TRIBAL RESETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT MISSION: A STUDY OF RESETTLED TRIBES AT ARALAM, KERALA

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission: A Study of Resettled Tribes at Aralam, Kerala" is the bona fide record of the original research work carried out by Mr Nitheesh Kumar K. P, under my supervision and it has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of any degree or diploma.

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DECLARATION

I, **Nitheesh Kumar K. P**, hereby declare that the thesis entitled "Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission: A Study of Resettled Tribes at Aralam, Kerala" is a bona fide record of the original research work carried out by me under the guidance of **Dr. M. Hilaria Soundari** and that it has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of any degree or diploma.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADA   **:** Area Development Agency

AWC   **:** Anganwadi Center

BPL   **:** Below Poverty Line

DF   **:** Degree of Freedom

FGD   **:** Focus Group Discussion

GO   **:** Government Order

GOI   **:** Government of India

ICT   **:** Information and Communication Technology

IRO   **:** International Refugee Organization

ITDP   **:** Integrated Tribal Development Project

IRRM   **:** Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model

KSEB   **:** Kerala State Electricity Board

LD   **:** Lower Divisional

MGNREGA   **:** Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee

                         Act

MMR   **:** Maternal Mortality Rate

NABARD   **:** National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development

NFHS   **:** National Family Health Survey

NGO	**:**	Non- Governmental Organization
PESA	**:**	Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Area) Act
PHC	**:**	Primary Health Center
POCSO	**:**	Protection of Children from Sexual Offence Act
PRA	**:**	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SC	**:**	Scheduled Caste
SD	**:**	Standard Deviation
SHG	**:**	Self Help Group
SPSS	**:**	Statistical Package for Social Science
SSP	**:**	Sardar Sarovar Project
ST	**:**	Scheduled Tribe
TB	**:**	Tuberculosis
TEO	**:**	Tribal Extension Officer
TRDM	**:**	Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission
TSP	**:**	Tribal Sub Plan
UNO	**:**	United Nations Organization
UNHCR	**:**	United Nation High Commission for Refugees
WHO	**:**	World Health Organization

GLOSSARY

Adakka	:	Areca nut
Adivasi	:	Tribe
Adivasi GothraMahasabha	:	Organization of tribal groups in Kerala.
Anganwadi	:	Rural childcare center
Bhamasvam	:	Land and other Properties
Charath	:	Lease
Cherathu-Otti	:	Land use policies
Dalit	:	A member of lowest caste
Dalits	:	Lower caste communities in India
Desam	:	Territorial division
Elam	:	Cardamom
Girigan, Adivasi, Vanvasi	:	Terms used to refer to tribal people
Gram Sabha	:	Local self-governing system
Janmana	:	Highest and absolute right of ownership
Janmi	:	A person entitled to the absolute right of ownership
Kaccha House	:	A House made of straw, leaves and bamboo
Kaivasharekha	:	Temporary land title
Karnaver	:	Head of the Family
Kattukizhangu	:	Wild tuber
Kudumbashree	:	A Government of Kerala sponsored program for the empowerment of women

Kuzhikanam	: Improvement lease
Madhya Thiruvithamkoor	: A Kingdom in Kerala from 1500 to 1949
Mavilan, Karimbala, Paniya Adiya, Kurichaya, Kani	: Tribal communities of Kerala
Mooppan	: Head of the Tribal Hamlet
Nair, Eezhavas, Namboothiris	: A group in Hindu caste system
Naxalite	: Left Radical Communists
Njandu	: Crab
Nunji	: Shell
Oorukuttam	: Local Governing body in tribal areas
Panchayat	: Village Governing system
Pattayam, Patta	: Permanent land title
Pettupattam, Munpattam	: Lease
Porotta	: A Maida food product
Puccka House	: A house made of stone, brick, cement and concrete.
Pooja	: The act of worship
Tamilians	: People of Tamil Nadu
Tharavadu	: Family house in the joint family system
Thirandu Kalyanam	: Celebration and feast associated with the menarche of a girl in a tribal family
Uchar	: Traditional Festival of Tribal Communities
Vattu Charayam	: An Alcoholic Drin

ABSTRACT

The study titled "Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission: A Study of Resettled Tribes at Aralam, Kerala" is an investigation into the issue of tribal resettlement in Kerala on the basis of Aralam Tribal Resettlement located in the district of Kannur. It delves into the post-resettlement tribal life at Aralam by analyzing the standard of life of the resettled tribes at Aralam on the basis of various indicators related to their social, cultural, economic and political life. The study includes widely divergent representative segments of various tribal communities at Aralam such as the Paniya, Kurichiya, Karimbala, Mavilan and Adiya tribal groups. The study takes into consideration both the positive and negative impacts of the Resettlement at Aralam. It also looks at the way these communities perceive the very process of resettlement. The major areas of findings include - (a) inception of Aralam Tribal Resettlement (b) social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam (c) cultural life of the resettled tribes at Aralam (d) economic condition of the tribes at Aralam and (e) political participation (at the grass root level) by the tribes at Aralam. Hence the study provides a holistic view of the post-resettlement life of the tribes at Aralam.

The thesis consists of five main chapters. Chapter one titled "Introduction" introduces the topic and chapter two titled "Review of Literature" discusses the major works on tribes and tribal resettlement. Chapter three titled "Research Methodology" presents the methods used in the research. Chapter four titled "Data Analysis and Interpretation" discusses the findings of the research. Chapter five, "Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion,"

discusses in detail the findings of the research. It also points out the limitations of the research, scope for further studies in this area and suggestions on the basis of the primary findings of the study.

Tribal people in Kerala have been victims of land alienation, poverty, marginalization and exploitation over the years. Landlessness disrupts the very fabric of tribal existence as the tribal people share a unique bond with their land. Hence tribal resettlement is an integral part of tribal development in Kerala. The study elaborates on the merits and limitations of the present tribal resettlement strategies which in turn may help to develop better resettlement plans and implementation strategies. It thus may serve as a guiding light for such tribal resettlements in future. The study sheds light on the way in which the mission of tribal development and resettlement is carried out in the state of Kerala, India. It reveals the efforts of the State Government to enable the development of the tribes while simultaneously revealing the flaws and loopholes in tribal resettlement projects. Thus the present study deals with the opportunities, problems and challenges at Aralam Tribal Resettlement.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"We must act so that poverty will be alleviated, our environment protected, social justice extended, human rights strengthened. Social injustice can destroy economic and political advances." (James D. Wolfensohn)

India has the largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world, except in Africa. The tribes are children of nature and their lifestyle is conditioned by the environment around them. The Indian society is characterized by rich shades of diversity and heterogeneity in social, cultural, economic, linguistic and ethnic factors. The richness of the Indian community is all the more enhanced by the presence of the indigenous population of the nation, popularly known as the 'tribals', 'jungle people', *adivasis*, *vanvasis*, *girijans* or the Scheduled Tribes (STs). According to the Constitution of India, Scheduled Tribes are those groups or communities, who are scheduled under the Article 342 and declared by the President of India. There are 725 tribal communities in India and a majority of them reside in the central and north-eastern states (Census Report of India, 2011).

This chapter gives an overview of the tribal people in India. It discusses the idea of a 'tribe' and the common characteristics of tribal communities. The chapter explicates the major tribal communities in India, the geographical distribution and classification of these communities, and also the common problems faced by the tribal society. After a brief discussion of the tribal scenario in India, the chapter goes on to discuss in detail the condition of the

tribal people in Kerala, the establishment of the Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM), the functions and the major resettlement projects carried out under the leadership of the TRDM. The chapter also gives a detailed historical survey of land alienation experienced by the tribal communities in Kerala. This is followed by a discussion of the objectives, scope and significance of the study.

1.1 Concept of Tribe

The English term 'tribe' is derived from the Latin word '*tribus*' which means 'one-third'. The label was initially applied to one of the three territorial groups that united to form Rome (Sen, 2012). When the Roman Empire later captured the Gallic and the Germanic communities, the Romans called them as '*tribus*'. Thus, initially "a tribe was simply a territorially defined social group" (Sen, 2012, p. 90).

Hunter (1908) states, "the tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying a common territory and is not usually endogamous through originally it might have been so" (p. 23). Murdock (1949) defines a tribe as "a society that has a common territory, a common name, a common culture, a common dialect, a tradition of common descent and sometimes the presence of a chieftain" (p. 20). Perhaps the most comprehensive definition of tribe is given by D.N Majumdar (1950). According to him, a tribe is:

A social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or

otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obligations attaching to them as it dies in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration. (p. 10)

From the above definitions, one observes certain distinct features of a tribe. They are (i) common ancestors, tradition or history (ii) small in size (iii) definite geographical territory and isolation from the mainstream society (iv) endogamous communities (v) distinct culture with their forms of religion, social taboos, customs and beliefs (vi) primitive in nature (vii) common language (viii) self-sufficient and simple economy (ix) a well-defined political system (x) communal life and (xi) a *symbiotic* relationship with environment. Most tribes were initially nomadic in nature, moving from one place to another. The nomadic way of life later paved way to permanent settlements with the advent of agriculture.

1.2 Tribes in India

The tribal population of India constitutes an organic part of the Indian society. They are believed to be the earliest inhabitants of the country and one often comes across the reference to the tribal people in historical documents as well as in ancient texts like the *Vedas*, *Puranas*, *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata*. In most of these works, they are referred to by different names in Sanskrit such as "nishadas, sabaras, kiratas, dasas and dravidas" (Sen, 2012). They have also played a significant role in the history of India. For instance,

Maharana Prathap effectively used the Bhil tribes against the Mughal kingdom (Varma, 2017). Tribes such as the Santhal, Gond, Kurichiya and Kuruma were active participants in the struggle against the British (Bijoy, 1999). However, in course of time, as the tribal communities have been pushed to the margins of the societal life, they have excluded themselves from the mainstream society and most of them now lead an isolated life.

1.3 Classification of Tribes in India

The tribal communities in India are considerably heterogeneous in terms of their demography, historical background, culture, language, social and political life and economic conditions. Keeping these differences in mind, various anthropologists, social scientists, scholars and ethnographers have attempted to classify Indian tribes into various categories based on different parameters.

Tribes in India have often been classified on the basis of their geographical location and distribution. Such a classification was first attempted by the anthropologist Guha (1944). Accordingly, he divided the tribes in India into three categories - tribes residing in (a) the north and north-eastern area (b) the central and middle zone and (c) the southern zone. Similar divisions based on the geographical distribution were later made by others like Dube (1960).

Apart from these, the tribes in India have also been classified on the basis of other criteria such as language or linguistic affiliation (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman linguistic families), physical

features (Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid) and ecological situation (Hill, Forest or Plain tribes) (Sen, 2012).

1.4 Demographic Overview of the Tribes in India

There are 533 tribes notified under the Article 342 of the Constitution of India. These tribes are spread across the different states and Union Territories in the nation with the largest number among them (62) being in Orissa (Sen, 2012).

Table 1.1 Scheduled Tribes' Population in India

Census Year	ST Population (in millions)	Total Population	Proportion of ST Population
1951	19	356	5.36
1961	30	439	6.90
1971	38.0	547.9	6.9
1981	51.6	665.3	7.8
1991	67.8	838.6	8.1
2001	84.3	1028.6	8.2
2011	104.2	1210.1	8.6

(Source: Census Report of India, 1951- 2011)

India has the premier concentration of ST population in the world and they reside in about 15% of the total area of the country (Varma, 2017). The Constitution of India has specified certain communities as 'Scheduled Tribes' due to their particular characteristics. According to Table 1.1, the population of tribal people has increased from 5.35% in 1951 to 8.6% in 2011. Among the tribal communities, 86% are found in Central India, and the state of Madhya

Pradesh has the highest tribal population in the country (Census Report of India, 2011).

Figure 1.1 Distribution of Tribal Population in India

CENSUS OF INDIA 2011
PERCENTAGE OF SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATION

2011

Percentage of Scheduled Tribes Population to Total Population

- 5.0 and Below
- 5.1 - 10.0
- 10.1 - 20.0
- 20.1 - 40.0
- 40.1 and Above
- NIL

P - PUDUCHERRY
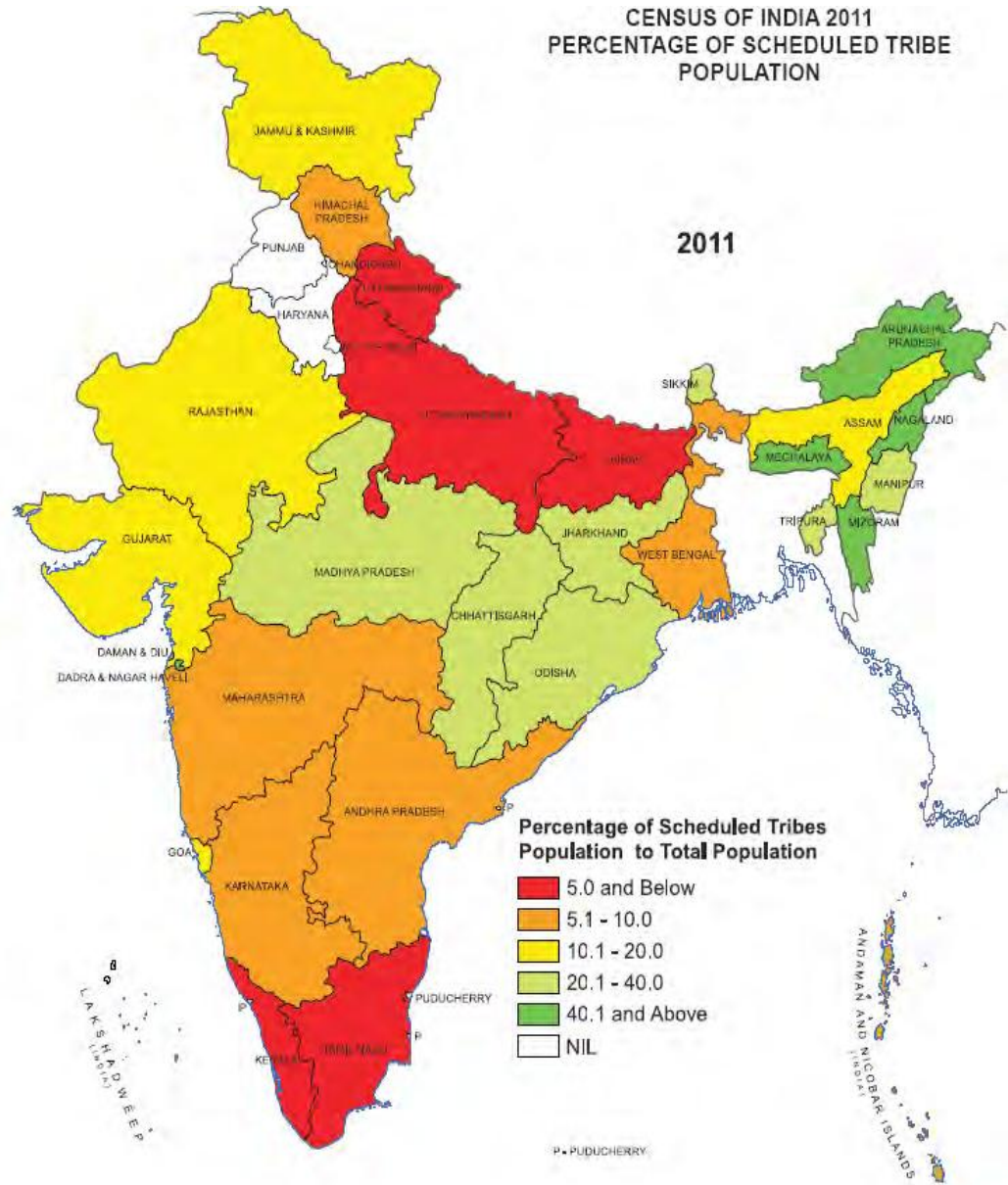
The Census 2011 report pointed out that the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram have more than 40% of tribal population as compared to the total population. The states of Jharkhand,

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Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Gujarat have the highest concentration of tribal population in the country (Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013). The Bhils, Santhals, Gonds, Minas, Mundas and Oraons are the major tribes in India, and their population is more than 25 lakhs. The Government of India has introduced many policies and programs for the development of tribal communities.

1.5 Tribes in Kerala

In Kerala, there are 37 tribal communities which are scheduled under Article 342 of the Constitution of India. Majority of the tribal communities are in Wayanad, Idukki and Palakkad districts. The state of Kerala has 1.45% of tribal population distributed across the 14 districts in the state (Census Report of India, 2011).

Table 1.2 ST Population in Kerala (in millions)

Population		Year						
		1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
India	General	361.1	439.2	548.2	685.2	846.3	846.3	1210.5
	ST	19.1	30.1	38.0	51.6	51.6	84.3	104.2
	Sex Ratio	946	987	982	983	972	978	990
Kerala	General	13.54	16.90	21.34	25.45	29.09	31.84	33.41
	ST	------	…….	0.269	0.261	0.32	0.364	0.484
	Sex Ratio	-----	1022	1016	1032	1,036	1021	1035

(Source: Census Report of India, 195-2011)

According to the census reports, there is an increase in tribal population in Kerala as well as in the country as a whole from 1951 to 2011. However the change in population rate is high in India and comparatively less in the state of

Kerala. One also notices an increase in the sex ratio. The tribal population of Kerala forms 1.45% of the total population of the state. The district Wayanad has the highest tribal population in the state. The districts Wayanad, Idukki, Palakkad, Kasargod and Kannur have more than 70% of the state's tribal population. The overall sex ratio among the tribes is 1035 females for 1000 males.

1.6 Major Problems of the Tribes in Kerala

The major problems faced by the tribal communities in Kerala are illiteracy, health issues, landlessness, alcoholism, use of drugs, unemployment, marginalization and exploitation, and poverty. Among these, land alienation or landlessness is the major problem experienced by the tribal population since the pre-colonial era. The following section briefly discusses the problems faced by the tribal communities in Kerala. It also provides a detailed historical survey of land alienation of the tribes in Kerala along with a timeline.

1.6.1 Illiteracy

Rate of literacy (national level) among the tribes is 59% - 68.5% among males and 49.4% among females. It is actually lower than the national average of literacy rate which is 74%. The five major tribal groups in India are the Bhils, Gonds, Santhals, Minas, Naikdas and Oraons. The Bhils are the most populous tribe in India. The state of Kerala has a high literacy rate (93.91%) as compared to the other states of India. Literacy rate among the tribes is 75.55%, with 80.8% among the males and 71.1% among the females. Hence tribal

literacy level is clearly low as compared to the general population in the state (Swamy, 2010).

Table 1.3 Tribal Literacy

Region	Category	Year/Literacy Rate						
		1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
India	General	18.33	28.30	34.45	41.43	52.22	64.84	72.99
	ST	NA	8.53	11.30	16.35	29.60	47.1	59.9
Kerala	General	47.18	55.08	69.75	78.85	89.81	90.86	94.00
	ST	NA	17.26	25.75	31.79	57.22	64.4	75.8

(Source: Census Report of India, 1951-2011)

As per the census report, the tribal literacy rate is found to be far below the overall literacy rate. There is an increase in tribal population from 1951 to 2011 in India and Kerala. In Kerala too, one notices a clear disparity between the overall literacy level and tribal literacy level. Some of the tribal communities like the Paniya and Kattunayakkas are still illiterate and lead a primitive life. Although government has introduced several programs for improving literacy rate among the tribes, it has failed to produce the expected outcome.

1.6.2 Health Status of Tribes in Kerala

"Enjoyment of the highest standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic and social condition" (WHO, 2001, p. 4). Health is a fundamental issue faced by the tribal communities of Kerala. High Infant Mortality and Maternal Mortality Ratio, nutritional deficiency, sickle cell anemia, tuberculosis, cancer, etc are highly prevalent among the tribes of

Kerala (Babu, 2017). Death of malnourished children at Attapady and Palakkad (Kerala) happened at the same time when there were debates on the Kerala model of development. This stark contradiction is reflected in all tribal pockets of Kerala. Deprivation faced by the tribal people in Kerala shows the gross inequality that they face today. Tribes of Kerala suffer from landlessness, poverty, diseases including (TB, cancer, sickle cell anemia etc), poor housing, unemployment etc. This shows the wide gap between tribal development and the Kerala Development model (Labeeb, 2015).

Table 1.4 Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR)

Region	Sample Female Population	Live Births	Maternal Deaths	MMR
India	5678691	436411	926	212
Kerala	287854	14624	12	81

(Source: Registrar General of India, 2011)

As per the Census report (2011), maternal deaths is 926 at the national level and 12 in Kerala. MMR at the national level and in Kerala is 212 and 81 respectively.

1.6.3 Economic Condition of Tribes in Kerala

The economic condition of tribal people is a major concern. Most tribal families have a low economic status and they belong to BPL population. Poor socio-economic condition is the prime factor behind low educational achievements and aspirations among the tribal folk. Agriculture and allied activities are the main sources of livelihood of the tribal communities.

Table No. 1.5 Poverty among ST, 1983 – 2013 (%)

Region	1983		1993		2003		2013	
	All	ST	All	ST	All	ST	All	ST
India	45.6	63.3	35.8	49.6	27.5	37.9	27.5	47.4
Kerala	40.42	36.6	25.43	35.2	23.7	34.4	15	24.4

(Source: Planning Commission, 2013)

Poverty ratio of 1983 to 2013 is significant as it shows that national level poverty of ST population has decreased from 63.3% to 47.4%, and poverty in Kerala (of ST) has reduced from 36.6% to 24.4%. But when compared to the general population of Kerala, the tribal poverty level is high. It shows how the tribal people are ignored by the Kerala development model. While all other communities are rapidly developing, the tribal society still continues to be in a pathetic situation (Rural Development Statistics, 2010).

1.7 Tribal Land Alienation in Kerala

A number of factors contribute to the alienation of tribes from their land. Although it began right from the pre-colonial and post-colonial era, it intensified after the independence. There were a number of land protection laws, control mechanisms, forest laws, governmental directives, court orders and guidelines to help the tribes protect their land. However what has always been missing is the right execution and implementation of these laws on the part of the government. The consolidation of several factors has increased the severity of land alienation in the case of the tribes. The 'legal' as well as 'illegal' forceful taking away of the land of tribes for developmental projects (e.g.: construction of dams) is a major factor. One cannot deny or ignore the

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role of revenue officers in such cases - false interpretation and manipulation of the existing laws, tampering with the documents concerned etc.

1.7.1 Land Alienation in the Pre-colonial Era

One can conveniently divide the tribal life in the pre-colonial era into two significant periods. The first is the time when each tribal group led a communal life following their ancestral traditions. During this time, land belonged to none. In other words, land was not perceived as a property to be owned by anyone and a person was free to reside wherever he wished. There were several groups who totally depended on the forest for their survival. Communities such as the Kurumar, Kurichiyar and Malarayar mainly depended on agriculture for their livelihood. The only 'politics' followed by the society during this era was the 'craft of sharing' or the graceful partaking of social resources.

The second period is when the local kings attacked the tribes and began to rule over them. They took over the tribal land and put the high caste Nairs in charge of it. They split the land into different parts and granted *janmis* the right to collect tax. In additional to this, they demarcated the entire land into *devaswom* and *janmana* land. The land under the control of the *janmis* was leased out to private individuals. *Kanam, kuzhikanam, pettupattam, munpattam, panayam, cherathu* and *otti* were some of the land use policies. This is how the Nair section in the society became the owners of land (Mathew, 2011). On the other hand, those in the lower sections of the society ended up as mere laborers or tenants. Slave trade, one of the worst manifestations of

exploitation and inhumanity, was quite prominent during this time. For instance, the Paniya and Adiya sections were sold and bought in the Valiyyurkavu area in Wayanad. Hence caste as well as *janmi* system converged together to produce the first link in tribal land alienation.

1.7.2 Land Alienation and British Colonial Rule

The princely states in Kerala, in those days, reacted to such changes in a rather unjust manner. For instance, the Punjar royal dynasty in Madhya Thriruvithamkoor handed over large areas of forest land to John Daniel Munroe without taking into consideration the rights of the tribes. To make things worse, the Thiruvithamkoor authorities and rulers passed a resolution in 1911 emphatically stating that the tribes had no right over the forests. Such developments made it convenient and easy for the British planters to take over massive tracts of forest and tribal regions. As a result, about 21 large scale plantation companies operated in Thiruvithamkoor between 1943 and 1944. Pears, Luxley, Kannadevan, and Commonwealth were some of the prominent ones among them. The *Elam* Department, established in 1823 and the Travancore Planting and Agriculture Company brought under their control the Idukki region of Kerala. This period also saw the taking over of tribal land by the Tamilians. Consequently, forest which covered over 85% in 1905 was reduced to a mere 34% by 1973 (Geethanandan, 2003). The situation has not changed much over the years. In the contemporary scenario, one cannot deny the existence of several lobbies that control and enjoy the benefits of massive areas of government owned land. Although there were certain attempts in the

recent years to take back such land, these were thwarted and eclipsed by political intervention and by the influence of such corporations.

1.7.3 Forest Laws and Tribal Land

Forest laws turned out to be the greatest impediment which prevented the tribes from leading an independent life. The aim of the Forest Act of 1927 was undoubtedly exploitation of forests. Unfortunately, the Indian Forest Act (1961) was an Indian version of the British Forest Act. The act gave private corporations the opportunity to utilize large areas of forest land. As per the available records, the area of land under the control of the forest department is 3269 sq.km out of which, 1881 sq.km is dense forest. 250 sq.km is cardamom plantations and 476 sq.km of land is leased out and is controlled by individuals and private corporations. In addition to this, 336 sq.km of land has been forcefully occupied. The tribes inhabit an area of just 289 sq.km (Geethanandan, 2003). The reports clearly indicate that tribes who are the real protectors of land occupy less than a fourth of the total forest area. The Recognition of Forest Rights Act, 2006, acknowledged the tribes as the guardians of the forest. Sadly, although tribes have been granted rights over the forest in most of the states in India, the Act has still not been implemented completely in Kerala. The tribes are still kept away from the forest in the name of tiger reserve and wildlife disturbances.

1.7.4 Migration and Tribal Land Alienation

As the Kerala society made a journey from the system of joint family to that of the nuclear family, land too was subdivided into little parts. Those

involved in agriculture in the Thiruvithamkur region were Christians, Eezhavas and the Nairs. As the St. Thomas Christians made a steady progress in agriculture, the local rulers gave them huge areas of land. With the advent of the Arab Muslims in India, the Christians moved from the coastal areas of Kerala to the more hilly areas (Mathew, 2011).

As the Namboothiris and the Nairs gradually lost their interest in agriculture, they sold their lands to the Christians, Muslims and the Ezhavas. Through the laborers who came from Malabar to Thiruvithamkur, people came to know that land was available in the Malabar region at a considerably low price. While an acre of land cost around 150-200 rupees in Thiruvithamkoor, it cost just around 5 or 6 rupees in Wayanad. Through the leasing out of land in 1865, land came into the hands of private individuals in Thiruvithamkoor. Many among them sold their land in Thiruvithamkoor and migrated to the Malabar region where they bought 10-15 acres of land. Such large scale migration detrimentally affected the tribal regions. Following the Second World War, the country experienced a rampant famine and the acute shortage of food grains that led to a steep rise in the price of rice. During this time, people migrated from the Thiruvithamkoor region where paddy cultivation was significantly low to the more cultivable regions of Wayanad. The government too encouraged such migration by propounding the idea of 'grow more food'. In addition to this, people who migrated also received help through churches thus contributing to their social betterment. However, one of the serious consequences of such migration to Wayanad, Idukki and Attappady regions

was that it reduced the tribes to mere second class citizens. As a result, the tribal population in Attappady which constituted about 98% of the total population in 1947 diminished to a shocking 31% in 2001. A glance at the statistics of tribal land alienation which took place during this time leaves one highly disturbed. The Irular lost 8906.41 acres of land, while the Mudukar and the Kurumbar were alienated from 1083 acres and 3304 acres of land respectively (Kochu, 2008).

The Naxalite movement in India became quite strong since 1965. They actively attacked the State as well as great land owners. It is in the context of the Naxalbari Farmers Sahaya Samiti operating in Kerala that there arose attempts to retrieve the land that was lost to the tribes (Venu, 2017). However the failure to implement the law proved to be a hindrance in the tribes getting back their land. The government of Kerala amended the law in 1999 and also acknowledged all the forceful occupation of land that took place in the years between 1960 and 1986.

1.7. 5 Flaws in Land Reforms

The Kerala Land Reform Act of 1969, often referred to as the triumph of modernity and revolutionary development in the state, conveniently sidelined the tribes and Dalits. The real motive of the act was to abolish the *janmi* system and to allocate land to the landless. However, the greatest drawback was that while the native children of the soil did not get their land back, the ones who forcefully occupied the tribal areas were given land. While several acres of land were sold for estates and plantations, the tribes whose lives were closely tied

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with the forest were ignored once again. Neither the tribes nor the Dalits were ever acknowledged as tillers of the soil (Kapikkad, 2008).

1.8 Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission

Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) is the agency established by the State Government of Kerala for the resettlement of landless tribal people in Kerala. It is established as per the Government order (G.O.MS63/2002SC/STDD) dated 09/11/2011. The Mission was formed based on the agreement between Government and the Tribal Dalit Samithi. The TRDM aims at the sustainable development of the resettled communities through an integrated approach implements developmental programs for tribal welfare.

1.8.1 Objectives of the TRDM

1. Achieve overall socio-economic development of tribal families in the state especially those who are landless and those own less than one acre of land.

2. Identify sustainable cultivatable land and assign them to eligible tribal families.

3. Facilitate the participation of tribes in the planning and implementation of the schemes meant for their development.

4. Considering the large number of landless tribal families in Wayanad district, identify assignable vested forest land in Wayanad and get clearance of the Government of India for the assignment.

5. Take steps for declaration of the land occupied by tribal families as scheduled area.

Figure 1.2 Constituent Committees of the TRDM

Cabinet Sub Committee	• Headed by Chief Minister- take timely policy decisions regarding land distribution and developmental activities
Empowerment Committee	• Chief Secretary and members of different Departments
TRDM	• Members from Forest, Agriculture, Law, Finance and Revenue Departments
District Mission	• District Collector (Chairman) and Members from different Departments.

1.8.2 Administrative Setup of the TRDM

The TRDM works under the Department of Scheduled Tribes Development, Kerala. The central office of the TRDM is located in Vikas Bhavan, Thiruvanathapuram. The TRDM consists of a Cabinet Sub-committee led by the Chief Minister of the state. The Empowerment Committee supports the Sub-committee in taking decisions regarding land distribution and development. The activities of the TRDM are extended to the grass root level through various district centers, which constitute the District Mission. These are formed under the chairmanship of the District Collector of the respective districts. The major functions of the District Mission are (a) find suitable land for distribution (b) select the most eligible beneficiaries for land distribution (c) propose suitable project for resettled areas aimed at sustainable development (d) identify (any other) problems of the resettled families. In the Aralam Tribal

Resettlement, the TRDM has set up a nodal agency under a Site Manager and Tribal Promoters. They are responsible for the implementation of the development projects in the Resettlement area.

1.8.3 Major Activities of the TRDM

- Land distribution
- Comprehensive Development Program- housing, drinking water, communication facilities, road, electricity, community hall and *anganwadi* centers.

Table 1.6 Resettlements under the TRDM (Kerala)

Sl.No	Resettlements	Districts
1	Aipa	Kollam
2	Kuriottumala	
3	Kottarakkara	
4	Cherthala	Alapuzha
5	Thamarapally Estate	Pattanamthitta
6	Enadimangalam	
7	Madukka	Kottayam
8	Koruthodu	
9	Marayoor	Idukki
10	Kundala	
11	Pooppara	
12	Chinnakkanal	
13	Sinkukandom 301 Colony	
14	80 Acre Colony	
15	Panthadikalam	
16	Suryanelli	
17	Alakkode	
18	Kuttampuzha	Eranakulam
19	Neramangalam	
20	Edakkattuvayal	
21	Thalappilly	Thrissur
22	Muthukad	Kozhikkode
23	Vattachira Farm	
24	Perambra	
25	Wandoor	
26	Paroor	

27	Kalikavu	Malapuram
28	Malampuzha II Village	Kannur
29	Pazhassi	
30	Koodail	
31	Kolayad	
32	Cheruvancherry	
33	Kandamkunnu	
34	Thrippangottur	
35	Alakkode	
36	Aralam	
37	Kunnathidavaka	Wayanad
38	Sugandhagiri	
39	Pookot	
40	Karapuzha	
41	Cheengeri	
42	Kinanur	Kasaragod
43	Karinthalam	
44	Kunjathur	

(Source: TRDM, 2013)

1.9 Statement of Problem

Resettlement is the transfer of people from one place to another. Tribal resettlement is the transfer of landless tribal people from their native place to another region followed by their settlement in the new place. Tribal resettlement is a significant aspect of tribal development as land alienation is the main problem faced by the tribal communities in Kerala. Over the years, tribal land has been 'grabbed' and taken over by those in power - the high caste, native rulers, colonizers etc. Landlessness affects not just the economic status of the tribes, but also the whole tribal way of life as the tribal groups share a special bond with their land. Hence resettlement of the landless tribes in Kerala is crucial for the social and economic progress of the tribal communities in the

state. Accordingly the State Government of Kerala has undertaken numerous tribal resettlement projects and Aralam Tribal Resettlement is one among them.

The study is an investigation into the issue of tribal resettlement in Kerala on the basis of Aralam Tribal Resettlement. The research probes into the post-Resettlement life at Aralam by analyzing the standard of life of the resettled tribes at Aralam on the basis of different social, cultural and economic indicators. Aralam Tribal Resettlement consists of various tribes and the study includes widely divergent representative segments of various tribal communities at Aralam such as the Paniya, Kurichiya, Karimbala, Mavilan and Adiya tribal groups. The study sheds light on the way in which the mission of tribal development and resettlement is carried out in the state of Kerala, India. It reveals the efforts of the State Government to enable the development of the tribes while simultaneously revealing the flaws and loopholes in the present tribal resettlement projects.

Although there have been several scholarly works on tribal development, there are limited studies on the life of the resettled tribes following the implementation of such tribal resettlement projects. Moreover there are very few studies on Aralam Tribal Resettlement. Hence the present study deals with the opportunities, problems and challenges at Aralam Tribal Resettlement. The study takes into consideration both the positive and negative impacts of the resettlement at Aralam. It also looks at the infrastructural facilities available to the resettled tribes and the way these communities perceive the very process of

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resettlement. Hence the study provides a holistic view of the post-Resettlement life of the tribes at Aralam.

1.10 Rationale of the Study

Tribal communities of Kerala are one of the most vulnerable sections in the society. A prime factor that leads to this vulnerability is landlessness. Land alienation is a major problem faced by the tribes of Kerala. However land alienation, experienced by the tribal communities in the state, is not a sudden phenomenon. It occurred gradually across different periods of history. Over the decades, the social milieu of the state has been colored by various land struggle movements by the tribal citizens (Ramanathaiyer et al., 2000). It has led to several tribal resettlement projects in different parts of Kerala. A survey conducted by TRDM in 2011 revealed that 12,261 landless families in Kerala are yet to receive land. Accordingly the State Government of Kerala has started the distribution of land for tribes in different areas through the TRDM and Aralam Tribal Resettlement is one such tribal resettlement projects. The uniqueness of Aralam lies in the fact that it is the biggest resettlement in Asia (Yahiya, 2014). 3094 landless tribal families were resettled at Aralam as of 2011 (TRDM, 2011). Moreover, the tribal people at Aralam belong to ten distinct tribal communities.

The study examines the way in which resettlement strategies have been implemented at Aralam and attempts to understand the effectiveness and quality of the resettlement project. The fundamental aim of the research is to describe and analyze tribal resettlement and development on the basis of

Aralam Tribal Resettlement, Kerala. The major areas of findings include- (a) inception of Aralam Tribal Resettlement (b) social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam (c) cultural life of the resettled tribes at Aralam (d) economic condition of the tribes at Aralam and (e) political participation (at the grass root level) by the tribes at Aralam. The study elaborates on the merits and limitations of the present resettlement strategies which in turn may help to develop better resettlement plans and implementation strategies. It thus may serve as a guiding light for such tribal resettlements in future.

1.11 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

- To study the social life of the resettled tribes

- To describe the cultural life of the resettled tribes

- To analyze the occupational and economic status of the resettled tribes

- To comprehend the food and health aspect of resettled tribal communities, and

- To portray the level of political participation of resettled tribes at the grass root level.

1.12 Definition of Key Terms

- Resettled Tribes: The tribal communities of Kerala who have been resettled at Aralam Tribal Resettlement. This includes Karimpalan, Paniya, Kattunayakan, Mavilan and Adiya communities.

- Resettlement: The shift of landless tribal people (as families) from different parts of Kerala to the allocated plots of Aralam settlement as

per the initiative of the State Government, that has agreed to admit them and grant them a permanent settlement as well as the basic amenities of life.

- Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission: It is an integrated approach initiated by the State Government of Kerala in 2002, aimed to achieve the sustainable development of resettled communities of Aralam.

1.13 Significance of the Study

The tribal communities are one of the most vulnerable sections in the Indian society and a major issue they face since the pre-colonial era is land alienation or landlessness. While the State Government of Kerala has implemented several effective tribal resettlement projects, there is a yet a long way to go in implementing a resettlement project that is progressive and is simultaneously sensitive to the needs of the tribes. The study sheds light on the quality of the post- Resettlement life at Aralam Tribal Resettlement, Kerala. It points out the impact of resettlement on the social, cultural and economic life of the resettled tribes at Aralam. The study acquires significance as there have been few attempts to study voluntary tribal resettlement projects in the context of Kerala. The study describes the changes in the tribal way of life at Aralam following the resettlement. It offers a glimpse in to the tribal life at Aralam following the Resettlement thus highlighting the merits and demerits of the present tribal resettlement policies and strategies in Kerala. Hence this study is a systematic and objective enquiry into the very nature of tribal resettlement, the perception

and reception of resettlement by the tribes at Aralam, and the changes in tribal life in the post- Resettlement phase at Aralam. All these in turn help to plan and implement an effective tribal resettlement project that aims at the holistic development of the tribal population while at the same time accepting their unique way of life. Hence the study not only describes the present situation of the tribes in Kerala with regard to landlessness and resettlement, it also acts as beacon of light for future tribal resettlement projects in the state.

1.14 Scope of the Study

The present research work would throw light on the life of the resettled tribes at Aralam Tribal Resettlement, Kerala. It evaluates the post-Resettlement life of the tribes at Aralam on the basis of various social, economic, cultural, and political indicators. It examines the very mission of attaining sustainable development of tribes and evaluates the rehabilitation and development policies implemented by the State Government in this area.

1.15 Chapterization

The study has been presented as "Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission: A Study of Resettled Tribes at Aralam, Kerala". It consists of five main chapters. Chapter one titled "Introduction" introduces the topic of the study and gives an overview of the tribes in India. It briefly explicates the classification and demographic distribution of the tribal population in India with a special focus on the tribes in Kerala. The chapter points out the major problems of the tribes in Kerala - (a) illiteracy (b) health status (c) poverty and (d) land alienation. This chapter gives a historical survey of tribal land

alienation in Kerala. In addition, the chapter also discusses the objectives and functions of the Tribal Development and Resettlement Mission (TRDM). Finally the chapter points out the rationale and objectives of the study as well as the scope and significance of the research. The Introduction also defines the key terms used in the study and describes the structure of the research.

Chapter two titled "Review of Literature" discusses the major works on tribes and tribal resettlement. The chapter is presented in two sections. The first section highlights major works on socio-cultural factors, economic condition, dietary pattern and health, and other aspects of the tribal communities The second section reviews major scholarly works on resettlement in general, displacement and resettlement of tribes in India, reasons for resettlement, major resettlement projects in India and important studies on Aralam Tribal Resettlement. This chapter reveals the research gap in the area of tribal resettlement, thus emphasizing the relevance of the study.

Chapter three titled "Research Methodology" presents the area of the study, conceptual framework and sampling design. It also explains the sources of the data used in the research, tools employed for data collection, procedures of data collection and details regarding the analysis of the collected data.

Chapter four titled "Data Analysis and Interpretation" explores the quality of life of the resettled tribes at Aralam Tribal Resettlement on the basis of several social, cultural, economic and political parameters. The chapter, using quantitative as well as qualitative data, analyzes the post-Resettlement life at Aralam. This chapter is divided into seven sections with the first six

sections dealing with a particular aspect of post-Resettlement life at Aralam and the final section with results and findings. The first section titled "Inception of Aralam Tribal Resettlement" presents a historical overview of Aralam Tribal Resettlement and explains how the resettlement at Aralam came into being. The second section titled "Social Determinants of Resettlement" deals with the social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam. It evaluates the social well-being of the resettled tribes on the basis of several factors such as help received from neighbors for family functions, help from locality, relation with relatives, relationship among the tribes, relation with other tribal communities and membership in social organizations. The third section titled "Cultural Factors" provides information about the changes in the cultural life of the tribes at Aralam. It focuses on how resettlement has influenced marriage, family system and traditional practices of the tribes. The fourth section, "Tribal Economy Before and After Resettlement", explores in detail the changes in the economic condition of the tribal people following the Resettlement. Aspects such as possession of assets, infrastructural facilities, employment opportunities, entrepreneurship, skill development programs, self-employment are discussed in this section. The fifth section, "Food and Health", analyses the changes in food habits of the tribes following the Resettlement. The next section, "Grass Root Level Political Participation", points out the political participation of the tribes at Aralam at the grass root level. This section explains the functioning of *Oorukuttams* and TRDM, and the availability of

government welfare schemes. Finally the last section highlights the results and findings.

Chapter five titled "Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion" discusses in detail the findings of the research and elaborates on the socio-economic, cultural, and political life of the resettled tribes at Aralam. The chapter also points out the limitations of the research, scope for further studies in this area and suggestions on the basis of the primary findings of the study. This chapter also summarizes the study.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A proper review of literature is vital for a good research as it helps to locate the research gap and identify the variables necessary for the study. The chapter makes a review of scholarly works on tribal life and resettlement, and is presented in two different sections. The first section titled "Socio-Cultural and Economic Life of Tribes" makes a review of scholarly works and critical studies on socio-cultural, economic, food, health, and development aspects of the tribal communities. The second section titled "Tribal Land and Resettlement" looks into the existing literature on tribal society and land alienation, displacement and resettlement of tribes in India, reasons for resettlement, theoretical models of resettlement, international aspect of resettlement, evolution of major resettlement projects in India and Aralam Tribal Resettlement.

SECTION I

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF TRIBES

2.1.1 Tribal Education

Education is one of the most powerful means for the upliftment of the marginalized sections of the society. There have been numerous works on tribal education in the Indian context such as *Tribal Education in India* by Imotemsu Ao (2011), *A Critical Study of Tribal Education* by N.K Ambasht (1970), *Education of Tribal Children* by B.C Mishra (1996), *Educating Tribals in India* by B.S Nagi, (2000), *Structural Constraints of Tribal Education* by E.V Rattinaih (1977) and *Tribal Education and Development: The Right Approach*

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by Kulkarni (1990). Although literacy rate of the Scheduled Tribes increased from 8.53% in 1961 to 59% in 2011, the gap between the literacy level among men and women has not decreased significantly (Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013). Pani and Sahoo (2008) have identified four major approaches of tribal education in India - Immersion approach, Ashram schools, Transfer Approach and Integrated Curriculum.

Brahmanandam and Babu (2016) analyzed the status, issues and challenges of tribal education in India. In spite of the efforts by the policy makers in the post-independent period for tribal development, the educational status of the Scheduled Tribes is disappointingly low. The paper gives a historical analysis of the Indian educational system and examines its impact on the tribal communities. The study points out the significance of education for tribal development and also emphasizes the need to incorporate cultural elements of the tribal community in the tribal educational curriculum.

Daripa (2017) indicates that there is a significant gap between the general population and the tribal communities in India with respect to the level of literacy. Despite the support provided by the government and other agencies, the tribal people have been unable to overcome their deprived conditions. Daripa analyzes the status of tribal education in India and the challenges faced by the institutions working in this field. The study explains how the representation of tribes in higher education does not meet its expected level.

One of the most important studies on tribal education in Kerala is by Swamy (2010). Although the tribal literacy rate in Kerala is more than the

national average, there is a high literacy gap between the general population and the tribal communities. The education system in the state is biased against the tribal communities. It is not well-planned for the marginalized sections of the society and hence fails to fulfill the needs of the tribal people. High dropout rate, poor enrolment ratio, shortage of teachers and lack of adequate infrastructural facilities are some of the major problems in tribal education. A decentralized education system with special care in tribal remote areas is needed in Kerala. The last three decades also saw a growing interest on tribal education in the academic circles in Kerala. Some of the important dissertations submitted to various universities in this field include *Socio-cultural and Educational Conditions of Adivasis in Kerala* by N.D Joshi (1983), *Self-Concept and Academic Achievement of Scheduled Tribe Students of Wayanad District* by Manisha. N (2001) and *Constraints in the Education of Tribal Pupils of Kerala* by R. Mercy (2005).

2.1.2 Social Organizations

Formal and informal social organizations are an integral part of our social environment and they promote interaction between people. Working with voluntary organizations also helps to develop democratic values among the citizens (Glover, 2007). Naidu (2015) conducted a study among the tribal Self-Help Group members of Andra Pradesh. The SHG movement started in the state in 1979 and it later extended to different regions. SHGs helped the members to organize themselves and to start certain progressive measures such

as income generation activities. Naidu identifies NGOs as the main source of motivation for the SHGs.

Since the 1980s, there have been numerous studies which highlight the role of SHGs in tribal development (Soundari, 2006; Pangannavar, 2012). Most of these studies focus on the role of SHGs in the empowerment of tribal women, particularly economic empowerment. Bori (2017) conducted a case study on economic empowerment of tribal women through SHGs in Golaghat, Assam. It analyzes the economic factors such as investment, income, expenditure and savings of the tribal women involved in various Self-Help Groups. The study points out that SHGs have a positive impact on the economic empowerment of tribal women and helps to improve the standard of living among the members.

In Kerala, the Kudumbashree Mission has played an indispensable role in the empowerment of women. Its primary aim is poverty alleviation scheme through the strengthening of SHGs. The mission leads to socio-economic development of women and helps to improve their living status, health and education (Jose, 2015). The State Government of Kerala, in collaboration with the Tribal Development Department and the Kudumbhasree Mission, initiated a special project for the economic empowerment of local communities in 2016. The project has benefited 106162 tribal families all over the state (Kudumbhasree Mission, 2017).

2.1.3 Marriage

Marriage in the tribal society has always been a key area of academic and sociological interest from the colonial to the contemporary era mainly due to the unique customs and practices associated with tribal marriages. Consequently there have been umpteen numbers of books on marriages in the tribal society authored by ethnographers, social scientists and academicians. Fortes (1962), Mibang and Behera (2006), Patricia (1997), Vyas (2017) have made significant contributions to the scholarship in this field. Hasnain (2015) observes that marriage was not an established institution among the tribal communities of India. Primitive tribal society was characterized by the prevalence of extreme sexual freedom, "sexual communism" (Hasnain, 2015, p. 52) and different forms of marriage. Indian tribes mainly follow monogamy in which no man may be married to more than one woman at a time. However there are several tribal groups which practice polygamy. Hasnain also points out the existence of strict prohibitions for matrimonial alliances from different communities and from the same clan in the tribal society.

P. N Kumar (1973) elaborates on the marriage practices of the Khasi tribes of Assam in his article titled "The Tribal Marriage in India". The article sheds light on the unique tribal customs associated with marriage with a special focus on the Khasi tribal community. For instance, the Khasis marry within the same clan and are strictly monogamous. The Khasi wedding ceremony is led by the head of the respective tribal groups. However, wedding practices of the

tribes who have embraced Christianity show remarkable differences with the traditional tribal marriages.

Gautham and Jyoti (2005) conducted a study on marriage among primitive societies with reference to the Baiga tribal community of Central India. It discusses the different types of marriages prevalent among the Baigas. The study employs an anthropological approach and highlights the existence of varied forms of marriage practices among the tribes of Central India. While 95.4% of the marriages in the Baiga tribe are monogamous, 4.6% are polygamous marriages. The study concludes that the tribal societies are going through a stage of cultural evolution with respect to marriage and other related aspects.

2.1.4 Tribal Family System

Family is the most basic and the foremost institution in the society. According to MacIver and Page (1949), "Of all the organizations, large and small, which the society unfolds, none transcends the family in the intensity of its sociological significance. It influences the whole society in innumerable ways, and its changes reverberate through the whole structure. It is capable of endless variation and yet reveals a remarkable continuity and persistence through change" (p. 108). The family is the simplest and the elementary primary group in the society. The family system has undergone several changes in the recent years. Modern families display both functional and structural changes when compared to the traditional family system (S. Rao, 2012). The tribal communities exhibit diversification in family system mainly due to their

customary laws and traditional practices. They have both nuclear and joint family system.

Nemching (2008) makes a detailed examination of the family system, kinship, marriage, familial relations and terminology, rules of descent and religion among the Paite tribes of Manipur. Akhanda (2008) describes the various customs and rites related to marriage prevalent among the tribes of Tripura. Tanwani (1997) makes a study of the level of adjustments in marital relations by tribal and non-tribal women. She identifies ten different ways of selection of life partners found among the tribes in India:

- Marriage arranged by parents

- Marriage by mutual consent and elopement

- Marriage by exchange

- Marriage by purchase

- Marriage by service

- Marriage by trial

- Marriage on probation

- Marriage by capture

- Marriage by intrusion

2.1.5 Modernization, Sanskritization and Tribes

Modernization is the process of acquiring values, norms and ideas from a developed society to a less developed one accordingly modifying their existing living conditions. Development of science and technology is a crucial factor behind modernization. According to Alatas (1972), "Modernization is a

process by which scientific knowledge is introduced in the society with the ultimate purpose of achieving a better and a more satisfactory life in the broadest sense of the term as accepted by the society concerned" (p. 52). The impact of modernization in the tribal society can be identified by observing changes in their life patterns. They have adopted many changes and attitudes through modern education, media, government policies and civil societies. There are various scholarly studies on the impact of modernization on different aspects of tribal lifestyle. Mehta (2013) discusses tribal traditional costume and effects of globalization on tribal costume in his work titled *Impact of Modernization on Tribal Costume*. Paul (2005) talks about the way in which modernization has affected the traditional pattern of agriculture in tribal societies. Borah (2012) analyses the impact of modernization tribal communities with a special focus on the Mishings and Karbis of Assam. Similarly there are also scholarly studies on the impact of modernization on other aspects of tribal life such as religion, culture, language etc.

The concept of Sanskritization was introduced by M. N Srinivas (1971) based on a study conducted in Coorg, Karanataka. Sanskritization is the process of cultural exchange where the lower sections of the society adopt certain beliefs and practices from the upper caste people. This process of cultural mobility can be observed in traditional Indian societies. He defines Sanskritization as "a process by which a lower caste or a tribe or other groups change its customs, rituals, ideologies, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently twice born caste" (p. 16). This cultural mobility is visible even

among the tribal communities. For instance, many tribal rituals and traditions have changed due to the influence of non-tribal communities. Marriage is the best example for this change (N. Kumar, 2014). The Kuruma tribes, in olden days, followed traditional marriage practices led by the head of family (*Karnaver*). But now-a-days, they invite Bhramins for conducting *pooja* during the marriage ceremony. Similar changes can be observed in other factors too. Although Sanskritization process can be observed in the tribal communities at different levels, it is very difficult to generalize among the tribes. Many communities still follow their traditional way of life.

2.1.6 Tribal Economy

There are numerous scholarly works and critical investigations on tribal economy. Ramamani (1988) analyzed the major problems and prospects in the tribal economy on the basis of a study carried out at Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh. According to Hasnain (2015), the tribes of India follow the traditional economic system which is based on subsistence needs, production and consumption. Tribal societies are isolated from modern economic phenomena and developments. Each tribal community in India follows different types of economic activities. Hunting, gathering forest produce and cultivation are the major occupations of these communities. According to Herskovist (1952), collection of forest produce, hunting, fishing, cultivation and livestock management are crucial elements of the tribal economic system.

Aurora (1963) conducted a study on economy of a tribal village in Bamamta. The study highlights that self-sufficiency is the major specialty of

the tribal economic system. They produce different kinds of products to earn their living. This includes dairy, food, and poultry products. He points out that as the tribal communities are not money conscious, they do not market their products for monetary benefits. Moreover capital investments and saving habit is very less among them. In the recent years, there have been works on the effect of modern economic reforms on the tribal economy. For instance, Jain (2001) makes a detailed enquiry on the impact of globalization, liberalization and techno-capitalism on the tribal economy.

2.1.7 Sustainable Livelihood

Livelihood is an important aspect of survival of an individual and a family. It involves making a living, supporting the family, and contributing to societal development. Livelihood is a complex concept which includes income, resources, opportunities, social contacts, relations and social network in an individual family as well as in a community. According to Chambers and Conway (1991), "Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets, (including both materials and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shock and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resources" (p. 63).

Livelihood issues of the marginalized people in the various segments of the present and past societies in India is a major concern, when examined through the broader looking glasses of environment and development over time (Sujeesh, 2014). Chaudary (2018) makes a detailed enquiry into tribal

livelihood. In Indian society, livelihood is often attached with the traditional life of the communities. Each community has its own traditional occupation and specialization of work. The tribes of India practiced traditional pattern of livelihood through centuries. M. Sreenivasan and G. Sreenivasan (2018) explore the tribal livelihood sector - its challenges, experiences and issues on the basis of several case studies and reports. The introduction of new education system and the changing pattern of development have made great effects in their social and economic life. Though such changes have brought about some positive effects, it has made great negative impact on the tribal community. Most of the indigenous knowledge that the tribal communities possessed became extinct. Although the government has introduced the concept of sustainable livelihood, it has failed to promote traditional livelihood patterns and protect indigenous knowledge that exists in tribal communities.

2.1.8 Assets

Petersen and Pedersen (2010) point out that assets may be tangible and intangible - tangible such as land, livestock, food stores, cash saving, as well trees, tools and other resources or intangible such as claims one can make for, work, food, assistance, access to information, materials, health, education and employment and other opportunities. They have also developed the following five - group classification of assets.

Table 2.2 Assets

Human Capital	Skills, Knowledge, health, ability to work
Social Capital	Social resources, Including formal networks, Membership of formalized groups, and Relationships of trust that facilitate cooperation and Economic opportunities.
Natural Capital	Natural resources such as land, soil, water, forests and fisheries
Physical Capital	Basic infrastructure, such as roads, water and sanitation, schools, ICT, and producer goods, including tools, livestock and equipment
Financial Capital	Financial resources including savings, credit, and income from employment. Trade and remittances

(Source: Eldis Livelihood Connect, Retrieved from http :// www.eldis.org/go/topics/ livelihood-connected/ what- are-livelihoods-approach/livelihoods-assets)

There are very few studies which primarily focus on the assets possessed by tribal communities, particularly on their economic assets. Hicks et al. in a report titled "Asset-Building in Tribal Communities: Generating Native Discussion and Practical Approaches" (2005) explicate how asset-building policies help to foster economic security and development among indigenous communities. Jayakumar and Palaniyammal in their article, "Socio-economic Status of Scheduled Tribes in Kalrayan Hills" (2016) address the socio-economic status of the Scheduled Tribes in Kalrayan hills of Salem district in Tamilnadu (India). One of the parameters they take into consideration is the possession of economic assets by the tribal families.

2.1.9 Tribal Food Habits

A. Singh (2007) conducted a study on cultural significance and diversities of ethnic food of the north-east tribal communities of India. She identifies the impact and importance of traditional food on tribal health. Ethnic food preparation and processes by tribal women of northeast are directly

connected with their socio-cultural, health and ecological life. The diversity in food production with natural products like bamboo shoot and tree beans is a unique feature of tribal food. It is rich in nutritional and medicinal value. The traditional tribal food culture has much relevance in modern society.

Devi (2012) discusses the traditional knowledge of the tribal communities regarding preparation of fermented food items, boiled products, beverages, and other nutritional dishes from wild and domestic products. She analyses the food culture of tribes of Manipur. Yahiya (2014) has recorded changes in food habits among the tribal communities of Kerala. Modernity and hotel food culture has affected the food culture of the traditional communities. The communities like Kattunayaka earlier depended on forest for food collection. The implementation of forest laws restricted the tribes from forest. It has also negatively affected tribal food habits.

2.1.10 Tribal Health

Health is a basic necessity and a fundamental right of a citizen. According to WHO (2001) "health is a state of complete, physical, social, and mental well-being and the absence of disease or infirmity" (p. 34). The WHO Report (2001) points out that tribal people have lower life expectancy, high rates of infant mortality and more chronic illness than the non-tribal population. Another report of the WHO on the indigenous communities (2006), illustrates that there are different types of health issues found among tribal communities across the world.

According to the National Policy on Scheduled Tribes (2006), lack of safe drinking water, poor sanitation and hygiene, and malnutrition are the major health issues found among the tribes of India. Availability, accessibility and affordability of healthcare services is also a hindrance for these communities. Under nutrition and malnutrition are the common problems faced by Indian tribal women and children. As per the estimates of the NFHS (2015-16), child mortality rate and under five mortality rate are higher for Scheduled Tribes than non-tribal communities (95.7 and 35.8 respectively). Infant mortality rate is 62.1% and prenatal mortality is 40.6% among the tribal communities in India (Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013).

S.N. Chaudary (2012) explores various issues in tribal health and nutrition in the contemporary scenario taking into consideration tribal culture and traditional way of life. Naik (2004) analyses tribal health and nutrition with a special focus on the prevalence of malnutrition among tribal communities in a global context. There are also numerous studies on the sexual behaviour and reproductive health of tribal women such *Tribal Health: Studying Sexual Behaviour* by Mohammad Akram (2008) and *Reproductive Health and Culture in Tribal India* by Upadhay (2005).

2.1.11 Tribal Health in Kerala

Health disparity between the tribal and non-tribal communities is very high in the state of Kerala. Anemia, malnutrition and underweight are highly prevalent among them. There is a significant difference in the health status among different tribes too. For instance, health issues are extremely high

among tribes like Paniya, Adiya and Kattunayaka. Haddad et al. (2012) in the article titled "Health Divide Between Indigenous and Non-indigenous Populations in Kerala, India: Population Based study" critically examine the nature, causes and magnitude of health inequalities between indigenous (Scheduled Tribes) and non-indigenous population, as well as between various indigenous communities Kerala.

A study conducted by Sonowal (2010) analyses the link between the socio-economic disorganization and the problem of under nutrition and malnutrition among tribal communities. The alienation of the tribal communities from their natural settings has negatively affected health status. Babu (2015) studied the reproductive health of tribal women in Wayanad. His study highlights issues of accessibility, availability, affordability and acceptability of healthcare services among tribal women. He suggest that researchers and policy makers should come up with knowledge, policies and programs that can together make significant changes in the reproductive health status of tribal women.

2.1.12 Tribal Development

Pani (2008) explains that the tribal communities are considered as a weak section of the society. There are different factors that contribute to their vulnerability. There is a huge gap between the tribes and non-tribal communities in terms of development. G. C Rath (2006) explores in detail the issues and challenges in tribal development in the contemporary scenario. He looks into various approaches to tribal development, tribal autonomy

movements and struggles, and impact of ethno-regionalism on tribal development. He also analyses tribal development models used in certain states like Kerala and Odisha. M. M Verma (1996) talks about different perspectives of tribal development and explicates some of the major tribal development programs. Some other notable studies on tribal development include *Media and Tribal Development* by Jagannath Pati (2004), *The Challenges of Tribal Development* by Kishore Padhy (2000), *Policies and Strategies for Tribal Development* by Hooja (2004) and *Who Cares for Tribal Development* by Naresh Kumar Vaid (2004).

2.1.13 Tribal Development Models in India

There are three important approaches to tribal development in the Indian context. They are - (a) assimilation (b) isolation and (c) integration.

2.1.13.1 Assimilation

Assimilation is considered as a universal phenomenon. The process of assimilation happens because of the contact and accommodation of different cultures. Ogburm and Nimkoff (1955) define assimilation as the "process whereby individuals or groups once dissimilar become similar and identical in their outlook" (p. 64). Assimilation may happen impulsively or by force. Cultural adaptations and assimilation take place due to migration, extension of knowledge delivery system, religious reasons, national interest and development process. Forced assimilation integrates the weaker cultures into the 'rich' culture. Assimilation is one of the ways of dealing with tribal problems. S. Rao (2012) points out that assimilation advocated by social

reforms and voluntary organizations assist and encourage the tribal communities to assimilate themselves with the mainstream of national life. This approach focuses on changing tribal life conditions to mainstream cultural frame and impose modern development practices on them. In the context of resettlement, there is a wide scope of assimilation due to cultural mingling and developmental inclusion in the resettlement area.

2.1.13.2 Isolation

Isolation or segregation is another approach to tribal development. According to this approach, the tribal communities are voluntary excluded from the mainstream society and they live in their distinct cultural and traditional life. Here, 'isolation' refers to the phenomenon where a group or community is separated from the mainstream society in terms of culture, way of life and residence. This approach was put forward on the assumption that tribes would be better in their natural settings. Elwin (1939) recommended that the tribes must be kept in reserved areas at a distance from the mainstream society. It would help them to preserve their autonomous identity and save them from all kinds of discrimination. According to R. S Mann (1983), there should be regulations to minimize the contact between tribal and non-tribal sections. These regulations also restrict the transfer of land to non-tribes coming from outside and thereby prevent tribal land alienation.

2.1.13.3 Integration

Vidyarthi (1981) opines that the theory of integration is a Nehruvian model of tribal development. It totally rejects the isolation and assimilation

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approaches of tribal development. While isolation treats the tribes as museum specimens, assimilation forces them to blend in with the mainstream crowd. The integration policies help to make the tribes an integral part of the Indian society without affecting their cultural and traditional life. Rath (2006) explains that the policies are developed on the basis of protective and promotional measures. It also focuses on the overall development of the tribal communities which includes health, education, economic development, housing, sanitation, legal aid etc. S. Rao (2012) analyses the benefits of the integration approach to tribal development. He points out that Integration provides the benefits of modern society to tribal communities through protective and promotional policies and programs.

2.1.14 Political Participation

Mohapatra (2006) explains that political participation is an important component of a democratic system. It provides moral dignity and opportunity to express opinions and views. In India, political participation is considered as a civil duty of a citizen. There are four major components in political participation - (a) participation in decision making (b) participation in implementation of development programs (c) monitoring and evaluation of programs (d) participation in sharing the benefits of development. Although tribal communities involve in democratic activities, it is not really very effective. Poor literacy level, lack of support from non-tribes and civil societies, and poor implementation of laws by government authorities are the main issues faced by tribal communities in political participation.

Anjanayya and Sreeramulu (2012) examine political inclusion through representation and its benefits for the empowerment of Scheduled Tribes in India. It delves into the merits of political representation and explicates how political presence and participation can empower the tribal society. Hembrom (2017) analyses the political participation of tribal people in administration on the basis of a case study held at Mayurbhanj in Odisha. Geethanadan (2003) discusses the importance of *Oorukuttams* in the Aralam Resettlement area. He points out that the coming together of several tribes at Aralam may naturally give rise to conflicts in the Resettlement area. Hence, the formation of *Oorukootams* or Grama Sabha from the outset is a must.

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SECTION II
TRIBAL LAND AND RESETTLEMENT

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2.2.1 Land Alienation and Tribal Society

Land alienation or 'land grab' is the process of appropriating and acquiring land belonging to an individual, group or community by another individual, group, community or even by the government using socio-economic and political power. Accordingly, tribal land alienation is the forceful taking over and 'grabbing' of land belonging to the tribal people. This has been a continuous process over the years and is one of the major issues faced by the tribal communities (Geethanandan, 2016). There are numerous scholarly studies and investigations on land alienation, land grabbing and landlessness experienced by the tribal people. S.L. Rao et al. (2006) in their study on tribal land alienation in Andra Pradesh, highlighted the impact and policy concerns of

displacement. The main source of tribal land alienation is development projects. The paper provided a historical view of tribal land alienation in the state. During the colonial era, feudalism played an important role in alienating tribal people from their land. Migration of non-tribal people to tribal areas made negative effects in the tribal regions. Exploitation and marginalization was a common phenomenon during this period. After Independence, development projects displaced tribal people from their home land. S. L. Rao et al. (2006) accessed the impact and implications of land alienation. Alienation greatly affects the livelihood of the tribes. To prevent this, the State Government of Andra Pradesh implemented Andra Pradesh Land Regulation Act (1959). But it has failed to safeguarded tribal land in an effective manner. The study pointed out that restoration of alienated tribal land is not possible in the present situation. The diversification of livelihood with support of positive discrimination may be possible.

Rupavath (2009) makes a historical survey of the process of tribal land alienation since the colonial period. He looks at the pattern of socio-economic development of tribes and the tribal political movements in Andhra Pradesh, India. He also talks about entry of non-tribal sections to tribal areas and its consequences on the tribal society.

Kashyap (2010) conducted a detailed enquiry into land alienation and tribal society. Dalapati (2016) links tribal land alienation with the marginalization and exclusion faced by the tribal communities in India. In his famous work titled Tribal Land Alienation and Marginalization (2016), he

analyses the situation of the Kandh and Indic people in Kalahandi district of Odisha. Shroff (2013) discusses the legal framework associated with tribal land alienation, landlessness and restoration of land. He looks into the laws and other legal notifications and orders related to tribal land alienation, restriction of transfer of tribal land and implementation of land reforms in Odisha.

Accrding to Ganesh (2017), the concept of private property was not prevalent among the tribal communities of Kerala as they believed in communal life. During that period, people could occupy any place and they have shared everything among the community members. This system has been changing due to the influence of modernity. The tribal society has gone through socio-cultural and economic transformation through rapid modernization process. It has made great effects on their life patterns and traditions. Venu (2017) has discussed about the changes that occur in the society through theoretical views. India is a socially and culturally diverse nation in the world. Government of India has been implementing many policies and programs for the upliftment of the weaker sections of the society include tribes. This programs and policies are based on the principles of modernity and aims to mainstream these communities.

2.2.2 Displacement and Resettlement of Tribes in India

Varma (2017) discusses displacement and its consequences on Indian tribal communities due to development projects. The British government provided some provisions to protect tribal land. After Independence, tribal land was protected under the Article 244, specified land as scheduled area and tribal

area. Schedules V and VI of the Constitution of India provides administrative provisions for protection and development of tribal communities (Agrawal and Chaturvedi, 2017). However various developmental measures and projects have threatened the security of tribal land. Their land has been acquired for different public and private development proposals, which includes construction of dams, irrigation and power plants, mines and industries. Consequently the tribal communities in India lost their traditional land and habitats. Since 1951 to 2000, 21.5 million people were displaced in India. This includes 17 million for construction of dams, 2.1 million for mining projects, 1.3 million by various industries and 1.1 million for other such projects (R. Varma, 2017).

Table 2.1 Displacement and Resettlement of Tribes in India (in lakhs)

Region	Displaced Tribes	Percentage	Resettled Tribes	Percentage
Dams	63.21	38.5	15.81	25.0
Mines	13.30	52.20	3.30	25.0
Industries	3.13	25.0	0.80	25.0
Wildlife Protection	4.5	75.5	1.00	22.0
Other	1.25	25.0	0.25	20.2
Total	85.39	40.9	21.16	25.0

Source: (Sahadevan, 2016)

The above Table 2.1 indicates the number and percentage of tribal population who were displaced on account of several developmental projects, namely, construction of dams, mines, industries and for wildlife protection. Accordingly, construction of dams resulted in the displacement of the largest

number of tribes. Out of the 63.21 lakhs (38.5%) tribal people who were displaced due to construction of dams, only 15.81 lakhs (15%) were resettled. The second most significant factor that caused tribal displacement is mining. While mines displaced about 13.30 lakhs (52.20%) tribes, a mere 3.30 lakhs were resettled (25%).The setting up of industries resulted in the displacement of 30.13 lakhs (25%) tribal people, out of which only 0.80 lakhs (25%) were resettled. The next prime causative factor for tribal displacement is wildlife protection and it displaced about 4.5 lakhs tribes (75.5%) followed by the resettlement of 0.25 lakhs (20.2%) of the displaced tribal section. A number of other factors displaced about 1.25 lakhs (25%) tribes out of which 0.25 lakhs (25%) were resettled. Summing up, one finds that out of the 85.39 lakhs (40.9%)tribes who were displaced due to various factors, a mere 21.16 lakhs (25%) tribes were resettled.

R. Varma (2017) has conducted detailed enquiries on the forceful taking away of tribal land in different parts of India. The condition of tribes in states like Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha paint before us a clear and a complete portrait of the pathetic life of the tribes in India. In these areas, one comes across numerous instances of taking away of tribal land through manipulation of the existing laws and legal system. There are reports which point to the fact that several national and international companies like SR Stills, Avantha Group of Companies, Videocon etc. have played a key role in taking over large parts of tribal land in the eastern part of the nation. For instance, out of the 2000 acres of land acquired by SR Stills in Jagatsinghpur in Orissa for setting up a

plant, 1663 acres belonged to the villagers. A large part of the tribal land in Satpura mountain ranges in Madhya Pradesh are being used for illegal mining purposes. Although a number of complaints have been registered against it, no action has been taken so far. Reports state that in Jharkhand alone, about 15, 45,947 acres of land has been taken over in the period 1951-1995. What is shocking is that about 65-70 % of land belonged to the tribes. In the same period, about 23 lakhs people in Orissa were forced to move out from their land. Here too, 42.02% were *adivasis* (Ekka and Asif, 2000). The above reports clearly indicate how developmental projects in most Indian states have severely affected the life of the tribes. One observes two traits here - (a) majority of the tribes depend on their land, hills, forests, rivers etc. for their livelihood and when these are taken over for developmental projects, these people are left helpless and devastated (b) the resettlement and rehabilitation of the tribes who are displaced from their land is hardly paid any attention.

Apart from the taking over of tribal land by corporate institutions and governmental agencies for commercial, industrial and developmental purposes, it has also now become common for individuals (business men and money lenders) to take over tribal land. The portion of land taken over from the tribes in such a manner is indeed appalling. A report on tribal land prepared by the Department of Land Resources, GoI, for the period 2007-08 states that about 5,06,307 cases have been filed in various courts in 12 states. 9,02,417 acres of tribal land has been caught up in such legal entanglements. Among these 2,25,343 cases (about 5,00,376 acres of land) were judged in favor of the tribes.

However one can't be sure that the land has been returned to their rightful owners. About 1,99,000 cases (4.11 lakhs acres of land) were rejected by the court (Xaxa Committee Report, 2014). Although there are laws to protect the tribes in such cases, the latter find it difficult to get good lawyers to fight their cases.

2.2.3 Reasons for Tribal Displacement and Resettlement

There are many reasons behind the displacement and resettlement of tribal communities in India. Some of the major land factors which lead to displacement of tribal people from their native land are land acquisition, taking over tribal land for various development projects such as construction of dams and power generation plants, forceful taking over of tribal land by business men and money lenders, and migration.

2.2.3.1 Land Acquisition

Land acquisition is the process of acquiring private land by the central or state government for the purpose of infrastructural development and industrialization, with compensation to the affected population (Sahadevan, 2016). Ramanathan (2009) points out the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 gives the government the right to take away or acquire land for developmental purposes. The law which was put into effect by the colonial government for its selfish goals was shamelessly continued by the new democratic government after independence. The two clauses under the pretext of which government acquires land from the people are 'eminent domain' and 'public purpose'. The term 'eminent domain' implies that the 'interest of the entire society is always

greater than that of the individuals'. Thereby the nation gets the power to take over the land of individuals for the 'greater common good'. The worst victims of such clauses are none other than the tribes whose land is often taken away from them without being paid adequate compensation. Over the years there have been several laws to protect the land and rights of tribes. However the irony is that the same constitution which ensures the protection of tribes enables the government to take away their land by providing the legal backup under the clause 'eminent domain' or the 'greater common good'.

2.2.3.2 Development Projects

According to Sahadevan (2016), the development projects are implemented pre and post independent period which aims to infrastructure development of the country which displaced significant number of people in the various part of nation. When India made her glorious journey from the pre-independent era to the post-independent one, the sufferings of the tribes became endless. The leaders of the independent nation continued the colonial policy of exploitation of the natural environment and human labor. The tribes were the ones who were most affected by the exploitation of environmental resources. The number of tribal people who have been displaced from their land on account of developmental projects (e.g.: hydro-electric projects) is indeed alarming. Sahadevan (2016) points out that about 25 million hectares of land in India were taken over for developmental purposes in the years between 1947 and 2000. Out of this, 7 million hectares was forest land while 6 million hectares of land belonged to the general public. Official reports state that about

60 million people were displaced for developmental projects out of which 44% were the local tribes. This clearly indicates the heavy cost that the tribes have paid for the progress of the nation (Suresh, 2014). Reports suggest that about 3300 multipurpose dams have constructed in India and the construction of most of these has resulted in the displacement of large sections of people, the majority of them being tribes. The general public was made aware of the hardships faced by the tribes due to such developmental projects through the Narmada Bachao Andolan. Till now there has been no serious thought about the resettlement of the displaced tribes or about their existence. There are also instances where the statistics and reports released by the government project an altogether different version of reality. Studies by several independent agencies also point to the fact that the various state governments are often not completely true. For instance, there are thousands of tribal people who are excluded from the population census.

2.2.3.3 Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another in search of a proper means of living (Portes and Wind, 2004). Migration of non-tribal population to the hilly areas traditionally inhabited by the tribal communities is a common phenomenon in India. It has resulted in the large-scale displacement of the tribal sections (Mathew, 2011). I.B Roy (2003) indicates that migration from rural to urban areas has increased tremendously in the last two decades. This trend is prevalent even among the tribal population. However the lack of exact figures regarding the migration of the

tribal population poses a serious threat to a thorough understanding of the socio- economic conditions of the tribes. This also creates a major obstacle in formulating policies for the improvement of their lifestyle. There are diverse reasons for the migration of the tribes - starvation, famine and drought, developmental projects, deforestation etc. The situation of the tribes becomes all the more deplorable due to other factors such as their lack of education or absence of adequate legal help etc. The poorest tribes in India live in Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and Telangana, and they are the least paid laborers in Indian cities (Kispotta, 2002). This situation is worsened by the fact that none of the government agencies display an interest in their betterment. Consequently these tribal laborers are not only compelled to work for minimal wages, they also work in dangerous situations without adequate safety measures. Hence they are bound to lead a hellish existence. The plight of the tribal womenfolk is even more lamentable. Most of them end up as victims of sexual exploitation and are often forced to return to their native villages.

2.2.3.4 Construction of Dams

According to Alvares and Billorey (1998) construction of big multipurpose dams was a rare phenomenon in pre-independent India. The practice followed in those days was to construct small dams and canals to meet local or regional water requirements. Besides, the maximum height of the dams built in those days was 15-20 m. Across the nation, there were only about thirty- nine dams whose height was more than 30m (Central Board of Irrigation and Power Report, 1979). On the contrary, in post-independent India, dams

were seen as one of the major indicators and markers of economic prosperity and development. Bhakra, Hirakud, Tungabhadra, Damodar Valley etc, are some of the earliest multipurpose river valley projects in India (Sanghvi, 2002). In fact, discussions on such hydroelectric projects began even before the actual independence. The words of Jawaharlal Nehru who described dams as 'temples of modern India' reflect the attitude of then leaders.

A presentation conducted by the National Hydropower Corporation in the Lok Sabha in 2013 pointed out that there are about 3300 multipurpose dams in India (Sahadevan, 2016). The point to be noted here is that even though generation of electricity in India increased about 1000 times due to such hydroelectric projects, about 40% of the villages in India are still enveloped in darkness. Similarly even though the government has spent about 80,000 crores for irrigation alone (Roy and Andrews, 1999), the number of drought affected areas increase each year. However our policy makers have been least interested in such glaring facts. They have always exhibited a greater interest in maintaining the existing status quo.

The construction of dams is the leading cause for the displacement of large numbers of people. A study conducted by the Indian Institute for Public Administration on the basis of 54 multipurpose dams revealed that the construction of a single multipurpose dam results in the displacement of an estimated 44,182 people. Accordingly about 14,58,00,600 people in India have been displaced for the construction of 3300 dams. There are various studies and

reports regarding such displacement. However none of these offer us a clear picture of the situation.

A study by W. Fernandez et al. (2015) brings to light the disturbing fact that more than 63 lakhs tribes in India have been displaced on account of the construction of huge dams. S. Singh (2002) points out those developmental projects in India have displaced about 60 million people. Most of these people who were displaced for the construction of big dams were forced to move out of their place by force or by threat and one comes across numerous examples to prove it. Saxena (2012) also points out that often the government has been unwilling or careless to provide such people with timely and enough information about how their villages might be submerged under water due to the construction of huge multipurpose dams. In such cases, the tribes are all the more neglected. The forceful displacement of people using the state machinery makes people lose their faith in the existing political system. A committee formed in reaction to the Sreesailam Project revealed that lakhs of people in India have been forcefully displaced for the construction of hundreds of dams (Sreesailam Project Fact Finding Committee,1986).There have been numerous struggles and protest against such displacement. Mulshi Satyagraha in Pune in Maharashtra was one of the first protests against the construction of dams in the world. The period 1963-64 witnessed widespread protest against the Rihand dam in Bihar. The protest was led by eminent individuals such as Dr. Rammanohar Lohya. The protest against the Silent Valley project in Kerala during the mid-seventies is the first successful protest of this kind (Sahadevan,

2016). Similarly projects such as Bhopalpattanam, Ichampally, Bodhgath were also stopped due to public protests. However over the years the government has managed to put down such struggles. For instance, many projects which were initially abandoned due to public protests were successfully completed later.

Paranjpye (1990) also discusses about construction of dams in post-independent India. Construction of multipurpose dams in India increased during the time of the Green revolution. Ever since then, there have been numerous studies on how the Green revolution has altered our agricultural sector. The manner in which the resultant changes affected the ordinary farmers in India has been pointed out by the famous environmental activist Shiva (1994).

According to Mohanthy (2011), the fact that the planning officials still take a positive stand on the construction of multipurpose dams in spite of numerous studies that have brought to light the social, financial and environmental problems associated with it clearly brings out the latent politics behind such dams. The victims of such dams are primarily the tribal section. One notices a considerable presence of tribes in most of the protests and struggles against the construction of dams in India. Most of these protests such as the ones in Narmada and Tehri began under the leadership of the tribes. One can rightly say that environmental struggles in India began under the leadership of the tribal section.

2.2.4 Resettlement Models

There are two significant theoretical frameworks or models of resettlement - (a) Relocation theory proposed by Scudder and Colson (1982) and (b) Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM) proposed by Michael M. Cernea (1999).

2.2.4.1 Relocation Theory

Relocation theory was developed by Scudder and Colson (1982) based on the study of resettlement related to Kariba dam, Zambezi, in 1952. The study focused on the impact of resettlement and also on the transformation associated with resettlement. According to this theory there are four stages involved in resettlement - (a) recruitment (b) transition (c) development and (d) incorporation. In the recruitment phase, the concerned authorities (policy makers and government officials) formulate plans for resettlement process. In the second stage (transition stage), the authorities inform people regarding their relocation or resettlement. In this stage, people learn about their coming relocation, which leads to stress and other problems. The third is development stage. It deals with how people cope with the new situation after the resettlement process and their efforts to develop. People start to rebuild their economy and social networks. In the incorporation stage, people may hold the production system and leadership in the community level. According to this theory, the resettled people feel at home in the new community from their second generation onwards. The study also points out that people undergoing relocation react in a predictable and broadly similar way "partly because of

stress of relocation limits the range of coping responses of those involved"
(Scudder and Colson, 1982, p. 32). However the theory has faced a lot of
criticism especially in its explanation of involuntary resettlement.

2.2.4. 2 Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM)

The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM) was
proposed by Cernea (1999). Resettlement is a complex process and it makes
change in the socio-economic and cultural life of people. Many resettlement
projects took place in different countries after industrialization due to heavy
projects like construction of dams and mines. The process of reconstruction
may be a difficult task for people and policy-makers. It is a huge responsibility
on the part of responsible authorities and government for good implementation
of resettlement and rehabilitation.

Cernea (1999) has developed a comprehensive model of
Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model for the reconstruction of
livelihood and living conditions of displaced people. The model helps to
analyze, monitor and evaluate resettlement projects. The model points out the
important impoverishment dimensions, which occur in the resettlement
process- (a) Landlessness (b) Joblessness (c) Homelessness (d) Marginalization
(e) Increasing mobility and morbidity (f) Food insecurity (g) Loss of access to
common property and (h) Social disarticulation.

Resettlement affects social capital, human capital, man-made capital,
and natural capital. Resettlement policies should help people to regain these
capitals. The IRR model aims at socio-economic reconstruction and also

emphasizes preparation of proper plans. Before carrying out a resettlement project, the authorities should make a resettlement plan. Proper monitoring after resettlement is also important. According to Cernea (1999), impoverishment from displacement is not inevitable, it is preventable. The resettled people's development and welfare programs should focus on prevention of impoverishment. IRR techniques can be used as a tool for analyzing the impact of resettlement and it also provides methodological clarity. Many researchers have used this model to analyze the impact of resettlement. The key concepts of this theoretical model are impoverishment (risk) and re-establishment.

2.2.5 International Concern on Resettlement and Rehabilitation

United Nations High Commission for Refugee (UNHCR) Resettlement Handbook (2011) it is a key reference on global resettlement of refugees. It includes the UNHCR policy and practice of resettlement. It discusses the international legal framework, historical aspect of resettlement, refugee status, and management and implementation strategies for effective resettlement. UNHCR refers to resettlement as "the selection and transfer of refugees from a state in which they have sought protection to a third state which has agreed to admit them as refugees with permanent settlement" (UNHCR, 2011, p. 12).

The resettlement of refugees mainly started during the period between First and Second World Wars. It was undertaken by the International Refugee Protection System. In the 1920s, some 45,000 people who moved from Russia to China due to the Russian revolution were resettled. In the 1930s the Jews

were successfully resettled by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). The mandate of the IROs was to protect the refugees of Second World War, those who are scattered in the European subcontinent. The Cold War between the nations negatively affected the process of resettlement. But from 1947 to 1951, the IRO resettled over a million people in different parts of the world. The IRO was replaced by United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and work for resettlement of war victims. To resolve the situation of landlessness they have adopted voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has proposed guidelines for resettlement in *Resettlement Guidance and Good Practice* (2017). It provides an overview about the resettlement planning and implementation process, roles and responsibilities in resettlement, specific issues and potential challenges and good practice of resettlement. The relocation may create some possible impact in the community, such as (a) loss of land and access to natural resources (b) homelessness (c) loss of job and sources of livelihood (d) reduces access to market (e) severe impoverishment (f) increased mobility and (g) dislocation from social networks. The report contains comprehensive measures to restore the capacity of the resettled people. The legislative review, census, socio-economic survey, asset inventory and valuation eligibility, stakeholder engagement, entitlement measures, and livelihood restoration and resettlement are the major solutions.

2.2.6 Evaluation of Major Resettlement Projects

Cernea (1999) talks about the current paradigms of research on resettlement. He points out that resettlement researchers mainly focus only on the anthropological and social aspect. The argument is that economic research on displacement and rehabilitation is also an integral part for policy making. The integration of social and economic knowledge will help to develop the resettlement policy and project implementation. He also describes in detail the risks involved in resettlement such as landlessness, joblessness, marginalization and discrimination.

Goyal (1996) analyzed the economic angle of resettlement and rehabilitation. She highlighted the impact of absence of a national policy on resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced people due to development projects. Millions of people have been displaced because of development projects all over the world. There are some provisions in the Land Acquisition act 1894 for protection of the rights of displaced people. But it is insufficient to solve their issues related to relocation. So a well-designed national policy on resettlement and rehabilitation is mandatory for the development of displaced people.

Garikipati (2002) conducted a survey among the displaced people of Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP). The SSP is a dam project in Narmada river for power generation and water supply. As a result, 4000 families have been displaced from Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The study was carried out in Krit, Kani and Kapi resettlement areas.

Mullavarapa (2006) conducted an action-oriented anthropological study on development, displacement and resettlement of tribal communities in West Godavari of Andra Pradesh, India. The Kovvada reservoir project resulted in the displacement of 140 tribal households. The paper explored the story of land alienation and exploitation. The author stated vehemently that displacement involves injustices and violation of constitutional rights of tribal communities. Improper implementation of resettlement policy and distribution of compensation are the major issues related with relocation. In India, one observes execution of resettlement based on ad-hoc policies of a particular project. A comprehensive resettlement and development policy is still absent. In Kovvada project too, there are some issues in resettlement process. Due to inadequate rehabilitation measures the tribal communities are divided into different functional groups and they have lost their unity. It leads to different kinds of socio-political exploitation.

Patkar (1998) in her paper on "People's Policy on Development and Displacement" has discussed the issues related to the resources and rights of displaced people. The major struggles against the development projects come from the deprived sections of the society mainly for an equitable and humane resettlement. She points out that the basic principles of present development policies are liberalization, globalization and privatization.

De Haan and Dubey (2005) conducted a study on displacement among the tribes of Orissa. In Orissa, a large number of development projects took place after the Independence. It led to displacement of tribal communities of

the region. The tribal areas of Orissa were rich in natural resources. Therefore many national and international companies have set up their companies in Orissa. More than 7 lakhs people have been displaced so far and 15 lakhs people lost their land without physical displacement. Hirakund, Machkund, Balimcla, Utkal Alumia, Vedatha Project and Reliance Thermal Project are some of the major projects in Orissa. Such displacements create a negative impact on tribal communities and a constructive solution for their problem has not yet been devised. The study concludes that it is impossible to arrive at an immediate practical solution to deal with development and tribal displacement. A thorough policy framework is needed to solve it.

2.2.7 Aralam Tribal Resettlement

Sreelekha (2010) made a study on the socio-political aspect of landlessness and tribal resettlement. The study provides a historical view of the resettlement process at Aralam. The land reform movement in Kerala treated the tribal communities in a rather negative manner. The Government of Kerala sabotaged the land rights of tribes through Kerala Restriction on Transfer and Restoration of Land to Scheduled Tribes Act, 1999. Accordingly the restoration of tribal land was stopped. Therefore the Government was compelled to provide alternative land for the tribal communities. Aralam Tribal Resettlement is one among them. Sreelekha (2010) looks in to the effect of land reform movements, tribal land struggles, rehabilitation, strategies of eviction, and legal aspects of tribal resettlement. Her study mainly highlights the influence of political intervention on a vulnerable community. The politicians and

bureaucrats are exploiting the communities in different way. Hence the question of tribal development is still in dilemma.

Yahiya (2014) studied about the mental health of the resettled Paniyas (a tribal community) of Aralam. The study focused on the impact of marginalization and situation of landlessness on their mental health. He opines that the cultural discontinuity which happened in the Paniya tribe after resettlement has created different issues like depression, alcoholism, suicidal tendency, and violence. The relocation has affected individual members, families and the tribal community as a whole. The experience of resettlement resulted in a loss of social network in the community. The effect of marginalization still exists among them as a dilemma. Hence marginalization and landlessness negatively affects the mental health of tribal communities.

2.3 Identification of Research Gap

On the basis of a review of existing literature on tribal resettlement, one can safely arrive at certain conclusions. There are extensive studies conducted in the context of resettlement and development. These studies mainly focus on the impact of displacement and rehabilitation of people. They also discuss the role of the state in resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced communities. But there are limited studies which focus exclusively on the tribal resettlement and its impacts. Similarly there are very few studies on tribal resettlement in Kerala.

Hence the review of literature clearly pinpoints at certain gaps in the existing body of research on tribal resettlement, especially in the context of Kerala. The following research gap has been identified:

1. There is an absence of studies on voluntary tribal resettlement. Most of the studies are based on involuntary resettlement following displacement mainly due to developmental projects and calamities.

2. Majority of the studies focus on the impact of displacement and its effects. There are very less studies which emphasize the socio- cultural and economic changes among resettled people.

3. There are hardly any studies on the resettlement and development of tribes in Kerala, especially on voluntary tribal resettlement projects in Kerala.

4. There are limited studies conducted on Aralam Tribal Resettlement, which is Asia's biggest resettlement. The existing studies on Aralam Resettlement focus on the political and health related dimensions of resettlement.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed various studies on tribal resettlement. A review of the existing scholarly works in this area revealed the missing zones of research on tribal resettlement in Kerala. This helped to identify and formulate the research gap and variables of the study. The next chapter discusses the methodology employed in the study.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is an essential aspect of every research. It comprises of a well-organized and careful theoretical examination of the methods employed in the study. It involves systematically solving the research problem and providing scientific values (Kothari, 2017). The purpose of the study is to examine tribal resettlement and development in Kerala on the basis of Aralam Tribal Resettlement, Kerala. The present chapter deals with the method and design used in the study. It also explicates the various steps that have been adopted by the researcher to analyze the research problem while also providing the reasons for choosing the appropriate techniques.

3.1 Area of Study

The study was conducted at Aralam Tribal Resettlement situated near the northern most wildlife sanctuary (Aralam Wildlife Sanctuary) of Kerala in Kannur district. In 1970, Aralam was established as an agricultural farm under the control of the Central Government. Coconut, cocoa, rubber, and pepper were the major crops cultivated in the farmland. However, the government later decided to sell the farm as it turned out to be an unprofitable venture. The State Government of Kerala purchased the farm, with the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) fund, for the rehabilitation of landless tribal people as per the post-Muthanga agreement of 2004 (Sreelekha, 2010). One half of the land was set apart for resettlement of landless tribes and the other half was transferred to a State Government owned company - Aralam Farming Corporation. The company

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was meant for the welfare of the resettled tribes at Aralam. The resettlement project started with effect from 2006, and nearly 3500 landless tribal families were resettled at Aralam farm. The concerned authority constituted for the welfare of the resettled tribes is Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) as per the Government order G.O (P) No.63/2001/SCSTDD dated 09.11.2001.

Though certain infrastructural facilities like housing and roads had already been constructed on the farm land, other aspects such as the right to lead a decent life were continuously jeopardized by the concerned authorities. This included protection from wildlife, adequate employment opportunities, support for agriculture and also enabling the tribes to live in harmony with nature. Hence several tribal families returned to their native places.

At the time of the study, there were 3375 families from 10 distinct tribal communities at Aralam Resettlement area. Most of them were from the district of Kannur and belonged to the Paniya community. The rest were from different parts of Kerala. The researcher observed a high rate of heterogeneity among the rehabilitated tribes. Aralam Tribal Resettlement came under Aralam Grama Panchayat of Irrity Block Panchayat, Kannur.

Figure 3.1 Study Area - Aralam
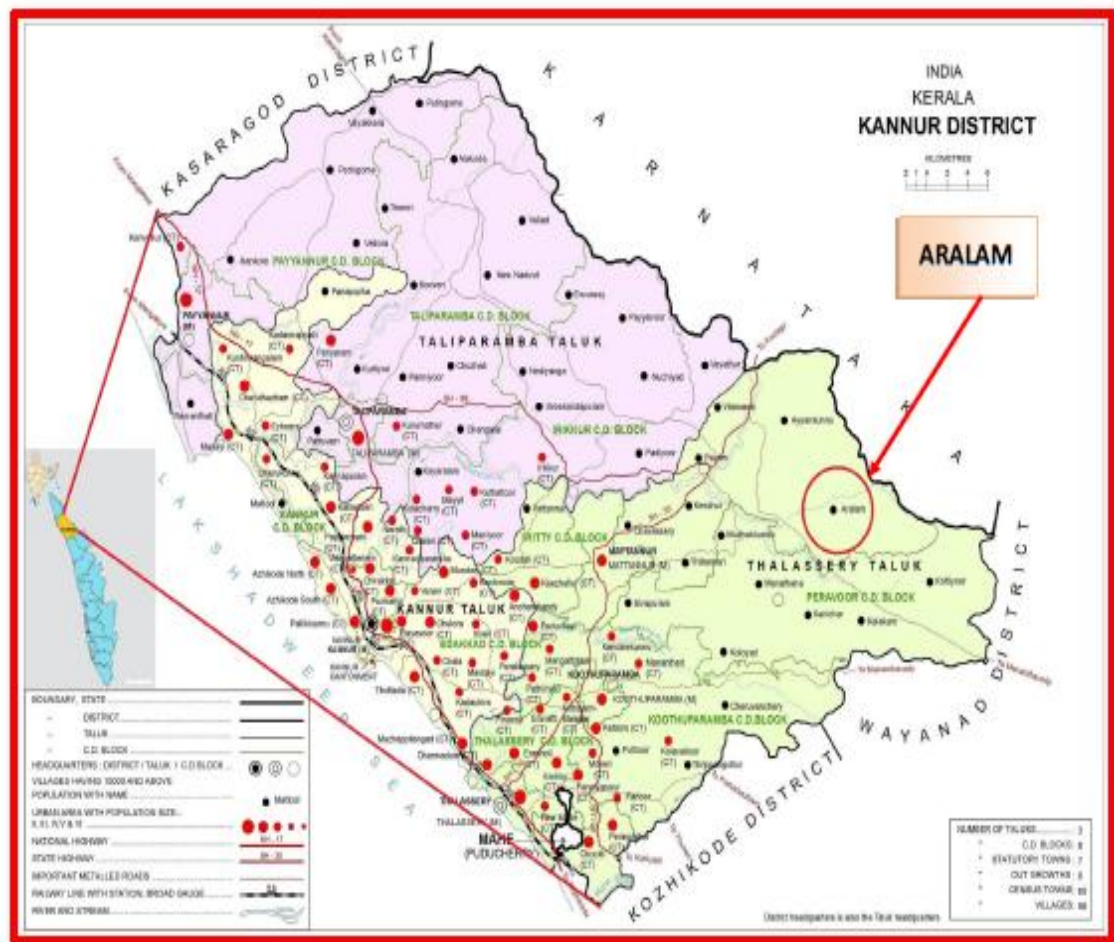
3.2 Research Design

The study focused on the post-Resettlement life and various changes among the resettled tribal communities at Aralam following the Resettlement. Descriptive research design was employed for the study. It is more specific as it directs attention to particular aspects or dimensions of the research problem (Y.K Singh, 2006). It aims to identify the various characteristics of an institution, or community under the study (Krishnaswami and Ranganathan, 2005). Both qualitative and quantitative data was used to analyze the post-Resettlement life among the tribes of Aralam. The researcher began with the qualitative research phase to comprehend the interaction with respondents on

life after the Resettlement, changes in multiple aspects and views on the very process of resettlement. The use of quantitative research in the second phase enabled the researcher to grasp the economic condition, livelihood assets, infrastructure, and opportunities available to the tribes at Aralam. The study explored various aspects such as the resettlement strategies, vulnerability of life and dependence on the state within the framework of the descriptive research design.

3.3 Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework provides an overall dimension about the research and also helps to make more meaningful relationship with the variables concerned. "A conceptual framework explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main dimensions to be studied - the key factors, or variables- and presumed relationships among them" (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 76). Based on the review of literature and the theoretical frame work, the researcher has made a conceptual map which describes the life of the resettled tribes and the challenges they face at Aralam.

Figure 3.2 Conceptual Framework
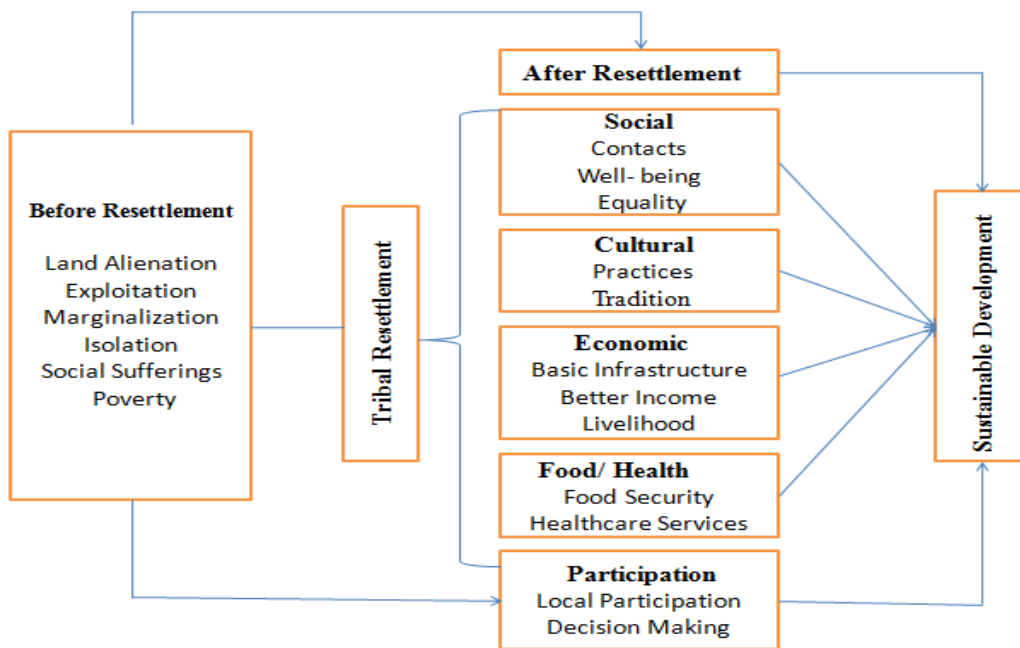
The study primarily focuses on the life of the tribes at Aralam following the Resettlement. Prior to the Resettlement, the tribal people were victims of land alienation, exploitation, marginalization and poverty. One of the worst problems which affected them economically, socially and culturally was alienation from their native land. It was in such a context that the idea of tribal resettlement was developed and it aimed at the sustainable development of the tribes. The post-Resettlement life of the tribal families at Aralam is analyzed on the basis of several parameters related to their social, cultural, economic, health and political life.

3.3.1 Social Factors

There are various social factors that ought to be carefully examined in order to comprehend the life of the resettled tribes at Aralam. The tribal way of life is characterized by an extreme attachment with each other and a close connection to their land. Land alienation thus has serious consequences on their

social life. Exploitation and marginalization by the dominant communities makes them more vulnerable and dependent on government welfare schemes and programs (Yahiya, 2014). The researcher analyzed and described the changes in literacy rate, social resources, social contact, and role of social organizations among the resettled tribes before and after the Resettlement.

3.3.2 Cultural Indicators

Culture is an integral element in the communal life of the tribal society. It plays an important role in shaping their life and social heritage. Hence changes in culture make a significant impact on the very dynamics of their existence (Geethandan, 2016). In the context of Aralam Tribal Resettlement, the researcher examined the changes in marriage, family system, traditional practices, beliefs and life styles.

3.3.3 Economic Condition

Tribal communities, in the ancient days, were totally dependent on natural resources to earn their livelihood. Collection of forest produce and agriculture were the major sources of livelihood. However this later changed mainly due to the introduction of government policies on the pretext of forest conservation. The tribal communities were gradually restricted from the forest areas (Hasnain, 2005). Land alienation and exploitation is thus the major obstacle in tribal economic development. The process of resettlement help them a piece of land and provides some economic aids. As part of scrutinizing the economic situation of the resettled tribes at Aralam, the researcher identified their household and other assets, occupational status, entrepreneurship development, scope of self-

employment, skill development activities and income generation process among the tribal communities of Aralam.

3.3.4 Food and Healthcare Services

The study examined the availability, quality and cost of food in the resettlement area. Availability, accessibility and utilization of healthcare services were the major concerns of the researcher in this section. The availability of healthcare services in remote tribal areas is literally absent. Most of the tribes have no access to healthcare facilities. In some cases, even when such facilities are available, the tribal communities are reluctant to make use of them due to various cultural factors (Babu, 2015). It also analyzed issues related to health such as diseases and substance abuse, namely use of tobacco and alcohol.

3.3.5 Political Participation

Aralam Tribal Resettlement was a well-planned process by the Government of Kerala. Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) prepared a general guideline for undertaking development activities in the resettlement areas. TRDM activities aimed at the sustainable development of the resettled tribes through an integrated approach. The study analyzed various services provided by government and civil societies for the well-being of the resettled communities. The main focus here was on the accessibility, utilization of government services, participation in *Oorukuttams*, effectiveness of TRDM and awareness of PESA among the resettled tribes at Aralam.

3.4 Sampling Design

The research problem for the study was prepared keeping in mind the researcher's interest in tribal studies, familiarity with the tribal way of life and most importantly the relevance of the topic in the contemporary era. There are ten distinct tribal communities residing at Aralam tribal resettlement area. Among them, at least 50% of the communities were selected randomly considering each considered as a cluster. Hence, five clusters constituted the study area and sample frame. Each household constituted a sample unit for the study. After the selection of communities, proportionate sampling technique was followed to select sample households from each of the selected clusters. 16% of the households were selected from total clusters. Finally household survey was carried out among the selected sample households. Hence sample size of the study is 501 tribal households residing at Aralam resettlement area. Finally household survey was conducted among the selected sample household. The scheme of sample selection is as follows:

Table 3.1 Scheme of Sample Selection

Name of Tribal Communities	Total No. of Households	Selected Households
Adiya	60	11
Kadar	1	
Kani	2	
Karimbala	336	55
Kattunayaka	21	
Kurichiya	231	40
Kurumar	19	
Mavilan	137	26
Paniya	2275	369
Urali Kurumar	12	
Total	**3094**	**501**

(Source: TRDM, 2013)

The resettled tribes at Aralam belong to different tribal communities such as Adiya, Kadar, Kani, Karimbala, Kattunayaka, Kurichiya, Kurumar, Mavilan, Paniya and Urali Kurumars. Majority of the tribal families at Aralam belong to the Paniya community. Among the 3094 tribal households at Aralam, 2275 are Paniyas. This is followed by the Karimbala, Kurichiya and Mavilan communities. The researcher has selected the tribal households for study keeping in mind the leading tribal communities at Aralam. Hence, out of the 501 tribal households selected for the study, 369 belong to the Paniya commmnuity, 55 to the Karimbara community, 40 to the Kurichiya community and 26 and 11 households are from the Mavilan and Adiya communities respectively.

3.5 Source of Data

The study employed both primary and secondary data. The secondary data was collected from different sources such as reports, records, and publications by government agencies and private sources. The researcher collected the secondary data from Tribal Development Department, TRDM, Aralam Panchayat Office and organizations like Gothra Mahasabha, Village Office and *anganwadi* centers. The collection of primary data from the resettled tribes at Aralam was done through different methods of data collection such as interview schedule, PRA techniques and Focus Group Discussion.

3.6 Tools for Data Collection

The primary objective of the study was to examine the life conditions of the resettled tribes at Aralam before and after the Resettlement. The information pertaining to their social, cultural, economic, and political life was collected from the field.

3.6.1 Interview Schedule

To study the socio-economic, cultural and political characteristics of the families, the interview schedule was used. The schedule was prepared on the basis of socio-economic, health and local level political participation aspect of the resettled tribes. Details of the Resettlement, housing, infrastructure, occupation, assets, skills, social welfare, agriculture, health, education and governance were the major components included in the schedule. Direct interaction with the tribal people helped to obtain relevant information about the study at Aralam.

The researcher made the respondents feel welcomed and relaxed. The researcher clearly indicated the objectives of the interview and pointed out the thrust areas to be addressed. The interviewer also provided certain pieces information to motivate the respondent to answer the questions and visited each and every household and observed their way of life.

3.6.2 Opinionnaire on Social Life

The opinionnaire was used to comprehend and study the social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam. This helped the researcher to get the opinion of the resettled tribes on various elements of their social life such as (a) the help

received from neighbors during family functions (b) help from locality (c) level of sympathizing with others in times of sorrow (d) relationship with relatives (e) contact with own tribe (f) help from community people (g) relationship with other tribal groups and (h) contact with non-tribal communities. The opinionnaire was used along with the interview schedule.

3.6.3 Participatory Rural Appraisal

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is a method of participatory learning and action. It has been broadly used in action, evaluation and developmental researches. Major applications of PRA are poverty assessment, assessment of vulnerability, sustainability livelihood analysis, organization analysis, monitoring and evaluation (Narayanaswami, 2009). Joseph (1990) described PRA as both an attitude and a method. PRA is a new approach and method in which rural people themselves do much of the investigation, presentation, analysis, planning and dissemination than has been normal in the past (Chambers, 1991).

The study made use of different techniques of PRA for data collection. Timeline was used to identify and historicize the process of tribal resettlement. It also enabled the researcher to comprehend the developmental activities carried out in the resettlement area.

3.6.3.1 Infrastructure Facility Schedule

Infrastructure facility schedule was used to identify the available infrastructural facilities in the Resettlement area. It includes basic amenities, educational facilities, healthcare facilities, organizations and associations and

other facilities. According to the general guidelines for undertaking development activities, all primary infrastructural facilities should be provided by the government in the Resettlement area. Through the Infrastructure facility schedule helped the researcher compare the available infrastructural facilities with government promises.

3.6.3.2 Timeline

Timeline is a PRA method for presenting changes, landmarks and events of a particular area in a chronological order. It is often a useful way of putting an individual's or a community's history into perspective by identifying the broad framework of events which shaped its past (Narayanaswami, 2009). This tool has been employed by the researcher to gather a historical perspective of tribal resettlement and different dimensions of tribal development. This has also helped to put the problem in a real perspective and to understand the trend of development.

3.6.4 Focus Group Discussion

The researcher held Focus Group Discussions with members of different tribal communities at Aralam. This was followed by simple random sampling where 15 individuals were selected and details were collected directly from them. Five FGDs were conducted in five blocks of Aralam Tribal Resettlement. The researcher invited the tribal people, both men and women from different communities with the help of the tribal promoter (appointed by the Tribal Development Department). In each section more than 15 members participated for the discussion. The FGDs took place in the resettlement area and all the

pre-arrangements were done by the Tribal Promoters and members of various SHG members. Chairs were arranged in a circular shape and members were made to sit comfortable for an effective discussion and expression of ideas. The researcher gave an introduction about the discussion topic and facilitated the members to talk. Each session lasted for a maximum of 2 hours. FGD format comprised of 19 item semi-structure format to identify the characteristics related to community life, land relationship, resettlement process, opportunities and challenges in the Resettlement area, socio-economic and cultural changes, and governing system. The researcher recorded all the discussion points properly. The Focus Group Discussion provided insights on resettlement life and issues related to livelihood and development.

3.7 Pilot Study

The researcher conducted a pilot study at the tribal resettlement area in Aralam. The objective of the research was to access the feasibility and possibility of the study. The researcher contacted TRDM officials, Aralam Panchayat, workers in the Health Department, Village Offices, Aralam Farm officials and also conducted house visits in the resettlement area. This process helped the researcher to identify the tribal people at Aralam who were willing to co-operate with the researcher and also other resources for the successful completion of the study. It also contributed to the construction of appropriate research tools.

3.8 Pre-Test

The Pre-test was conducted among 25 households of Aralam resettlement to collect primary information about the locality and people, and to organize the research tool. The researcher also conducted FGDs with the various members of SHGs in the Resettlement area. The researcher later modified the research tools on the basis of the pre test.

3.9 Data Collection

The researcher conducted field work at different periods of time at the Aralam Tribal Resettlement area. As it is considered as a restricted area by the Government of Kerala, the permission for data collection was obtained from the concerned authorities. The researcher availed the permission from the Chairman of the Aralam Tribal Resettlement (District Collector, Kannur). Aralam resettlement is also a Maoist threat area, and hence the researcher intimated the nearest police station regarding the research activities. The researcher stayed at the Resettlement area for 55 days with a tribal family, to collect the primary data related to the research. Meanwhile the researcher conducted house visits and contacted key persons and government officials in the Resettlement area. Being a member of a tribal community, the researcher was well accepted by the respondents. This also helped the researcher to build rapport with them. All the respondents co-operated well with the researcher. The data collection process included House Survey, Participatory Rural Appraisal and Focus Group Discussion. The data collection was done over a period of two months, from June 4 to July 29, 2017.

3.10 Analysis of Data

The data collected from different sources were subjected to sharp critical analysis. The obtained data was edited and codified for the study. The researcher adopted the method of analysis on the basis of the nature of the data as the study included both qualitative and quantitative data. Graphical presentation and percentage analysis was used to represent quantitative data with the help of SPSS. The data collected through interview schedule and socio-economic indicators was presented in a graphical and tabular format. t-test, chi square test and cross tabulation were used to understand the life condition of life of the tribal people before and after the Resettlement. The data gathered through group discussion and PRA was presented in a textual and pictorial format.

3.11 Conclusion

Hence the study employed various methods for data collection such as interview schedule, PRA, Focus Group Discussion and opinionnaire. These methods were selected keeping in mind the condition of the tribal communities at Aralam such as their low literacy level, inhibition to mingle freely with the researcher, and linguistic and problems. The next chapter discusses the findings of the research.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The present study discusses the life of tribes at Aralam with regard to the Resettlement. The researcher has taken qualitative and quantitative information of different aspects of tribal life at Aralam. In this chapter, the researcher presents the analysis of the study under six sections. The inception and a historical view of Aralam Tribal Resettlement has been presented in the first section. The social attributes of the different tribal communities settled in Aralam have been discussed in the second section. The third section deals with the cultural changes after resettlement and its impact on social institutions. The fourth section deals with features of the economic aspect of the resettled tribes. The fifth section examines the food and health determinants. And the sixth section provides the details about the governing system and its contributions for their socio-economic development.

SECTION I

INCEPTION OF ARALAM TRIBAL RESETTLEMENT

This section provides a brief description about the inception of Aralam Tribal Resettlement. It includes a historical overview of Aralam Tribal Resettlement, native place of the resettled tribes, and their life and constraints after the Resettlement. This has enabled the researcher to understand the

subjective perspective of the resettled tribes on resettlement, and to comprehend community related issues before and after the Resettlement.

4.1.1 Timeline of Aralam Tribal Resettlement

Aralam farm was a region sprawling over an area of approximately 12,500 acres. For a long time, it was in the hands of the landlords who once migrated to this area. Fertile soil, trees, clear water, and grasses made Aralam flourish. Even then there were ancestral houses of Paniyar and Kurichyar in the area. In 1948, the 5000-acre land adjacent to the farm was declared as forest area. The period 1950-1960 saw large scale non-tribal migration to various parts of this region from different parts of Kerala, mainly in search of employment opportunities.

From 1970 to 2004, the Central Government of India held the ownership of the farm. During this time, nearly 600 tribal families worked on the farm. Cashew, cocoa, rubber and coconut were the main crops cultivated in the farm. By the 1990s, the farm turned out to be highly unprofitable and many workers died due to famine. During the year 2000-2001 hundreds of tribal people died of starvation in Kerala. The tribal community launched a strike in front of the Kerala Secretariat and Chief Minister's residence for 48 days. Following numerous strikes and the Muthanga struggle for acquiring land, the Kerala government finally accepted the tribal demands and agreed to find land for tribal resettlement. Thus, in 2004, the State Government of Kerala bought Aralam farm for 42 crores from the Central Government. The required amount was spent from the tribal development fund namely Tribal Sub Plan Fund. In

2006, TRDM (Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission) started functioning at Aralam for land distribution and tribal resettlement. The TRDM invited applications from landless tribal families and distributed land among them accordingly.

The State Government of Kerala implemented the tribal resettlement scheme as per the government order 63/2001/SC ST DD dated 09.11.2001 with effect from 01.01.2002. Although the farm was purchased in 2004, the State Government did not immediately begin land distribution and resettlement. A fresh land assertion movement was started at Aralam farm in 2006 and thousands of landless tribal families moved to the farm land. The State Government agreed to distribute the farm land to landless tribes and constituted the concerned authority, TRDM, for the welfare of the resettled tribes. In the initial stage of Aralam Tribal Resettlement, 840 families received land at Aralam, and in the second stage 1517 families from the Kannur district were resettled in the area.

4.1.2 Aralam Tribal Resettlement Area

The selection of land for resettlement is the foremost step in the process of resettlement. In 2004, the State Government of Kerala selected Aralam farmland for tribal resettlement.

Figure 4.1 Aralam Resettlement Area
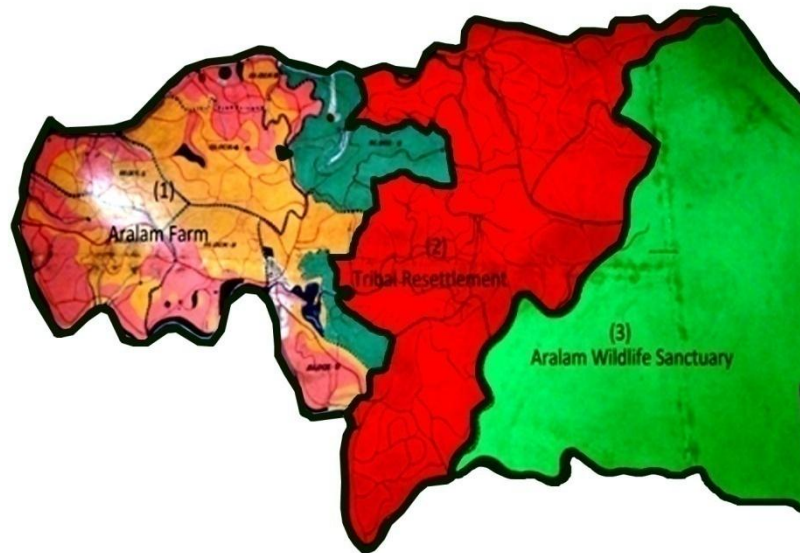
1) Aralam Farm 2) Aralam Tribal Resettlement 3) Aralam Wildlife Sanctuary

The boundaries of the Resettlement area are Aralam Farm and Aralam Wildlife Sanctuary as shown in Figure 4.1. The area is bounded by rivers on the other two sides. The whole land was purchased by the Tribal Department for the purpose of resettlement. But the authorities later divided the land into two- one portion was retained as farm and the other was given for tribal resettlement. While the area chosen for the farm had all facilities such as electricity, transportation, drinking water and market, the Resettlement area was far from such benefits and facilities. The border between the Resettlement area and the nearby wildlife sanctuary is just 21 km. The Forest Department

has failed to maintain proper fencing in this area. Although the selection of the Aralam Tribal Resettlement area was heavily criticized by tribal leaders and academic experts, no measures have been taken so far. Although the farmland belongs to the Tribal Department, it was registered as an autonomous company outside the control of the Department. According to the TSP regulation the tribal fund should not be used for purposes other than tribal development.

4.1.2 Year of Resettlement

In 2004, the TRDM selected the beneficiaries for the Aralam Tribal Resettlement from the applications received for the same. Land distribution in the Aralam Tribal Resettlement area started in 2006. 3094 families received an acre land each at Aralam. The present study focuses on the tribal resettlement at Aralam from 2006 to 2011.

Figure 4.2 Year of Resettlement of tribes at Aralam (%)
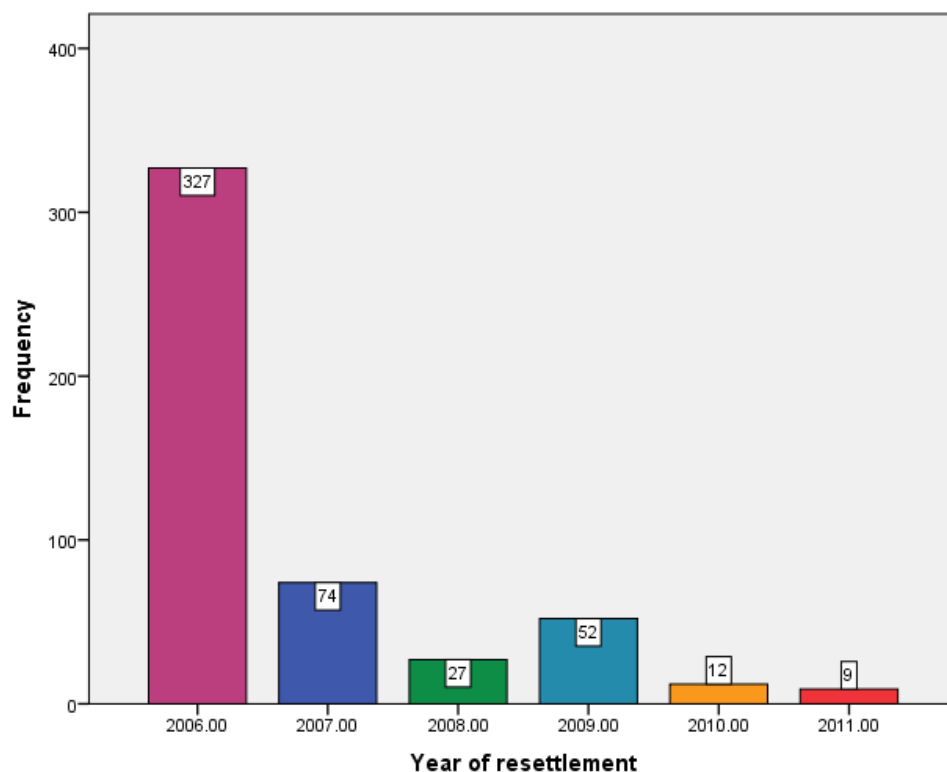
As shown in Figure 4.2, 65.27% families were resettled in 2006, 14.77% were resettled in 2007, and 10.38% in 2009. Hence one clearly notices a significant decrease in the voluntary resettlement of the tribal families at Aralam from 2006 to 2011. In the initial stage of the project, a good number of tribal families happily relocated to Aralam. However poor infrastructural facilities and lack of adequate employment opportunities made the tribal people unwilling to come to Aralam. Most tribal families also expressed worries about the development of their future generations due to lack of appropriate facilities and services at Aralam. For instance, lack of good educational and health care services would affect the children at Aralam thus putting into motion a vicious cycle in the tribal society. The geographical boundaries of the Resettlement area, particularly the dangerous proximity to the wildlife sanctuary was also a major factor for the reluctance of the tribes to settle at Aralam.

4.1.3 Native Place of Resettled Tribes

The State Government of Kerala invited application for land distribution from landless tribes of Kerala in 2004. In the initial stage of the Resettlement, tribal people from the district of Kannur were given priority. The tribes from other parts of the state were considered in the subsequent stages of the Resettlement. The following figure discusses the details of native place of resettled tribal families.

Figure 4.3 Native Place of the Respondents (%)
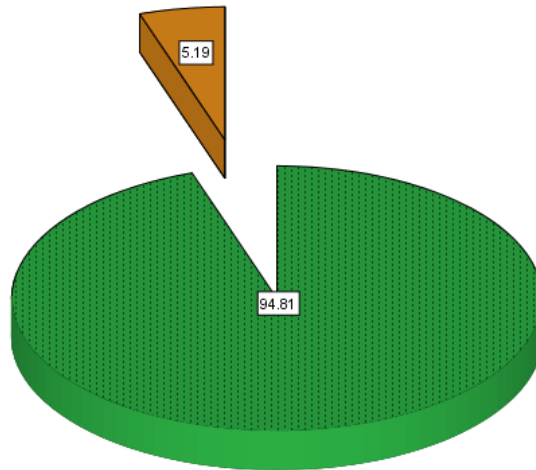
Figure 4.3 indicates that 94.8% of the resettled families are resettled from Kannur and only 5.19% are from Wayanad, Kerala.

Respondent #N.3 and his family shifted from Sulthan Bathery, Wayanad to Aralam Tribal Resettlement area in 2009. He was part of the Muthanga land struggle led by the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha and is currently working as a Tribal Promoter under the TRDM. He points out that landlessness is the main reason behind tribal resettlement. Explaining his life before the Resettlement, he says:

> My colony was situated in the Muthanga forest. We collected forest produce and worked under upper castes like the Chetties and the Nayars. They exploited us in different ways. When the British came and started plantations in our area with the support of forest laws, we were alienated from our home land. (FGD 3)

Many of the resettled tribes cite the expansion of plantations and the formulation of forest laws as the key causes of land alienation in the tribal context. Their forefathers enjoyed complete freedom of life in the forests.

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Forest provided everything for their survival. Moreover they were very much attached to their traditional land and maintained a *symbiotic* relationship with their land. Forest was thus the primary source of their livelihood. Besides, agricultural products also contributed to the tribal economy.

SECTION II

SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF RESETTLEMENT

A healthy social life is essential for the well-being and progress of a community. There are various factors that shape the social life of a community and a study of the same helps us to grasp the standard of life of the community. The researcher has examined the social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam on the basis of certain parameters such as literacy, social contacts and membership in social organizations. The data related to the social life of the tribal communities at Aralam is discussed below.

4.2.1 Literacy

Level of literacy is one of the key indicators to determine the quality of life of the tribal community. The tribal literacy rate of Kerala is higher than the national average. However the literacy gap between the general population and the tribal community is quite high. In addition to this, the literacy rate among women in tribal society is significantly less than their male counterparts. Still the government literacy programs of Kerala have failed to promote total tribal literacy (Swamy, 2010). Table 4.1 represents the number of illiterate family members in the tribal families at Aralam.

Table 4.1 Number of Illiterate Family Members

Number of Illiterate Members	Number of Families	Percentage
Nil	195	38.9
1 member	128	25.5
2 members	159	31.7
3 members	19	3.8
Total	501	100.0

From the above table 4.1, it is understood that there are 2 illiterate members in 31.7% families, only one illiterate member in 25.5% families and 3 illiterate members in 3.8% families. Among the total tribal families chosen for the study, 38.9% families are completely literate. Respondent #N.6, aged 34 and a member of the Paniya community, explains about the educational facilities and services at Aralam:

We have no idea how the Government spends funds here, we are not well educated, we don't know even how to read and write. We don't know what these officers are doing with the funds for education. We only know that a good amount of money is being allocated for our educational requirements. (FGD 4)

4.2.1.1 Optimum Educational Qualification of Family Members

Table 4.2 displays the highest level of educational qualification of the tribal families involved in the study.

Table 4.2 Educational Qualification of the Family Members

Maximum Educational Qualification	Number of Families	Percentage
Primary	166	33.1
Secondary	229	45.7
Higher secondary	92	18.4
Degree	11	2.2
PG	3	0.6
Total	501	100.0

Most of the tribal families selected for the study have at least primary level of education. With regard to the highest level of education, among the chosen families, 45.7% have secondary education, 33.1% have only primary level of education and 18.4% have higher secondary education. Only 2.2% reached degree level, and only 0.6% families have members with post graduation. It is found that majority of the families are able to reach primary or secondary level of education. The enrolment ratio for higher education is poor among the resettled communities. Very few students get opportunities for higher education. The main issues behind poor enrolment ratio are lack of institutional facilities and less awareness among the tribes about the value of education. Respondent #N.7, an 18-year-old student says:

I am very much interested to go for higher studies. Last year I applied in different colleges of Kannur district, but I was not selected. I lost one

year in my career. Now I am ready to go anywhere for higher studies. But I don't know about the colleges and procedures of admission. Here in the Resettlement area we don't have facilities such as internet, news papers and libraries for self- study. And this makes us unaware of the opportunities for higher education. (FGD 1)

Several tribal students seeking admission for higher studies in and around the major cities like Cochin are compelled to go back to their native places discontinuing their studies due to lack of proper accommodation facilities. As per the statistics provided by the Planning Board, there are 12500 students from the tribal community studying for higher education. But there are only 3 hostels run by the Scheduled Tribal Development Department in Kerala (Kozhikode, Palakkad and Thiruvanathapuram).

4.2.2 Social Life of the Resettled Tribes

To know the respondents' opinion on their social well-being, a three point scale has been used. Eight variables have been used to ascertain the social well- being of the respondents - (1) Neighbors' help for family functions (2) help from locality (3) sympathy to others (4) relation with relatives (5) contact with own tribe (6) help from community people (7) relation with other tribal communities and (8) relation with non-tribal people. The Paired Samples t Test is used to test two Means of the same groups in two different conditions which are significantly different or not. The study employs Paired t Test to examine the social life of the tribal families before and after the Resettlement.

4.2.2.1 Help from Neighbors for Family Functions

The study analyzed whether the Resettlement made a significant difference in getting support from neighbors for family functions in the resettled communities. Before the Resettlement, the tribal families lived in 'hamlets' and this has changed to individual separate households after the Resettlement. Moreover in the Resettlement area, they mix up with different tribal communities. In order to test the significance of this Mean difference, Paired Sample t Test has been used.

Table 4.3 Neighbors' Help for Family Functions

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	SD			
Before	2.7685	501	.422					
After	2.1717	501	.637	-.59681	.820	-16.282	500	.000

Table 4.3 clearly reveals that the Mean value for neighbors' help for family functions is 2.76 before the Resettlement and it has reduced to 2.17 after the Resettlement. Hence there is strong evidence (t = -16.282, p = 0.000) that resettlement reduces the tendency of getting help from neighbors for family functions. Since p value is less than the 0.05, it can be rightly concluded that resettlement negatively influences receiving help from neighbors help for family functions which in turn affects the relationship among the tribal families.

4.2.2.2 Help from Locality

Locality here refers to the surrounding area of an individual comprising of environment, social institutions, communities and other bodies. The amount of help received by the tribes from their locality before and after the Resettlement is assessed as given below.

Table 4.4 Help from Locality

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	SD			
Before	2.79	501	0.410	-.67	.919	-16.327	500	.000
After	2.12	501	0.734					

As Table 4.4 shows, the tribes at Aralam opine that they get less help from their locality after the Resettlement (2.12) than before (2.79). Paired Samples t Test is used to test the significance of the Mean difference. The test statistics (t=-16.327, p= 0.000) is statistically significant at 5% level. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Resettlement has negatively affected the degree of help received from the locality. Poor support from locality may affect the formation of social groups, micro finance, micro credit, and entrepreneurship development. This also influences the socialization process of the community members.

4.2.2.3 Sympathizing with Others

The researcher looked at the support of locality members during the crisis situations. The locality members' sympathy to others is measured as indicated below.

Table 4.5 Sympathy to Others

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	SD			
Before	2.72	501	.481	-0.66	.810	-18.185	500	.000
After	2.07	501	.696					

From Table 4.5, we understand that the Mean value for sympathy to others after the Resettlement is 2.07, while it is 2.72 before the Resettlement. Hence one can easily conclude that they sympathized better before the Resettlement. The Mean differences of before and after the Resettlement is tested with Paired Samples t Test. There is a strong evidence (t = -18.185, p = 0.000) that resettlement has reduced sympathy to others. Since p value is less than the 0.05, it is concluded that there is a significant difference in sympathy to others before and after the Resettlement.

4.2.2.4 Relation with Relatives

Relatives are an integral part of communal life. Their presence in the customs, traditional practices, and family functions are very much mandatory. The researcher examined the relation with relatives of the resettled tribal families at Aralam tribes to comprehend the way in which resettlement affects relationship with relatives. It has been assessed by using the Paired Sample t Test.

Table 4.6 Relation with Relatives

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	SD			
Before	2.76	501	.479	-0.86	.791	-24.374	500	0.000
After	1.90	501	.728					

The Mean value for relation with relatives after the Resettlement is 1.9, while it is 2.76 earlier. The respondents struggle to keep in touch with their relatives after the Resettlement. The Mean difference of relation with relatives before and after the Resettlement (t = -24.374, p = 0.000) is statistically high and significant at 5% level. Therefore it is concluded that the respondents face difficulties in maintaining relationship with their relatives after the Resettlement. The distance between the Aralam Resettlement and the pervious location of the tribal families also reduces contact with their relatives.

4.2.2.5 Contact with Own Tribe

The study attempted to examine whether the Resettlement made any significant differences in the tribal people contacting members of their own community.

Table 4.7 Contact with Own Tribe

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	SD			
Before	2.53	501	.694	-0.43	.986	-9.692	500	0.000
After	2.10	501	.732					

Table 4.7 clearly shows that the Mean value for contact with own tribe before the Resettlement is 2.53, but it reduced to 2.1 after the Resettlement. In order to test the significance of this Mean difference, Paired Samples t test is used. There is a strong evidence (t = -9.692, p = 0.000) that resettlement reduces the habit of contacting members of one's own tribe. Since p value is less than the 0.05, it is concluded that resettlement negatively influences contact with own tribe. Moreover while the tribes lived in hamlets prior to the Resettlement, they now live in separate in different houses. Besides, many of them also refuse to follow customary practices of their community after the Resettlement. As a result the tribes now have very few opportunities for community gathering in the Resettlement area.

4.2.2.6 Help from Community People

The main characteristic of the tribal community is their social cohesion and 'community consciousness'. Hunting together, tribal languages, traditional dances, food habits and traditional festivals are some of the major elements that bind them together in their social life. The help received from community people by the tribes before and after the Resettlement is assessed as given below.

Table 4.8 Help from Community People

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	SD			
Before	2.33	501	.684	-.16	2.149	-1.704	500	.089
After	2.16	501	1.970					

As Table 4.8 shows, the tribes agree that they get less help from the people of their community after the Resettlement (2.16) as compared to before the Resettlement (2.33). A Paired Sample t Test is used to test the significance of the Mean difference. It is found that the Mean difference of help from community people has decreased after the Resettlement. The test statistics
(t = -1.704, p = 0.089) is statistically significant at 5% level. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Resettlement does not make any significant difference in getting help from community people.

4.2.2.7 Relation with other Tribal Communities

Although different tribal groups are interlinked with each other according to their occupation, they maintain a certain distance among them which is mainly reflected in their place of residence. The researcher identified the way in which resettlement affects relationship among different tribal communities and the way in which the tribes perceive such changing relations. This has been analyzed using the Paired Samples t Test.

Table 4.9 Relation with other Tribal Communities

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	SD			
Before	1.39	501	.655	0.51	.803	14.226	500	.000
After	1.90	501	.700					

The Mean value for relation with other tribal communities after the Resettlement is 1.9, while it is 1.39. It is clear that the respondents enjoy a comparatively high relation with other tribal communities after the Resettlement than before. It is clear that the Mean difference of relation with other tribal communities before and after the Resettlement (t = 14.226, p = 0.000) is statistically high and significant at 5% level. Therefore it is concluded that the respondents maintain high relationship with other tribal communities after the Resettlement.

4.2.2.8 Relation with Non-Tribal people

In the contemporary scenario, the tribal communities are heavily influenced by the general population in various ways. Although such influences can be seen at different levels and in varying degrees, it is associated with the kind of jobs that they now do. Historically the Paniyas and the Adiyas were considered as labor communities for the upper castes in the society. The study tried to find out whether the Resettlement has made any significant difference in the relationship of the tribal communities with non-tribal people.

Table 4.10 Relation with Non-Tribal People

Resettlement	Mean	N	SD	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Mean	**SD**			
Before	2.32	501	.560	-.52	.661	-17.757	500	.000
After	1.79	501	.612					

Table 4.10 clearly explains that the Mean value for relation with non-tribal people before the Resettlement is 2.32, and it has reduced to 1.79 after the Resettlement. In order to test the significance of this Mean difference, Paired Samples t Test is used.

The above table presents the test statistics of the Paired Samples t Test. There is a strong evidence (t = -17.757, p = 0.000) that resettlement reduces the relation with non-tribal people. Since p value is less than the 0.05, it is concluded that resettlement negatively influences the relationship with non-tribal people. Geographical isolation of the Aralam Tribal Resettlement area is the main reason for the limited contact of the tribes with the mainstream society.

4.2.3 Membership in Social Organizations

Membership in social organizations is an important factor that helps to improve social contact and well-being. Membership in social organizations like Kudumbhasree, Self Help Groups, Tribal Welfare Organizations and Cooperative Societies are considered for the study. The study also looks at their contribution for livelihood promotion among the resettled tribes at Aralam.

Table 4.11 Membership in Social Organizations

Background Characteristics	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage
Membership	162	32.3
Promotion of livelihood	52	10.4

From Table 4.11, it is evident that among the total respondents, 32.3% have the membership in various social organizations. Majority of them are part of the Kudumbashree mission. Among them, 10.4% of the respondents agree that membership in such social organizations play a vital role in the promotion of their livelihood.

Hence an analysis of the social life of the resettled tribal communities at Aralam Tribal Resettlement on the basis of various indicators such as literacy, social contact, relationships and participation in social organizations reveals some sheds light on their social life. While certain elements such as literacy, contact with other tribal communities and membership and in social organizations have increased, others such as social contact (contact with members of own tribe, relatives and neighbors), and relation with non- tribal people have decreased. Thus it can be concluded that the Resettlement at

Aralam has had a significant impact on the social life of the tribes. The following section discusses the impact of resettlement on the cultural life of the tribes at Aralam.

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SECTION III

CULTURAL FACTORS

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This section provides a brief explanation about the cultural profile of resettled tribes at Aralam. It encompasses information about marriage, family system, community life, and changes in the 'material culture' and traditional practices of the resettled tribes. Hence this section explicates the changes in the cultural life of the tribes after the Resettlement.

4.3.1 Marriage

Marriage is considered as the most basic unit of the society. Marriage is defined by Marks (1986) "a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by customs, law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of parties entering the union and in the case of children both of it" (p. 111). Tribes of Kerala observe several forms of marriage as a matter of social assimilation and convenience in their respective socio- cultural and ecological sceneries. They believe that marriage is a holy bond between the husband and wife. Marriage is considered as a community ceremony, and they have unique rituals, rites, formalities and customs associated with it. Each tribal community has several distinct marriage systems and practices associated

with it. They mainly follow the monogamy system and even the remarriage of widows is permitted (FGD 3).

4.3.1.1 Age, Type and Style of Marriage

There are no strict regulations concerning the age of marriage among the tribal communities. In tribal communities, when a person acquires physical and sexual maturity, they are considered eligible for marriage. The Constitution of India specifies the age of marriage as 18 for women and 21 for men.

Table 4.12 Marriage of the Resettled Families

Background Characteristics		Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
		Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage
Age	Below 18	11	2.2	16	3.2
	18-24	376	75.0	438	87.4
	24-28	114	22.8	47	9.4
Type	Traditional	409	81.6	180	35.9
	Modern	92	18.4	321	64.1
Style	Same Caste	486	97.0	453	90.4
	Inter Caste	15	3.0	48	9.6

Table 4.12 shows that while 75% of the tribes got married in the age group of 18 to 24 before the Resettlement, it increased to 87.4% after the Resettlement. While considering marriage in the age group of 24 to 28, 22.8% were married before the Resettlement. However it declined to 9.4% in the post-Resettlement era. As far as the type of marriage is concerned, 81.6% followed traditional marriage before the Resettlement while only 35.9% follow such traditional wedding ceremonies after the Resettlement. This is clearly evident in the increasing number of tribal people following modern style of weddings

in the post-Resettlement phase. While 18.4% were involved in modern marriage styles before the Resettlement, 64.1% prefer the same after the Resettlement. In the earlier days, tribes were not concerned about the age of marriage. When a girl attains puberty, they conduct *therandu kalyanam* following which the girl is considered eligible for marriage. The only requirement is that the family members and head of the hamlet agree for the marriage and follow the terms and conditions of the community. In 2012, the Government of India introduced the Protection of Children from Sexual Offence (POCSO) Act. After this, marriage with a girl who is below 18 is seen as a punishable offence. In the Resettlement area, 11 POCSO cases have been reported so far (Keezhpally Police Report, 2017). The tribal people are not aware of the laws and rules enacted recently and they still follow their customary practices. Poor interaction with the outside society makes them ignorant. The Paniya community members of at Aralam are totally disorganized and they face lot of issues regarding the age of marriage. The younger generation now rarely follows the rules and regulations of the community as propounded by the *mooppan* (Head of the hamlet). This is how Respondent #N.8, a 42-year-old Paniya woman explains the problems regarding marriage age at Aralam:

> My daughter dropped her schooling at the age of 11 after the Resettlement. Our land is far away from the school and there were no roads and transportation facilities in the initial period of the Resettlement. And also there is the threat of attacks by wild animals.

Therefore we didn't send our child to school. When we went for work, she was alone at home. That time she had a relationship with one of my relatives. We thought that it was just friendship. We came to know of the relationship only when she became pregnant. At the age of 13 she delivered a baby, what to do Sir! (FGD 3)

Hence as Table 4.12 depicts, 97% of the tribal people married within the same community before the Resettlement. This trend continues after the Resettlement with 90.4% of the respondents getting married within their own community even now. Inter-tribe marriages have increased slightly from 3% to 9.6% since the Resettlement, mostly among the Kurichya, Karimbala and Mavilan tribes.

Table 4.13 Community and Age of Marriage

Community	Age of Marriage (in years)						Total
	Before Resettlement			After Resettlement			
	Below 18	18-24	24-28	Below 18	18-24	24-28	
Paniya	11 (3.0%)	269 (72.9%)	89 (24.1%)	11 (3.0%)	340 (92.1%)	18 (4.9%)	369 (100%)
Others	107 (81%)		25 (18.9)	5 (3.7%)	98 (74.4%)	29 (21.9%)	132 (100%)
Total	11 (2.2%)	376 (75.0%)	114 (22.8%)	16 (3.2%)	438 (87.4%)	47 (9.4%)	501 (100%)

The above table presents details about the relationship between the community and the age of marriage before and after the Resettlement. Before the Resettlement, 72.9% of the Paniyas and 81% of the people in other tribal communities married during the age of 18 to 24 years. Only 3% of the Paniyas married below 18 years. After the Resettlement, 92.1% of the Paniya

community and 74.5% of other tribal communities are getting married in the age group of 18 to 24 years. 3.7% people of other tribal communities (i.e. other than Paniyas) marry before they are eighteen. Hence there is a difference in the age of marriage following the Resettlement.

Table 4.14 Marriage Practice

Community	Type of Marriage				Total
	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement		
	Traditional	Modern	Traditional	Modern	
Paniya	354 (95.9%)	15 (4.1%)	162 (43.9%)	207 (56.1%)	369 100.0%
Others	55 (41.6%)	77 (58.3%)	18 (13.6%)	114 (82.36)	132 100.0%
Total	409 (81.6%)	92 (18.4%)	180 (35.9%)	321 (64.1%)	501 100.0%
Calculated value	190.994		38.688		
Significant at 5%	**0.000**		**0.000**		

(table value -9.49, df -1)

Table 4.14 explains the type of marriage in different tribes before and after their resettlement. Before the Resettlement, 95.9% of the Paniyas, and 41.1% of other tribes followed traditional way of marriage. After the Resettlement only 43.9% Paniyas and 13.6% in other tribes follow traditional marriage ceremony and practices. This shows the massive cultural change in the type of marriage and the influence of modernity on the tribal society after the Resettlement. The calculated chi Square value for this association (190.994) is higher than the table value (9.49) of df 1 at 5% significant level. Therefore it is concluded that there is a significant relation between community and the type of marriage followed by the tribes.

It is noted that the type of marriage preferred by the tribes has changed after the Resettlement, and there is a huge increase in modern type of marriages. Among the respondents, 56.1% of the Paniyas and 82.36% other tribal communities now prefer modern marriage over the traditional one. This association is statically significant as calculated value (38.688) is greater than the table value (9.49) at 5% significant level. Hence it is found that the Resettlement has made a significant impact on the type of marriage followed by the tribes.

Table 4.15 Community and Type of Marriage

Community	Before Resettlement Marriage		After Resettlement Marriage		Total
	Same Community	Inter Community	Same Community	Inter Community	
Paniya	364 (98.6%)	5 1.4%	368 99.7%	1 0.3%	369 100.0%
Others	122 (92.4%)	10 (7.5%)	85 (69.6%)	47 (35.6%)	132 100.0%
Total	486 (97.0%)	15 (3.0%)	453 (90.4%)	48 (9.6%)	501 100.0%

Table 4.15 exhibits the details of the marriages within and outside their own tribe. Before the Resettlement, 98.6% of the Paniyas and 92.4% of other tribes married within their same community. And after the Resettlement, 99.7% of the Paniya tribe married from the same community while only 69. 6% of other tribal communities married from the same community. There is a massive change among the other tribal communities with respect to inter tribe marriage which has increased from 3% to 35.6%.

4.3.2 Family System

Family is the elementary unit of society and is considered as a universal social institution. Burgess and Locks (2004) define family as "a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household interacting and intercommunicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister creating a common culture" (p. 221). Tribal family system is very unique. It may be called as hamlet, colony, settlement, or *tharavadu.* Tribes initially followed both matriarchal and patriarchal joint family system. But in the modern times the system has changed due to different factors. The study has identified changes in family system after the Resettlement.

Table 4.16 Family System of the Respondents

Family System	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Families	Percentage	Number of Families	Percentage
Nuclear Family	98	19.6	489	97.6
Joint Family	403	80.4	12	2.4
Total	501	100.0	501	100.0

Table 4.16 shows the type of family of the respondents before and after the Resettlement. Prior to the Resettlement, out of the total families, 80.4% followed the joint family system and only 19.6% lived in nuclear families. But after the Resettlement, 97.4% live in nuclear families, and only 2.4% continue as joint families. Hence there has been a dramatic change in the family system of the tribal community after the Resettlement. The joint family system plays a crucial role in maintaining the ancestral cultural and traditional life among the

tribal communities. It helps the members to meet their needs and ensures the division of labor. The tribal joint family system treats the family members equally without gender disparity and maintains common property system. It also helps them to develop an attitude of sharing and inculcates and democratic values in them. The hamlet system provides high social security to the members and controls their behavior.

4.3.3 Size of the Family

The distribution of tribes by number of members in their family is presented below.

Table 4.17 Number of Family Members

Number of Family Members	Number of Family	Percentage
1 to 4 member(s)	285	56.9
5 to 8 members	192	38.3
9 to 12 members	18	3.6
Above 12 members	6	1.2
Total	501	100.0

From the above table 4.17, it is clear that 56.9% of tribal families have 1 to 4 members, 38.3% have 5 to 8 members in their family, 3.6% have 9 to 12 members and only 1.2% have more than 12 members. In a majority of the households, all the members of the joint family did not shift to the Resettlement area. In the initial stage of the resettlement, the head of the family with or without his wife, shifted to Aralam. The reasons for their reluctance to come to Aralam were lack of facilities like road, power, house, water and transportation. They also found it difficult to send their children to good schools at Aralam. Many of them opine that their native places have more

facilities than the resettlement except land. A Kurichiya community member, Respondent #N.9, describes the challenges to perform the customary practices of his tribe as follows:

> Now-a-days, we are not able to strictly follow our customs and tradition. The traditional ways of life and community practices are fast disappearing from our culture. The modern life situations have made some changes in our communal life. Such changes have made a negative impact on our cultural values and beliefs. The young generation is least interested to follow the customary practices of the community. (FGD 5)

Young tribal people are extremely attracted towards the glamour of modernity and the kind of luxuries it provides. On the contrary, the older generation tribal people are much concerned about the customs and practices of their community. Traditional languages, dress codes, food habits, housing pattern, festivals are all subject to change due to different reasons such as interaction with non- tribal community, modern education, occupational patterns, changes in social structure, media, government policies etc.

4.3.3 Traditional Practices

Traditional practices play a pivotal role in the communal life of tribal communities. Each tribal community has its own traditions. Most of the practices are related to seasons and their livelihood. Aralam Tribal Resettlement consists of diverse tribal communities. Respondent #N.10, a member of the Karimbala community, explains the changing cultural practices in their community as given below:

Now-a-days we are losing our culture, tradition and customs. The young generation doesn't have much knowledge about our great customary practices. The young people are more vulnerable and they need modern life and advanced things. So they are more prone to substance abuse, dependence and all. Another major reason for losing our traditional practice is religious conversion. We have different customs on various occasions. The loss of customs affects our sustainability. (FGD 5)

While the older generation people are very much concerned about the changes in their cultural practices, the present generation are diverting from the traditional way of life. They have extended their relationship with modern communities and easily imbibe elements of modern culture. They cross the invisible cultural and social boundaries of their community without realizing its long term consequences. The tribal communities often make boundaries in the form of social norms. It has a certain positive influence on their social life and contributes to communal harmony. However the tribal way of life is now fast changing with the influence of modernity and cultural assimilation.

Hence a careful analysis of the cultural life of the resettled tribes at Aralam shows that resettlement has a considerable impact on their cultural life. The coming together of several tribal communities at Aralam Tribal Resettlement and influence of modernity has gradually led to changes in the traditional culture of the tribes. Such cultural changes naturally affect other aspects of their life such as religion, social ceremonies and rituals since culture

encompasses the whole way of life. The next section describes the impact of resettlement on the economic condition of the resettled tribes at Aralam.

SECTION IV

TRIBAL ECONOMY - BEFORE AND AFTER RESETTLEMENT

The tribal economy is mainly associated with natural resources. Hunting, collecting and agriculture were their major occupations and forest was the main source of livelihood. This section provides information about household infrastructure, household assets, occupation, entrepreneurship, self-employment, skill development, agriculture and income generation activities of the resettled tribes at Aralam.

4.4.1 Household Infrastructure

A comparative assessment of the household infrastructures before and after the Resettlement among the tribal communities at Aralam, shows that there has been an improvement in the household infrastructures. The study, through the parameters like type and structure of houses, adequacy of rooms, sources of drinking water, availability of electricity and toilet facilities, assessed the status of the household infrastructures.

Table 4.18 Details of Household Infrastructure

Background characteristic	Particulars	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
		Number of Families (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Families (N=501)	Percentage
Type of House	Own	110	22.0	488	97.4
	Rented	13	2.6	13	2.6
	Lease	36	7.2	0	0
	Family House	342	68.3	0	0
Structure of House	Hut	134	26.7	9	1.8
	Kutcha	341	68.1	428	85.4
	Pacca	26	5.2	64	12.8
Adequacy	Not Adequate	330	65.9	214	42.7
	Less Adequate	134	26.7	136	27.1
	Moderate	25	5.0	107	21.4
	More Adequate	12	2.4	44	8.8
Sources of drinking water	Pipe line	68	13.5	180	35.9
	Well	266	53	306	61
	Spring	167	33.3	15	2.9
Electricity	Availability	164	32.7	472	94.2
Toilet	Availability	201	40.1	457	91.2

Table 4.18 shows that out of 501 respondents in the study, 68.3% of them lived in family houses, 22% lived in own houses, 7.2% lived in lease type houses, and 2.6% of them lived in rented houses before the Resettlement. With respect to the type of houses after the Resettlement, 97.4% of the respondents live in their own houses, and only 2.6% of them stay in rented houses. It is obvious from the Table 4.18, that before the Resettlement 68.1% of their houses were *kaccha*, 26.7% of the houses were huts and only 5.2% were *pakka* houses. After the Resettlement , 85.4 % of the houses are *kacchas*, 12.8 % are *pakka* houses, and only 1.8 % of their houses are huts.

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Regarding the adequacy of the rooms in terms of numbers, 65.9% of them lived in houses with inadequate rooms, 26.7% of the houses had less adequate rooms, 5% lived in houses with moderately adequate rooms, and only 2.4% of the houses were equipped with more than enough number of rooms before the Resettlement. The statistical data of the adequacy of rooms in the houses after the Resettlement is as follows. Out of the total, 42.7% of the houses lack sufficient number of rooms, 27.1% houses have less adequate rooms, 21.4% have moderately adequate number of rooms and only 8.8% houses have more than adequate number of rooms. Hence it is noted that the sufficient number of rooms in the houses has increased from 2.4% to 8.8% since the Resettlement.

Table 4.18 also indicates the sources of drinking water used by the tribes before and after the Resettlement. Prior to the Resettlement, 55% of the respondents used well, 33.3% collected water from springs and 13.5% depended on pipeline for drinking water. After the Resettlement, 61% use well, 35.9% use pipeline water and 2.9% of the respondents depend on springs for drinking water. As far as the availability of electricity is concerned, 32.7% of the respondents had electric connection in their houses before the Resettlement. Following the Resettlement, houses of 94.2% of the respondents have electric connection. Similarly there is also a significant change in use of toilet. Only 40.1% of the respondents had toilets in their houses before the Resettlement. The number has increased to 91.2% after the Resettlement.

Box No: 1 Discussion on Housing Scheme

"When we finally got a piece of land of our own, it was our dream to build a house in it. But our dreams were shattered. The house construction project of Aralam till date has been entrusted to various agencies who exploited us. Because of this, the effective usage of the amount granted to tribes has been interrupted by massive corruption, financial frauds, and other illegal activities. During 2008-09, the govt. fully handed over the house construction project to the State Nirmiti Kendra ignoring protests from the tribes who are the beneficiaries of the project. The Nirmithi Kendra received 35 crores as advance. They looted huge amount from the government using officials who acted as intermediaries. A total of 361 houses have been built by the Nirmiti Kendra. Among these, 155 leak during the rainy season. We have to hold umbrellas even inside our houses during the rainy season. The govt. then called for a vigilance investigation over the issue. But the SC/ST Department neither took action against the officials nor distributed the housing funds among the affected tribes."

(FGD 2 held at 13th Block of Aralam Tribal Resettlement)

Table 4.19 Community and Availability of Toilet

Community	Before Resettlement Availability of Toilet		After Resettlement Availability of Toilet		Total
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	
Paniya	103 27.9%	266 72.1%	333 90.2%	36 9.8%	369 100.0%
Others	98 (72.2%)	34 (25.7%)	124 (93.9%)	8 (6.0%)	132 100.0%
Total	201 40.1%	300 59.9%	457 91.2%	44 8.8%	501 100.0%
Calculated value	*86.862*		*1.657*		
Significant at 5%	*0.000*		*0.198*		

(t*able value-9.49, df- 1*)

Table 4.19 shows the relationship between the community of the tribes and the availability of toilets. From the table it is evident that only 27.9% of the Paniyas and 72.2% of other tribal communities had toilets at home before the Resettlement. The table clearly shows that there are differences in the availability of toilets among the communities. The χ^2 value for the association was 86.862 with 1 degrees of freedom is higher than the table value at 5% significant level. Hence the results concluded that there is a significant association between the community and the availability of the toilets before the Resettlement.

After the Resettlement, the availability of toilets is higher in all the communities (Paniyas 90.2% and other communities 93.9%). In this regard the calculated χ^2 value 1.657 is lower than the table value 9.49. It is statistically [not] significant at 5% level. Hence it is concluded that there is a significant difference in the availability of toilets for different communities after the Resettlement.

4.4.2 Availability of Household Assets

It is necessary to study the availability of basic amenities to evaluate the standard of living of the resettled tribes. It is accessed through the availability of chairs, cots, fans, clocks, radio, television, mobile phones and vehicles. Other vehicles are considered as car, jeep, tractor and truck.

Table 4.20 Availability of Household Assets

Background Characteristics	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage
Chairs	122	24.4	412	82.2
Cots	35	7.0	236	47.1
Fan	16	3.2	193	38.5
Clock	221	44.1	358	71.5
Radio	32	6.4	136	27.1
TV	14	2.8	316	63.1
Mobile	58	11.6	445	88.8
Bicycle	1	0.2	21	4.2
Motorcycle	6	1.2	81	16.2
Other Vehicle	5	1.0	18	3.6

Table 4.20 shows that the possession of chairs has increased from 24.4 % to 82.2%, owning of cots increased from 7% to 47.1%, having fans in their houses increased from 3.2% to 38.5%, and availability of clocks increased from 44.1% to 71.8% after the Resettlement. Only 2.8% respondents owned television before the Resettlement, whereas a total of 63.1% respondents own television after the Resettlement. Likewise possessing mobile phones has increased from 11.6% to 88.8%, owning bicycles increased from 0.2% to 4.2%, possession of motorcycles increased from 1.2% to 16.2%, and usage of other vehicles increased from 1% to 3.6% since the Resettlement.

4.4.3 Occupational Status

Agricultural work and collection of forest produce were the major occupations to the tribes. It is important to know how the occupation style has changed after the Resettlement. The resettlement plan promised permanent employment opportunities to at least one member of a family among the resettled tribes. All the developmental activities should contain maximum employment opportunities. The labor component involved in infrastructural development should be from the beneficiaries themselves. The Kudumbashree Mission is entrusted with the job of training the people at Aralam and teaching them different employment related skills. The government also promised employment opportunities in Aralam agricultural farm.

4.4.3.1 Type of Occupation

The tribes in Kerala are mainly divided into three categories - agrarian tribes, forest dwelling tribes and labor tribes. In the study, two categories of tribes had been included - agrarian tribes and labor tribes. Only the Kurichiya community belongs to agrarian tribes and the rest are labor tribes.

Table 4.21 Type of Occupation

Background characteristics	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage
Agriculture	48	9.6	5	1.0
Labor	444	88.6	397	79.2
Construction work	9	1.8	13	2.6
Govt. employee	0	0	15	3.0
Farm worker	0	0	63	12.6
MGNREGS	0	0	8	1.6
Total	501	100.0	501	100.0

Table 4.21 exhibits that 88.6% of the respondents were laborers and remaining 9.6 % were agricultural workers before the Resettlement. On the other hand, 79.2% are laborers, 12.6% are farm workers, 2.6% are construction workers, 1% are agricultural laborers, and 1.6% are part of MGNREGS after the Resettlement. It is noted that the scope of occupation for the respondents has enlarged after the Resettlement. Earlier the tribal people were restricted to limited occupations, but the Resettlement enabled them to realize the availability of various occupations provided by government and private agencies, and this has helped to enhance their livelihood.

The major complaint with respect to the Aralam Tribal Resettlement is lack of adequate employment opportunities. The government has failed to provide the proposed employment options to the beneficiaries, which had been mentioned in the resettlement general guidelines. Very few resettled families have been selected for work in the government farm cooperation. Although MGNREGS has been implemented in the resettlement area by the Grama Panchayat, few tribal families have received employment as part of the scheme. The major criticism against MGNREGS is that the beneficiaries are not paid wages on time. After completion of work they have to wait for four to five months to get their wages. Due to this delay, people are reluctant to be part of MGNREGS.

Table 4.22 Community and Type of Occupation

Community	Before Type of Occupation			After Type of Occupation						Total
	Agri Culture	Agriculture Labor	Construction work	Agriculture	Labor	Construction work	Govt job	Farm work	MGNREGS	
Paniya	8 2.2%	359 97.2%	2 0.5%	5 1.4%	314 85.1%	1 0.3%	8 2.2%	33 8.9%	8 2.2%	369 100%
Others	40 30.3%	83 62.8%	9 6.8%	3 2.2%	75 56.8%	12 9.0%	7 5.35	30 22.7%	5 3.7%	132 100%
Total	48 9.6%	444 88.6%	9 1.8%	5 1.0%	397 79.2%	13 2.6%	15 3.0%	63 12.6%	8 1.6%	501 100%

Table 4.22 presents details about the type of occupation before and after the Resettlement in different communities. Before the Resettlement, only limited occupations were available to the tribes namely agriculture, agricultural labor and construction work. 97.8% of the Paniya community, and 62.8% of other communities were working as agricultural laborers. 30.3% of other tribal community members were engaged in agriculture.

After the Resettlement, the number of workdays for the tribes has increased. The available types of occupation for the resettled tribes are agriculture, labor, construction work, government job, farm work, and MGNREGS. Among the total respondents, 85.1% of the Paniyas and 56.8% of other community members are employed as laborers. Only 8.9% Paniyas and 22.7% from other communities got job in the government-owned farm at Aralam.

4.4.3.2 Availability of Work

Aralam is an agriculture dominated area, and so there are only a limited number of opportunities for employment. Moreover the resettled tribes do not have much social contact in this area. Therefore they are often unaware of the existing the employment opportunities. They are forced to migrate to Kodagu for employment. Tribal people who migrate to other places in search of better employment opportunities are often victims of extreme exploitation.

Table 4.23 Number of Work per month

Number of works per month	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Family	Percentage	Number of Family	Percentage
Below 5	4	0.8	230	45.9
6 to 10	105	21.0	124	24.8
11 to 20	340	67.9	53	10.6
21 to 30	52	10.4	94	18.8
Total	501	100.0	501	100.0

Table 4.23 indicates the number of works available to the people at Aralam per month. Out of the total respondents, 67.9% of them got 11 to 20 works in a month, 21% got 6 to 10 works, and 10.4% got 21 to 30 works per month before the Resettlement. In the post- Resettlement period, 45.9% get less than 5 works in a month, 24.8% get 6 to 10 works, 18.8% get 21 to 30 works, and 10.6% get 11 to 20 works per month. Respondent #N.11, a 52-year-old person at Aralam, explains the employment opportunities in the resettlement area:

> I got land in 2008 and resettled in the same year. In the initial stage of resettlement, I suffered a lot without facilities and employment. Very limited opportunities were available in this region for employment. And I was new to this place and didn't have any social contact. I used to go

to my home village for job and come back to the Resettlement with money. Inside the Resettlement, there are a lot of opportunities in construction field but TRDM has outsourced the work to private contractors. (FGD 4)

Hence lack of sufficient employment opportunities is the major challenge faced by resettled tribes at Aralam. Unemployment affects the socio- economic condition of the tribes. They are able to find employment only during certain seasons of the year, and when the season ends they become jobless. This situation often forces the tribes to become migratory in nature.

Box No.2 Leasing out Resettlement Land to Non-Tribes

"We are surviving by doing some kind of jobs in the job market. The situation has never improved from that of the earlier colony life. The government company formed in the name of Tribal Welfare by acquiring 3500 acres of land has been completely privatized. Most of the land has been given to private owners on lease saying that they will provide jobs to tribes. Nothing is given as payment by the company. The use of chemical fertilizers and hormones like 'Ethiphones' will only cause genetic disabilities in return. The massive draining of water from streams for irrigating pineapple farms results in drought. The pineapple cultivation also invites herds of wild elephants. The free lease contract records show that only 150 acres were leased out. About 1500 acres were taken over by illegal means. While the farmer-owners (cultivators) are reaping profit in crores, this company under the Scheduled Tribe Department has been sustaining a loss of four crores on an average per annum for the last five years. Even if the company is dissolved giving VRS to the employees, the company will still be in a loss. The land bought for the rehabilitation of tribes is being misused for the profit of private owners (cultivators) and the fund for the poor tribes are being used to compensate for the loss of crores made by the company. This is obviously conveying an extremely bad message in the name of Asia's mammoth development project. The tribes of Aralam are drowning in the depths of exploitation and deceit in the process of generating profit for such owners."

(FGD 4 held at 9th Block of Aralam Tribal Resettlement)

4.4.3.4 Migration for Job

Unemployment puts immense pressure on the resettled tribes at Aralam. It leads to migration of people in search for employment opportunities. They migrate within the state and also travel to other states in search of job. Different type of migration and the reasons behind them are given below.

Table 4.24 Migrated for Job

Migration	Number of Respondents (N=501)	Percentage
Short term	23	4.6
Long term	134	26.7
Total	157	31.3

Table 4.24 reveals the number of resettled tribes who have migrated for jobs. From the table, it is evident that among the total respondents, 31% of them migrated for jobs. Hence seeking jobs is one of the main reasons behind the tribal migration. From Table 4.24, it is clear that 68.7% of the tribes have not migrated. Among the remaining 26.7% migrated for long term and 4.6% migrated for short term. This distribution of sample shows that a good deal of the tribal migration is long term.

Respondent #N.12, an Adiya community member and a migrant laborer at Kodagu, Karnataka, elucidates the reason behind migration and life situation at Kudagu as follows:

Main problem faced by the resettled tribes is lack of employment opportunities in the Resettlement area. Many of us are working in Kudagu as laborers in agricultural farms. We have to do hazardous

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work like applying pesticides and fertilizers without any kind of safety measures. And at evening they provide alcohol to everyone as reward. I would like to stay with my family members, but I don't have an option. Several people also end up being victims of trafficking. There are reports that many tribal people who migrate in search of jobs are missing and have not returned to their native place. (FGD 5)

From the respondent's words, it is obvious that unemployment is a serious issue at Aralam Tribal Resettlement area and the helplessness of the tribes often results in them being victims of exploitation and forced human trafficking.

4.4.4 Entrepreneurship Development

Entrepreneurship is one of the key factors for the development of economically marginalized groups. It is necessary to know and understand the interest of the tribes in starting new business ventures. According to the general guidelines of tribal resettlement, appropriate gender friendly micro-entrepreneurial ventures for the development of women members of the families are to be planned and implemented on the lines of the Kudumbasree project. As per the guidelines, the individual assistance for micro enterprise development programs involving women can be up to Rs 15000/-, and for group enterprises, the assistance can be up to Rs 1.25 lakhs (G.O.MS 63/2002 SC /STDD).

4.4.4.1 Features of Entrepreneurship in Aralam

Entrepreneurship is essential for survival. It is important to analyze the state of entrepreneurial ventures at Aralam Tribal Resettlement in order to grasp the economic progress of the resettled tribes.

Table 4.25 Features of Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship	Particulars	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage
Interest to start	Yes	347	69.3
Type	Agriculture based	8	1.6
	Dairy	322	64.3
	Small Industry	28	5.6
	Large Industry	11	2.2
	Serviced based	23	4.6
	Not interested	109	21.8
Challenges	No Capital	267	53.3
	Lack of knowledge	20	4.0
	Lack of support	214	42.7

From the above table 4.25, it is clear that 69.3% of the tribes show a great interest to start entrepreneurship projects. Majority among them (64.3%) are interested to start dairy business, and 5.6% are interested in starting small-scale industries. Regarding the challenges to start such entrepreneurship projects, 53.3% are troubled with the lack of capital, and 42.7% of them are struggle to get support from their family and society. It is noted that 4 % of the respondents face lack of knowledge in starting their own businesses.

The figures reflect that the TRDM is not concerned about entrepreneurship development programs in the Resettlement area. Tribes are interested to start entrepreneurship projects, but they are not self- capable due to the challenges mentioned in the above table. An abundance of human

resource coupled with plenty of natural capital shows the scope of high entrepreneurship development in the Resettlement area.

Table 4.26 Community and Interest to start Entrepreneurship Projects

Community	Interest to start an Entrepreneurship		Total
	Yes	**No**	
Paniya	281 76.2%	88 23.8%	369 100.0%
Others	66 50.0%	66 50.0%	132 100.0%
Total	347 69.3%	154 30.7%	501 100.0%
Calculated value	31.231		
Significant value at 5%	.000		

(*table value-3.84, df-1)*

Table 4.26 shows the association between community and the interest to start entrepreneurship projects. As indicated above, 76.2% among the Paniya community and 50% among other communities are interested to start their own businesses. 50% of other community members show least interest in entrepreneurial initiatives. The Chi- square statistic is higher than the table value for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance. Therefore it can be concluded that there is a significant relation between the respondents' community and the interest to start an entrepreneurship project.

Table 4.27 Community and Challenges to Start Entrepreneurship Projects

| Community | Challenges to Start Entrepreneurship | | | Total |
	Lack of Capital	Lack of Knowledge	Lack of Support	
Paniya	201 (54.5%)	14 (3.8%)	154 (41.7%)	369 (100.0%)
Others	66 (50.0%)	6 (4.5%)	60 (45.4%)	132 (100.0%)
Total	267 (53.3%)	20 (4.0%)	214 (42.7%)	501 (100.0%)
Calculated value	0.817			
Significant value at 5%	0.665			

(*table value-5.99, df-2)*

Table 4.27 depicts the relationship between the communities and challenges to start entrepreneurship projects. In the Paniya community, 54.5 % face lack of capital, 41.7% are troubled with lack of support and 3.8 % don't have idea about entrepreneurship. The other tribal communities also face same problems - 50% face lack of capital and 45.4% receive poor support from the government and social agencies. The chi-square value between these two attributes is 0.817 with 2 degrees of freedom. The table value of χ^2 for 2 degrees of freedom at 5% level of significant is 0.817 and the calculated value is lower than the table value. The results are enough to conclude that there is no significant relation between community and challenges to start entrepreneurship.

Among the resettled tribes, the Paniya community occupies the bottom rung in the ladder of socio-economic development. They show great interest to initiate entrepreneurship projects. However due to social circumstances and poor support from governmental agencies, they are unable to initiate their own

entrepreneurship ventures. Due to lack of complete land ownership (*patta*) they are unable to mobilize the fund for entrepreneurship projects on their own.

4.5.5 Self-Employment

Self-employment refers to independent individual employment opportunities, and earning income through business or trade activity. Forest produce collection is the main source of self- employment among the tribal communities. There are different programs and agencies that work for promoting self-employment in the country. The researcher examined the self-employment programs implemented for resettled tribal communities at Aralam.

Table 4.28 Self-Employment Training

Background Characteristics	Type	Number of Respondents (N=501)	Percentage
Self-Employment Training	Yes	89	17.8
Attended Training	Tailoring/ Sewing	34	6.8
	Food production	16	3.2
	Umbrella Making	31	6.2
	Carpentry	5	1.0
	Agriculture	3	0.6
	Not Applicable	412	82.2

Table 4.28 reveals information regarding self-employment training provided to tribal people which is essential to induce entrepreneurial motivation. From the table it is obvious that out of 501 only 17.8% respondents have attended self-employment training. 82% of the respondents have not attended any training programs provided by the governments and NGOs for various reasons. Among the respondents, 6.8% attended sewing and stitching training, 6.2% attended

umbrella making classes, 1% carpentry and only 0.6% got training for agriculture. Respondent #N.13, a 29-year-old Karimbala woman, critically responds to the ongoing package of self-employment programs in the Resettlement.

> Recently I got a sewing machine, free of cost from government. But I don't know how to stitch. Under the scheme, there is no provision of learning sewing and skill development. They have only distributed the machines. And in the resettlement area we don't have the opportunity to learn sewing. What will we do with this machine! (FGD 2)

4.4.6 Proficiency in Traditional Jobs

The tribes are specialized in their traditional jobs like making bamboo products, pottery, handicraft, carpentry and traditional medicine. The influence of new education system and modernity reduced the interest of new generation to learn their traditional jobs (Yahiya, 2014). The researcher investigated the status of traditional job after the Resettlement.

Table 4.29 Proficiency in Traditional Jobs

Background Characteristic	Traditional Jobs	Number of Respondents (N=501)	Percentage
Proficiency	Bamboo Products	44	8.8
	Pottery	5	1.0
	Handicraft	9	1.8
	Carpentry	15	3.0
	Traditional Medicine	34	6.8
	Total	107	21.4
	No Such Skills	394	78.6
Training	Received	97	19.4

From Table 4.29, it is evident that only 21.4% of the tribes possess traditional job proficiency - among them 8.8% are able to make bamboo products, 6.8% are have knowledge on traditional medicines, 3% have carpentry skills, 1.8% can make handicrafts, and 1% possess pottery skills. Out of the total of 501 respondents, only 97 (19.4%) have attended at least one training program for developing proficiency in any such traditional jobs. Traditional knowledge and skills are declining among the tribal communities. Modern life style and new educational system is not promoting the indigenous knowledge and traditional practices. A *mooppan* (tribal chieftain) explained that "the new generations of our community don't have proper understating of our traditional practices and skills. And they do not have the attitude and interest to learn the traditional practices" (FGD 2).

4.4.7 Agricultural Development

The tribes of Kerala have been cultivating indigenous varieties of crops and practicing traditional pattern of cultivation for centuries, which the modern theory of sustainable agriculture tends to teach. But introduction of new varieties of seeds and changes in the pattern of cultivation have made great effects on the tribal social and economic life. Though the change has brought about some positive effects, it has made great negative impact on the tribal community. Most of the indigenous varieties of crops that the tribal communities possessed became extinct and remaining few are on the verge of extinction. Biodiversity has been badly affected by modern pattern of cultivation. Even though the government has introduced the concept of

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sustainable agriculture, it has failed to promote traditional cultivating patterns and to protect indigenous varieties which exist in the tribal community (N. Kumar, 2013).

The researcher investigated the method of agriculture among the tribal farmers at Aralam. This provided information about method of cultivation and crops.

Table 4.30 Method of Cultivation

Background Characteristics	Particulars	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
		Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage	Number of family (N=501)	Percentage
Method of Cultivation	Traditional	49	9.8	145	28.9
	Modern	5	1.0	-	-
	No land	447	89.2	-	-
	Chemical	-	-	356	71.1
Crops Cultivation	Food crops	50	10.0	97	19.4
	Cash crops	4	0.8	404	80.6
	Not applicable	447	89.2	-	-

Table 4.30 shows that 89.2% of the respondents had no land prior to the Resettlement. Among the remaining people, 9.8% were engaged in traditional way of cultivation, and 1% used modern technologies for cultivation before the Resettlement. But after the Resettlement, 71.1% use chemicals for cultivation and only 28.9% of the respondents adopt traditional methods for cultivation. More precisely, 10% of them cultivated food crops and only 0.8% of them cultivated cash crops before the Resettlement. 80.6% of the respondents have shifted to cash crops and only 19.4% are engaged in cultivating food crops since the Resettlement.

Respondent #N.14, a Kurichiya community member gave the following details of agriculture practices of the tribal communities:

> We were practicing the traditional pattern of cultivation for centuries. Green manure and indigenous seeds are the specialty of the traditional farming. After the Resettlement, TRDM and NABARD provided new varieties of crops which can be better cultivated using modern methods of cultivation.

A tribal farmer at Aralam, Respondent #N.15, talks about the lack of interest shown by the authorities regarding the development of agriculture, and the decision of pineapple cultivation in the free plots of the Aralam Resettlement.

> Several infrastructure facilities have been provided in the Resettlement area including roads, bridges, and houses. But the amount allotted for agricultural support and schemes for employment is very meagre. Further, the Tribal Resettlement authorities have outsourced large tracts of tribal land for pineapple farming for huge investors. The corporate pineapple farming in the Resettlement area is carried out by using pesticides and dangerous hormones which can endanger the ecosystem and also human health. Moreover large scale cultivation of pineapple has also degraded the ecosystem. (FGD 1)

The tribes of Aralam consistently demanded the ban of pineapple farming in the Resettlement area. After a long standing strike carried out by the tribes from 9 July, 2014 to 17 December, 2014, the State Government of Kerala took a decision to stop pineapple farming in the Aralam Tribal Resettlement.

However the resettlement authorities still continue pineapple farming at Aralam by using pesticides and hormones.

4.4.8 Livestock Management

Rearing livestock is an organic part of the tribal life. It contributes heavily to tribal economy and functions as a means of earning livelihood. Most of the tribal families have cows, buffaloes and goats. This is also a vital part of their cultural and religious life, and traditional folklores.

Table 4.31 Availability of Livestock

Livestock	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Respondents (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Respondents (N=501)	Percentage
Cows	61	12.2	129	25.7
Buffaloes	13	2.6	14	2.8
Goats	79	15.8	176	35.1
Hen	84	16.8	129	25.7
Pig	12	2.4	2	0.4
Bee	0	0	1	0.2

Table 4.31 shows that the availability of cows increased from 12.2% to 25.7%, availability of hen increased from 16.8% to 25.7%, and availability of goats increased from 15.8% to 35.1% after the Resettlement. In 2009, TRDM distributed livestock for livelihood development. Many tribal farmers benefited through this scheme. Respondent #N.16, a beneficiary elucidates about this as follows:

I was very happy, when I got a cow from TRDM. But they have given an aged cow with less productivity, purchased from Karnataka. Sir, this area is favorable for rearing livestock. Environmental condition and

availability of resources is conducive for livestock development. Huge

capital investment and lack of market infrastructure are the major

constraints faced by the farmers. (FGD 2)

The Resettlement area has great scope for livestock management. Most of the

farmers are interested to start dairy, poultry, and goat farms. The initiation of

TRDM for livestock distribution was appreciable, but it has reached very few

farmers and it also failed to ensure the quality of livestock distributed to the

farmers.

4.4.9 Source of Income

The major sources of income of tribes, in the earlier days, were

collection of forest produce and agriculture. Collection of forest produce

includes collection of honey, medicinal plants and spices. (Geethanandan,

2016).

Table 4.32 Source of Income

Background Characteristics	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Families	Percentage	Number of Families	Percentage
Agriculture	53	10.6	7	1.4
Labor	441	88.0	391	78.0
Forest products collection	2	.4	-	-
Government job	5	1.0	8	1.6
Farm worker	-	-	79	15.8
Self-employment	-	-	16	3.2
Total	501	100.0	501	100.0

Table 4.32 presents the source of income of the families before and after the

Resettlement. 88% of the respondents were laborers, 10.6% were agricultural

workers, 0.4% collected forest products and only 1% were government

employees before resettlement. After the Resettlement, 78% of the respondents are labors, 15.8% are farm workers, 1.6% are in government jobs since resettlement.

4.4.10 Habit of Savings

Savings is part of economic activity of a family. The surplus amount of the income and materials are kept as savings. The habit of money savings is very less among the tribal communities. The study described different saving activities among the tribes of Aralam.

Table 4.33 Habit of Savings

Savings	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Families (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Families (N=501)	Percentage
Bank savings	84	16.8	356	71.1
Insurances	29	5.8	126	25.1
Jewelry	84	16.8	173	34.5
Liquid money	80	16	163	32.5

It is clear from Table 4.33 that out of 501 tribal households studied, only 16.8% had bank savings, 16.8% had invested in jewelry, 16% had liquid money and 5.8% had insurances for savings before the Resettlement. At the same time the savings pattern underwent dramatic changes after the Resettlement. Following the Resettlement, 71.1% families have bank savings, 126 25.1% are securing insurances, 34.5% have invested in jewelry, and 32.5% have liquid money as their savings.

4.4.11 Government Support for Livelihood promotion

The resettlement plan had promised livelihood for tribes. Different state and central sector schemes are being implemented through various departments for livelihood promotion. The researched examined the implementation of government support for livelihood promotion.

Figure 4.4 Government Support for Livelihood Promotion
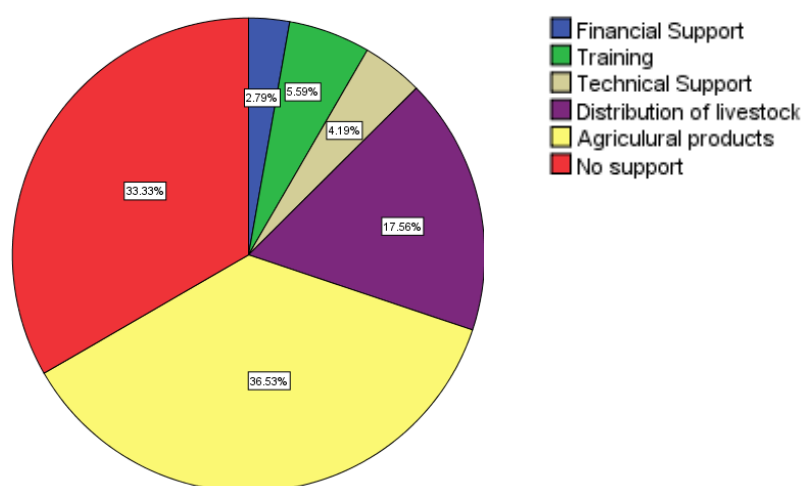
Figure 4.4 indicates that out of 501 families involved in the study, 66.7% of the families are availing support from the government for a better livelihood. Among them 36.5% received support for agricultural products,17.6% received livestock, 5.6% received support for training, 4.2% received support for technical support, and 2.8% received financial support from the government.

Hence an analysis of the economic condition of the resettled tribes at Aralam reveals that there has been much improvement in their economic and material well-being following the Resettlement. For instance, as the above discussion shows possession of household assets, income and savings, and infrastructural facilities have increased. However, there has been a

simultaneous decrease in employment opportunities, and unemployment still continues to be a haunting issue at for the tribes. The next section explores the impact of resettlement on the food habits and health of the resettled tribes at Aralam.

SECTION V
FOOD AND HEALTH

This section analyses changes in food habits and health issues faced by the resettled tribes at Aralam. The response of the tribes towards the changes in their dietary pattern and health problems before and after the Resettlement has also been examined. This section also delves into the availability, accessibility and affordability of the existing public distribution and medical system (healthcare services) in the resettlement area.

4.5.1 Availability of Food

The tribal communities, in the olden days, mainly depended on nature for food. Hunting and gathering food from forest were practiced as part of their tradition. Both men and women played a significant role in the gathering of food. Besides, they also cultivated different indigenous varieties of crops. Tribal food culture has changed with the restriction of tribal communities from forest area and the advent of modernity. The study examined the availability, quality, and cost of food in Aralam Resettlement area.

Table 4.34 Availability of Food

Background Characteristic	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage
Availability	237	47.3	353	70.5
Quality	272	54.3	202	40.2
Cost	224	44.65	421	84

From Table 4.34, it is evident that availability of food to the resettled tribes has increased from 47.3% to 70.5% since the Resettlement, but it should be noted that the quality of food has decreased from 54.3% to 40.2% after the Resettlement. After the Resettlement, they are deprived of their traditional food items due to poor availability and restricted access to forest area. Respondent #N.17, a 56-year-old Paniya woman resettled in the 13th Block of Aralam Farm points out the changing dietary habits among the tribal community:

> Our food habits are changing day- by- day and most of the community members now prefer hotel food. After the Resettlement, the availability of our traditional food materials became poor. *Njandu* (crab) *Nunji* (shell) *Kattukizhangu* (wild tubers) etc. are not available in the Resettlement area. Consumption of *Porotta* (a maida product) has become a habit among the resettled tribes of Aralam.

The tribal people consumed a wide variety of healthy food items in the past. However their food habits have changed with the changing times and this in turn has had serious impacts on their health.

4.5.2 Health

This section analyzes various factors related to the health condition of the resettled tribes at Aralam. It explicates the changes in their health condition before and after the Resettlement and also points out how the tribes at Aralam utilize the existing healthcare services.

Table 4.35 Health Card and Health Issues

Background characteristics	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Health card	143	28.5	371	74.1
Health issues	54	10.8	203	40.5

Table 4.35 shows that only 28.5% respondents availed health card before the Resettlement, but 74.1% of the respondents availed health card after the Resettlement. Thus it is clear that medical care for the tribes has increased significantly since the Resettlement. TRDM and Health Department effectively distributed the health cards to the beneficiaries in the Resettlement area and many of them got concession for treatment because of their health cards. This shows the effective intervention of government agencies. Table 4.35 also exhibits data regarding the health issues of the tribal families before and after the Resettlement. It is clear that health issues among the respondents increased from 10.8 % to 40.5% after the Resettlement.

4.5.2.1 Types of Disease

Aralam Resettlement area is prone to dangerous diseases. Even those diseases which have been wiped out from India are seen at Aralam.

Table 4.36 Types of Disease Suffered

Background Characteristics	Number of Respondents (N=501)	Percentage
TB	29	5.8
Cancer	8	1.6
Leprosy	2	0.4
Anemia	30	6.0
Mental problem	5	1.0

Table 4.36 shows that 6% of the respondents suffer from anemia, 5.8% of them suffer from TB, 1.6% from cancer and 1% are affected by issues related to mental health. Following news reports on this, mega medical camps have been organized at Aralam. However these camps which involved an extravagant spending of government funds were not really effective. A medical camp organized by the district authorities in September 2013 and other available data on the health of the resettled tribes at Aralam reveals the following:

- Four child deaths took place in Aralam where about 250 children have some kind of illness.

- 87 people suffer from malnutrition.

- 10 people have mental disorders

- 21 people have problems related to eyes

- 124 women suffer from pregnancy related issues

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- 30 people have dental problems

- 111 people have dermatological complaints

- 51 patients were in their adolescence

These were the numerical data revealed after the mega medical camp. The data was gathered after treating 1211 people at Aralam. The above data shows the lack of proper health facilities in Asia's exemplary tribal rehabilitation center.

4.5.2.2 Accessing Healthcare Services

The study examined the accessibility of healthcare services in the Resettlement area. Availability and distance to the hospital, transportation, healthcare facilities, availability of medicine and cost of treatment are considered for the evaluation.

Table 4.37 Difficulties in Accessing Health Services

Background Characteristics	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Lack of hospitals	113	22.6
Distance to the hospital	64	12.8
Lack of transportation	271	54.1
Lack of doctors	28	5.6
Lack of availability of medicine	15	3.0
Cost of treatment	10	2.0
Total	501	100.0

The researcher investigated the opinion of the resettled tribes on the availability of health services at Aralam. The respondents are of the opinion that the healthcare services are better in the Resettlement area when compared to their native places. But the problem they face is poor accessibility of healthcare services mainly due to lack of adequate transportation facilities

(54.1%). In the Resettlement area, the government often provides free medicines and services. There is also a mobile medical unit that visits each and every area once in a week.

Table 4.38 Satisfaction Regarding Health Services

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Not Good	86	17.2
To some extent	202	40.3
Very Good	213	42.5
Total	501	100.0

Table 4.38 presents the distribution of the tribes according to their degree of satisfaction with the health services received in the Resettlement area. 42.5% of the respondents are happy with the health services, 40.3% are happy to some extent, and 17.2% of them are not at all satisfied with the health services at Aralam.

4.5.2.3 Substance Abuse

The habit of substance use is very common among the tribes of Kerala. Drinking alcohol and chewing tobacco are notable features of the tribal culture (Jacob, 2010). It is also a part of their social festivals and functions. The researcher observed the changes of substance use before and after the Resettlement.

Table 4.39 Substance Abuse

Background Characteristic	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage	Number of Family (N=501)	Percentage
Alcoholism	379	75.6	356	71.1
Tobacco	370	73.8	392	78.2
Smoking	200	39.9	221	44.1

Table 4.39 shows that out of the 501 samples involved in the study, 75.6% of the respondents used to consume alcohol before the Resettlement. This has slightly decreased to 71.1% after the Resettlement. At the same time other habits like using tobacco increased from 73.8% to 78.2%, and smoking increased from 39.9% to 44.1% after the Resettlement. Chewing betel leaf and areca nut, commonly known as *Adakka*, is also a common habit among the Paniyas. Both youth and elders, including women, are highly vulnerable to this habit. This often results in serious health issues such as cancer. Studies suggest that areca nut chewing habit can cause dependency syndrome (Mirza et al., 2011; Benegal et al., 2008). Respondent #N.18, a 41-year-old Mavilan tribal woman, explains how alcoholism has affected her family:

> My husband is an alcoholic and he does not give a single rupee to the family. Every day he consumes alcohol and makes violence at home. It is destroys the peaceful environment of the family and affects the studies of my children. At times, we have to take him to the hospital because of health problems due to alcoholism. Our men are paid with alcohol along with daily wages. Whatever money they earn, they spend on liquor, so

we are struggling to meet our basic needs. They are addicted to alcohol and consequently not interested to work, and this affects our family income. Formerly the feudal landlords used to distribute alcohol for working under them without much payment, so our forefathers got addicted. These days some new landlords are distributing alcohol to attract us. If the tribal men get addicted to alcohol, they know that they can exploit the tribal women too. (FGD 5)

Workers from lower class and tribes are often paid less and exploited. Addiction of alcohol on the part of the tribes makes it easy for the employers to take advantage of them. They are used like slaves without paying much. Moreover addiction to alcohol also makes them more vulnerable to social evils. It leads to extreme poverty among the tribal communities. One cannot ignore the fact that one of the many ways in which migrant people looted the tribes and took away their land, in the past, is by exploiting their addiction to alcohol. In the contemporary era, even the young generation is addicted to alcohol. Hence although consuming alcohol is part of the tribal culture, addiction to alcohol has detrimental effects on their physical as well social health.

Box No. 3 Discussion on Alcoholism

In a group discussion held at 13th Block of the Resettlement, the group members openly spoke about the connection between tribal rituals and alcoholism. According to Respondent #N. 12:

"Alcohol has now become an inevitable part of the customs and rituals of tribes. The Kurumar community of Wayanad offers alcohol to their ancestors and God in a ritual called *uchar*. The alcohol is then distributed among the guests taking part in the function. The same kind of practices can be seen among the Paniyar, Kurichiar and other tribal communities. Often these ceremonies end up in quarrel and commotion. It's not just their life, but their whole culture has been bottled in alcoholism. As the government started distributing rice for one rupee, women can work and earn the money to buy it. Men buy and consume alcohol for all the money they earn. The situation didn't change much even after being rehabilitated from the colonies to the Resettlement area. Alcoholism affects the mental health of the resettled tribes and often leads to suicides for petty issues.

4.5.2.4 Community and Alcoholism

The researcher observed that many tribal communities use alcohol in their rituals and traditional practices. The consumption of alcohol negatively affects their financial condition and family life (Yahiya, 2015). The researcher identified significant differences in the consumption of alcohol between different tribes at Aralam.

Table 4.40 Community and the Habit of Alcoholic Consumption

Community	Before Habit of alcoholism		After Habit of alcoholism		Total
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	
Paniya	297 80.5%	72 19.5%	274 74.3%	95 25.7%	369 100.0%
Others	82 (62.1%)	50 (37.8%)	82 (62.1%)	50 (37.8%)	132 100.0%
Total	379 75.6%	122 24.4%	356 71.1%	145 28.9%	501 100.0%
Calculated value	17.803		6.960		
Significant at 5%	*0.000*		.008		

(*table value-3.84, df-1*)

Table 4.40 presents details about the relationship between the community and the habit of alcoholism before and after the Resettlement. Before the Resettlement, 80.5% people among the Paniya community and 62.1% in other communities consumed alcohol. The chi- Square value for the association between these attributes is 17.803 with 1 degree of freedom. The table value of χ^2 for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 6.960 and the calculated value is higher than the table value. It is concluded that there is a significant relation between the community and the habit of alcoholism before the Resettlement.

As far as after the Resettlement is concerned, alcoholism among the Paniya community reduced to 74.3%, but there has been no such significant change in the case of other communities. Since the calculated χ^2 value (6.960) is higher than the table value (3.84) with 4 degrees of freedom, it is concluded that there is a significant association between community and habit of

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alcoholism even after the Resettlement. It is found that there are no changes in the habit of alcoholism after the Resettlement. The use of excess amount of alcohol among the Paniyas can be linked with the history of feudalism and colonialism in the tribal area. Earlier the feudal landlords distributed alcohol among the Paniyas and got them addicted to the alcohol (Yahiya, 2014).

While researcher enquired about the availability of liquor in the Aralam Resettlement area, some participants reported that in the initial stage of the Resettlement, there was excessive use of alcohol and higher number of suicides among the tribes. After the intervention of Janamaithri Police and Kudumbashree, the use of alcohol reduced. However, even now some people prepare *Vaatu charayam* (liquor) at home. Some others buy alcohol from the government's beverage outlet at Iritty (a town nearby). At times, landlords provide alcohol to the tribes to attract them for work.

Hence a study of the impact of resettlement on food habits and health of the resettled tribes shows that the availability of food and primary healthcare services have increased following the Resettlement. However the quality of food has decreased. There has also been an increase in substance abuse which drastically affects the health of the tribal people. The next section explains the political participation of the tribes at Aralam at the grass root level.

SECTION VI

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AT THE GRASS ROOT LEVEL

The present section discusses the system of governance at Aralam Tribal Resettlement. It discusses the availability of various government schemes to the resettled tribes, functioning of *Oorukuttam* and the TRDM, and awareness about PESA. This section also sheds light on the effectiveness of the implementation of government schemes, and points out the opinion of the resettled tribes on the governing system.

4.6.1 Tribal Grama Sabha (*Oorukootam*)

The *Oorukoottam* is the tribal Grama Sabha. It works as a democratic institution for the effective functioning of development projects and policies by enabling the participation of the tribes, and promoting accountability and transparency in the implementation and administration of development activities. According to the tribal resettlement guidelines, the local government should be fully involved in the project formulation (through *Oorukuttam*, the ultimate authority). They ought b to be provided with all the details of the proposed plan and requested to fund and implement certain components. The researcher checked the effectiveness of *Oorukoottam* and participation level of each tribal community in the *Oorukoottam* (G.O.MS 63/2002SC/STDD).

Table 4.41 *Oorukoottam*

Background Characteristics	Number of Respondents (N=501)	Percentage
Participation	375	74.9
Consideration	290	57.9
Effectiveness	93	18.6

Table 4.41 shows that the participations of the tribes in *Oorukoottam* is quite high- 74.9%. The researcher investigated the level of consideration of the opinions and suggestions of each community in the *Oorukuttam*. 57.9% of the respondents opine that their suggestions are taken seriously. However, only 18.6% families feel that *Oorukuttam* is effective in the Resettlement area. In the absence of a proper legislation in accordance with the Schedule V of the Constitution of India and subsequent national legislations such as the PESA Act 1996, The Scheduled Tribes and Other Forest Dwellers (Rights Recognition) Act 2006, the tribal administration has failed to check the problems and issues in tribal development. Most of the decisions in the resettlement area are taken by the TRDM and some political parties.

Table 4.42 Community and Consideration in *Oorukuttam*

Community	Consideration in *Oorukuttam*		Total
	Yes	No	
Paniya	205 55.6%	164 44.4%	369 100.0%
Others	85 64.4%	47 35.65%	132 100.0%
Total	290 57.9%	211 42.1%	501 100.0%
Calculated Value	3.115		
Significant value at 5%	0.078		

(*table value-3.84,df-1)*

Table 4.42 exhibits the association between community and consideration in *Oorukuttam*. It is noted that 55.6% of the Paniyas and 64.4% of other tribal communities feel that they are given due consideration in *Oorukuttam*. They get opportunities to explain their problems and development activities in their area. However when compared to other tribal communities, the Paniyas receive less consideration in the *Oorukuttam*. As the calculated value (3.115) is lesser than the table value (3.84) at 5% significant level, it is found that community not plays a significant role in the consideration of *Oorukuttam*.

Respondent# N.19, a member of the Adivasi Gothra Mahashabha explains the vote bank politics of political parties as follows:

The tribes are the victims of party politics. Political parties need us just for voting. Often they use tribes to make lengthy processions or for posting party posters at different places. After forming the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha our supporters were physically and mentally abused by parties, especially by the Communist party. They attacked us physically and destroyed our cultivation. We have no faith in any political party. All parties behave like old *janmis* (landlord). They see us as mere uncivilized slaves. (FGD 1)

The tribal leader argues that political parties exploit the tribal communities. The lack of unity among the resettled tribes at Aralam worsens the situation and increases their exploitation by the parties.

Box No.4 Customary Way of Governance

"There are certain rules among the tribal communities who live in 'hamlets' and strictly adhere to their traditions and customs. A customary leadership in the form of a tribal chieftain is a pre- requisite for the stability of the community. In such a system, resolution of challenges and conflicts faced by the community is done through customary methods. Hence in a newly resettled area where hundreds of families (sometimes recruited from different communities and settlements) seek a new life and habitat, an approach to regain their organic structure of the village community life is essential."

(FGD 4 held at 7th Block of Aralam Tribal Resettlement)

4.6.2 Participation of the TRDM in Development Process

Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) is the agency constituted for the rehabilitation and development of tribal communities. The Mission aims at the sustainable development of the tribal beneficiaries through an integrated approach. A nodal agency of the TRDM began operating at Aralam Tribal Resettlement in 2004. Land distribution and all developmental activities are implemented by this agency in the Resettlement area. The researcher collected the opinion of the resettled tribes on the TRDM.

Table 4.43 Opinion on Services of TRDM

Background Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Not really	300	59.9
To some extent	134	26.7
Very much	67	13.4
Total	501	100.0

The above table 4.43 exhibits the distribution of the tribes according to their opinion on the services provided by the TRDM. It is seen that maximum respondents, 59.9%, feel that the services are not really adequate, 26.7% are partially satisfied by the functioning of the TRDM, and only13.4% are happy with the services provided by the TRDM. The TRDM is fully involved in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programs for the resettled tribes. They provide the primary requirements for the developmental activities in the Resettlement area. Hence majority of the resettled tribes at Aralam have a negative opinion regarding the services provided by the TRDM.

4.6.3 Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act

Considering the Bhuria Commission's (1996) recommendations, The Provision of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 clearly says, "a village shall ordinarily consist of a habitation or a group of hamlets comprising a community and managing its affairs in accordance with traditions and customs."

Table 4.44 Awareness of PESA

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Not really	431	86.0
To some extent	65	13.0
Very much	5	1.0
Total	501	100.0

Table 4.44 depicts the distribution of the tribes according to their awareness of PESA. It is obvious from the table that 86% of the respondents are not really aware of PESA, 13% of them are aware to some extent and only 1% of them are aware about PESA. The Coordinator of the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha points out:

> In consequence of the standing strike launched by the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha for 6 months with effect from 09.07.2014 to 17.12.2014 before the Kerala Secretariat, the Government of Kerala took a decision in the Cabinet to recommend to bring tribal areas comprising 2240 tribal under the Schedule V of the Constitution and also to implement PESA Act. The Government of Kerala, in November 2014, submitted a detailed proposal before the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. However the proposal, after detailed deliberations, is still pending before the Ministry. (FGD 1)

In the absence of constitutional safeguards, the land and culture of tribes in Kerala is being encroached by organized forces in several forms. Therefore the Gothra Mahasabha later requested the Honorable Governor of Kerala to intervene in the matter and to give directions to the concerned authorities.

Hence the above analysis on the political participation of the resettled tribes at Aralam Tribal Resettlement shows that their participation at the grass root level has improved. However the degree of effectiveness of their political efforts is comparatively poor. While some tribal communities get due consideration in tribal Grama Sabha or *Oorukuttams* and are able to express their views freely, others like the Paniya community are largely ignored. The final section in this chapter sums up the results and discussions of the study.

4.6.4 Social Welfare Schemes

Pension service is considered to be an integral part of social welfare. The government provides certain mechanisms for supporting the vulnerable sections of the society and pension scheme is one among them. Table 4.43 discusses the major welfare service schemes for senior citizens, widows and differently abled persons.

Table 4.45 Pension Service

Pension Scheme	Number of Persons		Availing Pension	
	Number of Family	Percentage	Number of Family	Percentage
Senior Citizens	162	32.3	118	72.83
Widows	100	20	34	34.00
Differently abled	7	1.4	5	71.42

Table 4.45 reveals that among the total respondents, 32.3% are old, out of which 72.83% respondents receive old age pension. 20% of the respondents consist of widows and 34% among them get widow pension. Finally, out of the 7 differently abled citizens, 5 receive financial assistance from the government

4.6.5 Life after Resettlement

The Aralam Tribal Resettlement was a well-planned process. The researcher tried to understand the opinion of the resettled tribal families on their life after the Resettlement.

Figure 4.5 Opinion on Life After Resettlement (%)
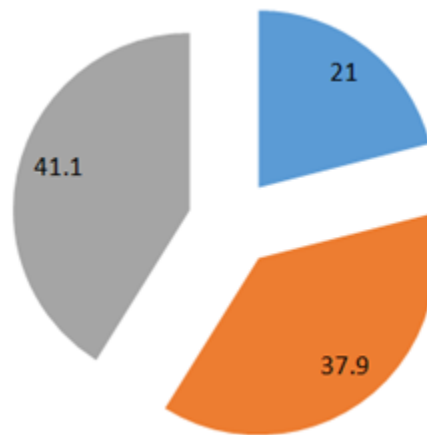
Not really ▮ **Not very good** ▮ **Very good** ▮

Figure 4.4 highlights that 41.1% of tribal families at Aralam are very happy about their life after the Resettlement, 37.9% opine that their life is good to some extent, and 21% are not at all happy with their post- Resettlement. Despite this, they are happy that they have received at least an acre of land to live after long struggles. Respondent #N.4, a member of the Paniya community residing in Block 13 of Aralam, explains his view about the Resettlement as follows:

> It was the moment of great happiness and pride when we got a piece of land. But when we started living in that land, life became more and more intolerable and tragic. When we came to Aralam leaving our homeland and our beloved people, we had great expectations. We thought, we

could lead our agrarian life in the land we acquired after years of struggles and conflicts. But we were wrong. We were given *only half* [emphasis added] of the land bought from the Central Government using the tribal money. (FGD 4)

4.6.6 Challenges in Resettlement Life

Interaction with the tribal families at Aralam revealed that the major challenges they face are wildlife threat, natural disasters, poverty, landlessness, health hazards and unemployment.

Table 4.46 Type of Constraints

Constraints	Before Resettlement		After Resettlement	
	Number of Families	Percentage	Number of Families	Percentage
Animal conflict	21	4.2	288	57.5
Natural Disaster	30	6.0	38	7.6
Economic Shock	94	18.7	71	14.2
Landlessness	306	61	-	-
Health Hazardous	10	1.9	15	3.0
Unemployment	30	6.0	89	17.8
Total	501	100.0	501	100.0

Table 4.46 shows that before the Resettlement, the major issue faced by the tribes was landlessness. After the Resettlement 57.5 % of the tribal families at Aralam point out that the major problem they face is the lack of adequate protective measures from wild animals. The resettlement area at Aralam is adjacent to the Aralam Wildlife Sanctuary. Before taking over the land for tribal resettlement, the Aralam farm was well protected from wildlife sanctuary by electric fencing which covered nearly 12 km. But immediately after the land was taken over for the resettlement of tribes, the electric fencing structure was dismantled. The Gothra Mahasabha submitted several petitions to the

concerned authorities to protect the tribes at Aralam from wild animals. A standing strike was launched in front of the state Secretariat for 6 months from 9 July, 2014 to 17 December, 2014. Although the State Government accepted the demands of the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha including the construction of iron fencing, the project is still incomplete, and a major portion of the Resettlement area is still kept open without any protective wall or fencing. As a result of the lack of protective measures wild elephants killed 9 tribal people (2006- 11) and several tribal families left the Resettlement area. Respondent #N.5, a member of the Gothra Mahasabha points out that:

> Several petitions on wildlife threat are pending before the State Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission Chairperson, Director of Scheduled Tribes Development Department, District Chairperson of TRDM. But no steps have been initiated by the responsible authorities so far. (FGD 4)

Since the land allocated to the tribal families was the previously the habitat of wild animals, the crops cultivated by the people at Aralam are eaten by these wild animals. This is indeed a huge loss for them.

Box No.5 Discussion on Man-Animal Conflict at Aralam

"As the tribal families at Aralam are housed close to the habitat of wild animals, the animals pose a great threat to our peaceful environment. A woman (Madhavi- 43 years) was killed by an elephant while she was sleeping inside her hut. Yet no one discussed this event because it is an ordinary incident here. Here one can expect an attack any time. The scenes that happened when Madhavi's dead body reached Aralam were dramatic. Her body had been held for almost four hours simply for political gimmicks. A local politician insisted that the body shall not be buried until a solution has been found for the animal conflict. And at last the politician came up with a solution that two guards have to be appointed for 24/7 surveillance to safeguard tribes from wild animal attack. The idea would be that if two guards are appointed 24/7 to drive away elephants in this wide area, it could reduce animal attack. It was only a political exploitation to fool us. It is extremely treacherous. These politicians trickle their crocodile tears as saviors while they are not in power. But when they were given power they see tribes as their enemies."

(FGD 1 held at the 9th Block of Aralam Tribal Resettlement)

The destruction of the electric fencing which protected Aralam farm from the Aralam wildlife sanctuary nearby following the rehabilitation of the tribes has

made the Resettlement area highly vulnerable to attacks by wild animals. It has resulted in the death of several people at Aralam.

Box No.6 The Struggle for Drinking water

"The major problem we face is the shortage of drinking water. During summer, we have to travel several kilometers to collect water. Through TRDM we will get money to dig wells. But it will only be given to us once the work is completed. Since our monthly income is just below rupees thousand, how can we ever allocate money for this purpose? However, as life without drinking water is impossible, many of us have even sold the precious few assets we have dig a well. Even after digging deep, these wells remain waterless. This state is continuing for the past eight years. Yet, the government has not taken any measures."

(FGD 3 held at 13th Block of Aralam Tribal Resettlement)

In 2013, it was declared that that 10 fresh water supply projects would be established at Aralam farm rehabilitation area as part of the Jalanidhi project. Accordingly the authorities collected Rs.120 from almost thousand tribal families, as part of share from the beneficiaries. However Aralam farm rehabilitation area was not included within the scope of the project. According to the project's terms and conditions, 5% of the expense should be borne by the beneficiaries and 15% of it by the Grama Panchayat. The failure of the Grama Panchayat to allocate the required fund resulted in the rehabilitation area being excluded from the scope of the project area.

4.6.7 Aralam Lost in Darkness

Although the Resettlement at Aralam took place in 2006, the resettled families had to wait till 2013 for getting electricity. Although, KSEB had already collected fund from the tribes for electrifying the place, they were unable to provide connections for individual house until 2013. In 2013, 3094 houses at Aralam were supplied electricity. KSEB had also taken one and a half crore rupees for installing street lights in the rehabilitation sector. As the presence of wild animals multiplied, street lights became an urgent necessity.

The process of land distribution was biased by the political ideology and preferences of the tribal people who sent applications to the TRDM. Respondent #N.1, a tribal member of the Gothra Mahasabha points out:

> In the second phase of the Resettlement, the Government considered only the landless tribes of Kannur district, i.e those who shared the ideology of the dominating political party. It created wide protest from the landless tribes of Wayanad. It also split the resettled tribes of Aralam in to different political lines.

At the time of the Resettlement, the Government gave the resettled tribal families at Aralam *kaivasharekha*, a certificate of temporary possession. No *pattayam* (certificate of complete possession and ownership) has been given yet. A Paniya man, Respondent #N.2 from the Resettlement area asks:

> We cannot cut a tree there, if we need to.
>
> Then how do you expect us to call it *our* [emphasis added] land?
>
> (FGD 3)

Even with a *pattayam*, the tribes can neither sell the land allocated to them nor can they place it as collateral for availing bank loans. Banks refuse to accept the resettlement land as collateral as they cannot be confiscated in case of an absence of the repayment of the loan. The only time when the resettled people can take bank loans is when they have relatives with assets or when a public servant (government officer) stands as guarantor, a luxury that the tribes cannot afford.

.**SECTION VII**

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The tribal resettlement in Kerala took birth from the various tribal struggles for land, particularly from the Muthanga struggle of 2004. The land chosen for the resettlement project in Aralam was quite close to the forest area, which proved to be quite dangerous to life and security of the resettled tribes. Although the tribes were 'allocated' land at Aralam, they were not given the actual rights to the land. Consequently, they did not 'own' the land and they remained as mere residents in Aralam. 41 % of the resettled tribes are relatively happy that they were given the land as per the resettlement project, 69 %s of resettled tribes are unhappy with the land and the facility offered to them at Aralam. While landlessness was the major problem of the tribes in the pre-Resettlement period, the prime concerns in the post-Resettlement phase are man-animal conflict (particularly wildlife threat), unemployment and financial constraints. The lack of proper fencing around the resettlement land put the people of Aralam in an extremely vulnerable situation. They face severe attack

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from the wild animals. Although it has resulted in the loss of several lives and property of the resettled tribes and several complaints has been lodged in this regard, no proper action has taken by the Government. The Aralam resettlement project allocated an acre of land each for 3094 families, but only 1618 families have moved to Aralam. The rest of them are unwilling to come to Aralam due to the lack of proper facilities in resettlement area, which constitutes to wildlife threats and unemployment.

4.7.1 Social Life

Literacy among the 501 tribal families chosen for the study is not up to the mark. 31.7% families had two illiterate members and 25.5% families had one illiterate member. The highest educational qualification of 45.7% literate tribal people at Aralam is secondary (High school level) education. Only 0.6% of them went for higher studies (post-graduation level). The majority of the illiterate tribes at Aralam belong to Paniya community.

Figure 4.6 Significant Factors of Social Life related to Resettlement
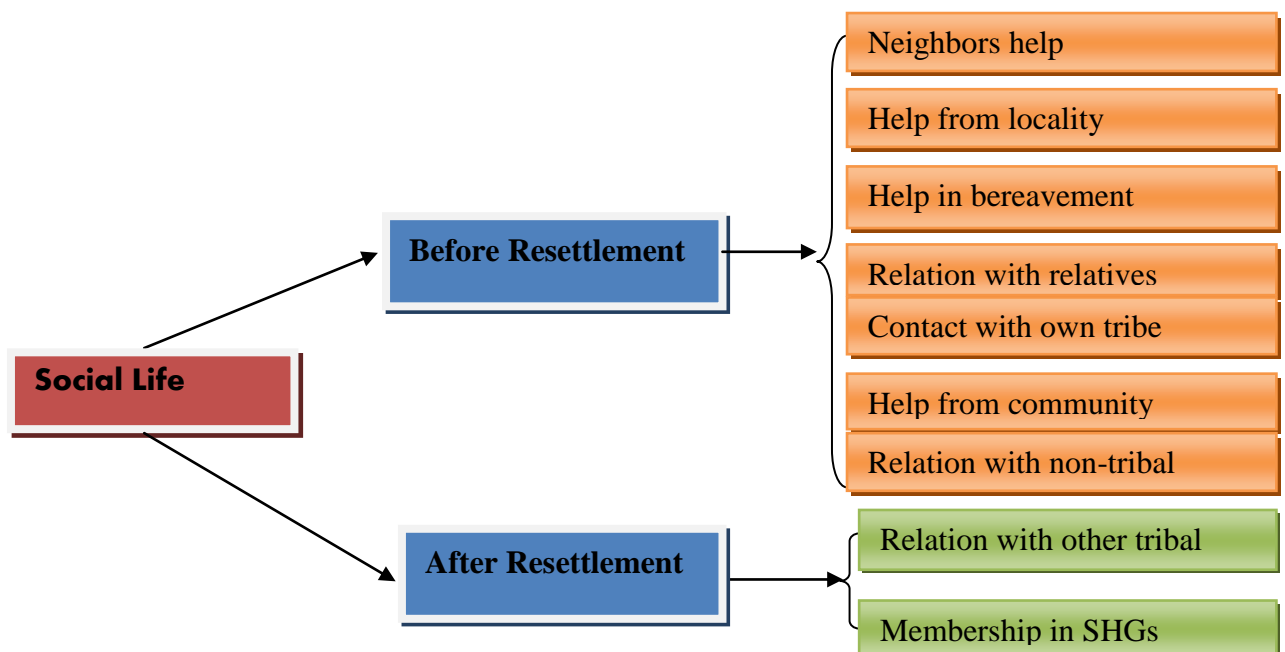
Figure 4.6 shows that in the days before the Resettlement, the tribal people at Aralam enjoyed better help from neighbors, relatives and other members of the community than in the post-Resettlement phase.

Neighbor's help for family functions reveals that the Mean value for neighbors' help for family functions is 2.76 before the Resettlement and it has reduced to 2.17 after the Resettlement. It concluded that resettlement negatively influences receiving help from neighbors help for family functions which in turn affects the relationship among the tribal families of Aralam. The tribal families at Aralam get less help from the locality after the Resettlement (2.12 Mean value) than before (2.79 Mean value). It can be concluded that the amount of help received from the locality is negatively affected after the resettlement. The Mean value for sympathy to others after resettlement is 2.07, but before resettlement it was 2.72. It can be concluded that there is strong evidence (t = -18.185, p = 0.000) that the resettlement reduced sympathy to others. The mean value for relation with relatives after resettlement is 1.9, before it was 2.76. It indicates that the respondents are struggling to get in touch with their relatives after resettlement. There is a strong proof (t = -9.692, p = 0.000) that the resettlement reduces the habit of contacting with their own tribe. Since p value is less than 0.05, the resettlement negatively influenced contact with their own tribe. Before the resettlement, they were living in hamlet, but now they are separated to different households.

The coming together of several tribal communities at Aralam has fostered the cultural assimilation among these communities. The Mean value

for relation with other tribal communities after resettlement is 1.91, which was 1.39 before. Hence, the tribes are maintaining high relationship with other tribal communities after resettlement.

The setting aspect of the resettlement area at Aralam as a 'restricted' area has greatly affected the interaction of the tribal communities with the mainstream society. According to the Table 4.10, the Mean value for interaction with non-tribal people before the Resettlement is 2.32, but it is reduced into 1.79 after the Resettlement. There is a strong evidence (t = -17.757, p = 0.000) that the resettlement reduces the relation with non-tribal people. The geographical isolation is the main reason for the limited contact with the mainstream society.

4.7.2 Cultural Life

Marriage: The marriage practices among the tribal communities have changed significnatly after the Resettlement. According to Table 4.12, it is shown that 75% of the tribes got married in the age of 18 to 24 before the Resettlement, but it has increased after the Resettlement as 87.4%. Regarding the type of marriage, 81.6% followed traditional marriage before the Resettlement and it has reduced to 35.9 after the Resettlement. While only 18.4% were involved in modern marriage style before the Resettlement, the number has increased to 64.1% after the Resettlement.

Family system: Family is an integral part of communal life of the tribal communities. The Resettlement caused a massive change in the family structure of tribal communities. The Table 4.16 shows the type of family of the

resettled communities before and after resettlement. Before resettlement, out of the total samples, 80.4% were in the joint family and only 19.6% lived as nuclear families. But after resettlement, 97.6% are in nuclear families, and only 2.4% are living in joint families.

Figure 4.7 Important Elements of Cultural Life related to Resettlement
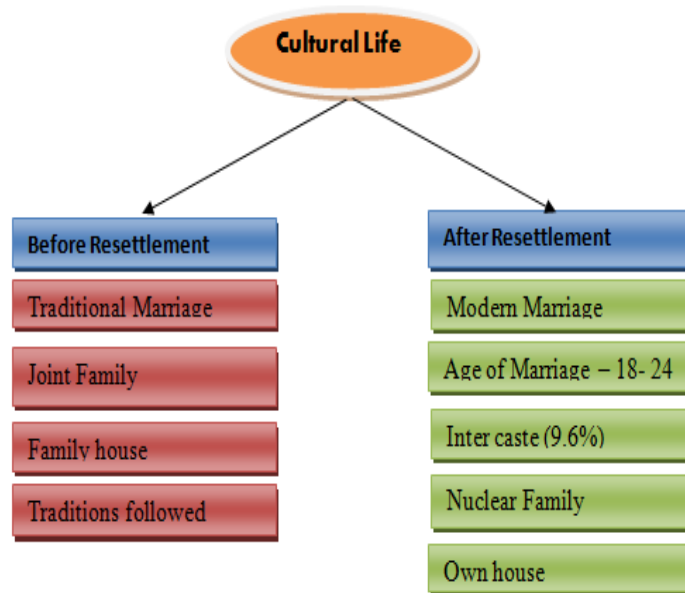
Resettlement heralded in perceptible changes in the tribal culture with radical shifts in marriage and family system. While the Resettlement has led to an erosion of traditional marriage and the joint family system, it has signaled an increasing popularity of modern nuclear families, 'modern' wedding ceremonies and rituals, as well as an increase in inter- tribe marriages.

4.7.3 Economic Condition

There are positive changes in the case of household assets after the Resettlement. According to the table 4.18, 68.3 % of them lived in family houses before the Resettlement; after the Resettlement, 97.4 % of the resettled

tribes are living in their own houses. Before the Resettlement, 68.1% of their houses were *kaccha*. The situation continues after the Resettlement with 85.4 % of the houses being *kaccha*. Regarding the adequacy of the rooms in terms of numbers, 65.9% of them lived in houses with inadequate rooms before resettlement and after resettlement, 42.2% of the houses still lack sufficient number of rooms.

From the table 4.19 it is evident that only 27.9% of the Paniyas and 72.2% of other tribal communities owned toilets in their home before resettlement. After resettlement, the availability of toilets is higher in all communities with Paniyas 90.2% and other communities 93.9%. There is a significant difference in availability of toilets to the communities after resettlement. Possession of household articles such as land, chair, table, cot, fan, television, radio, mobile phone, bicycle, and other vehicles have increased after resettlement.

There has been not much change in the quality and type of occupation of the tribes before and after resettlement. Table 4.21 exhibits that 88.6% of the resettled tribes were laborers before resettlement and after resettlement too, 79.2% are laborers. Table 4.23 explains the number of works available for the tribes per month. Out of the total tribal families selected for the study, 67.9 % of them got 11 to 20 work days before resettlement, and after resettlement 45.9% get work for less than 5 days a month and 24.8% of them get 6 to 10 work day per month. Hence, unemployment is a primary issue in the resettlement area and this adversely affects the quality of their life. Although the resettlement policy promised employment to at least one person from every

tribal family, only 12.6% of the tribal families at Aralam Farm have been employed.

The resettled communities are interested to start entrepreneurship projects but lack of capital is the main hindrance. Although 69.3% of the respondents expressed the desire to start various entrepreneurship project like dairy, cattle rearing, poultry farming, 53% are unable to do so due to lack of financial capital. Only 17.8% of the respondents in Aralam is received self-employment training.

There has been a radical shift from traditional farming to chemical and food crops in the post resettlement phase. According to Table 4.30, 89.2% of the respondents have no land, and among the remaining households, 9.8% were doing traditional way of cultivation before resettlement. There has also been a change from the cultivation of food crops to cash crops after resettlement. Livestock management has improved after resettlement and it is one of the major sources of livelihood for the tribes at Aralam.

The Saving pattern of the tribes has changed following the Resettlement. Most of the tribal families in Aralam have taken an interest in financial savings. From the table 4.33, it is clear that only 16.8% had made bank savings before resettlement, but after resettlement it has increased to 71.1. However the habit of pattern of saving is in its initial stage.

The people of Aralam received very less support from Government with respect to livelihood promotion. Among them 36.5% received support for agricultural products, 5.6% received support of training, 4.2% received support

for technical support, and 2.8% received financial support from the government.

Figure 4.8 Enhancing Components of Economic Conditions related to Resettlement
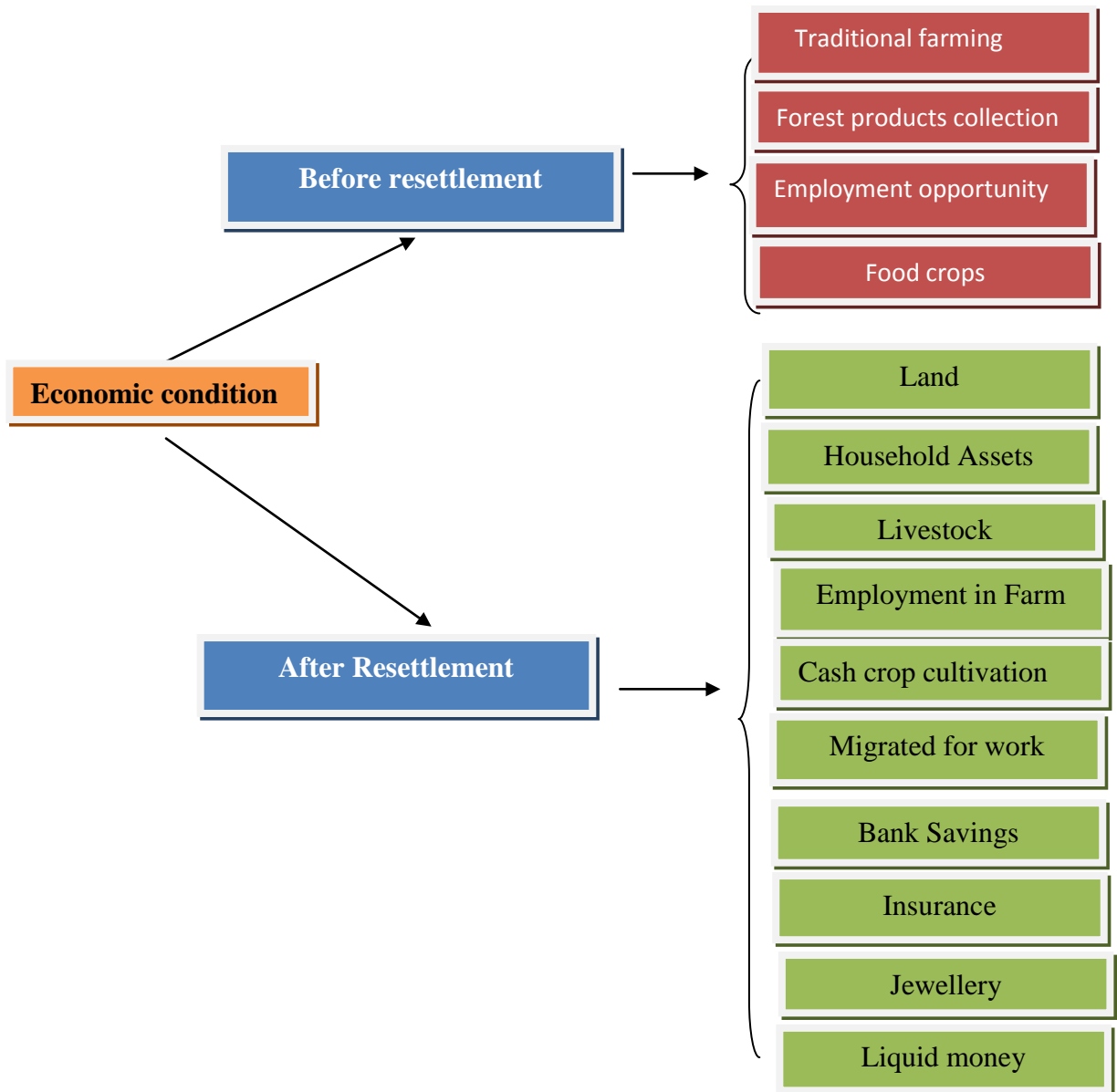
Resettlement has increased the material assets of the tribes along with changes in their employment opportunities and agricultural cultivation patterns. Traditional farming and cultivation of cash crops has been replaced by increasing cultivation of cash crops. While the tribes initially relied mainly on agriculture and

collection of forest produces, they now have more varied employment opportunities. Post-resettlement period is also characterized by the migration of the tribes from Aralam in search of better employment. They also now possess other assets such as jewelry, bank savings, livestock, land etc.

4.7.4 Food and Health

Although the availability of food increased after resettlement, the quality as well as traditional diversity of food (of the tribes) decreased. From the table 4.34 it is found that availability of food to the resettled tribes has increased from 47.3 % to 70.5% since resettlements, but it is noted that the quality of the food is decreased from 54.3% to 40.2% after the resettlement.

Figure 4.9 Changes in Food Pattern

Resettlement has effected a change in the dietary habits of the tribes from healthy traditional food items to modern diet patterns. Traditional tribal food items were less costly, mostly natural and healthier as compared to the modern day food items now available to them after resettlement. However following the resettlement, the availability of food has increased in the resettlement area.

Health: In the years following the resettlement, health issues among the resettled tribal communities increased from 10 % to 40.5 %. Diseases such as Tuberculosis and Leprosy which have been wiped out from the mainstream society are still seen among the tribes of Aralam. The number of cancer patients is also high among the tribal communities.

Although medical facilities have increased in Aralam, it is still difficult for the people to make use of the facility at emergency situations. They are facing the issue of poor accessibility due the lack transportation facility (54.1%). Among them 42.5% of the respondents are happy with the health services

The prevalence of alcoholism among the resettled tribes has decreased from the 75.6% to 71.1% mainly due to the lack of availability of alcohol. However the use of tobacco smoking has increased sharply from 13.9% to 78.2% and 39.9% to 44.1% respectively.

Figure 4.10 Changes in Health Condition

Resettlement has resulted in a decrease in the health of the tribes with a parallel increase in the availability of healthcare services. The tribal people, prior to the resettlement, practiced traditional healthcare practices and the prevalence of diseases among them was quite low. However, in the post-resettlement phase, the health sector of the tribes at Aralam is characterized by increased modern healthcare facilities, increased availability of the services and reduced alcoholism.

4.7.5 Grass Root Level Political Participation

Following the Resettlement, pension schemes for senior citizens as well as widows and differently abled people have been implemented in Aralam. Table 4.45 reveals that out of the total respondents, 32.3% of the respondents are old, and among them 72.83% respondents are availing old age pension. There are 20% widows, and among them 34% are getting widow pension, and 7 are differently abled out of them 5 are receiving financial assistance from the government.

The participation in *Oorukuttam* or tribal Grama Sabhahas increased after the Resettlement (74.9%). The level of acceptance and effective implementation of the views expressed by the tribes in these *Oorukuttams* is quite low. Only 18.6% of families opined that *Oorukuttam* process is effective in the resettlement area. It is noted that 55.6% of the Paniyas and 64.4% other tribal communities are said 'yes' for the consideration in *Oorukuttam.* There is a significant difference between the Paniyas and other tribal communities in participation level. The tribal development agency of Aralam Resettlement is

has not made much impact on the tribes. 59.9% of the resettled tribes of Aralam shared a very negative opinion regarding the working of TRDM, the main tribal development agency in Aralam resettlement. In addition, the tribes of Aralam resettlement are hardly aware of their legal rights. For instance, 80.6% of them are unaware of the PESA act, a significant act with respect to the tribes.

Conclusion

Hence a detailed analysis of the social, cultural, economic and political life of the resettled tribes at Aralam reveals that while the Resettlement has had a positive impact on certain aspects of their life, it has negatively affected some aspects such as cultural life of the tribes. The following chapter summarizes the study and provides certain recommendations and suggestions for effective tribal resettlement projects in future.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of the Study

The following section summarizes the study. It briefly highlights the objectives, methodology, findings, recommendations and limitations of the study. The study titled "Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission: A Study on Resettled Tribes at Aralam, Kerala" examines tribal resettlement in Kerala on the basis of Aralam Tribal Resettlement. It traces the inception of Aralam Tribal Resettlement, and analyses the life of the resettled tribal families at Aralam in order to comprehend the quality and sustainability of tribal resettlement projects. The study delves into the socio- cultural and economic life of the resettled tribes at Aralam, their food habits and political participation. Hence the research, by pointing out the merits and flaws in the Aralam Tribal Resettlement project, sheds light on effective ways of setting up better tribal resettlement projects in future.

5.1.1 Title of the Thesis

Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission: A Study on Resettled Tribes at Aralam, Kerala

5.1.2 Statement of Problem

The study is an investigation into the issue of tribal resettlement in Kerala on the basis of Aralam Tribal Resettlement. It looks at the policies, institutions and livelihood security of the resettled tribes. The study included widely divergent representative segments of various tribal communities in

Kerala such as the *Paniya*, *Kurichiya*, *Karimbala*, *Mavilan* and *Adiya* tribal groups. Although there are several scholarly works on tribal development, very few among them focus on the consequences of tribal resettlement. Hence the present study dealt with the challenges to the livelihood and development opportunities of the resettled tribes. The study considered both the positive as well the negative effects of the resettlement. It also looked at the infrastructural facilities available to the resettled tribals and the way these communities perceive the very process of resettlement.

5.1.3 Objectives of the Study

The following are the objectives of the study:

•   To study the social life of the resettled tribes

•   To describe the cultural life of the resettled tribes

•   To analyze the occupational and economic status of the resettled tribes

•   To comprehend the food and health aspect of resettled tribal communities

•   To portray the level of political participation of resettled tribes at the grass root level

5.1.4 Definition of Key Terms

• Resettled Tribes**:** The tribal communities of Kerala who have been resettled at Aralam Tribal Resettlement. This includes Karimpalan, Paniya, Kattunayakan, Mavilan and Adiya communities.

• Resettlement: The shift of landless tribal people (as families) from different parts of Kerala to the allocated plots of Aralam settlement as per

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the initiative of the State Government, that has agreed to admit them and grant them a permanent settlement as well as the basic amenities of life.

- Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM): It is an integrated approach initiated by Government of Kerala in 2002 aimed to achieve the sustainable development of resettled communities at Aralam.

5.1.5 Methodology of the Study

The present study focused on the various changes among the resettled communities at Aralam following the Resettlement. The descriptive research design was employed for the study. Both qualitative and quantitative data was used to analyze the quality of the resettlement life among the tribes at Aralam. The researcher began with the qualitative research phase which helped to interact with the respondents and helped perceive the multiple aspects and views on the process of resettlement. In the second phase, the researcher employed quantitative research which helped to comprehend the economic condition, livelihood assets, infrastructure, and opportunities of the resettled tribes. The study explored various elements related to the resettlement such as the resettlement strategies, vulnerability of life and dependence on the state within the framework of descriptive research design.

5.1.6 Area of Study

The study was conducted at Aralam Tribal Resettlement area located in the district of Kannur in Kerala. Aralam Resettlement is the biggest resettlement in Asia and it consists of 3094 families from 10 distinct tribal

communities. The Resettlement area is close to the Aralam Wildlife Sanctuary which is the northernmost area of Kerala.

5.1.7 Sampling Techniques

At the time of the study, ten different tribal communities resided at Aralam Tribal Resettlement area, out of which five communities were selected randomly, and each community was considered as a cluster. Hence, the area and the sample frame of the study included five clusters. Each household constituted a sample unit for the study. Following the selection of communities, proportionate sampling technique was adopted to select sample households from each of the selected clusters. 16% of the families were selected from total clusters. Finally a household survey was carried out among the selected sample households. Hence the sample size of the study was 501 tribal households residing at Aralam resettlement area.

5.1.8 Source of Data

The primary data of the study was collected through direct interviews of the respondents by administering an interview schedule with both closed and open ended questions. Secondary data was collected from newspapers, journals, articles, books, and government statistical records. In order to gauge the quality of life in the Resettlement area, certain case studies of the respondents have also been considered.

5.1.9 Tools for Data Collection

Some of the important tools used for the purpose of data collection are presented below:

- Interview Schedule: The schedule was prepared on the basis of socio-economic and livelihood aspect of the resettled tribes. Details of the resettlement, housing, infrastructure, occupation, assets, skills, social welfare, agriculture, health, education, and governance were the major components included in this schedule.

- Opinionnaire for Social Life: It was used to understand the social contacts and interaction among the resettled tribal communities.

- Focus Group Discussion Format: It used 19 items to identify the characteristics related to community life, land relationship, resettlement process, opportunities and challenges in resettlement. The researcher recorded all the discussion points meticulously. It provided insights on the issues related to livelihood and resettled life.

- Timeline: It is one of the PRA methods to study the changes, landmarks and events of a particular area in a chronological order. It is often a useful way of putting an individual's or a community's history into perspective by identifying the broad framework of events which shaped its past. This tool was used by the researcher to grasp and develop a historic perspective of the resettlement and dimensions of development.

5.1.10 Mode of Analysis

The data collected from different sources was subjected to a careful examination. The obtained data was edited and coded for the analysis. As the data was both qualitative and quantitative in nature, the researcher adopted varied methods of analysis on the basis of the nature of the data. Graphical

presentation and percentage analysis were used to represent quantitative data with the help of SPSS. The data collected through interview schedule and discussions was presented in graphical and tabular formats. The T- test, Chi Squire Test and Cross Tabulation were used to understand the condition of life before and after the resettlement. The data collected through group discussion and PRA has been presented in textual and picture format.

5.2 Major Finding of the Study

The findings of the study are the principal outcomes of the research that have been arrived at on the basis of a thorough examination and scrutiny of the data collected in the course of the study. The chapter discusses in detail the findings of the research. It elaborates on the socio-economic, cultural, and political life of the resettled tribes at Aralam. The chapter points out the limitations of the research and scope for further studies in this area. It also summarizes the objectives, methodology and the major findings of the research, and puts forth certain constructive suggestions on the basis of the primary findings of the study.

The fundamental aim of the research is to describe and analyze tribal resettlement and development in Kerala on the basis of Aralam Tribal Resettlement. The study emphasizes the standard of life of the resettled tribes at Aralam Tribal Resettlement on the basis of various social, cultural, economic and political parameters. The major areas of findings include - (a) inception of Aralam Tribal Resettlement (b) social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam (c) cultural life of the resettled tribes at Aralam (d) economic condition of the

tribes at Aralam and (e) political participation at the grass root by the tribes at Aralam. Hence the study delves into the post-Resettlement life of the tribes at Aralam.

5.2.1 Inception of Aralam Tribal Resettlement

Tribal resettlement in Kerala took birth from various tribal struggles for land, particularly from the Muthanga Struggle of 2004. Although the Tribal Resettlement at Aralam, Kerala, was carried out with good intentions and aimed mainly at the social and economic welfare of the tribes, the reality failed to match the expected ideal outcomes. For instance, the land chosen for the resettlement project in Aralam was quite close to the forest area, and this turned out to be a perpetual threat to the life and security of the resettled tribes. Besides, political influence and interventions in the resettlement project split the people of Aralam into different political lines, thus hampering the unity among the resettled tribes. Although the tribes are 'allocated' land at Aralam, they are not given the actual rights to the land. Consequently, they do not 'own' the land and they remain as mere residents in Aralam. Moreover, it is impossible for the resettled tribes to get loans, or other benefits from the land assets given to them as they do not really 'own' the land. They are only given the temporary land title, and not the complete ownership (*patta*).

5.2.2 Post-Resettlement Life at Aralam

Although 41% of the resettled tribes at Aralam are relatively happy that they were given land as per the Aralam Resettlement Project, 69% are unhappy with the land and other facilities offered to them at Aralam. This was especially

true in the initial stage of the Resettlement when there was a huge lack of basic amenities. For instance, after the Resettlement in 2006, the people of Aralam had to wait until 2013 to get electricity. While landlessness was the major problem of the tribes in the pre-Resettlement period, the prime concerns in the post- Resettlement area are man-nature conflict (particularly wildlife threat), unemployment, financial constraints and lack of safe drinking water. The lack of proper fencing around the Resettlement land makes the people of Aralam extremely vulnerable to attacks by wild animals. Although it has resulted in immense loss of life and property of the resettled tribes and numerous complaints have been lodged in this regard, no proper action has been taken by the government officials. In spite of the fact that the Aralam Resettlement Project allocated an acre of land each for 3094 families, only 1618 families have moved to Aralam. The rest of them have been unwilling to shift to Aralam due to lack of proper facilities in the Resettlement area, wildlife threats and unemployment.

5.2.3 Social Life

This section discusses the primary findings related to the social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam. The three key components that the study focuses on in order to comprehend the social life of the resettled tribes at Aralam are- (a) literacy rate (b) social contact among the tribes at Aralam and (c) their membership and participation in social organizations.

5.2.3.1 Education

Among the 501 tribal families at Aralam chosen for the study, 31.7% families have two illiterate members and 25.5% families have one illiterate member each. 76.3% of the Paniya tribes have at least one illiterate member in their family. The highest educational qualification of 45.7% literate tribes at Aralam is secondary (high school level) education. Only 0.6% of them went for higher studies (post-graduation). Hence the majority of the tribal people at Aralam have been able to acquire only primary or secondary level of education. The educational enrolment ratio of higher education is quite poor among the resettled communities. Very few students at Aralam get effective opportunities for higher education. The research has found that the basic causes of poor enrollment are lack of adequate institutional facilities and poor awareness of the significance of education mainly due to illiteracy of the parents (older generation of the tribes). While there is a general lack of awareness about the importance of education among the resettled tribes at Aralam, outsiders often make use of this high illiteracy for exploiting the tribes. The shockingly low literacy level among the resettled tribes at Aralam limits their participation in political activities and local governance. This gradually leads to a voluntary social exclusion of the tribal communities from the mainstream social and political life.

5.2.3.2 Social Contact

Relationship and interaction among the tribal families (neighbors, relatives, community members, and non-tribes) have decreased drastically

following the Resettlement, and this has affected the cultural practices and customs of these communities.

5.2.3.3 Membership in Social Organizations

Among the total families chosen for the study, in 32.3% of the families, at least one member has membership in a social organization. Kudumbashree is one the major social organization that functions effectively in the Resettlement area. It acts as a facilitator and supporter for tribal women. Lack of awareness is the main hindrance to form societies and cooperatives. One also notices an absence of support from the government and the mainstream society. The dearth of proper co- operative societies in the Resettlement area creates issues regarding marketing of their products. For instance, forest produce collected by the tribes, their high quality agricultural and craft products are sold in open market which provides middlemen an easy chance to purchase them at low prices. The absence of co-operative movements also diminishes the scope of bargaining in such cases.

5.2.4 Cultural Life

The cultural life of the resettled communities at Aralam has been analyzed with a special focus on - (a) marriage system (b) family structure and (c) traditional practices.

5.2.4.1 Marriage

There has been a perceptible shift from traditional to modern practices of marriage as well as an increase in inter-tribe marriages in the Aralam Resettlement area. However the age of marriage has come down, especially

among girls. In the initial stage of the Resettlement, facilities provided in the area were very poor and the tribes could not educate their children in a proper manner. Girls were unable to reach educational institutions which were often very far from the Resettlement area. This resulted in parents compelling them to marry at an early age. Even POCSO cases are reported in the Resettlement area.

Prior to the Resettlement (i.e. before moving to Aralam), 81.6% of the tribal people followed their traditional marriage system. However 64.1% of them now follow modern system (e.g.: wedding ceremony) of marriage. Resettlement has also led to a slight increase in inter-tribe marriage. 97% of the tribal people married within the same tribe before moving to Aralam. This trend almost continues after the Resettlement with 90.4% of the respondents still marrying within the same tribe. Inter-tribe marriage has increased from 3% to 9.6% following the Resettlement. The coming together of different tribal communities in the Resettlement area has created a good environment for inter-tribe marriage. This has also led to a creative cultural exchange among the tribes. However even such inter- tribe marriages are not free from hierarchies within the tribal society. For instance, inter-tribe marriages take place only between the Kurichya, Karimbalan and Mavilan communities. These tribes belong to a higher socio- economic order among the resettled tribes. The communities which belong to the lower strata such as the Paniyas and Adiyas are marginalized because of the hierarchy that exists among the tribes.

5.2.4.2 Family System

There has been a remarkable change from the traditional joint families (hamlet) to modern nuclear families, after the Resettlement. In the pre-Resettlement phase, 80.4% families were part of the traditional joint family system, and only 19.6% lived as nuclear families. Following the Resettlement, 97.6% live as nuclear families, and only 2.4% continue to be part of joint families. In the conventional hamlet system, members of a joint family lived on a common land under the leadership of a chief. The customary tribal practices and rituals were strictly followed during that period. It helped to create a friendly environment and developed moral values among the members. Division of labor, sharing of materials and properties were very common. It contributed to the development of democratic values and brotherhood, which in turn led to a kind of 'community consciousness' among the members. Living together in hamlets also worked as a tool for settling conflicts among the members and thus created a feeling of security among them.

The new tribal society formed after the Resettlement treats each tribal family as an independent household. Although tribal families have now become 'autonomous' and 'independent', this has negatively affected their social life. Most tribal families now consider themselves as isolated. Moreover, it has also put them in a situation where they have to struggle hard for survival. The coming together of several tribal communities and households at Aralam has also resulted in individual tribes absorbing the lifestyle of other tribes. This

may improve the standard of life of individual tribal households and the tribal community as a whole in the long term.

5.2.4.3 Traditional Practices

One notices a significant decrease in the practice of traditional rituals and ceremonies of the resettled communities. Most tribal practices and rituals are strongly connected to their native place or homeland as they believe that their forefathers and ancestors are attached with their homeland. The geographical separation from their native place due to the Resettlement has thus had a negative impact on their traditional practices and rituals. In addition to this, the new generation is unaware of and least interested in traditional practices. Resettlement area lacks experts who can teach them their traditional practices. Consequently, the folklore culture is becoming extinct among the tribal communities.

5.2.5 Economic Condition

The economic conditions and challenges of the resettled tribes at Aralam has been examined on the basis of their - (a) household infrastructure (housing, toilets and other facilities) (b) household assets (c) occupation, employment opportunities, entrepreneurship and skill development (d) income and (e) agriculture.

5.2.5.1 Housing

Before moving to Aralam, 68.8% of the tribes lived in common family houses in hamlets, and after the Resettlement 97.4% of them constructed their own house. There was not much improvement in housing structure following

the Resettlement. 42.7% of the families opined that the house provided by the government was not adequate for their family. In the initial stage of the Resettlement, the TRDM fully handed over house construction to the State Nirmithi Kendra. The respondents have pointed out that out of the 361 houses constructed by the Kerala State Nirmithi Kendra, 151 houses leak during the rainy season. Overall the housing scheme implementation in the Resettlement area has not been very effective.

There has been no noticeable difference in the basic structure of the houses before and after the Resettlement. *Kacha* houses which were predominant in the pre-Resettlement era are commonly visible even now. Besides, the inadequate fund allocated for the construction of houses in the Resettlement area has resulted in the building of poor quality houses.

5.2.5.2 Toilet

Table 4.18 reveals that while only 40.1% of the tribal families had toilets in their houses before moving to the Resettlement area, 91.2% own toilets in their house following the Resettlement. There has been a significant increase in the usage of toilets among the Paniya community after the Resettlement (27.9% to 90.2%). Hence the availability and accessibility of some facilities like electricity and toilet have greatly improved following the Resettlement. But some other basic necessities of life like drinking water and transportation continue to be a major problem for the people at Aralam.

5.2.5.3 Household Assets

Household assets like fan, television, mobile phone etc. possessed by the tribal families have increased after the Resettlement. According to Table 4.20, tribes of Aralam now prefer to get mobiles and television sets than cots and fans. This reveals that the tentacles of the modernity have firmly grasped the tribal society, even to the point where tribal families foolishly ignore basic necessities for luxurious items. Elements of modern culture have also partially filled the void created by the lack of following traditional tribal practices. This has resulted in a kind of a cultural hollowness among the tribal communities.

5.2.5.4 Employment Opportunities

There has not been much change in the quality and type of occupation of the tribes before and after the Resettlement. Prior to the Resettlement, most of these tribes were laborers and the situation continues even after the Resettlement. 45.9% of the families at Aralam are unable to find employment for more than five days in a month. Hence, unemployment is a primary issue in the resettlement area and this adversely affects the quality of their life. They get work only during certain seasons of the year. Despite the resettlement policy that promised employment to at least one person from every tribal family, only people from 12.6% of the tribal families secured jobs at Aralam Farm. Unemployment has also resulted in a large scale migration from Aralam to Kodagu (Karanataka) and other areas.

5.2.5.5 Entrepreneurship

Among the tribal families selected for the study 69.3% of the respondents expressed the desire to start various entrepreneurship projects like dairy, cattle rearing, poultry farming etc. Although tribal people are interested to set up entrepreneurship projects, they are not self-capable due to different challenges like financial capital, poor awareness, poor access to market facilities, absence of social capital and lack of support from authorities. For instance, 53.3% of those who preferred to start entrepreneurship projects face the lack of financial capital to start such projects. While the resettlement area is rich in human and natural resources, the tribal community has drastically failed to utilize it. Similarly despite of the global acceptance and market for indigenous tribal products and artifacts, people of Aralam are unable to reap benefits out of it due to poor market facilities and social backwardness.

5.2.5.6 Self-Employment

Only 17.8% of the tribes at Aralam have received self-employment training. Government and civil societies rarely promote self-employment programs for the resettled communities. As the people at Aralam do not possess the land title (*patta*), they are not eligible for personal loans. There is also a lack of financial support from other sources. Hence tribal people are unable to raise sufficient funds for self- employment projects.

5.2.5.7 Agricultural Development

Tribal communities practiced traditional pattern of cultivation for centuries. There has been a radical shift from traditional to modern farming

(71.1%), and food crops to cash crops in the post-Resettlement phase. Biodiversity has been badly affected by modern pattern of cultivation. Livestock management has improved after the Resettlement and it is one of the major sources of livelihood for the tribes at Aralam.

One notices an absence of a well thought out action-plan to make changes in the lives of the rehabilitated tribes such as, making the land of the rehabilitated tribes suitable for agriculture, soil protection, irrigation, executing sustainable agricultural projects in diverse plots, water management, programs for saving agriculture, protection of existing crops, value- added production of agricultural crops, expansion of organic farming, safeguarding sources of water and house plots, training in agricultural sector etc. Such initiatives can change the face of Aralam tremendously.

5.2.5.8 Income

Both in the pre and post-Resettlement period, labor is the major source of income. It proves that there is a lack of diversity in the livelihood sector. It leads to migration of tribal people from resettlement area to different areas. Income generation is a major hurdle for the development of resettled tribes. The resettlement plan proposed different kind of income generation activities but it has not been implemented properly. Due to this some tribes have returned to the places they lived earlier. Even though they are aware about various income generation activities, the lack of proper administration becomes a barrier to it. Moreover the attitude of tribal people towards money, income and

savings is different from the mainstream society. They collect money and other resources just for daily living.

5.2.5.9 Saving Pattern

Following the Resettlement, most of the tribal families in Aralam have taken an interest in financial savings. However the pattern of saving is in its initial stage. After resettlement the habit of saving money among the tribes has improved. 71.1% of the respondents maintain bank savings, 25.1% have insurances, 34.5% have invested in jewelry, and 32.5% have liquid money as their savings.

5.2.5.10 Livelihood Promotion

The people of Aralam have received very less support from the government with respect to livelihood promotion. Although some of them were given agricultural products and domestic animals by the government, it was insufficient for them to earn a decent living. Only 36.5% among them received support for agricultural products. Moreover agriculture related livelihood promotion is not successful at Aralam because of wild life threats and such issues are yet to be addressed.

5.2.6 Food and Health

The significant findings related to dietary habits and health issues of the resettled tribes are discussed below. It mainly concentrates on the availability, accessibility and affordability of food and healthcare services.

5.2.6.1 Availability of Food

Figure 4.9 indicate that the availability of food has increased from 47.3% to 70.5% since the Resettlement, but it is noted that the quality of food has decreased from 54.3% to 40.2% after the Resettlement. Now-a-days the tribes are deprived of their traditional food items due to poor availability and restriction of government authorities through Forest Right Act. The quality of traditional food was high in terms of nutrition and medicinal value. Compared to that, the current food pattern lacks quality and does not provide enough nutrition. The resettlement area is another big factor behind the lack of nutrition in their food, because of nature of the area. This creates further issues regarding health such as malnutrition, anemia and other diseases. Another important change that has affected the availability of quality food after the Resettlement is the change from cultivation of food crops to cash crops by the tribal people.

5.2.6.2 Health

In the years following the Resettlement, health issues among the resettled tribal communities increased from 10% to 40.5%. Diseases such as tuberculosis and leprosy which have been wiped out from the mainstream society are still visible among the tribes of Aralam. The number of cancer patients is also high among the tribal communities.

5.2.6.3 Medical Facilities

The TRDM and Health Department have jointly distributed health cards to the beneficiaries in the Resettlement area. Many of them get concession for

treatment because of their health card. Although medical facilities at Aralam have increased, it is still difficult for people to make use of the facilities in case of emergency situations. For instance, it is difficult for them to reach hospitals due to poor transportation facilities. The nearest hospital is at a distance of 11 km and there is not enough transportation facility such as availability of vehicles in the resettlement area. According to Table 4.38 which shows the satisfaction with health services availed after the Resettlement, 42.5% of the families are happy with the health services received.

After reaching the Resettlement area, most tribal people abandoned their age- old practices of indigenous medicine. This is due to the absence of practitioners of traditional medicine and the intervention of modern medicine in the health sector. Indigenous medicines are an integral part of the traditional knowledge of the tribes. However modern society often neglects this kind of knowledge as blind beliefs. Gradually knowledge about traditional tribal medical practices is becoming extinct among the tribal community day-by-day. This also restricts the intellectual autonomy of these communities.

5.2.6.4 Substance Abuse

The prevalence of alcoholism among the resettled tribes has decreased from 75.6% to 71.1%, mainly due to the lack of availability of alcohol. However, the use of tobacco and smoking has increased sharply from 13.9% to 78.2% and 39.9% to 44.1% respectively. Both youth and elders are highly vulnerable to these habits. Even women engage in tobacco chewing. This in turn leads to serious health issues such as cancer. Addiction to alcohol on the

part of the tribal people makes it easy for employers to exploit them. Often members of the tribal communities are treated as slaves and are hardly paid decent wages. Addiction to alcohol and tobacco also leads to extreme poverty especially among members of 'lower' tribal communities. In the initial stage of the Resettlement, excessive use of alcohol often led to higher number of suicides among the tribes. The timely intervention of Janamaithri Police and Kudumbashree has helped to reduce the use of alcohol, but still some people prepare v*aattu charayam* (country liquor) in their houses illegally. Tribal people spend a major share of their wages on alcohol. It affects the economic stability of tribal families and also increases domestic violence in the tribal families. One notices a lack of proper de- addiction programs and facilities in the resettlement area.

5.2.7 Political Participation

Resettlement is a well-planned process and a major step in tribal development the Government of Kerala. It promises basic facilities and services for resettled communities and includes the administration of policies and programs in a participatory manner. The major findings with respect to help from the government and involvement of the tribes at Aralam in the political sector have been discussed below.

5.2.7.1 Pension Scheme

In the Resettlement area 72.83% of elderly citizens and 71.42% of differently abled people receive pension. However, only 34% widows receive pension benefits. Often widows are helpless victims of abuse and exploitation.

Hence there is an unequal distribution of social security schemes among the resettled communities.

5.2.7.2 *Oorukuttam*

Oorukuttam or Tribal Grama Sabha has not been very active at Aralam following the Resettlement. The level of acceptance and effective implementation of the views expressed by the tribes in these *oorukuttams* is quite low. 81.4% of the people at Aralam are not at all satisfied with the functioning of Grama Sabha. They claim that authorities conduct *oorukootams* just for namesake. Suggestions and plans presented by beneficiaries in the Gram Sabha are not at all considered for development of resettlement. As a result, the development policies and plans decided by the TRDM most often to address real issues. Participatory development and grass root democracy is crucial for tribal development.

In the Resettlement area (according to Table 4.41) the Paniyas form the majority, but they are also the least considered in the Gram Sabha. 44.4% of Paniya community feels that they are neglected. This is a great backlash on the assurance of participation and democracy promised in the resettlement plan. It shows the power structure among the tribal communities resettled in the with the Kurichyas, Karimbala and Mavilan communities dominating other tribes. This has affected the Paniya community in a negative manner.

5.2.7.3 Perception of TRDM

The TRDM is the main tribal development agency in Aralam. 59.9% of the resettled tribes at Aralam have a negative opinion regarding the

functioning. Only 13.4% of the respondents are satisfied with the services provided by the TRDM. The colonial system of administration is still followed for tribal development. The TRDM appointed a TEO grade official with several responsibilities as a site manager for Asia's biggest resettlement. The site manager is a post which requires an LD Clerk qualification and an experience of a few years. The TRDM lacks proper infrastructural facilities for administration. Management of huge amount of the funds allotted, planning and implementation of development measures in the resettlement area, conflicts and issues in the resettled society which includes thousands of families are all the responsibilities of the site manager, which is rather strenuous. Implementation of adequate progressive measures taking into consideration the socio- cultural realities of the tribal people can be of great help to the people at Aralam.

5.2.7.4 Awareness of PESA Act

Aralam is a highly populated tribal area, and hence there is a high scope for implementation of the PESA Act. This helps to empower tribal communities and reduce the disparities among the communities. The tribes at Aralam are hardly aware of their legal rights. For instance, 80.6% of them are unaware of the PESA act, a significant act with respect to the tribal life. At present the Resettlement comes under the 6th Ward of Aralam Grama Panchayat. However the Panchayat lacks enough funds for development of Aralam. Often TRDM and Aralam Grama Panchayat point fingers at each other when it comes to the issues regarding administration of the tribal

resettlement area. Another important fact is that Aralam resettlement area consists of 3094 tribal families which is a sufficient number for forming a Panchayat for them. Providing autonomous governing system for the tribal community can solve many issues and proper implementation of the PESA can play a vital role in this regard.

5.3 Recommendations of the Study

The analysis of the data collected as part of the study and the resultant findings indicate certain limitations and loopholes in the present policy of tribal resettlement in Kerala. The following are some recommendations for an effective tribal resettlement project in future, particularly for the implementation of an effective resettlement plan, promotion of socio- cultural well- being, enhancement of economic condition and for improvement of healthcare services.

5.3.1 Implementation of an Effective Resettlement Plan

- When identifying land for resettlement projects, authorities should take into consideration a suitable environment for resettlement.

- Beneficiaries from tribal communities should be carefully chosen after a proper assessment of their socio-economic conditions.

- TRDM can plan and administer programs for tribal development by supporting new partnerships at the national and global levels.

- The success of tribal development institutes depends upon the adequate comprehension of the needs of resettled tribes and a firm understanding of tribal issues by policy makers, planners, educators and

administrators. Hence a need-based, innovative and tribal culture-oriented support system should be provided.

- Proper security measures should be provided against wild animal attack.

5.3.2 Promotion of Socio-cultural Well-being of the Resettled Tribes

- Implementation of special literacy programs in the resettlement area would aid in improving their literacy rate as well as in developing their general awareness.

- Encourage and supervise the functioning of social groups among the resettled tribal communities to empower and strengthen their social interaction.

- Facilitate tribal culture and traditional practices by promoting their family system, language, indigenous knowledge and conducting common gatherings and festivals.

- Include tribal folk and art forms in school curriculum in resettlement areas. The schools in resettlement area should be provided with suitable infrastructural facilities.

- Provide orientation classes on indigenous knowledge and cultural practices with the help of experts (*mooppans*) from tribal communities itself.

5.3.3 Enhancement of Economic Condition of the Resettled Tribes

- Attempts should be made to get entrepreneurs involved in small ways in resettlement areas through suitable incentive schemes. There is a

great scope for cooperative societies in resettlement areas. These cooperatives would raise resources and thereby improve finance, roads and transportation facilities to enable tribal farmers to market his products and other enterprises.

- Encourage agriculture based industries for making refined goods out of local raw agricultural products. This may help the tribes to get easy access to the market and maximum profit from their products.

- Daily wage employment rather than self-employment programs should be targeted at the tribes living in resettled areas where economy is stagnant.

- Tribal people should be empowered through participatory planning process for promoting equal access to resources and strengthening political involvement of the tribes. It will help them to actively participate in the planning, implementation and monitoring processes, to articulate their voices and to reflect their needs and priorities in the *oorukttams* and Grama Panchayat plans.

- Adoption and promotion of better agricultural practices in tribal resettlement areas. Participatory approaches for sustainable agriculture and tribal development is necessary.

- Introduce organic and traditional methods for agriculture.

5.3.4 Improvement of Healthcare Services in the Resettlement Area

- Encourage traditional food habits for a healthy lifestyle by cultivating traditional food crops.

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- Start tribal food restaurants for promoting the livelihood status of tribes.

- Promote traditional medicinal practices of tribal communities and educate tribal youth to become such practitioners.

5.3.5 Encouragement of Political Participation of the Resettled Tribes

- Implement participatory research projects in resettlement areas.

- Involve the tribal community in decision making so that there can be better collaboration with the government.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

In evaluating the impact of resettlement on the tribal way of life, the study has focused more on the situation after the Resettlement (at Aralam) as compared to the situation of the tribes before the Resettlement. Most of the families chosen for the study are members of the Paniya community which is the most backward tribal community at Aralam. Hence the views of the members of the Paniya community are reflected more in the collected data. Since the study focuses on the post-Resettlement life of the tribal communities at Aralam, it does not delve into the ethnographical details of the tribal communities selected for the study.

The study analyses the standard of the life of the tribes at Aralam in the post- Resettlement phase on the basis of social, cultural, economic and political indicators. However, the social and economic parameters included in the study are more comprehensive as compared to the cultural and political parameters. Since Aralam Tribal Resettlement area includes people from

diverse tribal communities, it is impossible to arrive at certain common cultural indicators. Moreover each tribal community has its own unique cultural characteristics. Besides tribal culture and the blending of different (tribal) cultures at Aralam is a vast area that can be addressed separately. Similarly the study involves limited parameters on political participation of the resettled tribes at Aralam. This is again because the level of political participation of tribes, especially resettled tribes is an area that is too vast to be explored within the limited confines of the thesis. Hence the thesis explores the political participation of the resettled tribes only at the grass root level.

The research makes use of both qualitative and quantitative data. However, the quantitative data for the study was collected mainly through interview schedule without much statistical scales. This was due to the poor literacy level of the tribal communities, linguistic difficulties in communication, and their inhibition to mingle freely with the researcher. Hence there is very less scope for higher statistical tests. Besides certain factors such as the reception of resettlement by the resettled tribes and their views on influence of resettlement on their culture is based on the subjective opinion of the respondents.

Being an outsider, the researcher experienced severe difficulties in building a good rapport with the tribes at Aralam. However the researcher stayed with them and tried to capture their real life experiences. Since the Aralam Resettlement area is a 'restricted' area, the researcher faced some difficulties from the concerned authorities and the police department.

Lack of authentic first hand data from the tribes at Aralam due to linguistic reasons, low literacy rate among the tribes, poor legal awareness on the part of the tribes, their inhibition to mingle with the researcher and unwillingness of authorities to give details such as the income and expenditure of the TRDM, lack of co-operation by the authorities, poor transportation facilities, wildlife threats at Aralam are some other aspects that have affected the research. Finally the study does not deal with the conflict in the very notion of 'development' between the tribes and the mainstream society.

5.5 Scope for Further Study

The study analyzed tribal resettlement in Kerala only on the basis of Aralam Tribal Resettlement, Kannur. It has not taken into consideration other tribal resettlement projects in the state. The merits and limitations of tribal resettlement projects can be better understood by taking into consideration other resettlements projects in Kerala and by engaging in a comparative study. This is a good possibility for future research and it can also be extended to the national and international level. Future researchers can also attempt to carry out more elaborate studies by increasing the number of variables involved (e.g.: impact of resettlement on the psychological health and religious practices of the resettled tribes).

Aralam Tribal Resettlement has greatly affected the health of the resettled tribes. Hence one can carry out in-depth studies on the health problems experienced by the tribal people at Aralam, healthcare services in the Resettlement area and prevalence of alcoholism and drug abuse among the

tribes. Ethnographic studies may be carried out to comprehend how displacement and resettlement has affected the traditional way of life of each of the tribal communities at Aralam. This might also shed light on the tribal way of life.

The coming together of several tribal communities at Aralam opens up immense scope for studies on cultural assimilation, influence of modernity and inter-tribe interaction. Future researchers can look at resettlement as a harbinger of modernity in the tribal society. Extensive studies can be carried out on the political participation of the resettled tribes at Aralam. Hence the cultural and political aspects of the post-Resettlement life at Aralam Tribal Resettlement are areas that can be examined in detail.

Studies can also be carried out in other related areas such as wildlife threats experienced by the tribes at Aralam, impact of resettlement on tribal literacy rate, demographic studies, gender issues and resettlement, and geographical isolation of the resettlement area.

5.6 Conclusion

India is home to a variety of tribal communities and the development of the tribal population as well a proper redressal of their grievances is an integral part of the progress of the nation. A careful scrutiny of tribal life at the Aralam Tribal Resettlement area reveals that the Resettlement has had a tremendous impact on every aspect of the life of the tribal people. It has brought about changes in their social, economic, cultural and political sectors. While the Resettlement has had a positive impact on the economic condition of the tribes and has also improved help from government sources, it has had a detrimental impact on their social and cultural life. The study also points out that problems such as low literacy rate, lack of accessibility of healthcare services, health issues, substance abuse are still primary concerns of the people at Aralam.

The twenty-first century is a world of progress, competition and a global struggle to survive and India is certainly one of the most rapidly developing countries. However while climbing the ladder of development, it is important that none of the sections of the society are left behind. Although the Resettlement at Aralam is definitely a major step towards tribal development, a close examination of the flaws and merits of the Resettlement strategies shows that there is yet a long way to go in implementing an effective tribal resettlement project. The ultimate goal of tribal development ought to a sustainable and a 'humanistic' development that accepts and respects the tribal way of life. Hence a perfect mixture of participatory policy making, proper implementation of laws and policies, a sympathetic imagination and the desire

to take the tribal citizens of our nation together with the mainstream society along the path of progress will definitely help in setting up better tribal resettlements projects in future.

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Gandhigram Rural Institute - Deemed University
Department of Applied Research
<u>Interview schedule</u>

1. Name of the respondent :
2. Address   :
3. Community   :
4. Age   :
5. Year of resettlement   :
6. Details of family members

SL	Name of the household members	Sex	Age	Education	Marital Status
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

Resettlement

10. Where is your native? (Forefathers were staying)

Place	District

11. Year of resettlement

   ………………………

12. What made you to shift to this resettlement area?
   1. Landlessness ☐   2.Poverty ☐   3.Education of Children ☐

   4. Employment Opportunities ☐   5. Family problems ☐ 6. Others
(Specify)…………….

13. Is the life after resettlement better?

   1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

14. Explain why?

Before Resettlement (1.Yes 2.No)	After resettlement (1.Yes 2.No)
Land	Land
House	House
Basic infrastructure	Basic infrastructure
Employment opportunities	Employment opportunities
Communal life	Communal life
Educational facilities	Educational facilities
Pease full life	Pease full life

15. Changes in the family system

	Family	Before resettlement	After resettlement	Reasons
1	Type			
2	Form			

16. Marriage

	Marriage	Before resettlement	After resettlement	Reasons
1	Age			
2	Type			
3	Style			

17. Housing

Housing	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Type	1.Own 2. Rented 3 .Lease/Agreement	1.Own 2. Rented 3 Lease/Agreement
Structure	1. Hut 2. Kutcha 3. Pucca	1. Hut 2. Kutcha 3. Pucca
sufficient shelter	1. Not Adequate 2. Less Adequate 3. Moderate Adequate 4. More Adequate	1. Not Adequate 2. Less Adequate 3. Moderate Adequate 4. More Adequate
Electrification	1. Yes 2. No	1.Yes 2. No
Sources of drinking water	1. Piped water 2. Well Protection of well 3. Spring	1. Piped water 2. Well Protection of well 3. Spring
Toilet facility	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No

18. Infrastructure articles

Sl No	Household article	Before resettlement			After resettlement		
		Yes	No	Number	Yes	No	Number
1	Chair						
2	Table						
3	Cot or bed						
4	Electric fan						
5	Television						
6	Radio						
7	Mobile Phone						
8	Computer						
9	Refrigerator						
10	Watch or clock						
11	Pressure cooker						
12	Bicycle						
13	Motor Cycle						
14	Car						
15	Other vehicles						

19. Occupations

Occupation	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Type of occupation		
Place		
Traditional occupation		
Availability	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No
Total number of work days in a month		
Season of work		
Challenges		

20. Who is behind the choice of your present work?

1 . Own choice ☐   2. Family pressure ☐   3. Local custom ☐   4.Hereditary ☐

4. Others

(Specify)…………………………………………………………………………

21. Do you have any interest to start an entrepreneurship?

Yes ☐   No ☐

22. Yes/No Explain

…………………………………………………………………………………….

23. What are the difficulties to start an entrepreneurship?

………………………………………………………… ………………………….

24. Did you get any training for self employment?

Yes ☐   No ☐

25. If yes specify …………………………………..

26. Did you get any support from government of self employment?

Yes ☐   No ☐

27. Has anyone from your family, migrated in search of jobs as short – term or long term period?

1. No ☐   2. Short term (seasonally) ☐   3. Long term (abroad) ☐

28. When and reasons for such migrations?

1. Year of migration……………………………

2. Reasons ……………..…………………..

29. Agriculture

Agriculture	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Method of cultivation	1.Tradition 2.Modern	1.Tradition 2.Modern
Crops		
Fertilizer	1. Organic 2. Chemical	1. Organic 2. Chemical
varieties of seed	1. Indigenous 2. Modified	1. Indigenous 2. Modified
seasons		
Income	1. Incresed 2. Decreased	1. Incresed 2. Decreased
Challenges		

30. Income

Source of Income	Before resettlement (1.Yes 2.No)	Income	After resettlement (1.Yes 2.No)	income
Agriculture				
Laboure				
forest produces collection				
construction work				
Government job				
Self employment				
MGNRGA				

31. Income from the Livestock

Sl. No	Livestock details	Before Resettlement				After Resettlement			
		Yes/No	No. of. Livestock	Value of livestock	Total income	Yes/No	No. of. Livestock	Value of livestock	Total income
1	Cow								
2	Buffalo								
3	Goat								
4	Sheep								
5	Duck								
6	Hen								
7	Pig								
8	Bee keeping								
9	Others (specify)								

32. Liquid assets

Sl. No	Details of liquid assets	Before Resettlement			After Resettlement		
		Availability Yes / No	No. of items	Value of items	Availability Yes / No	No. of items	Value of items
1	Bank savings						
2	Insurance						
3	Share holdings						
5	Jewelry/ ornaments						
6	Cash						
Others (specify)							

33. Has your income increased or decreased in comparison to the previous years?

1. No change ☐   2.Increased ☐   3. Decreased ☐

34. Do you think that the last year income was sufficient to meet your family expenditure?

1. Yes ☐   2.No ☐

35. If no, how did you managed?

1. Loan ☐ 2.Others (Specify)………………………..

36. Are you investing in assets for the future as savings?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

37. If yes which type of assets or a property? Ratio

……………………………………………………………….

38. Social Welfare

Pensions	Yes	No	Pension		If No why?
			Before resettlement (Yes /No)	After resettlement (Yes /No)	
Old age person					
Widow					
Differently able					
Health Card					
Unemployment					
Other (Specify)					

39. Food security

Food security	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Challenges		

40. What kind of food do you prefer to take?

……………………………….

Health

41. Has any of your family members are experienced health issues before and after resettlement?
1.Yes   2. No
Before Resettlement

Sl. No	Disease [#]	Duration of Disease	Treatment taken Yes No	Type of treatment	If No why?
Others (Specify)					

After resettlement

Sl. No	Disease	Duration of Disease	Treatment taken Yes No	Type of treatment	If No why?
Others (Specify)					

42. Are you satisfied with the health services providing in this areas ?
1.Yes [ ]   2. No [ ]

43. What are the difficulties in asses health services ?

1.Lack of hospitals [ ]   2.Distence [ ]   3. Lack of transportation [ ]   4. Lack of Doctors

5.Avalibility of Medicine [ ]   6. Cost of treatment. [ ]

44. Details of substance use Before Resettlement: 1. Yes   2. No

	Type of substance	Alcohol 1 .Yes 2.No	Chewing of ariconu 1 .Yes 2.No	Chewing of Tobacco 1 .Yes 2.No	Smoking 1 .Yes 2.No
Before resettlement	Substance				
	Frequency				
After resettlement	Substance				
	Frequency				

45. re you a member in any social organizations?

1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

46. If yes specify…………………………………………

47. Is the organization registered?   Yes – 1   No – 0

48. How is the organization helping in promoting livelihood?

49. Do you have the skills on the following? If yes, from whom and place where you learnt the skill

S L. N	Skills	Before resettlement Yes/No	After resettlement Yes/No	Source of learning	Year of learning	Place of training/learning
1	Construction of house					
2	Bamboo & Cane products					
4	Pottery					
5	Cooking					
6	Handicrafts					
7	Technical skills					
8	Blacksmith					
9	Carpentry					
10	Weaving					
11	Traditional Medicinal Practitioner					
Others (Specify)						

50. Has anyone from your family attended skill training?

    1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

51. If yes which are they?

....

52. Do you get any government support for livelihood promotion?

    1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

53. If yes which are they?

a)........................... b).....................

c)...................d)....................

54. Are you getting any support from nongovernmental organizations?

    ☐ Yes ☐ No

55. If yes explain

    ☐ Financial support

    ☐ Training

    ☐ Technical support

    ☐ Other

56. In a year how many times you are participated in Gamashaba?

    ....

57. In the Gramshaba do you get platform in placing your needs?

    ☐ Yes ☐ No

58. If yes, then do they take in to consideration?

    ☐ Yes ☐ No

59. Do you think that the Gramshaba working effectively?

    ☐ Yes ☐ Nov

60. Did you experiences of risk or shock due to natural calamities, economic shocks, and conflicts after resettlement?

Nature of shocks	No. of. Times in the last 10 years	Nature of protection given *	Source of protection *
Animal conflict			
Natural disaster			
Less rain			
Economic shock			
Conflict between groups			
Others(Specify)			

Opinionaire of Socio-Economic and Cultural life

	Resettlement	1. Not really 2. To some extent 3. Very much
Do you think that you will get enough help from your neighbours in your family functions?	**Before**	
	After	
Are you satisfied with the help you get from this locality?	**Before**	
	After	
Do you think that your locality members will sympathize with you in times of sorrow?	**Before**	
	After	
Do you feel content about the relationship you have with your relatives?	**Before**	
	After	
Do your relatives share your happiness?	**Before**	
	After	
Are you satisfied with the amount of contact you have with people in your tribe?	**Before**	
	After	
Do you think your community people belonging to your tribe will help you out in times of need?	**Before**	
	After	
Are you satisfied with the relationship you have with other tribal groups?	**Before**	
	After	

Is the life after resettlement better?	1. Not really 2. To some extent 3. Very much
Has your income increased or decreased in comparison to the previous years?	
Do you think that the last year income was sufficient to meet your family expenditure?	
Are you satisfied with the health services providing in this areas?	
Are you satisfied with the services providing by TRDM	
Are you stratified with the services of Tribal promoters	
Are you aware about PESA	

INFRASTRUCTURE FACILITY SCHEDULE

1. BASIC AMENITIES

Water supply   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Electricity   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Sewage facility   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Garbage disposal   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Roads   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Public transport   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Markets   : 1. Available   2. Not available

2. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Primary school   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Junior High School   : 1. Available   2. Not available

High School   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Intermediate   : 1. Available   2. Not available

College/University   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Technical education   : 1. Available   2. Not available

3. HEALTH FACILITIES

Dispensary   : 1. Available   2. Not available

P.H.C   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Indoor hospital   : 1. Available   2. Not available

District hospital   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Private health facilities : 1. Available   2. Not available

Medical college   : 1. Available   2. Not available

4. OTHER FACILITIES

Fair price shop   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Post office   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Telephone   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Bank   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Cooperative society   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Balawadi/ Anganwadi   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Local newspaper   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Sports facilities   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Entertainment facilities   : 1. Available   2. Not available

5. ORGANISATIONS/ ASSOCIATIONS

Youth club   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Mahila mandals   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Resident associations/NGOs   : 1. Available   2. Not available

SHG   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Religious bodies   : 1. Available   2. Not available s

Caste specific associations   : 1. Available   2. Not available

Focus Group Discussion

A. IDENTIFICATION INFORMATION ABOUT THE GROUP

1. Date of FGD:…………………………………….
2. Place:…………………………………………….
3. Tribal Community……………………………….
4. General educational qualification of the participants: …………………………………
5. Position/ designation of participants………………………………………………………
6. Type of employment……………………………………….
7. Year of resettlement

B. DISCUSSION POINTS

1. Community Characteristics- History, Family, Tradition, Rituals, Way of living, etc

2. Describe about your man- land relation, how much are you attached with land?

3. How did the land alienation changed your way of life/wellbeing?

4. What are the painful experiences/situations you and your forefathers went through?

5. Explain the process of resettlement

6. Benefits of resettlement

7. Opportunities in resettlement area.

8. Challenges of resettlement

9. What is your role and responsibility in your community?

   Duties/obligations/cooperation/participation

10. Marriage – age of marriage, type, style- Before and After resettlement.

11. What are the principal health problems affecting you after resettlement? Reason?

12. Problems regarding Agriculture

13. Support of Community based organizations.

14. Women representation and participation in Panchayth, Village institutions, SHG,

    Training, Micro credit, Conflict resolution

C. CULTURAL ASPECTS

SL		Before resettlement	After Resettlement
1	Wearing clothes		
2	Combing		
3	Wearing ornaments		
4	Cooking		
5	Eating Staley		
6	Traditional dance		
7	Traditional songs		
8	Worshiping		
9	Language		
10	Beliefs		
11	Ideologies		
12	customs		

15. Do any of the following problems exist in this resettlement? If yes, who is the most

affected or at-risk group (by age, gender, ethnic group etc)

Discrimination	Alcohol abuse
Child abuse	Substance (drug) abuse
Robberies	Teen pregnancy
Assaults	Domestic violence
Gangs	Unwed mothers
Prostitution	Other problems (Specify)

16. How safe from wild animals do you feel when walking down your area after dark?

Any experience of attack? How helped by other members, forest department.

GOVERNANCE

Governance

Name of the Member	How many gram Sabah did you participated in last 12 months	If No, Gram Sabah Meeting attended, reasons	How did you usually participate in these meetings?*	Have you approached any of the elected representatives for problem resolution in the last 12 Months? Yes - 1 No - 0	Was the resolution satisfactory? Yes - 1 No - 0
*Passive Observation -1, forming coalitions from member of owned gender& collectively asking questions - 2, participating individually - 3, arguing - 4					

17. What are the changes take place in your life after resettlement?

18. If one day Govt. stops providing these facilities, what you will do?

19. Do you think that you are independent; you can maintain your needs without the help

of Govt.?

FEMALE SUBALTERN: DOUBLE MARGINALIZATION OF *PANIYA* WOMEN

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Abstract: Paniyas are one of the most marginalized and landless tribes in Kerala. They have been deprived of resources, exploited in myriad ways as labourers. They have been deliberately misrepresented or excluded from various social, political and academic discourses. The paper attempts to look at the consequences of marginalization on the women of the Paniya tribe and particularly focuses on the aspect of their double marginalization. It critically examines the way the Paniyas have been viewed historically and points out that the developmental programmes of the state failed to achieve their prescribed goals in addressing the basic issues of the Paniyas such as poverty, lack of education, cultivable land and livelihood opportunities. The objectives of the paper are – to study the detrimental consequences of marginalization on the Paniya women and to explicate their 'doubly marginalized' status. While the Paniyas have been the helpless victims of the oppression and exploitation of the mainstream society, the women of this tribe have suffered more than their male counterpart as they have been 'subalternized' not only on the basis of their tribal identity but also on account of their gender. Based on the study conducted in the Aralam farm resettlement in Kerala, the paper traces the trials of tribal women as the 'doubly marginalized citizens' over the years through various means of exploitation, landlessness, modernity, relocation, etc. The researcher has chosen a qualitative research approach for this study and used descriptive research design, which helped to understand the phenomenon in a better way. The causes and effects of the marginalization process are understood through the lens of social sufferings.

Keywords: Subaltern, Marginalization, Landless, Exploitation

> *If…the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow.*

<div align="right">Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak</div>

India is a land of polyphonic diversity and multiplicity in terms of social, linguistic, cultural and ethnic factors. The indigenous population of the nation, known as *Adivasis* or Scheduled Tribes (STs), occupies the bottom rung of the social ladder. They are among the poorest, vulnerable and most marginalized groups in the nation. Most of them remain at the lowest social zone due to various factors such as geographical isolation cultural exclusion, acute poverty, lack of land assets, low literacy level, etc. The state of Kerala is home to about thirty- five tribal groups. Each of them starkly differs from the other and unique in their own way. The Paniyas who constitute 18.24% of the total tribal population of the state are the largest tribal group in Kerala (Census 2011). They are mainly distributed in the Wayanad belt and are also found in Kannur, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palakkad districts and in some nearby areas of Tamilnadu.

Community living of Paniya

The Paniyas follow a communal way of life with each Paniya settlement consisting of a headman called *Kuttan*, who is responsible for the maintenance of social order among the members. However

they mostly prefer the nuclear family system within the community. Their traditional means of livelihood consisted of trapping small animals and birds, fishing and collection of roots and tubers. Just like any other community, the Paniyas have their own social and cultural laws. For instance, they strictly follow the policy of endogamous marriage and are exogamous at clan level. Although monogamy appears to be the general rule, a Paniya man is permitted to marry again if he can afford to do so. The community also allows the remarriage of widows (Yahiya, 2016).

METHODOLOGY

The researcher has chosen a qualitative research approach for this study and used descriptive research design for the study, which helped to understand the phenomenon in a better way. The qualitative research helped the researcher to comprehend the tribe's experience of social sufferings and marginalization. Qualitative phenomenological approach provided the researcher to study complex phenomena of marginalization of Paniya women and issues within their contexts. The researcher used Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) for this study. Here in the tribal context the phenomenon enquires how the Paniya women produce their experience with regard to their history of social sufferings and marginalization. The objective of the study is to comprehend the marginalization of Paniyam women in the context of female subaltern.

SUBALTERN AND DOUBLE MARGINALISATION OF PANIYA WOMEN

The term 'Subaltern' which literally means 'subordinate' is primarily a British military term for a junior officer. The term was first used in a theoretical sense by the Italian Marxist political activist Antonio Gramsci in his article "Notes on Italian History" which appeared later on as part of his most widely known book Prison Notebooks written between 1929 and 1935. Ever since the concept of subaltern has entered the theoretical repertoire of postcolonial studies, it has become of the most slippery, complex and widely used terms. In the Gramscian usage, the subaltern classes refer to any group of people in a particular society who suffer under the hegemonic domination of a ruling elite class. The only groups Gramsci had in mind at that time were the workers and peasants. The notion of the subaltern acquired popularity in the academic and critical circle with the emergence of the Subaltern Studies Group or the Subaltern Studies Collective in India in the early 1980s. The theoretical debate surrounding the 'subaltern' became even more complex with the writings of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, particularly by her pathbreaking essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988). In this work, she defines the subaltern classes as "the demographic difference between the total India population and all those whom we have described as the "elite"".

Marginalization generally describes the exclusion or removal of a group of people or their relegation to a marginal or powerless position within the society. Avadesh Singh (2003:02) defines it as "The temporary state of having been put aside of living in relative isolation, at the edge of system (cultural, social, political or economic), in mind, when one excludes certain domains or a phenomenon from one's thinking because they don't correspond to the mainstream philosophy." Marginalization can occur due to a wide variety of factors such as race, class, caste, gender, religion etc. Double marginalization of women is one of most widely discussed issues in contemporary feminist discourse. It occurs when another factor (e.g.: race as in the case of African- American women, tribe in the case of tribal women or caste in the case of Dalit women) concurs with gender in the oppression of women, wherein women become victims of a twofold oppression simultaneously.

Tribal women being the most vulnerable section, fall prey to various levels of exploitation and discrimination from the mainstream society. The condition of the Paniya women is deplorable as they are the helpless and mute victims of double marginalization. Over the years Paniya women have been doubly marginalized and exploited in the name of tribe and gender. To put it differently, their exploitation occurs at two basic levels- (a) as part of the Paniya tribe and (b) as a member of the female community. Firstly, as members of the tribe, they are exploited by landlords and by the upper class society in general. Secondly, as members of the feminine community, they become the helpless victims

of the patriarchal oppression that is universal. Hence a Paniya woman is subalternized in a dual manner, i.e. due to her tribal and feminine identity.

(A) **TRIBAL EXPLOITATION**:

The tribal communities in India face a plethora of problems with the major ones being land alienation, displacement from traditional avenues of employment, malnutrition, ill health, erosion
of traditional knowledge and culture, dwindling bio- diversity, denial of or restricted access to common property resources (CPRs), low literacy level, lack of educational opportunities, sexual exploitation, violence against women, alcoholism, powerlessness (Ram Ahuja,2014). The condition of the Paniyas is no different. The community life of the Paniyas is dynamic within the tribe primarily due to their communal life. They maintain a distinct way of life, speak Paniya language, dress in their traditional manner, wear special ornaments, practice a unique life style and have a different set of cultural and religious beliefs. All this contributes to and lends a distinct identity to the Paniya community. However this has a negative impact on their social life as the mainstream society perceives them as 'uncivilized' and 'underdeveloped'. This results in a kind of marginalization of the Paniya tribe precisely because their traditions and customs get misinterpreted by the mainstream society. For instance, the Paniyas live in communal settlements called *padies* (Colony) which the modern man perceives as a symbol of caste. Hence the very place and manner of living contributes to the marginalization of the Paniyas. Further the Paniyas are considered as part of the lower section of the Hindu social order. Hence they are accorded least dignity, treated with little respect and are denied an active role in participating and observing Hindu social practices. This again contributes to a subtle 'Othering' of the Paniya tribe. Such a historical marginalization and exploitation has created a dark aura of social stigma surrounding the Paniya community and have made them "objects of collective discrimination" (Yaniya 2016)

The whole discourse about the Paniya tribe has been created and circulated by the mainstream society according to their own perspective. The mainstream discourse about the Paniya tribe perceives them as 'uncivilized savages'. This is clearly reflected in the myths and legends that has been widely circulated over the years about the origin of Paniyas. A common belief , based on the general appearance of the Paniyas, states that they are of African origin and have descended from ancestors who were wrecked on the Malabar Coast long ago. Neither does this theory have any validity nor is it based on any scholarly investigations or objective evidence (Thurston 1909). The notion of an 'African' origin also connotes an element of savagery and barbarity. Interestingly a book on the Paniyas authored by Panoor K (1971) is titled *Keralathile Africa* (The Africa of Kerala). Here one cannot miss the idea that Africa, for a long time, was regarded as the 'dark continent occupied by uncivilized people'.

The Paniya version about their own origin, as described by Somshekaran (1976), said that they were *Ippimala Makkal*, which means 'children of a legendary mountain range' in Wayanad. According to the legend, there were initially only two people- a brother and sister named Angala and Pengala respectively, who did not even have clothes to cover their body. They lived in the forests in caves just like animals and covered their body using the bark of trees. Later Angala and Pengala were captured and subjugated by the Gounder through a trap. The Gounder thus took the Paniyas and trained them. Soon after the Gounder realized their manual strength and made them his slaves. Somesekaran explained the situation as follows: "It may be true; the clever people train animals for their use and the cleverest make humans work by training them". The Paniya population gradually increased and their conditions of living became worse as successive generations of Paniyas remained slaves just as their forefathers. Eventually the Paniyas came under the control of *Janmis* (feudal land lords), Namboothiris, Nairs and others who controlled their land. Slave trade became a common practice among the landlords. Each Paniyan 'belonged' to a landlord. Although the Paniya slaves had freedom to leave their masters, they never did so as they were unable to find employment elsewhere (Santhosh 2008). Hence the Paniyas were cleverly exploited by the upper strata of the society.

(B) Bonded labour

The situation of the Paniyas became even more miserable due to the existence of bonded labour, also known as *Kundalpani* or *Nilppupani.* It began in the precolonial era and continued till the independence. *Kundalpani* was actually a system of slavery under which the Paniya and Adiya tribes were compelled to work for a mainstream community such as the Nairs or Gounders. The contract of bonded labour was renewed during the annual Valliyurkavu temple festival in Wayanad. During the festival season landlords visited the temple from various regions in search of Paniyas for labour. The system of bonded labour proved to be extremely exploitative as the Paniyas were paid very low wages. To top it off, women were paid lesser than their male counterparts. Hence historically the Paniyas remained tillers of land and they never became the owners of the land they tilled. While the condition of the Paniyas remained pathetic, the only thing that changed was the identity of their masters. Prior to the arrival of the British, they worked under the landlords as slaves and once the British set foot on the Indian soil, the Paniyas were forced to work in coffee plantations. This set in motion a vicious cycle of poverty and dependency with successive generation of Paniyas getting trapped in this vicious circle. Thus the state of dependency continued even after independence as the Paniyas were unable to earn on their own due to the lack of capital which forced them to depend entirely on the welfare measures of the state (Yahiya, 2016).

The problem of landlessness is not limited to the Paniyas alone. The Adivasi community as a whole have been never been allowed to own land. The condition of the Paniyas and Adiyas were all the more miserable as they were branded as slave communities. Chandran, a 43 year old man from a place near Aralam told to the researcher:

> *"For generations my father, his father, his grandfather, have been living in forest for a very long time. We collected woods, leaves, and various fruits and vegetables from forest, we were the slave community ruled by upper class people, when the British came they started tea and coffee plantations by cutting our forest land and then they threw us out to margins and the migrants from the Travancore they really uprooted us from our land".*

The abolishing of slavery by the British in 1838 in the Malabar region made little impact on the lives of these tribes. They remained bonded labourers even after independence. The migration from Travancore region to the north especially Wayanad worsened the condition of the tribes as people encroached into the tribal land depriving the tribals of their resources and means of subsistence. When the cultivators from the plains acquired land in Malabar region in the 1940s and 50s, the greatest sufferers were the Adiya and Paniya communities. Thus the lack of availability of cultivable land and adequate employment opportunities has worsened the condition of tribes. The Paniyas eventually get caught in mesh of exploitative labour, indebtedness often leading to alcohol dependence and suicide.

The Paniyas also face other problems such as the erosion of their culture and traditional way of life, alcoholism, change in food culture etc. Kumar, a 25 year old man from north Wayand who lost his land due to indebtedness explains to the researcher some of the key issues in tribes during the personal interview.

> Due to involvement with non Adivasi community, everything had changed, our food habit, culture, relationships; our youngsters started drinking alcohol and got, addicted to tobacco. The change in food habits had contributed various diseases in us. Our close interaction with nature has been disrupted'

(C) EXPLOITATION IN THE NAME OF GENDER

It is evident from the above analysis that the Paniyas are one of the most exploited tribal communities in Kerala. The condition of the Paniyas has been rightly summed up by Panoor as "All tribes are misfortunate. Paniyas are the misfortunate among the misfortunate" (1971:95). While the condition of the Paniyas is lamentable enough, the situation of the Paniya women is even more pathetic as they are the helpless victims of double marginalization. The double marginalization of the Paniya women (in the name of tribe and gender) can be understood through a study of their sufferings and woes. The gender based exploitation of Paniya women is explicated on the basis of tribal customs, sexual violence, domestic violence, economic, exploitation and neglected political sectors.

(D) Customs and practices

The Paniyas, just like any other community, have their own customs and practices. At times customs within the tribe have a negative impact on the health and self-confidence of the women. For instance, menstrual customs of the Paniyas greatly affect the way in which girls perceive themselves. Paniyas consider menarche as the indicator of the girl's puberty. On the day of her menache, the girl is kept confined in one corner of the hut. During this period

she is considered ritually impure and is prohibited from doing household duties. On the seventh day purification ceremony is observed. The fact that their natural biological process is considered as impure proves detrimental to the way the girls view their identity.

(E) Health status

While the health status of the Paniya tribe is alarmingly low, problems such as malnutrition and lack of hygiene affects women greatly. The Paniyas of the earlier generations were quite healthy as they ate healthy and organic food items, mainly cultivated by themselves or collected from the forest. However factors such as contact with modernity, lack of fertile land for cultivation, alcoholism has brought about drastic changes in their food culture which in return has led to a downward spiral in their health condition. The worst victims of such health problems are women. For instance, lack of nutritious food and proper health care for during pregnancy has led to higher pregnancy related health issues. Most of the tribal women are anemic and the condition is acute among pregnant women and lactating mothers. Tobacco chewing is another factor that adversely affects the health of the Paniya women. This is the case with even pregnant women as about 95% of pregnant women in the Paniya community are addicted to tobacco chewing (Mohammed Labeeb PK 2015). An elderly woman, probably in her eighties, shared the following experience with the researcher:

> Earlier if we go for the agricultural work under the chettis (a feudal landlord)
> they will give eight anna and one ser nellu, anna is for Murukkan (tobacco
> chewing) from that, one ser nellu we have to use for that day meal.

The habit of chewing areca nut is associated with several health problems among the Paniyas. However use of areca is culturally accepted and has been widely considered as part of daily life.

(F) Economic front

Paniya women are also victimized in the economic front. They work as hard as their men, toiling from dawn to dusk, but are paid significantly less than men. There is a wide difference in the wages of tribals and non-tribal labourers. Among the tribal labourers, the wages paid to the male and female labourers vary widely. Most studies and reports have pointed to the fact that Paniya women are paid considerably lower than their male counterparts. While a Paniya man earns about eighty- five rupees a day, a Paniya woman is paid about fifty- five rupees for her labour. The difference in wages greatly affects their quality of life, especially in families where women are the primary bread winners. For instance, a middle aged lady Shantha explains to the researcher how she suffers to sustain her family.

> Now our earning is enough for providing good education for our children or
> to do something worthy. Here we live from hand to mouth. It is impossible
> for us to save even an amount of Rs.10. Sir what can we do without jobs. I

have to play host to my mother, to my grandmother, I have to give my elder brother a glass of tea when they may visit us what can I do?' Even if it rains and we shiver with cold or catch fever, we must go for work. We have no real document on land here so we won't get any housing loan or other type of loans. We survive by shedding tears for the wellbeing of our children without even worrying about our illness.

(G) Political platform

The condition of Paniya women on the political front is hardly any better. The Paniyas in Wayanad belong to different political parties like Indian National Congress and the Communist Party of India. Paniyas vote regularly and majority of them are aware that it is their right to vote. In recent times Paniya youth have displayed a renewed interest in party politics. Though the Paniyas generally show less interest in contesting elections, a large number of them regularly attend Grama Sabha meetings. However the participation of Paniya women in politics is very limited. One can rightly say that the voice of the Paniya female is mute or unheard on the political level. Paniya women are not generally attracted to politics due to their backwardness in all respects. As a result, tribal women participation is very low in local level administrative bodies like panchayat council, village council etc.

(H) Educational sector

Education is an important element in the on the whole development of an individual, provides them to better awareness, proper understanding of their socio cultural and political environment. It also helps in the improvement of their socio economic conditions (Statistical profile of ST in India, 2013).Double marginalization of women is evident even in the educational sector as the literacy rate of women is much less than men in the Paniya community. While 46% of Paniya men have never been to school, the rate increases to a shocking 56% among women (Yahiya 2016). Since 1961 to 2011 the trend of literacy is increasing in Kerala state also. And tribal literacy rate of Kerala is higher than the national average. But literacy gap between the general population and tribals is high. It is proved that the government literacy programmes are failed to promote tribal literacy (Raju Narayana Swamy, 2010).

(I) Sexual exploitation and Domestic violence

More than the economic, educational and political aspects, two of the most significant factors that point to the double marginalization of Paniya women are – (a) sexual exploitation and (b) domestic violence. Violence against women is one of the most crucial mechanisms by which women are thrown into a traumatic and inferior rank in the social space. In fact the right to equality, right against gender discrimination, right against sexual harassment and the right to privacy are among the basic human rights of women. The Supreme Court of India in the Shri Bodhisattwa Gautam vs. Miss Subhra Chakraborty case stated sexual violence affects "the entire psychology of a woman and pushes her into deep emotional crisis. It is a crime against basic human rights, and is also violative of the victim's most cherished of the fundamental rights, namely the right to life contained in Article 21 of the Constitution of India." The Paniya women are one of the most vulnerable sections of the society and are frequent victims of sexual exploitation. They are treated as easy targets of sexual gratification by non-tribal communities. The sexual exploitation of Paniya women has aggravated with the increasing contact between the tribe and the mainstream society. The Report of the Welfare Committee of the Kerala Legislature-1996-98 on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Wayanad district states that "destitute and marginalized people suffer extreme difficulties all the time with the increasing inhuman atrocities, excessive, shocking and heinous sexual exploitation." With the tribal women being sexually exploited, 'unwed mothers' have become a common sight in tribal regions. Majority of the tribal girls are given false promises of marriage and are impregnated by non-tribal men. These girls, some as young as 13 years, struggle to survive along with their children. Tribal girls who are employed as labourers in plantations are sexually abused by their employers and fellow workers. Once they become pregnant, they are left to fend for themselves. In some cases, these women are forced to take up sex work for survival (Yhaiya 2016).

(J) Alcoholism

Alcoholism is another crucial problem among the Paniya tribe. This in return has other negative consequences such as health issues, domestic violence especially Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), lack of savings etc. Often women have to bear the brunt of the male addiction towards alcohol. With alcohol being easily accessible, many of the Paniya youth are now attracted towards it. A forty- five year old lady, Shantha, explained to the researcher:

> Our men are paid with alcohol along with wage earning, whatever money they earned they spend on liquor so our family needs are under threat. They are addicted to alcohol and consequently they are not interested to go for work that reduces our family income. Formerly the feudal land lords used to distribute the alcohol for working under him without much payment, so our forefathers got addicted, these days some new landlords are distributing alcohol to attract us, if we get addicted they know that, they can even exploit our women too.

A tribal promoter Sumathi informed to the researcher:

> Here some employers are distributing liquor to attract Paniya men to work for them, after their work they won't receive the complete daily wage they are supposed to, since they will subtract the liquor expenses from their wages. Most often they target younger Paniya men, the landlord know that once we are addicted to liquor everything is easy for them. They can loot our land, our resources or whatever.

A lady named Chirutha told the researcher, *"We are like slaves, suffer everything silently and live on. Nobody takes any action."* Her comment explicates the pitiable plight of Paniya women.

The development activities in kerala state are highly biased against the tribal people. Although few communities do benefit from development, they representing the forward communities and not the backward communities like Paniya, Adiya etc. The paniays are marginally represented to the process of development. They have been deprived of resources and exploited in different way. And they have been deliberately excluded from various social, political and academic discourses. This study helps dwells in to some of the resultant problems that the paniya women faces a result of their systematic social exclusion and alienation such as the lack of self esteem and social capital, social economic problems etc. Although paniya women can be consider as marginalized group with the subaltern.

CONCLUSION:

Despite governmental efforts and numerous welfare schemes, the Paniya community is still submerged in a wide array of problems such as ignorance, indebtedness, ill health, economic and political powerlessness etc. as the nation embarks on a speedy race of development, the Adivasi communities lag behind. The Paniyas have not only been conveniently ignored or forcefully silenced, but have also been deliberately misrepresented in various social, political and academic discourses. Although the condition of the Paniya tribe is wretched and woeful, the situation of Paniya women is all the more horrifying. They remain as silent sufferers or mute victims of tribal and gender exploitation. Hence it is high time that the nation introspects her 'progressive leap' and addresses the major flaws and challenges in tribal development.

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Status of Tribal Development in Kerala : An overview

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Abstract: The developmental discussions of tribal people have been started from the British period itself. After independence the Government of India has been considered the tribal people as a vulnerable section of society and made some special provisions in the constitution for their socio economic development. This paper described the status of tribals of Kerala and presented the demographic details, education, economic conditions, health status and other development indicators. It is portraying the factors contributing to marginalization, exploitation and underdevelopment. The role of state for tribal development, education, employment, displacement and rehabilitation is also examined. The researcher used secondary information from census and sampling data from different government sources to describe the present situation of tribals. The insights of this paper reflects the conditions that have influenced conceptualization of tribal development, which considerably change the society, destruction of culture and land suffered by the tribal of Kerala.

IndexTerms - **Tribals, Development, Marginalization, Exploitation**

I. INTRODUCTION

The tribals considered as children of forest and they are isolated from the common society. The tribes also called as indigenous people, advisis, original inhabitants, jungle people, submerge humanity, girijans, etc. They are survived with an unchanging ways of life and traditions. The United Nations estimated that there are 370 million tribal people existing in 70 countries in the world. Tribal people have been the guardian of environment; build a holistic communal view of humanity and its link to the ecosystem (Yahiya, 2015). The mainstream society have historically marginalized, exploited and suppressed the tribal society (CK Janu, 2016). The colonization alienated the traditional communities from their ways of life (Bipin Chandra, 2013). Introduction of modern life situations by main stream society have made great effect in tribal communities. Although the modern developmental principles, it has failed to promote cultural life of the tribal communities.

Social, political and economic histories were important factors in shaping the policy and governance in Kerala. These start intensively from the British colonial period, the Reform movements from lower caste communities were against native rulers of the region demanding for basic social services. Most important social reform movements were lead by Shri Narayana Guru and Ayyankali against the caste system. These social movements were the foundation for emergence of more secular movements, along with peasants and workers, and it lead to the formation of radical and leftist ideology. The world's first democratically elected communist government came to Kerala in 1957. This government initiated various welfare measures for peasants and working class like land reforms, ensuring minimum wages, abolition of tenancy and improving working conditions. It also created a great assertion of self respect and dignity among the agricultural labors and small peasants in Kerala (Kurien 1995).

The state of Kerala is well known for its different experience of developmental process compared to the other states in India. Predominantly in the areas of high Literacy rate 93.91% (males 96.02% and females 91.98%), Life expectancy 74, Sex Ratio female 1084 male 1000 and Infant Mortality 12 death for 1000 live birth (Census Data 2011). This model also emphasized on poverty reduction, land reforms, access to education and welfare of children. The emergence of Kerala development was motivated by various public actions through politically motivated and informed citizens (Steur 2009). Scheduled tribes, Dalits and fisher folk, cashew workers and coir workers are still lagging behind others in terms of social development indicators (Kurien 1995; Omvedt 1998).

TRIBAL POPULATION

Indian constitution referred that scheduled tribals as those groups or communities, who are scheduled under the article 342 and declared by the president. In India there are 725 tribal communities. Majority 50% of the tribal communities are in central and north east state of the nation. The smallest state Kerala has 1.45% of tribal population, which distributed in 37 different tribes (Census of India, 2011).

Table.1
Tribal Population in Kerala (In Millions)

Population		Year						
		1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
	General	361.1	439.2	548.2	685.2	846.3	846.3	1210.5

India	ST	19.1	30.1	38.0	51.6	51.6	84.3	104.2
	Sex Ratio	946	987	982	983	972	978	990
Kerala	General	13.54	16.90	21.34	25.45	29.09	31.84	33.41
	ST	------	…….	0.269	0.261	0.32	0.364	0.484
	Sex Ratio	-----	1022	1016	1032	1,036	1021	1035

(Source: Census of India 1951- 2011)

   According to the census reports there is an increase in tribal population from 1951 to 2011 in India and Kerala. The change in population rate is high in India and it's comparatively less in Kerala state. And also increase in the sex ratio. The tribal population of Kerala forms 1.5% of the total population of the state. Tribal population growth is very controlled in Kerala state. Less poverty rate and high education and health statue may be contributing to this balance population growth. The district Wayanad has the highest number of tribal concentration in the state. The districts Wayanad, Idukki, Palakkad, Kasargod and Kannur contribute more than 70% of the state's tribal population. The overall sex ratio among the tribes is 1035 females for 1000 male in 2011(Census of India, 2011).

LITERACY RATE

Education is an important element in the on the whole development of an individual, provides them to better awareness, proper understanding of their socio cultural and political environment. It also helps in the improvement of their socio economic conditions (Statistical profile of ST in India, 2013).

Table .2

Literacy Rate (As per 1951 to 2011 Census)								
Region		1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Kerala	General	47.18	55.08	69.75	78.85	89.81	90.86	94.00
	ST	NA	17.26	25.75	31.79	57.22	64.4	75.8
India	General	18.33	28.30	34.45	41.43	52.22	64.84	72.99
	ST	NA	8.53	11.30	16.35	29.60	47.1	59.9

The table 2 showed that an increasing trend in scheduled tribal literacy in considerably over the years in national level and Kerala. But there exist some significance difference in national and state level. As per the census 2011 the literacy rate of all social groups in India is 72.99 %, which is higher than STs (59.9%). Since 1961 to 2011 the trend of literacy is increasing in Kerala state also. And tribal literacy rate of Kerala is higher than the national average. But literacy gap between the general population and tribals is high. It is proved that the government literacy programmes are failed to promote tribal literacy (Raju Narayana Swamy, 2010). The comparative educational backwardness of tribals is a matter of concern in Kerala development.

   Education in Kerala is heavily biased against the Scheduled Tribes. Although a few ST students do benefit from education, they represent the cream of the community and not the masses. The children of the poor, less educated parents with low income occupations are only marginally represented. Decentralization of educational management is an aspect that needs special consideration in the context of tribal areas (Raju Narayana Swamy, 2010). Thus, low literacy rate has been identified as a major development problem among the STs (Ram Ahuja 2014)

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Majority of tribal communities have low economic and they are belong to BPL population (Economic Review- 2009). According to the study of C K Krishnan, 2008 poor socio economic conditions are the major factor contributing for the educational achievement and low aspirations on the part of tribal folk. Agriculture and aliened activities are main source of livelihood of the tribal communities. Poverty ratios of 1993 to 2005 have more significance, National level poverty had been decreased but in Kerala state it has increased to 37.34 to 44.3 (Planning Commission, 2005).

     Poverty alleviation has been of the major objective of planning process of India. There are many policies and programmes implemented to compact poverty in the country. There have been some additional programmes executed for the vulnerable section of societies. Independence

Table. 3
Poverty among ST 1983 - 2013

Region	1983		1993		2003		2013	
	All	ST	All	ST	All	ST	All	ST
India	45.6	63.3	35.8	49.6	27.5	37.9	27.5	47.4
Kerala	40.42	36.6	25.43	35.2	23.7	34.4	15	24.4

(Source: Planning Commission, 2013)

The table pointed out that poverty ratio of tribal community has been declined from 1983 to 2013. The poverty ratio among the STs is significantly higher both in India and Kerala camper to the general population. It is shows that the negligence of tribals people from the spears of development. All other communities are rapidity developing but tribals are in a pathetic situation.

Health

"Enjoyment of the highest standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic and social condition" (WHO, 1948). Health is a fundamental issue facing by the tribal of Kerala. High infant mortality and maternal mortality, nutritional deficiency, sickle cell anemia, tuberculosis, cancer, etc are highly privilege among the tribals of Kerala.

Table. 4
Infant Mortality of STs

State	Infant Mortality Rate		
	Males	Females	Persons
India	84	88	85
Kerala	33	57	44

(Source: Census, 2011)

Infant mortality defined as the number of infant deaths in a year per 1000 live births during the year (Statistical profile of Scheduled tribes in India 2013). According to the census report the infant mortality for STs is highest in India comparing to Kerala (84 and 44). There is a significant gap in IMR in male and females in India and Kerala.

Table.5
Maternal Mortality of STs

Region	Maternal Mortality Ratio, Maternal Mortality			
	Live Births	Maternal Deaths	Maternal Mortality Ratio(MMR)	Maternal Mortality Rate
India	436,411	926	212	16.3
Kerala	14624	12	81	4.1

(Source: Special Bulletin on MMR, June 2011- Registrar General of India)

The table presented the mortality rate of scheduled tribes of India and Kerala. As per the date the birth rate in India is 435411 and Kerala 14624. The table 5 indicates maternal death is comparatively less in Kerala (12) than the national level (926). Maternal mortality rate is highest in India (16.3) comparing to the state Kerala. But Kerala tribals are facing many health issues like malnutrition, TB, cancer, etc. Malnourishment among tribal people is directly related to food and indirectly related to non food factors. Inadequate food intake being the immediate factor, lack of employment opportunities, landlessness, decline in agriculture, reduction in forest cover, ineffective government policies etc cumulatively contribute to insecurity of tribal people (Mohammed Labeeb 2015). Tribals need information, education and communication concerning the risk of repeated pregnancies and other associated danger signs in case of complications. Simultaneously, the health service delivery system needs to be upgraded. Most of the tribals' health problems are related to unsanitary conditions and lack of education. They are preventable by public health measures. In these areas importance is given to curative measures instead of preventive ones (Suman Pamecha, 2010).

CRIME AGAINST SCHEDULED TRIBES

The constitution of India guaranteed equality and opportunities to all citizens. And also provides that no individual shall be discriminated from grounds of sex, cast, religion etc. The weaker sections have some special protective measures including scheduled tribals. Tribals have been victims of countless crimes, both because of their gullibility and lack of hearing of their grievances (Statistical profile of Scheduled tribes in India, 2013)

Table. 5

Number of Cases Registered under Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 in India (1998 to 2014)																
Region	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Kerala	716	NA	529	499	469	335	374	427	439	565	625	569	671	991	934	891	120
India	27561	26285	30315	30022	27894	22603	23629	31387	32407	35352	38943	38849	38449	39401	39512	46114	49124

(Source: Crime in India)

In India, state is responsibility to the development and welfare of its people especially the vulnerable sections of the society. The constitution of India provides the equality and opportunities to all the citizens and ensures that no individual shall

discriminate on the position caste, sex, religion etc. the Scheduled tribes have been victims of countless crimes, both because of their gullibility and lack of hearing of their grievances (Statistical Profile Of Scheduled Tribes In India 2013). Studying the incidence rate and percentage contribution to all over India of crimes during 2012 under different categories, it is clearly showed that Kerala has 2.09 % contribution. Rate of cognizable crimes against STs is highest in Kerala.

- Extent of Alcoholism among the tribals

Alcoholism is condition in which an individual lose control over his alcohol intake in that he is consistently unable to refine from drinking once he begins (Joshi,1998) in India society alcoholism consider as a social problem. Tribal communities are prominent to alcoholism. Many communities are using alcohol in their traditional rituals. It is important in alcoholism is the socialization to accept alcohol (Ram Ahuja, 2014). According to the NFHS report- 2005-06, 49.9 % of the tribals are using alcohol. Most of the studies conducted among the tribals have highlighted the issues of alcoholism. The mainstream societies have been used the alcoholism as tool of exploitation towards tribal communities (Geethandan, 2016). Apart of wage they used to provide alcohol as wage. Culturally and socially alcoholism made root in the tribal society. The alcoholic people have been spending lots of money for alcoholic consumption. It is affecting the financial stability of the family. And also it's creating the health problems, domestic, violence, unemployment, etc.

LAND ALIENATION AND ISSUES OF RESETTLEMENT

Land alienation has been one of the most significant factors that explain the deprivation that tribal communities have faced and continue to face. This can be understood if researchers try to analyze the percentage of agricultural labourers from tribal in Kerala. Within a span of 15 years (1961-1976) the percentage of agricultural labourers among tribal increased from 43% to 72% (Kunhaman, 1985). Highest incidence of land alienation is reported in Kerala (Bijoy, 1999). In addition to that livelihoods of tribals are made vulnerable by small land holdings, lack of capital and infrastructure to carry out agriculture, conflict with wild animals especially elephants, and drought in rain fed agricultural areas because of poor rainfall (Rozario, 2013).

Table .6
Area operated by operational holding for STs

Region	2005-2006					2010-2011				
	Marginal	Small	Semi medium	Medium	Large	Marginal	Small	Semi medium	Medium	Large
India	14.58	21.81	26.83	25.97	10.81	17.26	22.6	26.27	23.76	10.11
Kerala	54.42	26.66	13.43	4.55	0.94	49.84	23.39	17.82	6.69	2.28

(Source: Agriculture Census)

The table 5 indicated the percentage of distribution of number of operational holding land for STs. It is showed that marginal land holding in 2005-06 were 14.58%, which has increased to 21.81 % in 2010-11 but in Kerala, which has decreased as 54.42% to 26.66%. Small land holding have increased from 21.81 % to 22.6, in Kerala it has decreased from 26.66 to 23.39. semi medium operational holding for STs decreased to 26.83 % 26.27 in national level and in Kerala it has increased to 13.43% to 17.82%, Medium and Large holding has been increased both national and State level.

Land lessens is the one of major problem faced by the tribals of Kerala. According to the TRDM 2016, survey there is 12261 landless tribal families in Kerala state. Land alienation is a historic process and still it is continuing. Therefore the tribal land struggle movements are become part of day to day life of the Kerala people.

Adivasis were fighting for the restoration of alienated land since the advent of British in India and from then onwards the focus of the struggle shifted to landlessness which still is continuing. Thus, started the ongoing struggles of Adivasis and at last in 2001 Government tried to settle the issue by agreeing that "subject to availability of land, all tribal families of Kerala will be given 1 to 5 acres of land". Subsequently a Tribal Land Mission was launched in November, 2001. The mission recommended the Kerala Government to complete the land distribution in five years time (Sreerekha, 2010). The state resettlement plan promised each tribal family that moved to resettlement entitled for land, basic amenities for the infrastructure development, like drinking water, transportation facility, educational institutions, electricity and houses. They are also promised of employment opportunities, financial and material assistance from the Government for agricultural purpose. Along with that resettled tribes are also entitled to rationing scheme. There are seven major resettlements in kerala. But the promises to the tribes were laid on the paper; Kerala Government did not enact the rehabilitation plan fully. The basic infrastructure facilities were not provided, the most important thing the Government couldn't provide was the employment opportunities to the tribes (Nitheesh kumar, 2014). Tribe faced problems in fulfilling their family needs. The threat from the animals made the rehabilitated tribes' life more dangerous. Whatever they cultivated wild elephant and wild boar destroyed. Many of the resettled tribes committed suicide and many of them later became alcohol addicts. But the promises to the tribes were laid on the paper; Kerala Government did not enact the rehabilitation plan fully. The basic infrastructure facilities were not provided, the most important thing the Goverment couldn't provide was the employment opportunities to the tribes. Tribe faced problems in fulfilling their family needs. The threat from the animals made the rehabilitated tribes' life more dangerous. Whatever they cultivated wild elephant and wild boar destroyed. Many of the resettled tribes committed suicide and many of them later became alcohol addicts (Yahiya 2014).

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

The team Scheduled tribes appeared in the Article 365 of the constitution. "Scheduled Tribes" means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution. There are special provisions for scheduled tribals in the constitution for safeguarding them from the social evils. Education, economic development, employment opportunities, and equality are the major concern. There entitlements are implementing in the form of reservation. Tribal communities are entitled for reservation in government jobs and public posts. And also some special laws for prohibiting all kind of atrocities and discriminations.

TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

The government of India has notified that the tribal people are vulnerable section of Indian society. There for they made special safeguards for the protection and development of the tribal communities. The provisions are aims to promote education, economic interest and protection from exploitation and social injustices. It is implementing through policies and programme and mechanism of reservation. The mechanism of tribal development are Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP), Where the tribal population more than 50% and Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) for the small pockets. Government of Kerala has implemented many programmes for the tribal development for the last decade. Resettlement of Landless Tribals, Package programme for the Rehabilitation of backward tribes, Treatment and Rehabilitation of ST's affected by various diseases, Financial assistance to Marriage of ST Girls, Restoration of Alienated land Act 1999, Insurance programme for Tribals, Repairs and Maintenance of Tribal Hostel, Schemes for providing better educational facilities to bright ST students, Post -metric hostels for Tribal Students, Training On Information Technology, Extension of Kudumbashree to Tribal areas and Opening of Grain Banks System in Tribal Ares are the major schemes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

For the improvement of life status of tribes we should address tribes as a whole along with that we should also focus on certain programmes targeting younger generation. These groups of people often have not difficulty to access the recourses and services. There should be comprehensive multi dimensional model strategies to deal with education, livelihood, needed multiple level of actions individual level, family level, community level etc.
Appropriate administrative structures should be developed under a person who knows about tribal culture. Tribal participation and involvement of the tribal development organisations like the civil societies, community based organisations, voluntary organisations, local NGO s in governance is an essential input in all the stages of development; so more efforts need to be made in this direction. Integrated development together with employment generation, economic activities, and community facilities.

CONCLUSION

Kerala is often known for its development indicators and its robust form of decentralized governance. The state always supports the social and cultural constructions of the dominant class and they avoid the knowledge and exclusive culture of tribal community. Most of the policies served the economic and political interests of dominant community. After six decades of Independence the tribal societies remains isolated and marginalized. It created a historical discrimination between tribe and non tribal community. The active efforts of conquering and eliminating the tribal culture were justified by an ideology that saw tribes as primitive and uncivilized. Tribes have been viewed as not ready to be a part of democratic state and dominant community; they should be civilized to join the mainstream. Most of the policies were motivated by paternalistic attitude that often failed to recognize tribal right of self determination or richness and diversity of their culture. The cumulative effects of these policies worsened their condition and leads to losing their culture. The collective shortsighted policies and involvement from the dominant community manifested the trauma, loss, and grief among the tribal society. Ensure the Infrastructure and accessibility services for all including the remote areas, through mobile clinic, tribal promoters, networking strategies. The policy makers should always respect the cultural values of tribes, their strengths, knowledge and traditions. The policies and programs for rehabilitation and rebuilding livelihood could have been culture and context sensitive.

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