GLOBALIZATION AND THE PLIGHT OF TRIBALS: THE CASE OF KERALA, INDIA

Nithya N.R.

ABSTRACT

The paper seeks to examine the plight of tribals (indigenous people) in the context of globalization and liberalization. The tribals are children of nature and their lifestyle is conditioned by the Ecosystem. India, with a variety of Eco-system, presents a varied tribal population throughout its length and breadth. India is also characterized by having second largest tribal (Adivasis) population in the world. The impact of globalization on the Indigenous communities is manifold, and often they are ones most negatively affected. Under globalization, it is the tribal Indigenous areas that have had to face the attacks of massive developmental projects. The paper argues that deprivation of land and forests are the worst forms of oppression that these people experience. The Constitution of India makes special provisions for socio-economic and educational development of these groups. It is also a fact that pre-independent and post independent governments in our state could not and did not do much for the development of the scheduled groups. The present paper shows that after the sixty years of formation of the state tribals continues as one of the most marginalized community within the state, the post globalized developmental projects and developmental dreams of the state has again made the deprivation of the tribals of Kerala and the developmental divide has increased between the tribal and non-tribal in the state. Despite government initiatives, the existing socio-economic profile of the tribal communities is low compared to the mainstream population. The instruments of globalization have not rendered positive impact in achieving intended objectives social security to the indigenous people.

KEYWORDS: Globalization, Tribals, Education, Poverty, Land Alienation

INTRODUCTION

In a liberal democratic political system, most communities are able to articulate and represent their interest in the decision-making process. But in the case of excluded communities, it is often this lack of routine access to decisions affecting them that lies at the root of their grievances. Although excluded communities in Kerala have been an aggrieved group, they could not be mobilized for their own cause due to their geographically dispersed character and numerical insignificance in the elected terms. The state of Kerala has several features that distinguish it from the rest of India. The achievement of Kerala in

the field of education, health, habitat, land reforms etc, generally constitutes what is widely known as 'Kerala Model of Development'. It is very clear that the tribal communities in Kerala have been largely left out of the gains of the Kerala model of development. Among the outliers, the tribal communities are the most vulnerable groups. All developmental experiences which played an important role in shaping the political economy of Kerala seem to have fully eluded the tribal communities.

CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization involves economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge; cultural stability; the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power; it is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and "an establishment of the global market free from socio-political control." It is a concept that has been defined variously over the years, with some connotations referring to progress, development and stability, integration and cooperation, and others referring to regression, colonialism, and destabilization.

According to Immanuel Wallerstein 'globalization represents the triumph of a capitalist world economy tied together by a global division of labour'. Martin Khor defines 'globalization is what we in the Third World have for several centuries called colonization."Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan and Gérard Stoudmann defines globalization is "a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and trans-cultural integration of human and non-human activities."

Three key institutions helped shape the current era of globalization: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Globalization process is linked to the following major factors

1. Expansion of markets worldwide followed by close integration unlike the past.
2. Revolution in the process of transportation, communication and technology
3. Heavy flow of trans-national and cross-national migration on changing the profile of nation states
4. Shifts in cultural pattern impacting upon all communities and
5. Decline in the conventional role of nation states and increased presence of NGOs.

India started the process of economic globalization in the early of 1978 by taking small steps and during the 1991, the major policy changes were adopted and India opened up for liberalization and

privatization[1]. Liberal economic and trade policy, opening up of Indian market for the foreign trade and investment, huge privatization of public sector, and highlighted rapid economic growth were the main characteristics of this process. The process of globalization has negatively affect the lives across the globe, but the people who have affected by this was the indigenous communities everywhere, it was worsely affected the lives of Dalits, Adivasis, other backward populations and women in India and they were the people who had to pay the price for so called celebrated post -liberalized economic growth of the country.

WHO ARE TRIBALS?

The word "tribal" or Adivasi brings to our mind a picture of half-naked men and women, with arrows and spears in their hands, feathers in their heads, and speaking an unintelligible language, their lives often combined with myths of savagery and cannibalism. Even when majority of the communities in the world kept changing their life-styles, competed with each other and developed materialistic instincts to keep pace with the "progress" of the world, there were communities still living in line with their traditional values, customs and beliefs. The exploitative mindset of the mainstream society made these communities recede often into forests and high-altitude mountains, where they could continue to live in peace with Nature and their unpolluted surroundings. As the so-called civilized communities of the mainstream society neither could comprehend the values and ideals of these communities nor had the patience to understand their lifestyles, the mainstream world branded them variously as *natives, uncivilized people, Aboriginals, Adivasis, Tribals, Indigenous people* etc. In India, we mostly refer them as Adivasis/Girijans. In spite of the merciless treatment by the "civilized" men and the socio-economic perils faced by these communities all over the world, the tribals continue to live in the continents of Africa, Asia, North and South America and Australia.

DEFINING A TRIBE

The word 'tribe' is generally used for a "socially cohesive unit, associated with a territory, the members of which regard them as politically autonomous" (Mitchell, 1979: 232). Often a tribe possesses a distinct dialect and distinct cultural traits. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1911, defines a tribe as a "collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so".

[1]Privatization is a process of shifting publicly controlled services and/or facilities to the private sector. It also means the withdrawal of the state from an industry or sector partially or fully. According to authors liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) are synonymous words. Liberalization is loosening the control of government. Privatization means that the government tries to do less in the world of business and allows citizens to own their own factories and businesses. Whereas, Globalization describes the process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a global network of communication, transportation, and trade.

Another definition of a tribe by D.N. Majumdar is that "a tribe is a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well-assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations". According to R.N. Mukherjee, 'A tribe is that human group, whose members have common interest, territory, language, social law and economic occupation'.

From the study of the anthropological literature, it appears that the term tribe has been used for those groups of human beings, whose place of residence is situated in remote areas like hills, forest, sea coasts and islands; and whose style of life is quite different from the present day civilized men. Anthropology and tribal study are closely related. Anthropology as a discipline of subject and research has come into existence to study the local indigenous people of Africa, Asia, Australia and New world. It is because of this fact that some scholars criticize Anthropology as 'Tribalogy'. Like other societies, tribal society is also not static, rather is quite dynamic. The rate of change in tribal society is very slow. That is why they have been backward and poor in comparison to other people. Since they have been materially backward and economically poor, attempts have been made by the Government to develop them. Today, the government of all places of the world are paying special attention towards the development of the tribal, i.e., one finds the existence of induced or planned change in tribal society.

INDIAN SCENARIO

The forest occupies a central position in tribal culture and economy. The tribal way of life is very much dictated by the forest right from birth to death. India is also characterized by having second largest tribal (Adivasis) population in the world. It is ironical that the poorest people of India are living in the areas of richest natural resources. Historically, tribals have been pushed to corners owing to economic interests of various dominant groups. In contemporary India, the need for land for development is still forcing them, albeit this time to integrate with mainstream. According the 2011census, tribals constitute 8.2%of the total population of the country. The tribal people of India are called "Scheduled Tribes" in the Indian Constitution. In India, 461 ethnic groups are recognized as Scheduled Tribes, and these are considered to be India's indigenous peoples. In mainland India, the Scheduled Tribes are usually referred to as Adivasis, which literally means indigenous peoples. There are, however, many more ethnic groups that would qualify for Scheduled Tribe status but which are not officially recognized. Estimates of the total number of tribal groups are as high as 635. According to the Anthropological Survey a total of 4,635 communities are now to be found in India. Out of this total, 'tribal' or Indigenous communities number 732. The largest concentrations of indigenous peoples are found in the seven states of north-east India,

and the so-called "central tribal belt" stretching from Rajasthan to West Bengal.[2] More than half the Scheduled Tribes population is concentrated in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Jharkhand and Gujarat (the distribution of ST Population in Different States/UTs is presented in Annexure 1, 2, 3 and 4).. There are over 700 Scheduled Tribes notified under Article 342 of the Constitution of India, spread over different States and Union Territories of the country. Many tribes are present in more than one state. The largest numbers of scheduled tribes are in the states of Orissa (i.e. 62). The synonyms of these 700 or so tribes are also vary many a times and are listed in the Schedule. While the tribal population in some states is low when calculated as the percentage of the total tribal population of India but it constitutes the majority within the state or UT itself (e.g. in Lakshadweep, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and Dadra & Nagar Haveli).

Tribals are among the most deprived and oppressed sections of India. Gender bias and gender oppression has meant that Adivasi women are worst affected. Half of the adivasi people do not have land. Even when they own some land, in most cases they may be only marginal holdings. Poverty, deprivation and now the reduction of government expenditure on basic medical health facilities is reflected in the absolutely poor health condition of adivasi women and children. India has several laws and constitutional provisions, such as the Fifth Schedule for mainland India and the Sixth Schedule for certain areas of north-east India, which recognize indigenous peoples' rights to land and self-governance. The laws aimed at protecting indigenous peoples have, however, numerous shortcomings and their implementation is far from satisfactory.

According to the National Crime Records Bureau's report (NCRB), a total of 5,885 cases of atrocities against indigenous peoples/tribals were reported in the country during 2011, as compared to 5,425 cases in 2010, showing an increase of 8.5% over the year. Indigenous women and children continue to suffer from various forms of violence, including killing, rape and torture by non-tribals, security forces and members of the armed opposition groups in armed conflict situations. The 5th Schedule and 6th Schedule to the Constitution of India provide stringent protection of the land belonging to the tribal peoples. In addition, at the state level, there is a plethora of laws prohibiting the sale or transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals and the restoration of alienated tribal lands to them. However, the laws are either not properly implemented or they are manipulated to facilitate the transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals.

Since the adoption of New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1991 the control of World Bank in many of

[2] State with highest proportion of Scheduled Tribes is Mizoram (94.5 %) and Union Territories with highest proportion of ST is Lakshadweep at 94.8 per cent (2011 Census).

the projects and schemes concerning forests is very obvious. These have the sole aim of gaining unrestrained access to the natural resources though it is disguised under attractive names like Joint Forest Management (JFM), restoring forests, preserving bio diversity etc. The forest 'Protection Committees' to be formed under JFM are in effect controlled by the forest department for their secretaries have to be forest rangers. Worse, in Andhra Pradesh, the JFM has industry as its third partner facilitating quicker privatization. Moreover forests are being opened to private entrepreneurs in the name of promoting tourism. Eco tourism is promoted in the adivasi areas by the state governments. This is not only posing threats to ecology and destroying indigenous cultures but is also increasing the danger of sex tourism. Tourism too plays a role in alienating adivasis from their lands. Adivasi communities living near Borra caves in Andhra Pradesh became mere contract workers as they have been taken over by the government.

PROFILE OF KERALA

Kerala is one of the smallest states in the Indian union. It occupies 1 per cent of the total land area of India with a population of 3.33Crore, which is 3 % of the total population of India at the 2011 census. The land of Kerala comprises the narrow coastal strip bounded by the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. Kerala has had a vibrant history springing from the ancient times flowing down the mediaeval and running to the present. Modern Kerala came into existence on 1st November 1956, by amalgamating the states of Travancore-Cochin and Malabar on the basis of the State Re-organization Act. At present the state is administratively divided into 14 districts, which in turn are divided into 63 Taluks, 152 Blocks, 1532 Villages, 978 Grama (Village) Panchayats, 53 Municipalities and 5 Corporations. Profile of modern Kerala is given in Table 1.

Table 1 - Profile of Modern Kerala

Category	Percentage
Males	48
Females	52
Literacy	93.91
Hindus	56
Muslims	25
Christians	19
Others	0.1
SC	9.8

ST	1.1
Rural Kerala	52
Urban Kerala	48

Source: Census 2011, Government of India.

Since the late 1970's a number of international scholars have held up the South Indian State of Kerala as a "Model of Development" (Ratcliffe 1978, Amin 1991, Frank and Chasin 1994). Kerala model is defined as the Kerala's high standard of living (comparable to US or Europe) at very low per capita income which is only 1/80th of US citizens per capita income. According to Frank and Chasin this model is "a set of economic practices developed in the state of Kerala, resulted in attaining a high level of standards in human development, despite having a very low industrial development" (Frank and Chasin 2000). The basic characteristic of the Kerala Model is the high level of social development and physical social quality of life disproportionate to its level of economic development. There were a large number of factors helping the evolution of the 'model' from the demand side. The activities of the Christian missionaries, various social reform movements, well organized peasants and workers movements and left wing political movements increased the desire of people for education and better health care (Kannan et. al 1991, Kabir and Krishnan 1992).

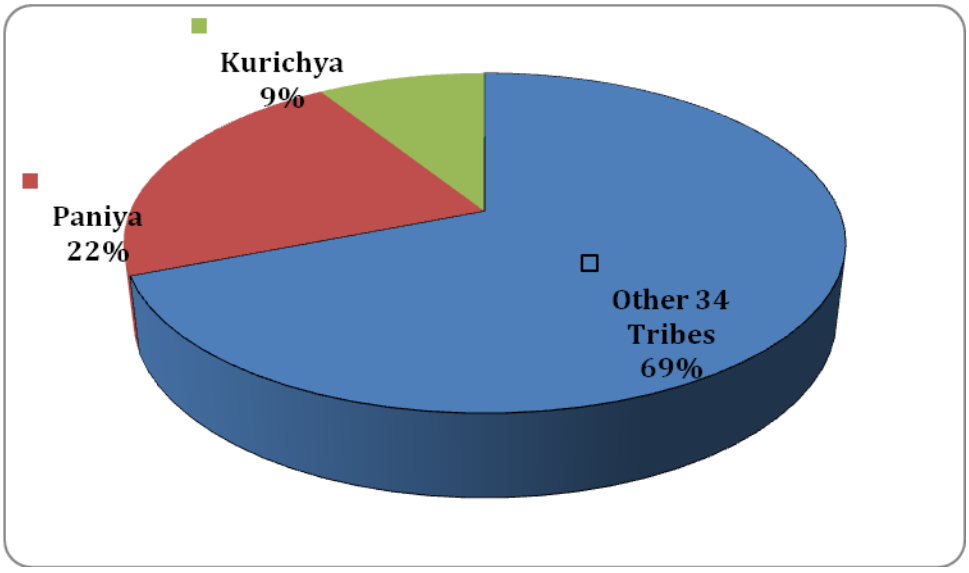
TRIBALS OR ADIVASIS IN KERALA

Kerala holds a unique position in the tribal map of India. Most of the tribes of Kerala state belong to the famous family group of Dravidians; they have got similar traits and body stature. Tribals in Kerala commonly called as "Adivasis" are the indigenous population found in dense forest and mountains of Western Ghats mainly bordering the states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. The 2011 Census report records the overall tribal population in the state as 4, 84,839, against 3, 64,189 in 2001, putting the decadal growth rate at 0.36 per cent. The tribal communities of Kerala not only differ from the non tribals but also from one another. But they have some uniform characteristics. Some of the main characteristic common to all Scheduled Tribes in the State: (a) Tribal origin (b) primitive way of life (c) general backwardness in all respects. Every district in Kerala has some tribal population. Highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes is seen in Wayanad district (37.36 %) followed by Idukki (14 %) and Palakkad (10.8 %) (the District wise list of ST population is presented in Annexure 5). These districts are having 80% of the tribal population in Kerala. However, the main tribal communities are in the taluks of North Wayanad, South Wayanad, Mannerghat, Devikulam and Thodupuzha.

In Kerala, adivasis constitute 1.1 percent to total population. The adivasis in Kerala are not only

geographically concentrated, but are overwhelmingly rural. Children constitute about 14 % of total adivasi population. There are 36 tribal communities across Kerala (see Annexure 6) and "Paniya" tribes are the biggest tribe among them (See Figure 1). At the district level, Paniyan have the highest percentage in the total ST population in Malappuram (56.3%), and Kannur (54.9%). Kurichyans have their highest percentage in Kannur (40.2%).Tribal people groups who are food-gatherers in the forests, with diminishing population and very low or little literacy rates can be called as Primitive Tribes. Cholanaikans, Kurumbas, Kattunaikans, Kadars and Koragas are the five primitive tribal groups in Kerala. They constitute nearly 5 % of the total tribal population in the State (See Table 2).

Figure 1
Demography of Tribes



Source: **Scheduled Tribe Directorate** (2001), Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram.

Table 2

Details of Primitive Tribal Groups

Name of PTG	Total population	Number of families
Kattunaikan	18576	5055
Cholanaikan	363	82
Kadar	1695	486
Koragas	1572	422
Kurumbas	2079	478
Total	24285	6523

Source:Baseline Survey Report (2006-07), KIRTADS, Government of Kerala. &

Chapter14, Poverty and Special Programmes for Weaker Sections, www.ayurdhara.org, Accessed on 15th January 2011.

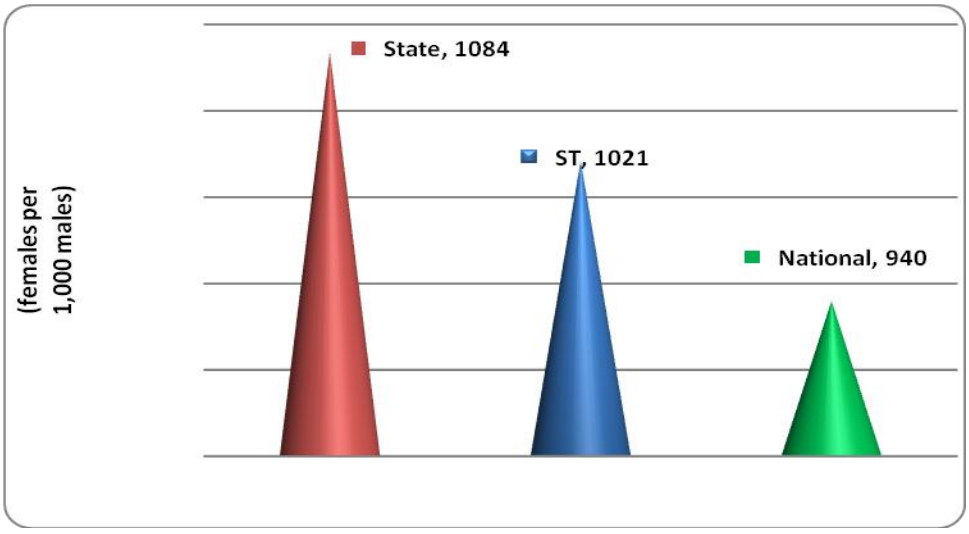
The tribal communities in Kerala have been historically marginalized and oppressed by various development factors and forces. The policies and schemes implemented by successive governments at the Centre and the state have further worsened the situation. The challenges to their civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights have been critical today, insofar as they perpetuate extreme form of deprivation in many ways. Their customary rights over natural resources such as forests, cultural identity and traditional knowledge including intellectual property rights, cultural heritage and traditional wisdom have been continuously at stake due to the interplay of various factors and forces.

SEX RATIO

The overall sex ratio of the ST population at 1021 shows preponderance of females, and even though significantly lower than the state's average sex ratio, is higher than that of the national average (978) for the total ST population as per census 2011. All the major tribes of the state except Muthuvan (covered in Marayur) have sex ratio higher than the national average. Females outnumber males in the total population of Kanikaran, Paniyan, Malayarayan, and Marati. However, the sex ratio among the tribal children in the age group of 0-6 years (974) is approximately the same as that of all ST's at the national level. Marati tribe has registered the highest sex ratio of 1054 followed by Kanikaran (980). The other major tribes have sex ratio below the national average.

Figure 2

Sex ratio



Source: **Census 2011**, Government of India

EDUCATIONALSTATUS OF ADIVASIS

Among the major states of India, Kerala has the highest literacy rate for Scheduled Tribe Population. Tribal literacy rate is high in the districts – Kottayam, Ernakulam, Alappuzha, Thiruvananthapuram and Pathanamthitta [around more than 70%] where as in Palakkad and Malappuram it is relatively low. The overall literacy rate of the scheduled tribes has increased from 57.2% at 1991 census to 64.4% at 2001 census. It is higher than the national average of 47% of all STs. Male literacy has increased from 63.4% to 73.8% while female literacy has gone up from 51% to 58.1% during 1991-2001. Among the numerically larger tribes, Malayarayan have the highest percentage of literates (94.5%), followed by Kanikaran, Kurichyan, Kuruman, Marati etc., (71.4%). Paniyan community has 80% of the literates educated up to primary level whereas Kurichyan, the second largest tribe has 60% primary level literates and 9.9% secondary level literates. Among the larger tribes, Malayarayan has the highest population of matriculates at 24.4%. But when they are compared with the rest of the Kerala society it is interesting that they left as the least developed within the state.

Dropout ratio among ST students is found to be higher than that of the other communities and castes including the Scheduled Castes; it is four times that of SCs and even more compared to the general category. This is another area of major concern. At high school level, Palakkad has a higher dropout rate than Idukki and Wayanad. The total dropout rate among the ST students is 3.54 percent. There are primary schools in several tribal settlements, mostly far away for most of the villages (Standard wise Strength of SC/ST Students in Kerala is given in Annexure 7). Moreover, quality education which is available to the majority is not available to the poor tribals. Tribal children can be encouraged to send to towns and cities for better education and higher studies. Distribution of old clothes and some ration is not the solution. Most of the tribal people live for a day and do not plan much for future. Education will bring in change in their world view and give them hopes for a better tomorrow. There are a number of unwed mothers among the poor tribals in Wayanad, especially from the Adiya and Paniya tribe. Assistance to education can change the plight of the poor young girls to find a living think about a family. At present, the education sector as a whole in the state is characterized by the existence of a dual system: one segment comprising high quality institutions catering to the affluent 5 per cent of the population and the second consisting of low quality institutions meant for the masses. The state has never made any attempt at equitable distribution of quality higher education, the access to which is virtually barred to children of marginalized groups like SC/ST (Abdul Salim, 2008). In the case of higher education, inaccessibility is more severe. The inaccessibility to educational institutions has made different impacts on different tribal communities. The enrolment of ST students in degree and post graduate courses and

professional colleges is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe Students in Government & Aided Arts and Science Colleges in Kerala during 2010-11

Name of Course	**Scheduled Tribe**			**Total students**
	Boys	Girls	Total	
B.A	532	924	1456	74614
B.Sc.	251	390	641	65388
B. Com.	230	228	458	25752
M.A	65	97	162	6125
M.SC	60	74	134	7356
M.Com.	28	35	63	2151
Total	1166	1748	2914	1.82 lakh

Sources: Government of Kerala (2011), Economic Review-2012, Kerala State Planning Board, Trivandrum, Office of the Collegiate Education Department, Govt. of Kerala and other sources.

The number of SC and ST students is disproportionately low in engineering and medical colleges including Ayurveda colleges. In fact, there was no representation for STs in Ayurveda, dental, nursing and pharmacy colleges. Part of the reason, as will be argued later, is in the larger increase in the number of self-financing colleges than government owned and aided colleges where the fees are highly subsidized (See table 4). Disparities in the educational attainments between STs and others are continuing in spite of various educational concessions extended to Scheduled Tribes.

Table 4

Number of SC/ST students in Professional Colleges during 2008-09

Sl. No	Type of Institution	SC Students	ST Students
2	Engineering Colleges	4256	408
3	Medical Colleges	350	206
4	Nursing Colleges	232	NA
5	Dental Colleges	54	NA
6	Pharmacy Colleges	192	NA
7	Ayurveda Colleges	48	NA
8	Polytechnics	3143	276

Source: Directorate of Technical Education, Government of Kerala.

The government has been implementing several programmes for the educational improvement of the tribes for the past few decades. But unfortunately the levels of awareness and utilization of these schemes are relatively low among the tribe folk. The experience in Kerala also shows that in spite of successful completion of the Total Literacy Campaign, a good number of literates and semi literates relapsed into illiteracy mainly due to the lack of continuous and systematic follow up programmes.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

In Kerala the participation of ST population in agriculture is much higher than the general population. The highest proportion of the tribal workers in the state is that of 'agricultural labourers' (47.1 percent) as against the national average of 36.4 percent. The occupational pattern of Scheduled Tribes reveals their economic backwardness. Majority of the tribals in the state are residing in rural areas. Among the tribal population agricultural labourers represent 56%, cultivators represent 17% and the remaining 27 are distributed in various other occupations. Most of the Tribal agricultural labourers have been victims of land alienation 17,156 tribal families live in interior forests in 671 settlements and are engaged in the collection of Minor Forest Produces and forest protection works. Half the numbers of tribals are reported to be 'below poverty line'. By Government of Kerala's own admittance, "even after five decades of development efforts, ST's continue to constitute relatively the most backward and vulnerable sections of the population in the state with extremely weak economic base".

Again in Kerala, as per Rule 14(a) of the Kerala State Subordinate Service Rules 1958, two percent reservation in public service is provided to the STs, but this has not even been achieved. However, as regards STs, the government employees in gazetted posts, non-gazetted posts and last grades are more than their population percentage. The exact total representation of ST employees in government services at present is 1.78 percent (Refer Table 5).

Table 5

Details of ST Employees in Government Service

Sl. No.	Category	2007 (83 Depts.)		2008 (81/83 Depts.)		2009 75/83 Depts.)		2010(45/83 Depts.)	
		Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST
1	Gazatted	33272	322	33636	364	23996	329	10420	140
2	Non-Gazatted (Excluding Last Grade)	247026	3783	237351	3837	173062	3048	57302	609
3	Last Grade	38722	721	39574	979	29471	663	12390	280
	Total	319020	4826	310561	5180	226529	4040	80112	2029

Source: **General Administration Department**, Government of Kerala

POVERTY RATIO

In Kerala, poverty is more concentrated in certain segments of the population, mainly belonging to STs and other marginal communities. In respect of the rural ST population, Kerala has succeeded in reducing the level of poverty from 37 percent to 24 percent between 1993-94 and 1999-2000 (Refer Table 6). Increase in wages of rural labourers, a range of anti-poverty measures undertaken by the Central, State and Local Governments, and the growth of the general economy are the major factors for the decline in poverty among the tribal population. However, rural poverty among the STs remains 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 STs in the population below poverty line in the state is a matter of serious concern which needs special targeted attention.

Table 6

Percentage of population below poverty line

Sl .No	NSSO Rounds	India		Kerala	
		Total	ST	Total	ST
1	38th Round(1983)	45.6	63.8	39.1	NA
2	50th Round(1993-94)	37.1	52.2	25.5	37.3
3	55th Round (1999-2000)	27.1	45.8	9.4	24.2

Source: The National Sample Survey Office(NSSO), 2001**,** Ministry of Statistics, Government of India

The Planning Commission of India in its 'Kerala Development Report (2008)' states that:

> … rural poverty among adivasis in Kerala persists and comes to more than two-and-half times that of the rural population of Kerala in general. Adivasis constitute only around one per cent of the state's population, nearly one-fourth of them still live below the official poverty line; the actual incidence of poverty among them could be even higher, this high incidence of poverty among adivasis points to the various dimensions of social inequalities prevalent in the state ….

A study by the Health Department as well as AIIMS, New Delhi, shows the pressing poverty among the tribals in the state, about 2402 families take meal one time in a day and amongst them half are agricultural laborers and 34,092 families only have two meals a day and the number of family members who are having malnutrition is 13,960.

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

Health is one of the serious problems among all tribal communities. Various measures are taken for timely medical attention to Scheduled Tribes. Since the tribal settlements are situated far away from hospitals and health centres; the STs are not able to make use of available medical facilities. The tribals are suffering from several kinds of diseases such as TB, Leprosy, Scabies, Waterborne diseases etc. In spite of the health facilities already existing in tribal areas, tribals of certain localities are found to be suffering from communicable as well as malnutrition based diseases. The tribals are facing severe problems including inability to get timely treatment for patients who need emergency treatment. The problem of malnutrition deaths is plaguing the tribal belts of Attappady in Palakkad district in the State. Over the past few months there have been recurring deaths of scores of children in Attapaddy. As many as thirty infants reportedly died in Attapadi in last five months (July – November, 2013) due to malnutrition. Many tribals die due to malnutrition, excessive consumption of alcohol, tobacco, ganja and

superstitious beliefs. Accessibility to proper health facilities is very rare. Another study by the Health Department as well as AIIMS, New Delhi, shows that nearly 15 percent of the tribal families in Wayanad and Palakkad districts have traits of the genetic problem "sickle-cell anaemia", and it is known as a "tribal disease". Many tribal people die of malnutrition, ignorance and superstitious beliefs. In Wayanad, there are many affected by cancer and most of them, abandoned by their dear ones. The Adiya and Paniya tribe in Wayanad are very poor and victims of these kinds of sicknesses. Though there are primary health centers, its services are very limited and not easily reachable. Advanced checkups and treatments are not available and affordable to the majority of the tribal people. Health education and proper sanitary amenities are far from them. Regular medical clinics or camps, special assistance to diagnose and advance treatments in cities can make their life better.

State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, has identified 17 alarming issues in the tribal community. They are: (i) Extreme levels of poverty, deprivation and vulnerability; (ii) High levels of exclusion, both developmental and social; (iii) Extreme low levels of empowerment (political, social and economic); (iv) Rapid marginalization due to unfair, unequal and exploitative relations of production, and exchange between tribal communities and others; (v) Low level of access to entitlements; (vi) Practically zero participation in development matters with no autonomy in any form of decision making; (vii) Abnormally huge siphoning of developmental resources and benefits meant for tribal people by middlemen; (viii) Poor human development with low levels of literacy and access to health care; (ix) Rapid alienation of assets like land; (x) Alarming depletion of social capital, especially traditional forms of organization and leadership; (xi) Quick deterioration of traditional knowledge systems and cultural attainments; (xii) 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.; (xiii) High levels of exploitation of women by outsiders; (xiv) Weak delivery system of public services; (xv) Dependency-inducing developmental programmes relying on distribution of benefits, rather than building up of capabilities; (xvi) Implementation of ad hoc and stereo-typed developmental programmes in the absence of proper planning; (xvii) Very weak monitoring systems.

A large number of tribal women face extreme forms of social exclusion and discrimination in the public sphere of life. It is reported that tribal women in Wayanad are victims of sexual exploitation and physical harassment. Their innocence and simplicity have been misused by the mainstream community. Most of them are victims of direct sexual exploitation or false promise of marriage from outsiders - mainly the settlers, owners of tea and coffee estates, fellow workers, and police personnel deployed to check the radical political movement. All these resulted in growing number of unwed mothers among

the tribals. The major problems of tribal unwed mothers are poverty, unemployment, rejection, isolation, neglect, and lack of shelter, along with different health problems (including sex-related) such as malnourishment and psychological problems. Hence C.K. Janu, leader of the tribal coordination committee, says "The settlers have taken over our lands, turned our men folk into drunkards and desecrated tribal women. We have to declare self-rule for our self-protection to prevent more fatherless children from being born. An adivasi colony is not a brothel for outsiders to come and go".

LAND QUESTION AND TRIBALS

The tribal unrest is certainly a sophisticated issue to discuss today. Marginalization, landlessness, alienation of land, and displacement are the root causes of their unrest. The state and established political parties have been continuously avoiding assimilating the tribal unrest in the mainstream. In this context, to express their plight in front of public and the government, the tribals have started to seek the help of mobilizations and movements to collect their people to fight against marginalization and landlessness and to articulate their will to assimilate within the mainstream. Alienation of land is a serious problem faced by the scheduled tribes. Land is the mainstay of the tribals and more than 90 per cent of them are dependent on agriculture and allied activities. Hence, land is the only tangible asset of a tribal community, and they are emotionally attached to it. The number of landless tribals has increased during the last decade and several reasons can be attributed to this phenomenon. Scheduled tribes largely depend upon non-tribals to meet their credit requirements. The socio-economic survey of tribals, reveals that tribals alienate their lands mainly for meeting their domestic expenses and for clearing their past debts. The main causes of land alienation and landlessness among the tribals are Poor economic conditions, drinking habit, indebtedness, urbanization, industrialization, lack of land records, administrative inefficiency, delay in getting judgement, oral mortgage of lands in the hands of non-tribals, non-possession of judgement, interest not shown by tribal pleaders or not taking interest due to heavy bribe, fear from Police and court establishing marriage with tribal women and Share cropping. land alienation has given birth to several allied problems among the tribals, ie; increased poverty among the tribals, decreased the occasion of employment, migration of tribals, exploitation of tribal labourers, exploitation of tribal women, created tension between tribals and non-tribals, increased the distance between the rich and the poor tribals, developed extremism and naxalism in tribal areas, brought law and order problem in tribal areas, directly or indirectly and brought the incidence of beggary and prostitution in the tribal areas.

In post-independent Kerala, large-scale alienation of tribal lands took place mainly due to the immigration of plainsmen to the hill areas, displacement for projects etc. The historic Kerala Land Reforms Act 1963, with its 'land to the tiller' policy unfortunately turned out to be a nightmare for the

adivasis. Under the new law, the occupiers of the land (settler farmers) became the owners and the original owners (the tribals) became landless and were reduced to the status of agricultural labourers. This resulted in the total derailment of their life. After the enactment of Kerala Land Reform Act, the non-tribal communities who invaded Attapady and Wayanad behaved ruthlessly towards the adivasis who are the real owners of the land. They exploited the adivasis more unscrupulously than their former rivals, the British or landlords. The new masters and the government bypassed the dalit and adivasi labourers by focusing on giving land rights to tenants only. In fact it was the apathetic attitude displayed by successive governments that made the issue more complicated. Thus the adivasi issue in Kerala presents a dismal picture. As the government remained indifferent, the Adivasis have from time to time tried to assert their land rights but were brutally crushed by unleashing the state violence as at Cheengeri, Muthanga and Chengara.

If one compare the tribals on the socio-economic or quality of life indicators, it is true that the tribal groups from Kerala will appear to be far better than many other states. The celebrated Kerala model of development has not made much change for the socio-economic life of the marginalized sections of Kerala. According to Kunjaman systematic marginalization of the subaltern sections has been a blot on the Kerala model. In the implementation of land reforms, the fundamental programme for which Kerala is well known, the legitimate claim of the dalits, the traditional tillers of the soil, to cultivable land was never recognized.[3]Among the few states that have achieved land reforms in India Kerala has been rated very high. However, it is equally true that Kerala did not achieve complete success in land reforms. Land alienation started in the 1950s. The lack of political will was evident in the meager.

In the meantime, the tribals acknowledge the fact that mobilization without any individual interest and ideological aspect can successfully address their real unrest in front of others. Therefore, when analyzing the recent history of tribal unrest and their discontent towards the state, the movements and mobilizations play a tremendous role. The adoption of New Social Movements (NSM) contributes much to articulate the tribal people to fight against their plight of marginalization and landlessness which would cause them to lose their identity. AmartyaSen is absolutely correct in holding that such groups should mobilize themselves on the basis of the problems specific to them. After all, in the absence of a revolution, such group specific actions are the only means of improving their conditions. Sen's thesis on group-specific mobilization based on basic issues stands vindicated (Sen 1999). In the recent past, Kerala witnessed the rise of land struggles from landless agricultural workers and Scheduled Tribes. The

[3] As high court judge Krishna Iyer proclaims: They are 'victim[s] of social deprivation, dubious promises and dishonorable existence' who 'suffer as derelicts and driftwood' (The Hindu, 16 June 2003).

Muthanga agitation[4] in Wayanad in 2005 was led by the tribes. Arundhati Roy, (Hindu, Feb.28, 03) remarked that: "The Muthanga atrocity will go down in Kerala's history as a government attempt to decimate as extraordinary and historical struggle for justice by the poorest, most oppressed community in Kerala. It is the real fight of the truly powerless against the powerful. Similarly, the landless set, mostly Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, conducted the Chengara land struggle[5] between 2001 and 2010. Indeed, these struggles and mobilization are the real fight of those who toiled in land and asserting their right to own sustainable land in a society that professes equality and fraternity. According to International Centre for Anthropological Studies (AICAS), in Attappady alone, over 10,796.19 acres had been alienated from tribes people between 1960 and 80, reportedly the highest in the State (District wise landless tribal families is presented in Annexure 7).

A common feature shared by most of the tribal people is their remoteness and marginal quality of territorial resources. In the past, exploitation of such poor regions was found both difficult and uneconomic. But, the recent rapid technological advancement and unrivalled economic and political strength of world capitalism, and the rising power of neo-colonialism through the G-8 directly and the IMF, WB, IBRD, etc., as agencies, have created favourable conditions for the evasion and extraction of natural resources from the ecologically fragile territories of tribal people. Thus, forced evictions of tribals to make way for mammoth capital-intensive development projects have become a distressing routine and ever-increasing phenomenon. Tribal lands are rich in hydrologic and other resources. And it easily makes them the most attractive sites to locate development projects of various kinds. For multinational companies looking for investment opportunities these areas are fast becoming favorite destinations (Hari, NohanMathur). Illegal acquisition of land by private sector companies like Suzlon (that erected 31 windmills in Palakkad district) is a classic example.Displacement for projects has resulted in greater landlessness for tribals. There is no reliable and complete information on the number of tribals displaced in the country since independence. The study of Jose Murickan and others (2003) highlights some of the displacement figures among tribals in Kerala. The Idamalayar project displaced between 100 and 150

[4]Muttanga is a wild life sanctuary in Wayanadu district was capture and tribal were started living it the land over there under the leader the banner of Adivasi KshemaSamithi, an adivasi organization, on February 19 2003 at Muthanga forests they were fired the people including women, children and elderly by police and brutally evicted from the that land by the state government, One tribal was killed in the police firing, while many others were wounded. A policeman who was held hostage by the tribals was also killed in the fight. Apart from these there were other small struggles for land across the state but all of them where suppressed by the state government, these shows how state has delt with the issue of adivasis and their demands.

[5]Chengara is a local place in the Patthanamtitta district of the state, where about 300 families of Adivasis, Dalits and other landless people converged on the rubber estate owned by Harrison's Malayalam Plantation Ltd and thatched sheds there and started living there demanding for the land for cultivation and financial assistance for each family after 790 days of straggle they demands were adjusted and they were informed that they will be given land and financial assistance which is yet to be given

tribal families. Sixty seven percent of those displaced in the Pooyamkutty hydroelectric project were tribals. The Neriamangalamhydel project displaced 150 tribal families. The Periyar Tiger Reserve displaced fourteen tribal families. The rehabilitation package for these families was also denied because they had no documents for land in their possession. Despite epochal laws and Supreme Court orders, restoration of tribal land remains a mirage. In this context, the need for another land reform is enquired and analyzed. Both these sections have been considered only as eligible for charity and welfare. They have never been recognized as active players in development. Their contributions to the development of the state are seldom recognized (Kunhaman 2002).The post globalised developmental projects and developmental dreams of the state has again made the deprivation of the tribals of Kerala and the developmental divide has increased between the tribal and non-tribal in the state.

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON TRIBALS

The process of globalization has made unprecedented change in the lives of indigenous people across the world, though the degree of exploitation and marginalization vary from state to states and tribal group to group. With the LPG policies, (Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization) all those cushions have been done away with. The removal of import restrictions has seen the market flooded with imported agrarian produce. It has literally crushed Kerala's agriculture. The other policies of the central government, especially in areas like education, health, public distribution system, industrial policy, had made far reaching consequence in the economy and society of the state.

The impact of globalization is strongest on these populations perhaps more than any other because these communities have no voice and are therefore easily swept aside by the invisible hand of the market and its proponents. Kerala's agrarian economy has undergone radical and far-reaching changes, so that the state can no longer be classified as an agrarian society. The agriculture sector in the State recorded a negative growth of 1.3 per cent during the 11 Plan periods (2007-2012). Its share in the GSDP dropped to 9.1 per cent in 2011-12 compared to 26.9 per cent in 1990-91. The removal of quantitative restrictions on imports under the liberalized regime has been pointed out as the major reason for the fall in prices of agricultural commodities (Darley Jose, Kjosavik, 2006, p.639.). The net result of all these is that the Kerala economy exists and functions as an integral part of the Indian economy and polity and in the underdeveloped periphery of the world economic system that at this stage needs the cheaply available unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labour of Malayalees (Joseph, Tharamangalam, (1999). The vulnerability of Kerala to volatility in prices of coffee, pepper, cardamom and vanilla is compounded by the fact that major relief on the debt front requires central help. The high number of farmer's suicides in Kerala (11516 in 1997-2005 of which many are in Wayanad) shows that

the state's balance is delicate even in this front. In fact Wayanad witnessed a spate of suicides of farmers, unable to repay loans because of severe drought and resultant crop failure. The root cause however lies in the fact that agriculture is becoming unprofitable in the back drop of liberalization.

When ninety percentage of tribals are engaged in the primary sectors, it is also has to be noted that they are the mere workers and do not own anything, the same sector was hugely affected by policy changes adopted by the state and this was reflected directly in the livelihood of the adivasis in the state. The state has become a mere consumer of products with a remittance economy by the keralites working outside the state and country. Now Kerala is embarking on huge and large investment projects in order to stabilize the economic growth, the adivasis of this state with poor socio-economic achievements; they left in open in the state to fight against this without even a stable livelihood and income when health, education and all other services got privatized. Needless to say these adversely affect the adivasis in a scenario where their cheaply available unskilled labour is exploited to the core in an era where "the real borders are not between nations, but between the powerful and the powerless, the free and the fettered, the privileged and the humiliated" (Koffi Annan).

CONCLUSION

The forces of globalization and fascism are jamming Dalits from coming together to identify and acknowledge the commonality. Special policy and programmes are required to address and redress these differences especially in the context of globalization.Statistics clearly show that despite government initiatives, the existing socio-economic profile of the tribal communities is low compared to the mainstream population. It is even low when compared to the other marginalized sections including Scheduled Castes. All forms of social exclusion and a high degree of deprivation are the major problems faced by the tribal community in Kerala. In almost all deprivation indices, they are behind the general population. The development of Kerala has started from the early periods the formation of the state, and there after it was called as model by academicians considering many factors which led to the high social development of the state even with low per capita come. This has laid the foundation for the development of far developed society in terms of developmental indicators in India compare to other parts of the country, But some sections of the population particularity, Tribals, Dalits and fisher folks were not beneficiaries of this development or they were not shared the development as equal as others in their state because of many reasons. All sorts of development and planning have been done in the name of Dalits by non-Dalits. It is never planned with the Dalits or by the Dalits. Therefore the basic problems of Dalits as a social problem are yet to be dealt. The policies of successive governments in Kerala unfortunately failed to solve the tribal issues. These groups have very limited capability to act as strong

pressure groups in Kerala politics, because of the poor organizational strength; and bargaining power (Parayil and Sreekumar 2003). Consequent to this, the political bodies seldom take care of their concerns. The Constitution of India makes special provisions for socio-economic development of the tribal groups. It is also a fact that pre-independent and post independent governments in our state could not and did not do much for the upliftment of the marginalized groups.

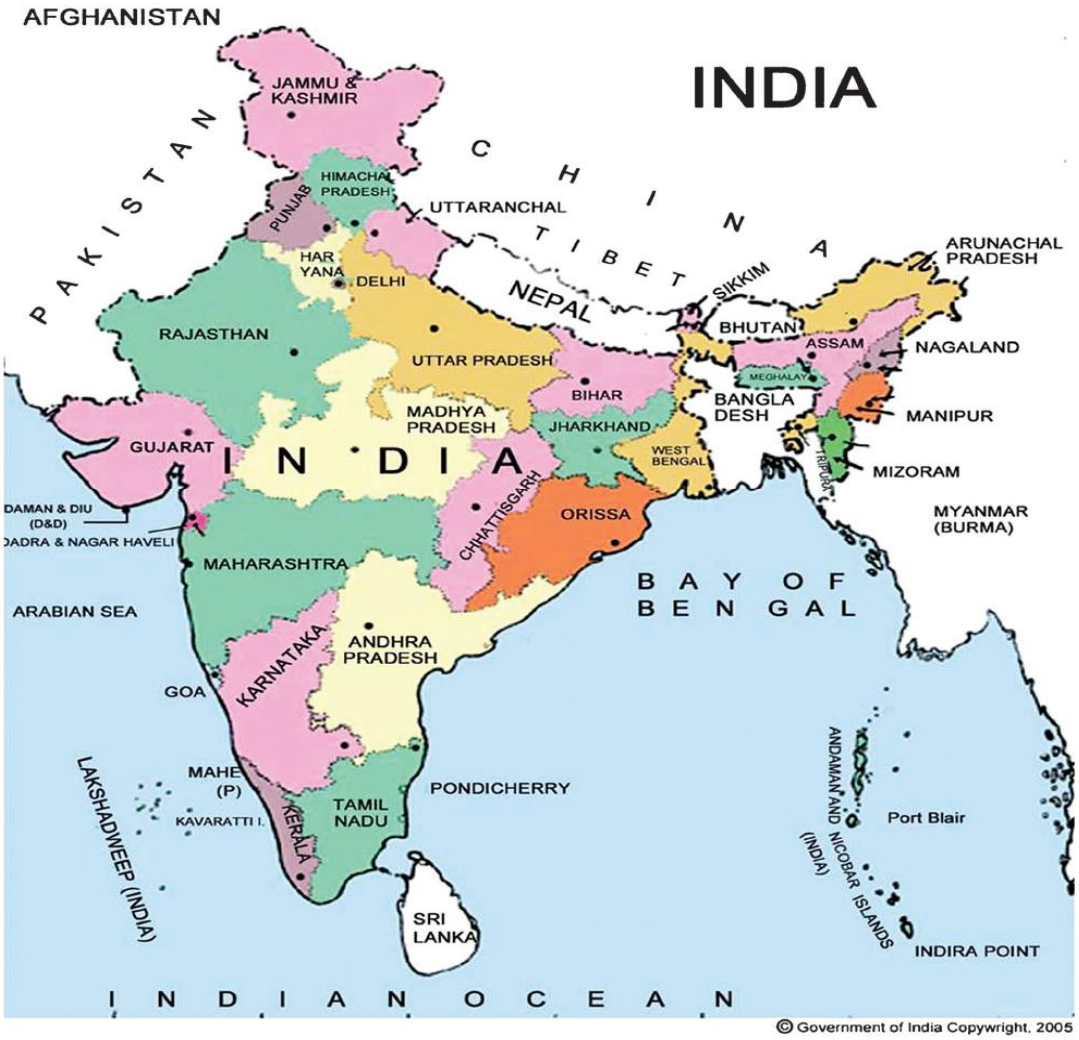
RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Government should take steps towards developmental activities in all oorus, including provisions for water supply, bus services and roads.
- The State Government must constitute a *"Special Land Tribunal"* to redress the grievances related to land alienations and Prevention of any further alienation of adivasi lands.
- Provide all necessary support in a time-bound manner to revive and support the traditional and other agricultural practices of adivasis on their lands. It must be ensured that the adivasis have full and complete control over their lands and its produce and various insidious practices of non-adivasis to take control of the land and their produce should be dealt with firmly.
- The State Government must undertake, on war-footing, extensive *'HealthCamps'* in every *ooru*to identify every malnourished and/or anemic child, adolescent and all pregnant women and ensure that they receive proper nutrition and health care. In addition to that provide proper counseling regarding health, hygiene and nutritional aspects.
- The State Government must undertake an extensive awareness campaign on human rights, importance of education, health, atrocities and exploitation against women and children, welfare measures etc.
- It is necessary to ensure that the PDS (*Public Distribution System)*, MGNREGA and other social security schemes such as Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS), National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS), etc. are fully operational.
- All persons eligible for pensions under various schemes including eligible senior citizens, widows, disabled persons, etc. must be given the pension immediately. Further senior citizens in the households with children suffering from severe malnutrition must also be provide with old age pension
- The government must evolve a mechanism for transport of food grains to the interior oorus, so as to ensure that no family or person is left out of the distribution.
- In order to overcome the current development crisis in an ever changing world scenario, Kerala has to sketch out an alternative development path of its own without losing earlier emphasis on social welfare.

ANNEXURES

Annexure 1

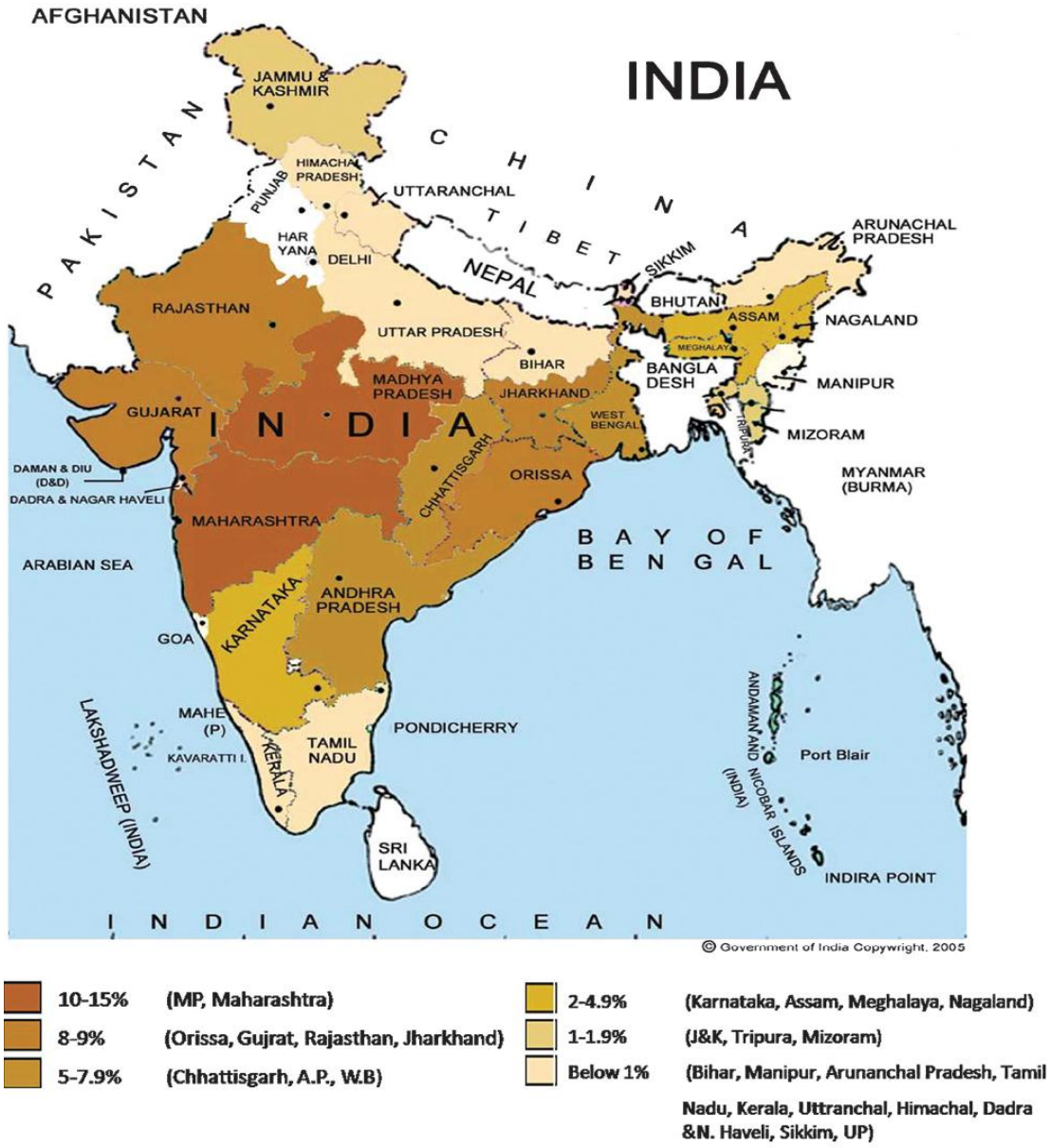
STs in States/UTs as percentage of the total State/UT population, 2001 census



Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs,Annual Report 2011-12, Government of India.

Annexure 2

Distribution of ST population of India in the States



Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs,Annual Report 2011-12**,** Government of India.

Annexure 3

Distribution of ST Population in Different States/UTs

S.No	States	% of ST Population in States/UTs to the total ST population of the country (Descending Order)
01	Madhya Pradesh	14.51
02	Maharastra	10.17
03	Orissa	9.66
04	Gujarat	8.87
05	Rajasthan	8.42
06	Jharkhand	8.40
07	Chhattisgarh	7.85
08	Andhra Pradesh	5.96
09	West Bengal	5.23
10	Karnataka	4.11
11	Assam	3.92
12	Meghalaya	2.36
13	Nagaland	2.10
14	Jammu & Kashmir	1.31
15	Tripura	1.18
16	Mizoram	1.00
17	Bihar	0.90
18	Manipur	0.88
19	Arunachal Pradesh	0.84
20	Tamil Nadu	0.77
21	Kerala	0.43
22	Uttarakhand	0.30
23	Himachal Pradesh	0.29
24	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.16
25	Sikkim	0.13
26	Uttar Pradesh	0.13

Source: Registrar General of India

Annexure 4

MAJOR TRIBES IN INDIA

STATES	TRIBES
Andhra Pradesh	Bhil, Chenchu, Gond, Kondas, Lambadis, Sugalis etc.
Assam	Boro, Kachari, Mikir (Karbi), Lalung, Rabha, Dimasa, Hmar, Hajong etc.
Bihar & Jharkhand	Asur, Banjara, Birhor, Korwa, Munda, Oraon, Santhal etc.
Gujarat	Bhil, Dhodia, Gond, Siddi, Bordia etc.
Himachal Pradesh	Gaddi, Gujjar, Lahuala, Swangla, etc.
Karnataka	Bhil, Chenchu, Gond, Kuruba, Kammara, Kolis, Koya, Mayaka, Toda etc.
Kerala	Adiyam, Kammara, Kondkappus, Malais, Palliyar etc.
Madhya Pradesh and Chhatisgarh	Bhil, Birhor, Damar, Gond, Kharia, Majhi, Munda, Oraon, Parathi etc.
Maharashtra	Bhil, Mhunjia, Chodhara, Dhodia, Gond, Kharia, Nayaka, Oraon, Pardhi, Rathwa etc.
Meghalaya	Garo, Khasi, Jayantia etc.
Orissa	Birhor, Gond, Juang, Khond, Korua, Mundari, Oraon, Santhal, Tharua etc.
Rajasthan	Bhil, Damor, Garasta, Meena, Salariya etc.
Tamil Nadu	Irular, Kammara, Kondakapus, Kota, Mahamalasar, Palleyan, Toda etc.
Tripura	Chakma, Garo, Khasi, Kuki, Lusai, Liang, Santhal etc.
West Bengal	Asur, Birhor, Korwa, Lepcha, Munda, Santhal etc.
Mizoram	Lusai, Kuki, Garo, Khasi, Jayantia, Mikir etc.
Arunachal Pradesh	Dafla, Khampti, Singpho etc.
Goa	Dhodi, Siddi (Nayaka)
Daman & Diu	Dhodi, Mikkada, Varti etc.
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Jarawa, Nicobarese, Onges, Sentineless, Shompens, Great Andamanese
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	As in Daman & Diu
Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal	Bhoti, Buxa, Jaunsari, Tharu, Raji Nagaland Naga, Kuki, Mikir, Garo etc.
Sikkim	Bhutia, Lepcha
Jammu & Kashmir	Chaddangpa, Garra, Gujjar, Gaddi etc.

Source: Annual Report, 2011-2012, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India

Annexure 5

District wise Distribution of Tribal Population in Kerala

DISTRICT	Total		
	Females	Male	Persons
Thiruvananthapuram	11003	9890	20893
Kollam	2743	2447	5190
Pathanamthitta	3365	3184	6549
Alappuzha	1566	1565	3131
Kottayam	9368	8972	18340
Idukki	25463	25510	50973
Eranakulam	4967	5079	10046
Thrissur	2533	2293	4826
Palakkad	19675	19990	39665
Malappuram	6271	5996	12267
Kozhikode	3016	2924	5940
Wayanad	68668	67394	136062
Kannur	10176	9793	19969
Kasargod	15206	15132	30338
State	184020	180169	364189

Source: Kerala State Planning Board, **Economic Review, 2013**, Government of Kerala.

Annexure 6

List of Scheduled Tribes in the Kerala

(As amended by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment Act) 1976 and as amended by the Constitution (Scheduled castes) Orders (Second Amendment) Act, 2002 (Act 61 of 2002) vide Part VIII- Kerala- Schedule I notified in the Gazette of India, dated 18 December, 2002) and (As amended by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act 2002 (Act 10 of 2003) vide Part VII- Kerala- Second Schedule notified in the Gazette of India dated 8 January, 2003)

1. Adiyan
2. Aranda (Arandan)
3. Eravallan
4. Hill Pulaya(Mala Pulayan, KurumbaPulayan, KaravazhiPulayan, PambaPulayan)
5. Irular,Irulan
6. Kadar (Wayanad Kadar)
7. Kanikkaran,Kanikar
8. Karimpalan
9. Kattunayakan
10. Kochuvelan
11. Koraga
12. Kudiya,Melakudi
13. Kurichchan (Kurichiyan)
14. Kurumans (MulluKuruman, MullaKuruman, Mala Kuruman)
15. Kurumbas (Kurumbar, Kurumban)
16. Mahamalasar
17. MalaiArayan (Mala Arayan)
18. MalaiPandaran
19. MalaiVedan (Mala Vedan)
20. Malakkuravan
21. Malasar
22. Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan (Excluding the areas comprising the Kasaragod, Kannur, Wayanad and Kozhikode Districts)
23. Mavilan
24. Malayarayar
25. Mannan (to be spelt in Malayalam script in parenthisis)
26. Muthuvan,Mudugar,Muduvan
27. Palleyan, Palliyan, Paliyar, Palliya
28. Paniyan
29. Ulladan, Ullatan
30. Uraly
31. Mala Vettuvan (in Kasaragod and Kannur Districts)
32. Ten Kurumban, JenuKurumban
33. Thachenadan, Thachenadan, Moopan
34. Cholanaickan
35. Malapanickar
36. Vettakuruman

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, **Annual Report 2011-12,** Government of India.

Annexure 7

Standard wise Strength of SC/ST Students in Kerala: 2012-13

Standard	Government Schools		Private Aided Schools		Private Unaided Schools	
	Total	**ST**	**Total**	**ST**	**Total**	**ST**
I	89626	3690	169548	3533	42973	129
II	91337	3803	176345	3297	42399	123
III	98853	4035	189835	3532	41102	115
IV	108233	4092	203315	3628	41237	112
V	109977	4839	247466	4120	36434	121
VI	116528	4873	269140	4082	36641	145
VII	125583	4831	287289	3791	36567	162
VIII	150967	4967	278743	2875	32483	123
IX	153790	5195	297492	3000	32778	128
X	155700	3825	291546	2336	32261	131
Total	**1200594**	**44150**	**2410719**	**34194**	**374875**	**1289**

Source: Kerala State Planning Board, Economic Review, 2013, Government of Kerala.

Annexure 8

District wise landless tribal families [during the years 1976 & 2001]

District	No. of tribal families	
	1976	2001
Thiruvananthapuram	111	13
Kollam	420	68
Pathanamthitta	*	117
Alappuzha	*	68
Kottayam	383	153
Idukki	1104	190
Ernakulam	4	5
Thrissur	3	271
Palakkad	871	5389
Malappuram	629	339
Kozhikkode	6	226
Wayanad	*	14031
Kannur	18	1395
Kasaragode	*	226
Total	3549	22491

Source: Adivasi Master Plan Committee Report 2001,
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Nithya N.R. is ICSSR Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Department of Political Science, University of Kerala. She obtained her master's and doctoral degrees in Political Science at the University of Kerala. She has previously served as Contract Lecturer and project associate in the Department of Political Science, University of Kerala and Kerala State Higher Education Council, Government of Kerala. Her teaching and research interests include Political Theory, Indian Constitution, Informatics and Political Science, Public Administration, gender issues, Political Economy of Education, Inclusive Education and Contemporary Political Economy of Kerala. She has participated and presented papers in International and National Seminars and has published articles in reputed journals.