a separate legal framework supported by alternative premises in jurisprudence\textsuperscript{38}.

The tribes are the second largest landless people in India. The Scheduled Caste is the first in that category. The large land holding (more than 4 hectares) is owned mostly by non-tribes. The tribal communities also witnessed an unequal land-owning structure that varies from State–to-State over the years. At the all India level, big land holders among tribes have declined from 4.80 percent in 1994

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., pp.174-75.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., pp.180-81.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., pp.180-81.
to 3 percent in 2000, leading to a fall in the number of landless households from 13.30 percent in 1994 to 7.20 per cent in 2000\(^{39}\).

About 85.4 lakhs of tribals were displaced in India during 1950-1990, of them only 21.2 lakhs (25 percent) were rehabilitated during the same period. Three-fourth of the displaced tribals are not yet rehabilitated. The establishment of roads and communication facilities encouraged two trends in tribal areas.

1. The proportion of non-tribes has increased in tribal areas and

2. The proportion of the marginal workers and agricultural labourers to the total workforce of the tribals increased\(^{40}\).

### 3.13.2 Tribal Right to Land

The issue of tribal right to land, territories and resources are strongly debated in the modern period. The protection of tribals’ right over these aspects is essentially required because they always have been subjected to widespread disposition and unjust exploitation by States and others. Tribal rights to land, territories and resources are inextricably linked to the human right to self determination and development. The tribals will be pushed to the edge of economic, cultural and political extinction, if they do not get adequate land and resources. The essential aspects of their survival and well being are linked with land and other resources. It is well established that denial or infringements of their collective land and resources results in a potentially wide range of human rights violations.

Tribals are the most vulnerable of all categories of vulnerable peoples. The rampant human right violations, they have faced historically and often


\(^{40}\) Nishi K. Dixit, *op.cit.*, p.191.
continue to face in contemporary times, are responsible for their vulnerability. Tribal right to life and their means of subsistence has deprived, to a great extent by the forced development projects. “Free, prior and informed consent” (FPIC) is essential for the enjoyment of the human rights of tribals.\textsuperscript{41}

The report of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission) has clearly recommended that, all surrenders (of tribal lands) must only be the State, trustee for tribals. However, as long as the communal rights of the tribals are not identified, recognized and respected, it would be impossible to hold the State accountable as a trustee, and for breach of trust.\textsuperscript{42}

The provisions of the Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act 1996, specifically empowers the Grama Sabha and the Panchayat to present alienation of land in the Scheduled Areas and to take appropriate action for any unlawfully alienated land of Scheduled Tribes. The Act also instructs the Government to consult the Grama Sabha or the Panchayat before making the acquisition of the land in the Scheduled Areas for various public purposes. The Grama Sabha has the power of control over the local natural resources. Unfortunately the provisions in this law hence remained paper tigers. Literacy and legal education is required among the tribals.\textsuperscript{43}

Large scale migration of non-tribes has taken place in States like Kerala, where, people from Central Kerala moved in large numbers to the Northern districts like Palakkad, Wynad etc. They cleared the forests lands in these districts and acquired acres of land. Later they earned ‘Pattayam’ from the government, through continuous strikes and struggles. In some cases, the migrants used small

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p.133.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., p.182.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p.183.
tricks and foul plays to access the tribal land. The Forests Laws passed by the Central Government, made the tribals intruders. Thus the tribals not only in Kerala, but in other parts of India remain as landless.

The land problem became serious when the concept of reserve forest was introduced in different hill regions during the last decade of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. In this period, two major developments took place in the community managed forests-oriented tribal economy. One, the State took over the forests from the tribals and secondly, individual ownership rights were given to the tribal occupants. Ever since the tribal land alienation problem has become acute. Several States enacted laws to protect the tribals from land alienation but they were ineffective or enforced after the alienation.

3.13.3 Restoration of Alienated Land

From the inception of the First Five Year Plan, tribal progress was included in the plan objectives. The alienation of tribal land was not a serious crisis during that time. Tribals could not make the expected progress in the early plan periods. The fundamental facilities like clothes, food and housing were absent. The scheme of providing nutrients and mid-day meal attracted some parents and they sent their children to the schools. Restoration of land to tribes has been an issue of high priority to retain them in education, mainly as a first step in their progress.

It will be useful to think some important measures to prevent land alienation and to restore land to the tribals.

Firstly, there should be transparency and access to land records at the village level to the tribals. Regular updating of land records and display of revenue

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44 Ibid., p.190-91.
details at the village level should be part of transparency. Tribals should be allowed to participate in the process of survey of land.

Secondly, oral evidence should be admissible where records are absent. If the non-tribes do not hand over the possessions of land to the tribes after the Court order, the case should be registered under the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989. Revenue officials should be made responsible for ensuring physical possession of land to tribals immediately. There should be a system of monthly monitoring of the restoration of land by Collectors and Commissioners and action should be taken against erring officers. State Commissions for Scheduled Tribes should also monitor the cases.

Thirdly, all forest villagers should be given ‘Pattayam’ for the land, which they are cultivating since the ages. Tribals residing in forest areas should be allowed to cultivate the land.

Fourthly, tribals in newly allotted lands should be provided with the compensation for livelihood for at least two years.

Fifthly, name of female family members should be included along with the male members in land records.

Most of the tribes are illiterate and they haven’t any practice to keep the land records. So the non-tribes have taken advantage of forging evidence and documents in their favour. The complicated court language was alien to the tribes and they had absolutely no idea about the court proceedings.

The land Revenue laws of the state, imposed restrictions on the transfer of tribal land to non-tribes. Land Reform Legislation (particularly Tenancy

\[45\textit{Ibid.}, \ p.204.\]
Legislation and Ceiling Law) provided for the distribution of land to the landless giving preference to the Scheduled Tribes, most of them belong to the landless class, to arrest indebtedness remedial measures were taken to scale down their past debts\textsuperscript{46}.

3.14. Tribal Development: An Appraisal

Development is not the result of a single casual process, but the result of a number of factors. The rate of growth of development varies from community to community, place to place, race to race, person to person etc. In the case of tribes, the amount of development is highly varied from one tribal community to another. Among the primitive tribes, the process of development is very slow, because they have only a limited scope to get accessibility with the external world. They like to retain and preserve their traditional way of life and neglect the thrust for renovation from outside. They did not like to entertain the strangers either from Government sector or from voluntary organizations. They continue their traditional lifestyle inside dark caves, under rock-hollows, temporary sheds etc. They did not encourage external intrusion to their simple and peaceful life. Naturally the development profile of the primitive tribes would be frustrating.

The development profile of the tribes in different parts of India, provide a varied picture. The North-East India reveals a good example of pro-developmental attitude. The tribal literacy is the highest in North-East India. The securing of Government jobs is also very high in that region. The utilization of educational opportunities and the thirst for government jobs is comparatively at a high rate in North-East India. In Central India, the picture is entirely different. There the rate of tribal development is not uniform. The landlords, corrupt officials and

\textsuperscript{46} Singh R., \textit{op.cit.}, p.168.
exploiting lobbies are active in that region. The government plans and projects for tribal development did not reach the exact destinations.

The success of any programme for tribal development needs a balance between the felt needs and the real needs, a two-way learning process, in which tribals are educated by the development agents and the agent has knowledge of the tribe\textsuperscript{47}.

The overall development process in tribal area remains uneven. Some tribes have raised their socio-economic profile and increased their political participation during the last 60 years of the planning process. On the other hand, many are still far behind in making progress.

Unlike other communities, special care is needed during the implementation of any schemes for the tribals. Through electronic and mass media they hear, read and understand the daily proceedings of the government. The tribals living in the remote areas have rare contact with the authorities and outside world. Besides, they have least interest to know the general matters happening in and around their world. The small-scale welfare schemes, pertaining to family welfare, capacity building, health, education and social justice have made a significant contribution in improving the overall condition of the tribes. The most appropriate form of tribal development is identified as non-industrial, but pro-local. By utilizing local resources and environment, a stable livelihood for the tribes can be provided. Many such schemes have been introduced by the government in tribal areas\textsuperscript{48}.

\textsuperscript{47} Govinda Chandra Rath, \textit{op.cit.}, p.23.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.20-21.
3.15 Tribal response to Development

In the last six decades, tribal development may be categorized into three sections; i.e., positive, negative and suggestive responses. The positive response indicates the achievements so far made and the expectations of further development in future. They utilized the concessions in education and jobs and secured many jobs and acquired high qualifications. In the field of politics, they reached higher posts by contesting in the reservation seats. Besides, some exceptional cases of tribal occupation of higher posts in state and union governments. Kariya Munda, The Deputy Speaker of present Lok Sabha belongs to tribal community. There are many tribal leaders, eligible to reach the constitutional positions of India. These aspects show that tribals have a positive response to the development programmes.

The tribal development has negative responses also. To them, a limited per cent of tribals could reach higher posts in democracy and bureaucracy. It does not mean that the whole community reached the peak of development. A large group of tribals are still living amidst poverty, misery and illiteracy. The tribals occupy the second largest group of people as landless. They are the most illiterate people in India. They are the highly exploited section of people in our country. In this way the claim of tribal development in India has been a false statement to a group of analyzers. They criticizes the present form of tribal development as moribund, benefiting only the bureaucrats. To create sustainable self-reliant livelihood for tribals, development programmes with environmental conservation is required. They warn against privatization, globalization and bureaucratization because of the possibility of multifarious inequalities. As a solution to these problems, tribals need equal distribution of land, preservation of the environment, market-based services in line with local needs, gender equality and greater public provision of education and health care needs.
There are various agencies working for the development of tribes in India, like Government departments, missionaries, institutions, civil society, organizations like NGOs and the activists of the human rights movements.\textsuperscript{49}

### 3.16 Schemes for Tribal Development

For the resurrection of tribals the Central government introduced development programmes like the Multi-Purpose Tribal Development Projects in 1954, and Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Blocks (SMPT) in 1956, the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAP) like the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Employment Generation Programmes (EGP), like the Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY), the Million Wells Scheme (MWS), the Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), Swarna Jayanthi Rozgar Yojana (SJRY), Grameena Sadak Yojana (GSY) etc.\textsuperscript{50}

These programmes passed through a series of encounters with the problems like unsuitability to tribes, government’s failure in implementation, rampant corruption, and non-completion of the targeted projects and consequent diversion of resources to other sectors and concentration of benefits in the hands of the relatively better-off within tribes and non-tribes. There are some allegations that the IRDP beneficiaries are not selected fairly, undeserved people of above poverty line were included in the list of beneficiaries, the selected beneficiaries are not informed in detail about the facilities available under the scheme, and many of them faced difficulties before the actual disbursement of the loans. Due to the unholy alliance between the politicians and the bureaucrats the implementation of the programmes are ignored. In this way several crores reached the hands of

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., pp.23-25.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., pp.32-33.
wrong people, but records were prepared in the names of poor tribals. If the announced plans were implemented in a proper way, there would not be a single person from the tribal community, as landless or living below poverty line. Thus the entire criticism held the government machinery as completely responsible for the defects of the programmes to a certain extent. The negative approach of the tribals towards the development projects is not a least fact for its failure.  

3.17 Impact of Development Projects

Every development project has its own disastrous impact on the environment and people. The establishment of big industries and construction of large dams necessitated extensive displacement, especially in tribal areas. In 1950s and 1960s this tendency was widespread in different parts of India. The availability of forest lands and the scattered settlement of the tribes made it easier for the investors, to start new firms without much controversy and compensations.

The protest from the tribals was absent or very less during that period. Moreover, the displaced tribals were not rehabilitated anywhere. So, it became a big question of violation of human rights. Tribal resistance against such projects has intensified in almost all parts of the country since 1990’s. Displacement uprooted the tribals from their natural environment and also destroyed their valuable community life. An estimated 25 million tribals have so far been displaced by “development” projects and over 55 percent of all projects, displaced people are tribals. The conflict is not between the forest and tribals, but between projects and tribals on one side and a destructive “development” model on the other. Thousands of families displaced without rehabilitation by mines and dams have settled on forest land. Much of these displacements have been after 1980. Besides, development policies have not so far been able to provide tribals and

51 Ibid., p.34.
small marginal farmers any security of land or livelihood. There is a saying that in democracy everyone is equal, but tribals are less equal than others. But there is a reality that, no conservation is possible without the active involvement and control of local communities.\(^{52}\)

In the post colonial India, the socialist nation building processes and the neo-liberal structural readjustments have set a poor track record in addressing the needs of forest dependent communities. Post-colonial India, in its drives to modernization has effectively promoted some people at the expense of others. It has over the years increasingly marginalized the tribes as carrying a low price tag in terms of the social costs of development.\(^{53}\)

### 3.18 Underdevelopment: Causes from within

Tribal impoverishment throughout India is a result of their own social evils like addiction to alcohol, child marriage, early motherhood, excess deliveries and over population, infant mortality, illiteracy and lower female workforce participation.\(^{54}\) In addition, tribals have been confronted with other problems as well while the post independent India made well-meaning provisions and legislation for the protection, welfare and development of the tribal people. Today the tribes, experience deprivation, oppression, exploitation and discrimination in almost all fields of life. The government response to the problems of tribes has either been lukewarm, indifferent or even hostile. There has been an increasing assertion by the tribes for right and control over land and other resources in the


\(^{54}\) Ibid., p.31.
forms of mobilization against alienation of land and State induced displacement projects\textsuperscript{55}.

### 3.19 Tribal Unemployment: A Burning Issue

Tribal economy is varied from one community to another. It is the feature of the tribal community that they lacked any organized sector of labour. There are various schemes like self employment schemes, IRDP, NREP, RLEGp and TRYSEM for providing employment to the tribals\textsuperscript{56}. The amount of utilization of these plans by the tribals is a big question. How many of them have the awareness of the schemes for their prosperity, is another question, which requires deep thinking.

The problem of tribal development is not confined to economic aspects, but it is a complex one, with different dimensions. When we try to impose modern life styles among the tribals, their racial identity will be in danger. The preservation of their social and cultural life, their language and indigenous practices are also required. Along with economic planning, there should be social and political planning in an integrated manner\textsuperscript{57}.

The problem of tribal development is primarily linked with the backwardness of those areas, poverty of the people and the concept of integration of tribals with the rest of the population.

### 3.20 Schemes from the Centre and State

\textsuperscript{55} Economic and Political Weekly, March 26, 2005, p.1369.

\textsuperscript{56} Singh R., op.cit. p. 33.

The tribal development programmes are categorized into two headings: centrally sponsored and State plan schemes. For centrally sponsored schemes, States get 100 percent central assistance. For State plan schemes, central assistance is available as block grants and loans.

3.20.1 Centrally Sponsored Schemes

1. Tribal Development Blocks
2. Co-operation.
3. Girls’ hostels
4. Post-matric scholarships
5. Coaching and pre-examination training schemes for competitive examinations
6. Research, training and special projects.

3.20.2 State Plan Schemes

a) Education: pre-metric scholarships, stipends, boarding grants, hostels, supply of free books, stationery, uniforms, mid-day meals etc.

b) Economic development: subsidy for agricultural implements, seeds, fertilizers etc., cottage industries, rehabilitation, communications, animal husbandry, horticulture, pisciculture, co-operation, minor irrigation, soil conservation etc.

c) Health, housing and others: housing, medical and public health, social and cultural activities, drinking water, aid to voluntary agencies and miscellaneous.

3.20.3 Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks:

This scheme was inaugurated in 1955. In 1956, forty three such blocks were opened in different States for the first time, to enhance the speed of development process in the largest tribal concentration areas. It is included in the State Plan Scheme, jointly sponsored by the Ministries of Home Affairs and
Community Development. These tribal blocks have intensive development programmes. Its area coverage and population were much less than the normal blocks. Supply of unskilled labour, at a lower rate was the contribution of people to these schemes. Loan funds were given as subsidies and trained personnel were appointed in these blocks. The programmes undertaken under these blocks did not produce the desired results.

3.21 Development of Tribal Economy

Agriculture and forest related activities are the basic occupations of the tribals. The forest laws prevented the tribals from easy handling of forest produces and it adversely affected their traditional life. Later the government relaxed the existing laws and permitted them to collect minor forest produces (MFP). They followed shifting cultivation from very early period itself. The clearing of forest after cutting the trees was the method used for shifting cultivation. The laws for the protection of forests made it illegal and the tribals had to search other ways for their subsistence. Hence the development of agriculture is required for their survival. Land ownership and its developments, provision of irrigation and improved methods of cultivation are required. Proper land records should be given to the tribals. To give them confidence, shifting cultivation must be reintroduced. Forest dwellers and forest labourers will be getting special attention.

The construction of roads and other transportation facilities to tribal regions, especially in the interior forests regions, is urgently needed. The electrification process in the tribal colonies also faces the same hurdles. The telecommunication facilities also have the same fate in the tribal settlements. To speed up the socio-economic development, basic intra-structure, legal, institutional

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and physical facilities are required to be developed on a priority basis. Growth centres, communication network, schools, rural health centres, marketing and credit organizations, rural electrification, manpower resources and training have to be planned in an integrated fashion, keeping in view the special conditions for the tribal areas.\textsuperscript{60}

### 3.22 Failure of Development Projects: Causes

There are two distinct schools of thought that exist, on the evaluation of tribal development programmes. To one view, the philosophy of tribal development has miserably failed. The other view, partial success only made in the development programmes. It is a reality that, even the real optimists can not claim that the tribal development programmes have achieved the target and it became a complete success. A Government of India document, ‘Approach to Tribal Development in the Sixth Plan; A Preliminary Perspective’, laments that in the name of tribal development, we have spent a lot of money during the last several plans but, when accounting was made at the end of the last period of the safeguards to the tribals in the Constitution, it was found that actual benefits trickling down to the tribals have not been consistent with the promise we have made. Expenditure has not resulted in the benefits that should accrue to this population. Unfortunately, the developmental programmes for tribal areas did not yield the desired results.\textsuperscript{61}

The document further reveals that more than 75 percent of total benefits have not reached tribals. A. K. Sharma is of the view that, Government of India, has not only failed to encourage the development of the tribals, but has actively maintained their under development. He put forward, three important aspects to

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., p.150.

\textsuperscript{61} Singh R., \textit{op.cit.} p.145.
strengthen his view. Firstly, successive governments, since independence has allotted funds to tribal development, have both been meager and greatly outweighed by the value of the resource extracted from tribal areas. Secondly, traditional environment of the tribals involving heavy social costs, have been exploited with Government support. Thirdly, the tribals had been stopped from acquiring any real political power.62

Another group lamented that the laws and programmes for tribal development have failed because of the power of non-tribal landlords and the non-involvement of tribals in the development process. The following aspects are some of the chief causes for the failure of tribal development projects.

a) Defective Planning: The Shilu-Ao team on tribal Development Programme presented the view that the result achieved have not been commensurate with the expenditure incurred; a lot of funds have been wasted on schemes which have failed largely because of the failure of planners to take into account the stage of development of the tribals for whom they are intended and the conditions obtaining in the areas where they are to be implemented. The resources had been wasted on grandiose schemes of colonization, housing, co-operation etc., which had largely failed and had conferred no tangible benefits on the tribals. For example, the housing scheme failed, because of the erroneous assumption of the planners. Tiled houses involving, considerable expenditure of public funds constructed in the midst of forests on stereotyped lines have either remained untenanted or abandoned soon after construction. The planners have the wrong conception that what is good for the people in the plains should be equally good

and acceptable to the tribals. The experience demonstrated that, tribals will not ‘stay put’ in houses which do not confirm to their ideas of layout and designs\textsuperscript{63}.

\textbf{b) Defective Administrative Structure:} The implementation of various programmes are conducted by various departments, each providing its own particular input and working more or less independently of the other, the tribal people are forced to run from pillar to post to get what they need. The Planning Commission observed, “As a result of historical reasons, the administrative structure in tribal areas has continued to lack simplicity and there by defy comprehension of the tribals and has failed to evoke substantial response from them. But in the absence of concrete data, it is not possible to get a clear verdict on the extent of progress. In the light of our laudable objective, but not so good performance, it is evident that the entire question of tribal development needs a fresh look”\textsuperscript{64}.

\textbf{c) Backwardness in Education:} Tribal underdevelopment, to a great extent is due to their negative approach to education. The drop out rate is highest among them. The most illiterate section of people also comes from their community. Lack of literacy leads them to ignorance about special privileges like reservation in job and education, reservation of seats in democratic institutions and general awareness about the matters in their surroundings. Even educational institutions, founded environmentally friendly for the tribals, did not function very well. It is because of the laziness of the tribal students or due to the absence of the teachers. The lack of infrastructure facilities like lodging, drinking water, food and even latrines and the threat of wild animals were the negative factors that discourage the tribal students from regular schooling. The inauguration of Model Residential Schools (MRS) in

\textsuperscript{63} Singh R., \textit{op.cit.}, p.159.

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.160-161.
many tribal concentrated regions made their education an easy task, still they hesitate to attend the schools is a big puzzle. The qualified persons from the tribal communities should be appointed as teachers and it will encourage the students to come regularly to the schools, if it is not available, teachers with pro-tribal attitude and sympathy should be garnered for enhancing education.

The tribals lack the awareness to demand their rights for basic needs. Even the few tribes who succeed in getting educated become elite and do not show the responsibilities to help their kith and kin and alienating themselves from the rest of their community.\(^{65}\)

**d) Lack of Drinking Water Facility:** It is an acute problem in many tribal areas. In the rainy season, water is abundant and pure. In tribal areas, the main source of drinking water is streams, ponds, rivers, reservoirs and wells. In summer, the water sources get dry and they have to fetch water from long distances. In many States of India, the tribals have the habit of migrating to the places, where water sources are available. They have to drink unhygienic and contaminated water. Thus they are subjugated to various serious diseases like cholera, diarrhea, tuberculosis, jaundice, cold, cough and fever. The Central and State Governments have given top priority to the provision of drinking water to the tribals and formulated various schemes for digging wells, ponds, bore wells, laying pipelines, founding public tanks etc. The drinking water facility has not yet reached many tribal areas.

**e) Poor Health Care Facilities:** Paucity of medical and health care facilities in tribal regions is a serious problem. In India, medical science and technology made enormous progress. But the tribals did not have the luck to enjoy the fruits of modern medical science. Tribal areas are notorious for many disastrous diseases

like tuberculosis, leprosy, jaundice, venereal and sickle cell diseases. The tribals have an inclination to follow their traditional system of medicine and treatment. In some tribal communities, the delivery cases are handled by the older women themselves. The lack of clinics, primary health centres and the qualified medical practitioners are not available in tribal regions. The immunization programmes and the preventive measures are unknown to many tribals. Community and personal hygiene are least important to them. Regular visit of medical team and distribution of medicines is urgently required in tribal regions.

**f) Malnutrition:** The roots, fruits and leaves collected from the forest were included in the tribal diet. They got natural immunization power through the use of natural resources. The depletion of resources, emergence of articles from outside, the disappearance of wild animals, the ban on the killing of birds and animals in the forests, growing population pressure, threat from the forest guards and other officials, imposition of strict forest policy etc., are some of the important causes for tribal malnutrition and under nutrition. Nursing mothers and pre-school going children should be the target groups for nutritional programme.

In 1970-71, the Ministry of Social Welfare started a special nutrition programme to provide nutrition to the pre-school going children, nursing mothers, slum dwellers, tribals and people of drought prone areas. It is accounted for giving 200-300 calories and 8-12 grams of protein for children and 500 calories and 25 grams protein for mothers. In 1970-71, the Balawadi Nutrition Programme was also launched by the Ministry of Social Welfare through four organizations; the Central Social Welfare Board, Indian Council for Child Welfare, Harijan Sewak Sangh and Bharatiya Adimjati Sewak Sangh⁶⁶.

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One of the worst features of socio-economic development in the modern period in India is the brutal exploitation of the tribal people. The traditional social forms of tribal life have broken down in the relentless march of modernism. The old collective forms of tribal life with egalitarian features have been squashed by the slaughter of modern politico-economic factors.

3.23 Impact of Liberalization Policies.

In the past two decades, the introduction of liberalization policies have affected the people of India especially the marginalized communities. The withdrawal and entailment of government from many welfare programmes remain harmful to the poor people. The Government has reduced the subsidies of various items that are essential to the common masses.

The following are some of the major impact of liberalization policies.

a) The most important one is the curtailment of the Public Distribution System (PDS) and reducing the State funds for social welfare sector. Both these sectors have great importance in the life of the tribal people. The tribal people relied on ration shops and other public distribution systems for food items and kerosene and they availed it at a cheaper rate.

b) The health and educational facilities provided by the State had deteriorated with reduction in State expenditure. The drive for privatization has caused the withdrawal of the State from socially useful projects. In the field of education also, the Government has reduced its investment and expenditure. So, the private managements get an upper hand in that area. They collect fees as they wish from the students on various pretexts and a large amount of money is spent by the parents for their children. The tribals, by nature itself, are
disinterested in the process of schooling. They will not send their children to the schools after paying huge amount of money, as fees or capitation\textsuperscript{67}.

c) The banking system is not encouraging liberal loans to poor and landless. So the tribals fall easily in the grip of exploiting money lenders. The tribals are easy prey to the large scale exploiters and once they get into the bondage of usury they are reduced to the plight of serfs. With limited scope of economic prosperity, it became a Herculean task for the tribals to refund that money in the stipulated time period. So they became subservient to the money lenders. The pending dues of payment compel them to donate everything to the exploiters, including their land, women etc. In this way, the bondage of money lenders is the most degrading aspect of tribal life in the modern period. If the government make the arrangement to provide loans to the tribals at moderate rate of interest, it will be helpful to them to escape from the bondage of money lenders.

d) The state has also the responsibility to develop infrastructure and transportation facilities. The tribal areas have the least number of roads and public transport. Higher illiteracy and special problems of mortality and endemic diseases exist in the tribal areas. In the building of roads, the state now uses the policy of build, operate and transfer (BOT). But the private builders are not interested in taking projects in the tribal areas, due to the impossibility to get back the money they spent for road construction, as the number of vehicles is very few in those roads. They like to take only the profitable projects. In this way the liberalization policy in both centre and states adversely affect the tribals more than anybody else.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Ibid.}, p.21.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Ibid.}, p.21.
3.24 Tribal Development in Kerala

Since the formation of Kerala, the State Government has been formulating a series of development programmes addressing poverty, land alienation, education, health care, employment, social development and welfare programmes well in advance of the Millennium Development Goals. In spite of the various welfare measures initiated and the constitutional protection given, the tribal communities of Kerala have been subject to various forms of deprivation, oppression and poverty. The index of deprivation based on four basic necessities for well being such as housing quality, access to drinking water, good sanitation and electricity for lighting, the district Wayanad has the highest index of deprivation (66 percent), followed by Idukki (65.3 percent), Kannur (61.3 percent) and Thiruvananthapuram (60.1 percent) registering indices greater than that of the state average (57.9 percent).  

Table 3.1 Percentage of Population below Poverty Line: Comparison of Kerala with all India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>NSSO Rounds</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Kerala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>38th Round (1983)</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>50th Round (1992-94)</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>55th Round (1999-2000)</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), Government of India (various rounds)

3.24.1 Tribal Development Activities in the State

The development programmes for the scheduled tribes in the State are implemented through the Scheduled Tribes Development Department, local Self Government institutions (LSGIs) and Oorukoottams.\(^{70}\) The Scheduled Tribes Development Department, which came into existence in 1980, has seven Intensive Tribal Development Project offices (ITDP), nine Tribal Development Offices (TDO) and 48 Tribal Extension Offices (TEO) at field level. The Scheduled Tribes Development department is implementing various schemes for the well being of the tribals. There are about 47 programmes categorized under five headings: educational, health care, social upliftment, cultural development and other development schemes, utilizing the funds of the State as well as the Central government.\(^{71}\)

3.24.2 Local Self Government Institutions (LSGIs) and Tribal Development

The Government of Kerala handed over most of the development programmes to local bodies. The Special Component Plan (SCP) and the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) are the two major programmes that seek to address the problems of the scheduled communities. The plans would be prepared for providing minimum needs of households like housing, sanitation, electricity, water supply, street lights and other common facilities. Kerala is the only State in the country where substantial parts of the Tribal sub Plan are directly implemented by local

\(^{70}\) *Oorukoottams*: equivalent to neighbourhood groups in the three tier decentralized planning system in India. It is a colloquial term used among the tribal groups. ‘Ooru’ in the slang means habitat.

self governments. In all other states these funds are generally under the control of the line departments.\textsuperscript{72}

The ‘Oorukoottams’ have been described as a democratic niche for tribal communities within the local government system during the Tenth Five Year plan. It is the vital agency for formulation and implementation of all programmes meant for them. The ‘Oorukoottams’ have been the convergence point for effectively integrating the programme of various agencies.\textsuperscript{73}

The ‘Oorukoottams’ and the tribal leaders can make awareness through the local dialect, indigenous cultural shows, dissemination of success stories in respect of schemes/projects like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Indira Awaz Yojana (IAY), Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS), National Rural health Mission (NRHM), Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water and Sanitation campaign, Janani Suraksha, retention of girls in primary education etc.\textsuperscript{74}

Accessibility to development schemes is a serious concern on the process of project implementation and the development of tribal community. In the Kerala context the outreach of multiple schemes addressing different traits of the development domains of the tribal people is mainly hindered by procedural delays at the hands of the officials/LSGIs/Oorukoottams.

There are different factors for the lags and bottlenecks in the development programmes of the tribals. Lack of proper and regular visit to the tribal settlements by the responsive government officials, inadequate supply of information

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p. 14.
\textsuperscript{74} Baiju K.C. op.cit., p.18.
regarding schemes, households who could not gather any eligible benefits, tribal promoters/officials not helped to avail deserving benefits, negative and arrogant attitude of the officials, prevalence of corruption/bribery, insufficient functioning of the ‘Oorukottams’ etc are some of the deadlocks in the path of tribal progress.

The Planning Commission of India made an apt comment, “Most of the Tribal Development Projects in the State have been deviated from their original objectives”.

3.24.3 Tribal Development Programmes of the State

The tribal development programmes can be categorized in to promotive measures and protective measures. The promotive measures include; education, health and nutrition and housing. The protective measures include the checking of bonded labour and land alienation, permit the collection of minor forest produce, strict excise policy, and supportive forest policy, prevent the atrocities against the tribals etc.

3.24.3.1 Schemes for Tribal Welfare

Special Central Assistance (SCA) is released under three categories viz. integrated tribal development projects, projects for dispersed tribes and primitive tribes. Economic development programmes for landless and other scheduled tribes, habitat/hamlet development, rubber cultivation, employment programme for tribal men and women, construction of small check – dams/wells etc are the important economic development schemes being implemented by utilizing Special Central Assistance.

3.24.4 Occupational Pattern and Land Holdings of Tribes in Kerala

The tribes in Kerala excessively depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Among them 54.79 percent depends on agriculture but in the case of general population only 19.52 percent depends on agriculture. Majority of the general population (77.13 percent) depends on ‘other services’, while only 42.65 percent of the tribes depend on the same sector. The tribal population is far behind in the changing occupational structure of the Kerala economy.76

As per official data, the average size of land holdings among the tribes is 0.68 acres and the landlessness is higher among them. In Kerala, under the land reforms legislation, only 1.33 lakh acres of land was declared as surplus. Out of that, 47 percent was distributed among the vulnerable sections as on March 1996 and nearly five percent of tribal population were benefitted by it. The average size of land made available to the tribe was 71 cents.77

3.24.5 Marital Status

As per the Census Report of 2001, the tribal communities of Kerala exhibited fluctuations in the norms framed by the Indian Parliament on marriage. Even though, child marriage has been legally prohibited, instances of early marriage can be found among them. Polygamy and polyandry are also noticed. The tribal population contained never married (unmarried) persons more than married persons. The percentage of unmarried persons was 47.2 and that of the married persons was 46.1. The widowed persons constitute 5.4 percent and the divorced and separated were one percent of the total tribal population. The married girls below 18 years and boys below 21 years constitute 1.4 percent of their


77 Ibid. p.15.
population. But their counterparts in the national level represent 2.1 and 2.8 percentages respectively.\textsuperscript{78}

\subsection*{3.24.6 Poverty Ratio}

The Central/State level measures to alleviate poverty from among the tribal population found positive results in Kerala. The poverty level reduced from 37 percent to 24 percent between 1993-94 and 1999-2000, in respect of the rural tribal population of Kerala. The rural poverty among the tribes remain more than two and a half times of that of the total rural population below poverty line in the State, which stands at 9.4 percent. The over representation of the tribes in the population below poverty line in the State is a matter of serious concern which needs special targeted attention. The Human Development Index (HDI) reflects the capabilities that people have in removing their unfreedom to enjoy a better standard of living. The tribal concentrated districts in Kerala are ranked at the lowest position. In the case of Gender Development Index (GDI) also the tribal concentrated districts are far behind others.\textsuperscript{79}

\subsection*{3.24.7 Deprivation Index}

Deprivation Index can be used as tool to capture the short fall in the quality of life. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), measures the deprivation index based on four deprivation criteria including the quality of housing, access to water, good sanitation and electrification. Based on these general criteria, the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Thiruvananthapuram, has developed deprivation index based on seven variables which also include not having banking facilities and consumer durables. Tribal concentrated districts of

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., p.17.

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
Wayanad, Idukki and Palakkad have the highest deprivation among all the districts in Kerala.

### Table 3.2 District – wise Deprivation Index of Scheduled Tribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Deprivation Index of ST</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Thiruvananthapuram</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kollam</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pathanamthitta</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Alappuzha</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kottayam</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Idukki</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ernakulam</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Thrissur</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Palakkad</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Malappuram</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Kozhikode</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Wayanad</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Kannur</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Kasargod</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Human Development Report, 2005; State Planning Board, Government of Kerala*

### 3.24.8 Hurdles in the path of Tribal Development in Kerala

There are many impediments in the way of tribal development in Kerala.
a) **Unwed Mothers among Tribes:** tribal women are victims of sexual exploitation and physical harassment. The Wayanad district has the most number of unwed women and the epicentre of that phenomenon is Thirunelli of that district. A rough estimation shows that there are more than 500 unwed tribal mothers in that area. The tribal areas of Attappady of Palakkad district is not an exemption of that phenomenon, there are over 300 unwed mothers. Some of them are less than 20 years of age. The major problems of tribal unwed mothers are poverty, unemployment, rejection, isolation, neglect, and lack of shelter, along with different health problems such as malnourishment and psychological problems.  

b) **Sickle Cell Anaemia:** it is an autosomal recessive genetic blood disorder, with over dominance, characterized by red blood cells, which assume an abnormal, rigid, sickle shape. Sickling decreases the cells’ flexibility, and results in a risk of various complications. The sickling occurs because of a mutation in the hemoglobin gene. It is perceived as a debilitating disease for the individual sufferer, the family and the community. Life expectancy is shortened with studies reporting an average life expectancy of 42 in males and 48 in females. Studies held in the tribal families of Wayanad and Palakkad shows that nearly 15 percent of the tribal families have traits of genetic problem, “Sickle Cell Anaemia”, and it is known as “tribal disease”.

c) **Low Monthly Per Capita Expenditure among Tribes:** three major consumption items namely: 1) food, pan, tobacco, intoxicants, fuel and light 2) clothing, footwear and the like and 3) miscellaneous goods and services and consumer durables. MPCE among the tribes in Kerala is very low.

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**d) Low Standard of Living Index:** ten different indicators on living standards such as type of housing, availability of toilets, drinking water, possession of different types of durable assets, fuel used for cooking, energy used for lighting etc. The Mala Araya tribal community secured the highest value and their Standard of Living Index (SLI) is higher than the other groups. The Paniyan, Adiyans, Urali, Kattunaykan, Muthuvan and Irular tribal communities have the lowest SLI value. Kuruman and Kurichian attained values between the highest and lowest and have medium SLI status.  

3.24.9 **Major issues of challenges to the tribal development in Kerala**

The State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, has pointed out some of the issues among the tribes of Kerala, which decreases the acceleration of their development.

1) Alarming depletion of social capital, especially traditional forms of organization and leadership

2) Weak delivery system of public services

3) Implementation of ad hoc and stereo-typed developmental programmes in the absence of proper planning

4) Very weak monitoring systems

5) Extreme levels of poverty, deprivation and vulnerability

6) Extreme low levels of empowerment in political, social and economic arena

7) High levels of exclusion, both developmental and social

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8) Rapid marginalization due to unfair, unequal and exploitative relations of production, and exchange of tribal communities and others

9) Poor human development with low levels of literacy and access to health care

10) Quick deterioration of traditional knowledge systems and cultural attainments

11) Low level of access to entitlements

12) Practically zero participation in development matters with no autonomy in any form of decision making

13) Fast increasing tendency to use tribal people as cat’s – paws in criminal activities like illicit distillation, cultivation of narcotic plants, stealing of forest wealth etc

14) Abnormally huge siphoning of developmental resources and benefits meant for tribal people by middle men

15) Rapid alienation of assets like land

16) High levels of exploitation of women by outsiders

17) Dependency, including developmental programmes relying on distribution of benefits rather than building up of capabilities.\footnote{Jos M. Chathukulam, Gopinath Reddy, and Palla Trinadh Rao. \textit{op.cit.}, p.24.}

The geographical dispersion and numerical insignificance made the tribal communities of Kerala, largely left out of the gains of the Kerala model of development.
3.25 Tribal Development in Pathanamthitta District

3.25.1 The Occupational Pattern of the Tribes in Pathanamthitta District

In Pathanamthitta district the tribals engaged in various sections of employment. The restriction on the movement in forest and collection of forest resources deviated their employment opportunities to other arenas like, cultivation, agriculture labour, non-agricultural labour, estate labour, government and semi-government jobs etc. In Pathanamthitta district, out of 5792 tribals, only 110 are engaged in the collection of forest resources i.e., only 1.90 Percent of their population. The other occupations are: cultivation-185 (3.19 percent), agricultural labour-393 (6.79 percent), coolie in forest land-307 (5.30 percent), non-agricultural labour-1059 (18.28 percent), estate labour-19 (0.33 percent), government/semi-government-168 (2.90 percent), private/forest/estate (permanent job)-75(0.01percent), unemployed (including students)-3451(60 percent). There are provisions and facilities for attaining skill in professional and technical courses, from Industrial Training Centres (ITC) and Engineering Colleges. The number of tribes who attained professional skill is very meager. In Pathanamthitta district 353 tribes have skill in different technical jobs.

Table 3.3: Tribes having technical skill (Pathanamthitta District)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83 District Survey Report on the Scheduled Tribes of Pathanamthitta. Vol.1., Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA) and Scheduled Tribe Development Department, 2010, p.4.
Table 3.3 gives a vivid revelation of the backwardness of the tribes in Pathanamthitta district in attaining the technical and professional skill. They did not utilize the available facilities to make themselves fit to live in the changing situations of life, when the traditional occupations fail to give sufficient support to their means of subsistence.

3.25.2 The Sources of Financial Assistance

The tribes of Pathanamthitta district are not free from indebtedness and they have taken loans from various sources, especially from private sources. The rate of exploitation is very high in such instances and the tribes cannot survive from the bonds of illegal money lenders.

Table 3.4: Tribal Families and Indebtedness (Pathanamthitta District)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Source of Debt</th>
<th>Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Primary Co-operative Societies</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Other Co-operative Societies</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kudumbasree Units</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The government should take sufficient measures to give the tribes enough financial assistance from authorized financial institutions and save them from the exploitation of illegal money lenders. Strict instructions should be given to the banks to provide loans to the tribes at liberal conditions.

### 3.25.3 The Status of land possession

Since few decades, the thirst for land among the tribes is very high and they plead for cultivable land in their own district and in the vicinity of their old settlement and relatives. But their yell for land not yet reached the concerned authorities and they did not get the proper solution. The government provided land but it is unsuitable to live and cultivate. In some instances the land provided is far away from their home settlement.

#### Table 3.5: The Status of Land Possession of the Tribes in Pathanamthitta District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Status of land possession</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Did not possess land</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Land possessed in the hamlet</td>
<td>1681</td>
<td>93.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Land possessed outside the hamlet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Land possessed in and outside the hamlet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source: Survey Report of Pathanamthitta District, KILA and Scheduled Tribe Development Department, 2010**

The above table (Table 5) shows the status of possession of land by the tribes of Pathanamthitta district. Among them, 1681 (93.86 percent) have land in their own hamlet and 61 (3.41 percent) did not possess any land.

In Pathanamthitta district the tribes acquired land in different ways. The total number of families attained land is 1812. The government has given land to 117 tribes. There are 626 tribes attained forest land with document. Another set of 209 tribes have the forest land without any document. There are 523 tribes possessed hereditary land and 198 tribes earned land by their own effort. There are 21 tribes got land through tenancy right, among them 13 tribes live in ‘purambokku’ land and 7 live in the land of landlord. Another 17 live in the rehabilitation land. There are 59 tribes who live in the land secured by other means.

The number of tribes in Pathanamthitta district who possessed land and documents are 1067. But 16 tribes have land but they lost the document, 43 tribals have documents but they did not have land. Some have given pattayam for land and their number is 59, and 97 tribes did not demarcate the boundaries of their land. There are 62 landless tribes in Pathanamthitta district.\(^8^4\)

In Pathanamthitta District, the distribution of forest land to the tribes, according to the Forest Right Act, 2006, made good advancement. To evaluate the genuiness of the cases, 18 Forest Right Committees were constituted in the

district, 1082 individual claims were received so far and 1039 individual claims were passed by *grama sabha* and recommended to the Collectorate. The number of claims in pending or rejected by the Grama Sabha is 43. In the district 42 community right claims were received so far. In 951 claims, survey procedure completed and records received in the collectorate. In 11 claims survey should be completed. The total area of land claimed is 329.74.00 hectors. Out of 717 claims, 690 claims were issued title and 29 titles are ready for issue. The paucity of surplus land is existing, but 224.28 hectors of land were surveyed for the purpose of distribution. In 233 cases the district authorities ceased any action.\(^{85}\)

### 3.26 Tribal Development in Kollam District

#### 3.26.1 Marital status

In the Kollam district, the total population of tribals is 4484. In the population, the total number of male is 2163 and of female is 2321. The sex ratio is 1073:1000. In the district, the total number of married tribals is 2190. Among them, 1091 are males and 1099 are females. Among the married women, only one belongs to the age group of 15-17 and only two men between 18-21. This shows that the tribals in Kollam district are aware of the minimum age of marriage. The cases of broken families among the tribals are reported from Kollam district. There are 96 tribals separated their marriage, 35 males and 61 females included in that. Among them, a girl who has lost her spouse due to separation and she is only below 21 years old. In the district, the number of divorcees is comparatively less. Two men and five women are included in that category. There are 306 persons lost their spouses by death. Among them 49 are widowers and 257 are widows.

\(^{85}\) Revenue Department, Collectorate of Pathanamthitta, 2012.
In Kollam district, the cases of unmarried mothers are reported. There are 16 such women in the district. A girl below 21 years is also included in that social evil. The need of continuous counselling is required in such cases. The separation of marriage tie is mostly found in the Kanikkar community. There are 27 women belonging to that community and 15 Mala Pandarams and 18 Mala Vetans are also included in that category.86

3.26.2 Transportation Facilities in Kollam District

In Kollam district, most of the tribal areas are connected with roadways. But in 8 settlements only footpath or foot steps are the chief means of travel. In 9 settlements, the settlers have to travel more than 2.5 kilometres to reach the bus bay. In Kollam district, 17 tribal settlements have chipped roads, 12 have tar roads but 7 have to travel more than one kilometre to reach the tar road.

3.26.3 Government Offices

In Kollam district, the government offices are far away from the tribal settlements. The village office, agriculture office (Krishi Bhavan), veterinary hospital, electricity board section office, water authority section office etc., are at distant places and the tribals have to travel long distances to reach that places. For five settlements, their village office is more than 10 kilometres away from their settlement. The members of one settlement have to travel more than 25 kilometres to reach the nearest police station. The tribals of 3 settlements have to travel more than 25 kilometres to reach the electricity board office. Seven settlements have their water authority office 25 kilometres far away from their settlement.

The institutions like bank, co-operative societies etc are also not situated in the nearby areas of the tribal settlements. In four settlements, the tribals have to travel more than 25 kilometres to reach the nearest bank. The people of one settlement have to travel more than 25 kilometres to reach the primary co-operative society and the milk co-operative society and scheduled tribe co-operative societies are also more than 25 kilometres away from two settlements. The remoteness of the financial institutions and co-operative societies make the financial transactions of the tribal communities very difficult and it causes their exploitation from illegal money vendors.\textsuperscript{87}

### 3.26.4 Employment and Income

In Kollam district, the total number of tribal families is 1303. Among them, 1287 families (98.77 percent) have their own means of income and the remaining 16 families (1.23 percent) did not have any means of income.

**Table 3.6: Occupation related to Education of tribals in Kollam District**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Education/occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Below 5 years</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>7.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5-15</td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>1043</td>
<td>22.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5-15</td>
<td>Stopped study and not doing any job</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Above 15 years</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>41.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Above 15 years</td>
<td>Unable to do work</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>5.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Above 15 years</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>21.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>4641</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: District Survey Report of Kollam District, Scheduled Tribe Development Department, 2010*

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\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Ibid.} pp.17-19.
The above table shows that about 1015 tribals (22 percent), who are unemployed, should be provided the employment and means of income to develop their human resources.

3.26.5 The occupation pattern of the tribals in Kollam district

Table 3.7: Occupation of Tribals in Kollam District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Coolie labour in forest</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>19.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Non agrarian jobs</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>7.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Govt./semi govt. jobs</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Collection of forest resources</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>34.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Survey Report of Kollam District, Scheduled Tribe Development Department, 2010

3.26.6 Skilled Labourers

In Kollam district, 238 tribals are expert in skilled labour. They constitute 5.12 percent of the total population and they are, driver (59), tailor (43), mason (18), engineering worker (5), nurse (2), electrician (3), motor mechanic (8), plumber (2), welder (3), blacksmith (3), carpenter (5), painter (1).  

3.26.7 Working Days

In the district, out of 1303 tribal families, 627 families get less than 200 working days in a year, 15 families get less than 50 days, 97 families get 50-100

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days, 320 families get 100-150 working days, 112 families get 150-180 working days and 83 families get 180-200 working days.\textsuperscript{89}

### 3.26.8 Source of Loan

In the district, 795 families (61 percent) have financial liability. In Anchal Block Panchayat, majority of the tribal families have indebtedness than other regions and 583 families are from that area and it is 45 percent of the total families. Most of them relied on private individuals for loan and 354 families (44 percent) come under that category. There are 116 families (15 percent) depend on primary co-operative societies, 56 families (7 percent) depend on other co-operative societies, and 33 families (4 percent) depend on co-operative banks and 91 families (11 percent) depend on kudumbasree for their financial needs. In the tribal communities, 61 percent have financial liability and among them 44 percent depend on private individuals for money. The government should adopt sufficient measures to exempt the money lenders and private financial enterprises to save the tribals from the grip of exploitation and harassment.\textsuperscript{90}

The Kanikkar community has the largest number of families with financial liability, i.e., 338 families (49 percent). The Mala Pandaram community has the second position, 260 families (33 percent), Mala Vetans have 111 families (14 percent) and the Ulladans have 34 families (4 percent). The Mala Pandaram community is in the frontline in depending on the private persons for lending money. There are 177 Mala Pandarams (68 percent) coming under that category. The Kanikkar community depends largely on kudumbashree system for their loan.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., p.34.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., pp.38-39.
The Kanikkars have taken loan from co-operative societies and co-operative banks.\textsuperscript{91}

3.26.9 Occupation of Land

In the Kollam district, 1317 tribal families have property right on land. Most of the families have forest land with documents. There are 463 families (36 percent) have land with documents showing the right to possession and 459 families (35 percent) have hereditary land right. The government has provided land to 188 families (14 percent), 57 families (4 percent) attained land by their own effort, 17 families (1.3 percent) have tenancy right and 51 families (4 percent) are landless.

The area of land under possession is limited in majority of families. In the case of 128 families (10 percent), their land possession is less than 5 cents. In the category of 5 – 9 cents, 86 families (7 percent) included.\textsuperscript{92}

Table 3.8: Area of Land Possession of Tribals in Kollam District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.no</th>
<th>Area of land possession</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Less than 5 cent</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 – 9 cents</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 – 24 cents</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>25 – 99 cents</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>More than 1 acre</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Source: District Survey Report of Kollam District, Scheduled Tribe Development Department, 2010}

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., p.39.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., p.58.
The Mala Vetan community has the largest number of families with less than 5 cents land, i.e., 71 (55 percent) families. The Ulladans come next, 19 families (15 percent), Mala Pandaram 22 (17 percent) families and Kanikkar 16 families (13 percent). In the category of 5 – 9 cents of land, the Mala Pandarams are in the frontline. In that community, 50 families (58 percent) have 5 – 9 cents of land. In the Kanikkar community 12 families (14 percent), Mala Vetan 15 families (17 percent) and Ulladan 9 families (11 percent) are also coming under that category. In the district, the Mala Vetan and Ulladan communities have comparatively less land.\(^93\)

In the district, 358 families got \textit{Pattayam} on land. It is extending from 5 cents to one acre and in certain cases it is more than one acre. The tribal families in Anchal Block Panchayat have attained maximum number of \textit{Pattayam}. In 17 settlements, common land is not available. So, it is impossible to encourage agrarian activities in those areas.

In Kollam district, 1098 tribal families have land with document. They possessed 875.22 acres of land and 607.15 acres of land in that is suitable for cultivation. In the total land, 738.45 acres of land and 113.32 acres is field. In the district, 42 tribal families have to get \textit{pattayam} with demarcated boundaries.\(^94\)

\textbf{3.26.10 Tribes and Forest in Kollam District}

In Kollam district, 26 tribal settlements and 1231 families, live in or near the forest. In 12 settlements, 793 families (64 percent) live in the reserve forest. In 6 settlements, 232 families (19 percent) live near the reserve forest. In 8 settlements, 206 families (17 percent) live in other regions. In the Kanikkar

\(^93\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp.58-59.

\(^94\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp.59-60.
community, their 524 families live in the reserve forest. In the Mala Pandaram community 163 families and in the Mala Vetan community 105 families live in the reserve forest.

The tribals engaged in different activities related to the forest, like the making of traditional products from the raw materials collected from the forest, the collection of medicinal plants, estate labour, permanent job in the forest areas, permanent job in the estate areas etc. The Mala Pandaram community is mainly engaged in the forest oriented occupations.

In the settlements, 636 families (51.67 percent) accepted the forest oriented activities as their chief occupation, 163 families engaged in agricultural activities, 34 families selected self employment programmes and 231 families engaged in other activities. In the communities, the Mala Pandarams (73.24 percent), the Kanikkars (55.46 percent) and the Mala Vetars (17.97 percent) depend on the forest for their survival and subsistence. Only two families from the Ulladans rely on forest related activities. The restrictions on the collection of forest resources should be lifted and more employment opportunities should be given to the tribals.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 63-64.}

3.27 Conclusion

The above analyses have given the opportunity to gather some important findings about the Indian tribals and their development pattern. They require a better life and their dependence on the forest and its products are unquestionable. Alienation of tribal lands should be checked by removing loopholes in the existing laws and by restoring the transferred land to them by registering the land records.
The development of tribals in Kerala as a whole was referred in this chapter. In the State the tribals made development in education, employment, infrastructure facilities, land etc., but their development profile is inferior to the other communities of Kerala. In Pathanamthitta and Kollam districts, the development profile of the tribals show the paucity of their cooperation with the programmes for their emancipation like education. Their land problem also requires solution.