

Wayanad Initiative

A Situational Study and Feasibility
Report for the Comprehensive Development
of Adivasi Communities of Wayanad



Centre of Excellence - Indian Institute of Management Kozhikode
January 2006

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A Situational Study and Feasibility Report for the Comprehensive Development of Adivasi Communities of Wayanad

(Submitted to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe Development Department,
Government of Kerala)

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Foreword

The SC/ST Development Department of the Government of Kerala has entrusted the Indian Institute of Management Kozhikode (IIMK) with the responsibility of conducting a research study (Wayanad Initiative) on developing a comprehensive development package addressing the livelihood, education, health and related issues concerning the well-being of the Adivasi communities in Wayanad District.

I am happy that the study has been successfully completed at the Centre of Excellence , IIMK with the support of Government of Kerala. The Research team consisting of Prof. D.D. Nampoothiri, Dr. Suma Damodaran (Formerly, Professor, IIMK) Mr. T.Y. Vinod Krishnan and Prof. J. Raghaviah deserves wholehearted appreciation for their hard work and dedication that enabled them to complete the study addressing a wide ranging study in a short span of time. The significant contributions of Dr. A.R. Vasavi (Fellow, NIAS, IISc, Bangalore),as the principal advisor of the study is acknowledged.

It is our sincere wish that the Government of Kerala will find the results and recommendations of the study useful for planning the future development activities for the empowerment of the Adivasi communities of Wayanad District.

Dr. R. Radhakrishna Pillai
Chairman
Centre of Excellence-IIMK

January 12, 2006

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For the Research Team,

Prof. D.D. Nampoothiri
Chief Project Coordinator, Wayanad Initiative
January 12 2006

Executive Summary

Wayanad is the least populated district of the state, and its population constitutes 2.47 per cent of Kerala's total population and covers 5.5 per cent of land. Adivasi communities constitute 17 per cent of the population of the Wayanad district and roughly one third of all the Adivasi communities of the State. These communities form the poorest section of the population of the district and they fall behind the rest of the population of Kerala in terms of literacy, income and health. Despite being a significant section of the population of the district, they do not have adequate representation in decision-making bodies, including the local leadership of major political parties. Majority of the Adivasis of Wayanad are agricultural laborers or marginal farmers.

Main Adivasi communities of the district are Paniyans, Adiyans, Kattunaickans, Mullu Kurumans, Urali Kurumans and Kurichians. These communities are endogamous. They are heterogeneous in character and extremely diverse in terms of many socio-economic indicators. While some communities were traditionally settled cultivators having considerable land holding, a majority of them were landless laborers who in some cases served as bonded laborers to the landed Adivasis. Another section of them was hunters and gatherers till recently, living inside reserve forest or in its fringes leading a relatively isolated existence.

Almost a century back the Adivasi communities had formed the majority of the population of the district. By the middle of the last century, owing to large-scale migration of settler peasants from the plains, they were reduced to a minority in their own original habitat. In the process, a significant section of the Adivasis communities lost their land. Traditional agricultural crops were replaced by high input cash crops, altering crop pattern. Gradual reduction of area under paddy cultivation since 1970s resulted in the drastic reduction of employment for both the landless as well as landed sections of the Adivasis. This coupled with crash of prices for hill produce has further reduced their opportunities.

Since the formation of the composite Kerala state, the Government has incurred considerable expenditure for the development of the Adivasis in the district. Non-governmental agencies too have spent heavily for this purpose. Even well conceived projects, involving high input, have not yielded any positive result. Alternative Governmental measures to address Adivasi issues also did not provide intended results. The decentralized planning process initiated from the Ninth Plan onwards, did attempt to address some of the key issues confronted by the Adivasi communities, but as it remains, effective implementation of decentralized planning process involves considerable capacity building – a process that is expected to take a long time.

It is against this background that the study was conducted to prepare a comprehensive development package for the Adivasi communities of Wayanad.

This project is based on the following perspectives:

- Adivasi communities in Wayanad can broadly be categorized into three sections viz., agricultural laborers, marginal farmers and forest dependants based on their traditional economic activity.
- Adivasi communities in Wayanad cannot be treated as a single entity and their sub-tribal/community identity surpasses a common 'Adivasi identity'
- There are discernible differences among the communities in terms of economic activity, level of income, educational attainment, access to power structure, and capacity for meaningful participation in developmental initiatives, degree of integration in a non-tribal dominated setting.
- In terms of development indices there is a substantial degree of internal differentiation among the categories with the traditionally land holding communities having better development indices and the traditionally landless laborers and forest dependants forming the poorest and the most vulnerable sections in Wayanad District
- Cutting across ethnic boundaries, all Adivasi communities in Wayanad have got detribalized considerably and community members by and large accept this reality positively.
- Average size of an adivasi family is 5.7 persons and most of the community members prefer living in a nuclear family.
- The baseline study has revealed that a majority of the tribal population in Wayanad is below 40 years, indicating the 'relative young' nature of the population. There is a remarkable reduction in population as the age increases.
- Adivasi communities of Wayanad barring Kurichian and Kattunaickan show favorable female to male sex ratio. For Kattunaickan and Kurichian the female ratio is alarmingly low. For Kurichian, a community who are relatively better off than the rest of the Adivasis of Wayanad, sex ratio is as low as 886 for 1000 males. This requires demand deeper investigation.
- The study indicates that 79 percent of the tribal families in Wayanad are residing in permanent dwellings. The average plinth area of the houses is within the range of 100-300 square feet. However most of the houses lack basic amenities. Only 31% of the houses have electricity, 32% has sanitary toilets, and 76% has supply of drinking water. Most of the houses need repair.

- For the Adivasi population in Wayanad, most of the basic facilities like schools, health, market, primary health centers, reading room etc are available within a radius of 6 kilometers, with schools within the range of 3 kilometers.
- Telephone booth, post office, market and library are available in an average distance of about 4 kms. Police station, government department offices, electricity board and bus stop are available at an average distance of 6 kms or a small section is still forced to resort to private transport for emergency – something they can ill - afford, taking into consideration their earnings.
- The survey has revealed that 65% of the Adivasi population of Wayanad is literate. There is a small section of the population (3.64%) that does not have any formal schooling, but are literate. Literacy attainment peaks at primary school level. It is observed that 32.84% have completed primary education. But thereafter there is a steady tapering off. Only 24% report completion of High School and 2.46% completed Pre Degree level education. There is only 1% of the population that has completed graduation. The percentage of technically qualified/ post graduates/ professionals is much low with 0.5%. There is a significant difference in educational achievement among the communities.
- Traditionally land holding communities like Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman have achieved remarkably in terms of literacy and are almost in par with general population of the district.
- Educational attainment of the Adivasi communities in Wayanad has a gender dimension. The study has revealed that female literacy is lower than that of males. But gradually this difference seems to be tapering off with more females having completed secondary education than males.
- School drop out rate is relatively higher among Adivasi communities in comparison with general population, but at high school level the drop out rate is lower compared to general population. Drop out rate is high among ‘at risk’ communities like Paniyan, Adiyar, Kattunaickan and Urali Kuruman.
- Major issue confronted by Adivasi children at schools is the low performance level in comparison with the general performance level of students in the district.
- Performance level is higher among students studying in government run residential schools.
- With the decline in paddy cultivation, unemployment among the Adivasi communities, particularly among women is very high.
- Dominant type of employment undertaken by the Adivasi communities of Wayanad is agricultural labor. Nearly 75% of the total population is involved with agriculture or agriculture related labour.

- Though it is generally assumed that Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) collection is a major economic activity of the Adivasis of Wayanad, the baseline survey has shown that only for 5.63% of the population it is an economic activity. Nearly 8% of the population is involved with forest labor.
- Representation of Adivasi communities in government and organized private sector is very marginal. Only 2.88% of the population is working in government sector. 1.51% are involved with private sector.
- Average monthly income per family has been worked out works out to Rs.1276, as per the survey conducted among the families. About 35% of the income of the families surveyed comes from their own agriculture. A greater portion of income comes from wage labor – in plantations, agriculture labor, construction related activities, etc. It is seen that for communities other than Kattunaickan community earn only roughly 2 per cent of their income from the sale of NTFP.
- The baseline survey has revealed that 50% of the total monthly income of the Adivasi families goes for food. 16% of the income is spent on medicine, indicating high incidence of morbidity among the Adivasis. It also indicates that the free health care system is not providing much benefit to the Adivasi communities in Wayanad.
- A significant portion of their income is spent on tobacco and alcohol.
- There are three seasons of high employment for the Adivasi population of Wayanad. The best season is December-January and this relates to coffee. Next season is June-July and this relates mainly to crops like ginger, yam, etc. The third season is October and relates to paddy. Area under paddy has been progressively coming down and consequently avenues for employment has also got reduced.
- For almost seven months of the year most of the working population of Adivasi communities does not have any significant source of income. Landless families during these months hardly take two meals a day.
- It has been found that 45% of the Adivasi families have 5-10 cents of land, revenue from which is very negligible. Nearly 37% of the families have land holding above 50 cents. Nearly 50% of the land holding of the Adivasi families are under “*koottupatta*” (joint title)
- Morbidity is high among the communities and 82 % depend on public health services for treatment. Majority of the population prefer modern health facilities to traditional practices for treatment. Most of the deliveries happen in hospitals and nearly 50% approach doctors for pre natal check up.

- Most of the Adivasi members of Wayanad have strong political sympathies and are generally aware of the social and political issues faced by them.
- Community members respond positively towards Panchayat Raj Institutions and activities undertaken by Scheduled Tribe Development Department.
- Panchayat Raj Institutions and Tribal Development Department, the main stakeholders of Adivasi development in the district are sensitive to the Adivasi issues, but are not successful in addressing them in an effective manner.
- Inter Adivasi interaction is minimal compared to their interaction with non-tribal communities, particularly with settler farmers.
- There is no conspicuous discord between the Adivasi and non-Adivasi populations of the district
- Despite shortcomings, the relationship of the Adivasi communities with the government and its institutions is not hostile but below the desired level. Community members seem to prefer Governmental and Panchayat Raj Institutions to NGOs and civil society organizations.
- Locally active political formations – particularly the support organizations of political parties - have made deep inroads in tribal communities and these are the most influential force in the decision making of the community.
- Adivasi communities in Wayanad are not enclaves and there exist extensive linkages with increasingly homogenizing, non-Adivasi dominated milieu.
- Tribal development has also to be located in the overall development of the district and an exclusionist approach would escalate their marginalization.
- Adivasis being a part of the society, it may not be possible to have a development package exclusively for them. Instead such a plan should be one, which will be predominantly focused for the benefit of Adivasi communities.
- Any intervention should be multi dimensional in nature and can have private-public participation. Panchayat Raj institutions will have a pivotal role. NGOs can also be invited to participate.
- Any development plan should take into consideration the need for food sovereignty. This is related to the commitment of government to provide land to the Adivasi families by the year 2007.
- Any development approach for the Adivasi communities should be rights based that encourages:

- Sustainable development that is oriented towards poverty reduction.
- The right to basic social services (equitable access to basic health care and education)
- The right to life and security (equitable provision of protection, relief and rehabilitation)
- Respect for equal participation of women and men, regard for the environment
- Non-discrimination and attention for vulnerable groups
- Participation and people centered development programs
- People to realize their rights to access information relating to the decision-making process which affect their lives.
- Accountability and transparency from the part of stake holders
- The right to be heard (equitable participation in political, economic and social policy-making and decisions)
- Intergenerational equity
- Raising the capacity of duty bearers (institutions that have obligations towards the Adivasi communities) and right holders (the community as well as individuals)
- Good governance and administrative practices leading to the development of pro-poor growth and fostering stable societies with the ability to peacefully resolve conflicts;
- The development of capacity of civil societies to engage in active and critical dialogue

The situational study has revealed that the most important issues confronted by the Adivasi communities in Wayanad are that of livelihood, health and education. Regarding livelihood following are the key issues observed from the study.

- Low family income
- Small size of land holding and landlessness
- Agriculture/Agriculture labour is the major component of income
- Conversion of paddy field for alternative crops has reduced employment opportunities in agricultural sector
- Reduced need for Adivasi labour owing to changes in crop pattern
- Entry of large number of non- tribals in labour market
- Decline of price for cash crops resulting in the reduction of hired labour
- Reduced need for traditional skills
- Non availability of alternative skills
- No viable non-farm activity
- Dwindling of Non Timber Forest Produce

- ❑ Regulations on NTFP collection
- ❑ Low representation in government service/organized sector
- ❑ Failed rehabilitation projects

Regarding health, the key issues observed are

- ❑ High Morbidity
- ❑ High infant mortality rate
- ❑ Low life expectancy
- ❑ Genetic disorder like sickle cell anemia
- ❑ Low nutritional intake
- ❑ Poor hygienic condition
- ❑ No adequate preventive measures
- ❑ Inadequate public health delivery system
- ❑ High consumption of tobacco/alcohol
- ❑ Income not sufficient enough to approach private doctors
- ❑ High expenditure on health compared to the earnings

Regarding education, following issues were observed

- ❑ Low parental motivation
- ❑ Lack of sensitivity to tribal situation from teachers/peers
- ❑ Higher drop out at Primary level, compared to general population
- ❑ Higher drop out at Upper Primary level compared to general population
- ❑ Low performance at schools
- ❑ Low results at SSLC level
- ❑ Low educational attainment

As the part of the study we made a review of the institutions in Wayanad that have direct relevance to the Adivasi population of the District particularly Panchayat Raj Institutions, Scheduled Tribe Development Department and Forest Department, Education and Health. Mentioned below are our main observations on the institutions.

- ❑ Institutions are generally sensitive to Adivasi issues
- ❑ Aspirations of Adivasi communities are higher
- ❑ In the decentralized planning through Oorukoottams, basic issues like livelihood, health and education are not adequately addressed
- ❑ Oorukoottam, though conceptually a well thought out model for participatory planning, things are practiced as a 'formality' to be fulfilled for local planning.
- ❑ Community members are not equipped with local level planning

Based on the above-mentioned observations on various issues and institutions, the 'problems' relating to Adivasi communities were juxtaposed against a SWOT analysis of Wayanad as well as that of individual communities. Based on this, some recommendations have been made:

- Provision of land to Adivasi communities as declared by the government as per the agreement between the Government and Adivasis forms the precondition for their development. It is important that Government of Kerala fulfils this obligation and assurance.
- Key issues confronted by the Adivasi communities are absence of regular income, poor health conditions and educational disadvantages. The focus has to be on livelihood issues.
- Owing to the fluctuation of agricultural prices, agriculture alone might not satisfy the livelihood aspect of the community. It is important to identify alternative sources for livelihood. Special emphasis has to be made on Rural Non Farm Sector.
- Wayanad is rich in Bamboo, a resource traditionally associated Adivasi communities. Potential of bamboo can be utilized for livelihood development of the community.
- Tourism is an emerging sector in the district. Feasibility study on developing a community based pro-poor tourism needs to be conducted, which may be entrusted with a competent and experienced organization.
- Rehabilitation of existing projects meant for Adivasi communities, particularly, the Priyadarshini Tea Estates and Thirunelly Powerloom can provide employment opportunities for the vulnerable sections.
- Animal husbandry and related activities, particularly production and marketing of organic milk and diary product.
- Services such as that of health, education etc must be tailored to serve the needs of the Adivasi.
- Land distributed to the Adivasis must be developed. For this, Adivasi must be entitled to receive financial support and management and development support.
- Capacity building for the stakeholders (Tribal Development Department, Panchayat Raj Institutions, Departments of Forest, Health, Education etc) must be undertaken with a view to enhancing the rights of the Adivasi to such services.

Each of the above areas suggests possibilities for development. Detailed plans and strategies will have to be developed by experts on the field on each of the sub sectors identified. These plans have to be eventually accepted by the communities, Panchayat Raj Institutions, as well as other agencies like Scheduled Tribe Development Department.

Many interventions made by the Government in the past to uplift the quality of life of the Adivasi communities did not give desired results. In order to improve the efficiency of interventions a great deal of social preparation is required. Social preparation is multi dimensional. It has elements of skill development particularly in imparting of modern industrial skills as required for farm and non-farm activities. Social preparation as imperative also involves developing reflexivity within the members of the Adivasi communities so that they reflect on their worldviews critically understand the changing world around them and seek new directions within. The report outlines the direction in which social preparation is to be undertaken in order to build the capacity of the communities so that they face the changing world around them with greater confidence.

This report suggests a new organizational set up to implement and coordinate the activities suggested. The proposed organization will run as a state supported body for five years to implement the projects conceived. The estimated budget for the suggested project is Rs. 12765 lakhs.

This report insists on studies to identify potential adverse effects on Adivasi communities that may be induced by various projects, and to identify measures to avoid, mitigate, or compensate for these unforeseen consequences. Where previous experience and knowledge of working successfully with Adivasis is lacking, pilot-scale operations should be carried out and evaluated prior to the execution of full-scale efforts. The Government of Kerala must expedite action and allocation of funds for the Wayanad Initiative and see this a new model of rights-based development among Adivasis.

| Components | Govt Fund | Credit | Rupees in Lakhs | % of base cost |
|---|------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| A Social Preparation for Empowerment | | | | |
| Community Empowerment | 500 | - | 500 | |
| Beneficiary Skill Development | 400 | - | 400 | |
| Capacity building for support agencies | 120 | - | 120 | |
| Sub Total | 1020 | - | 1020 | 9 |
| B Livelihood | | | | |
| Feasibility study on Sugandagiri/ farm sector | 5 | - | 5 | |
| Study on Industrial Rehabilitation (handloom) | 5 | - | 5 | |
| Feasibility study on Priyadarshini Tea Estates Rehabilitation | 5 | - | 5 | |
| Feasibility Study on Pro Poor Tourism | 25 | - | 25 | |
| Feasibility Study on Rural Non- Farm Sector | 20 | - | 20 | |
| Land Development | 185 | - | 185 | |
| Agriculture/Horticulture Development | 1365 | 585 | 1950 | |
| Bamboo cultivation, Value Addition, Marketing | 1400 | 600 | 2000 | |
| Livestock Development | 2100 | 900 | 3000 | |
| Milk Processing/Marketing | 700 | 300 | 1000 | |
| Rural Non- Farm Sector | | 800 | 800 | |
| Subtotal | 5810 | 3185 | 8995 | 81 |
| C Community Infrastructure | 210 | - | 210 | |
| Subtotal | 210 | - | 210 | 2 |
| D Programme Management | | | | |
| District Level | 625 | | 625 | |
| State Level | 250 | | 250 | |
| Subtotal | 875 | | 875 | 8 |
| Total base costs | 7915 | 3185 | 11100 | |
| Physical Contingencies | | | 333 | 3 |
| Price contingencies | | | 1332 | 12 |
| Total Programme Costs (for five years) | | | 12765 | |

Research Team

Prof. D.D. Nampoothiri, Dr. Suma Damodaran (Formerly, Professor, IIMK and presently at Xavier Labour Research Institute, Jamshedpur) Mr. T.Y. Vinod Krishnan and Prof. Jaiprakash Raghaviah.

Introduction

Problems of Adivasi communities of Kerala attracted wide public attention in September – October 2001 when some 300 landless Adivasis of Kerala staged a one and a half month sit-in struggle in front of the Kerala State Secretariat under the aegis of Gothra Maha Sabha, seeking cultivable land for each landless Adivasi family of the State. The strike ended when the Chief Minister, Sri. A.K. Antony, on October 16, 2001, entered into an agreement with the agitators, which promised to provide one to five acres of land to each landless Adivasi family of Kerala in a time bound manner. The State Government also agreed to prepare a master plan for enhancing their livelihood. In compliance with this agreement the Government of Kerala in 2001 had proposed a development package for the Adivasi communities of Wayanad, the district where nearly one third of the total Adivasi population of the State inhabit. Government of Kerala in 2004 assigned this task to Centre of Excellence- IIMK. The Centre with the support of IIMK took up the assignment, '*Wayanad Initiative, - A Comprehensive Development Package for the Adivasi Communities of Wayanad*'¹ in 2004. The terms of reference of the research project² indicated in the preliminary proposal were as given below: -

- A team will be constituted to prepare a comprehensive development plan for the benefit of tribal communities in Wayanad district, hereafter called the 'Wayanad Initiative'.
- The team will solicit and take into account testimonies from a cross section of tribal communities, including women, youth, elderly, elected representatives, and the displaced; among others.
- In addition to existing studies and surveys linked to understanding, the range of problems economic, political, administrative, cultural - new surveys and studies will be carried out some of which will be based on a participatory - approach.
- The team will undertake a review of the work of the tribal and other government departments that relate to tribal communities (i.e. education, health, cooperative, agriculture, and forest departments). Some of the suggested initiatives will be linked to ongoing and future programs of the above departments. .
- The team will take a rights and justice based approach to address the wide-ranging problems faced by tribals in Wayanad. This moves beyond a conventional development and social welfare approach to addressing their problems.

¹ Adivasi communities of Wayanad enlisted in the Scheduled Tribes list of Kerala.

² The research Project was assigned to the Centre of Excellence – IIMK as per G.O.(Rt) No.58/2004/SCSTDD dt12.01.2004

- The issue of land rights to tribals, both in terms of land distribution and alienation, will be given importance.
- The team will recommend suitable legislations and policies attendant to the recommendations.
- Processes to monitor and evaluate the implementation, including utilization of funds will be suggested. A grievance a redressal process at various levels will also be suggested.
- Persons, organizations and institutes who have worked with and contributed to tribal welfare will be consulted periodically
- The study will be conducted in, at least, two phases the details of which will be included in the complete proposal.

Limitations

Issues relating to rights of Adivasi communities over land, are crucial, and have a long history of struggle and have an emotive content. A detailed examination of all issues relating to land will form a separate study itself. Moreover, following the agreement of Adivasi leaders and Chief Minister of Kerala on October 16, 2001 Government of Kerala has set up Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) to address the land issue of the Adivasi communities of Kerala. Government of Kerala in 2001 constituted an Adivasi Master Plan Committee headed by Sri. T.Madava Menon , IAS (Retd) to look into the issues relating to distribution of land to landless Adivasi families . The recommendations of this Committee are being implemented by the Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission appointed by the Government of Kerala. As the land issue is being addressed by the TRDM, in this report we have not gone into the details of land question. However the issue has been briefly discussed in **Chapter III**.

This project, when it was conceived envisaged preparation of a comprehensive development package for the Adivasi communities of Wayanad district. As the study progressed, it became evident that issues confronted by these communities are complex and require careful reflection. Preparation of such a detailed action plan would involve taking up of detailed sectoral studies requiring longer time frame. Eventually any development plan will have to be accepted and owned up by the people through *Oorukoottam* based participatory planning of Panchayat Raj Institutions. Therefore it was decided that the study would explore the present situation of the Adivasi communities and suggest broad feasibilities for livelihood.

Methodology

The research project was launched in June 2004 by conducting a Baseline Survey in Wayanad covering issues relating to demography, health, livelihood, education, and socio-political awareness of the Adivasi communities of the District. In order to obtain the current status of Adivasi communities of Wayanad, an appropriate sampling framework was designed. Total population of Adivasi families in the district is known. Taking Standard Deviation in family size as a basic parameter, size of sample was estimated. This sample size was first stratified based on the distribution of Adivasi communities across the three Blocks of the district and then according to the distribution of different Adivasi communities in each of these three blocks.

Observations from the Baseline Survey raised many issues which required further understanding of qualitative nature. This information was obtained through series of focus group discussions with a cross section of the community - opinion leaders, politicians, social workers, activists, government officials and also representatives of NGOs involved with issues relating to the Adivasi communities. The research team also visited neighbouring areas in Tamil Nadu where a few Non Governmental Organizations have already designed alternative development programs for the Adivasi communities there. On the basis of these consultations and a deep concern for augmenting the community resources a few areas of possible interventions were identified and a set of recommendations are submitted in compliance with the governmental guidelines on tribal development in the context of decentralized planning. The findings of the report were presented before the community leaders, community organizations, and representatives of major political parties, planning and academic experts, and officials of the Scheduled Tribe Development Department.

The project also undertook an evaluation of existing governmental programs and institutions that impinge on the destinies of Adivasi communities.

On 29th and 30th of August 2004 the tentative findings of the report were presented before the senior officials of Government of Kerala, that included the Principal Secretary to the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Development Department, Principal Secretary to Local Self Governments, Director of Scheduled Tribes Development Department, Chief of Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission and experts on tribal issues including Sri.T.Madavamenon, IAS (Retd), former Vice-Chancellor, Kerala Agriculture University and former director Tribal Development Department, Government of Kerala, Sri.P.K.Sivanandan, IAS (Retd) former Principal Secretary, Government of Kerala Dr.P.R.G.Mathur , former director, Kerala Institute for Research, Training & Development Studies of Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes (KIRTADS) .

On presentation of the preliminary findings of the survey before the experts on 29th and 30th of August 2005 it was decided that the present report has to be considered as a

feasibility report, major part of which is an exploratory study into the Adivasi situation in Wayanad. The present feasibility report has to be followed by an inception and implementation report that would contain detailed project report on each sector highlighted in the present report. Since the project covers a wide range of issues – livelihood, health, education etc, definite schemes could not be formulated owing to the fact that each suggested scheme and its feasibility need to be thoroughly assessed, and budget provisions need to be made for each scheme. For each scheme, the specialized agencies have to be assigned this task of making projects and its feasibility. Government may assign the duty of preparing the inception report, based on this feasibility report. It was decided that the inception report would be followed by segmental plans to be implemented by Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development Department, Government of Kerala.

Perspectives

The Adivasi communities of the district for the past few decades almost entirely depended on the agrarian economy of Wayanad and the collapse of agricultural economy of the district has further marginalized them. Revival of agriculture of Wayanad through the creation of processing linkages and using of branding and appropriate marketing techniques would generate better employment opportunities for the communities- Adivasi as well as non-Adivasi – in the district. A majority of the Adivasi families possess land holding of one acre or less. While available land can be used in providing a measure of food security, there is a need to develop Rural Non Farm Sector to generate gainful income and employment to the members of Adivasi communities. This would involve training in specific industrial and related skills and in developing entrepreneurial skills and attitudes. Coupled with this should be better facilities for education, health and skill development for entering into the emerging non-farm sector of the district. Based on the above factors feasibility is examined for activities in the farm as well as non-farm sectors.

Our project proposed for the Adivasi communities of Wayanad is based on the following perspectives:

- Adivasi communities in Wayanad cannot be treated as a single entity. The Six tribal communities are distinctly different from each other.
- Community identity surpasses a common ‘Adivasi identity’
- There are discernible differences among the communities in terms of economic activity, level of income, educational attainment, access to power structure, and capacity for meaningful participation in developmental initiatives, degree of integration in a non-tribal dominated setting.

- Cutting across ethnic boundaries, all Adivasi communities in Wayanad have got detribalized considerably in terms of life practices and aspirations and community members by and large accept this reality positively.
- Inter Adivasi interaction is minimal compared to their interaction with non-tribal communities, particularly with settler farmers.
- There is no conspicuous discord between the Adivasi and non-Adivasi populations of the district.
- Despite shortcomings, the relationship of the Adivasi communities with the government and its institutions is not hostile but below the desired level. Community members seem to prefer Governmental and Panchayat Raj Institutions to NGOs and civil society organizations.
- Locally active political formations – particularly the support organizations of political parties - have made deep inroads in tribal communities and these are the most influential force in the decision making of the community.
- Adivasi communities in Wayanad are not living in isolation and there exist extensive linkages with increasingly homogenizing, non-Adivasi dominated milieu.
- Tribal development has to be located in the overall development of the district and exclusionist approach would escalate the marginalization of Adivasi communities.

On the basis of these deliberations a set of proposals are put before the government for action. It also recommends an implementation strategy with roles assigned for different stakeholders.

The project insists on a rights-based approach to the development of Adivasi communities giving preference to strategies for empowerment over charitable responses, acknowledging the rights of the Adivasis over land and resources, empowerment of the community in using the resources, participation, intergenerational equity, and attention for the most vulnerable group.

Adivasi communities of Wayanad often lack the information, knowledge, analytical and organizational capacities as well as political channels and power to influence and direct development processes that impinge on their lives that best meet the interests of individuals and communities. This research project emphasizes the crucial significance of capacity building of the community so as to socially prepare them to maximize the gain from the developmental projects initiated by state and non- state agencies. It also insists on measures to improve functioning and delivery of services of major stakeholders in Adivasi development, particularly, particularly Scheduled Tribe Development Department and Panchayat Raj Institutions.

The study is segmented into seven chapters. **Chapter I** is the introduction to the study. **Chapter II** is a profile of Wayanad district, including demographic and socio-economic details. **Chapter III** covers the state of Adivasi communities of Wayanad with brief note on each community in the district and the history of their marginalization. In Chapter **IV**, a status report of Adivasi communities of Wayanad is given in terms of demographic profile, education, health, and livelihood, social and political awareness of Adivasi communities. This is done based on as baseline survey on Adivasi communities of the district. **Chapter V** is a review of the efficacy of services delivered by some of the government institutions that directly relate to Adivasi communities. **Chapter VI** covers our development perspective for Adivasi communities covering details on sectors identified for intervention that include education, health and livelihood. It also includes strategies for social preparation and indicates an implementation plan. **Chapter VII** gives the budgeted expenditure for implementing the recommendations of the report.

Wayanad District: A Profile

Wayanad lies between north latitudes 11° 26' 28" and 11° 58' 22" and east latitudes 75° 46' 38" and 76° 26' 11" and is bounded on the north by the Virajpet Taluk of Kodagu district, on the east by Heggadadevankote and Gundlupet Taluks of the Mysore district of Karnataka State and the Gudalur Taluk of Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu, on the south by the Ernad Taluk of Malappuram district and Kozhikode Taluk of Kozhikode district and on the west by Quilandy and Badagara Taluks of Kozhikode district and Tellicherry Taluk of Kannur district. The District having an area of 2131 sq. kms was formed on November 1, 1980 merging North and South Wayanad regions of Kannur and Kozhikode districts. The District is situated at a height of 700 to 2100m above sea level. Wayanad hills are contiguous to The Nilgiris in Tamil Nadu and Bandhipur in Karnataka, forming a vast land rich in biodiversity. The district headquarters is located at Kalpetta, which is located at a distance about 76 km. from the seashores of Calicut

Wayanad, which accounts for 5.48% of Kerala's total land area, is known for its evergreen forests, plantations, wildlife, mist clad mountains and valleys. Forests, rich in resources, cover 37% of the total area of the district.

The district is segmented into three Community Development Blocks viz., Kalpetta, Mananthavady and Sultan Bathery. The District has 25 Panchayats and one statutory town, which is Kalpetta, the district headquarters. The district has three revenue divisions (Taluks) namely, Vythiri, Sultan Bathery and Mananthavady under which there are 48 revenue villages.

Kalpetta (District Head quarters), Sulthan Bathery, Mananthavady, Pulpally, Meenangady, Panamaram, Kenichira, Ambalavayal, Meppady, Vythiry, etc. are some of the growing towns in Wayanad.

Physical Features

Wayanad district lies on the southern tip on the Deccan Plateau. 38% of the total area is covered by forests, which fall under three types viz., (i) Plateau deciduous, (ii) tropical evergreen, and (iii) tropical semi-evergreen. Of these, the most common is plateau deciduous found at an elevation of 700 to 1000 meters above mean sea level. They are mostly located on the eastern side of the district where there is high rainfall. Deciduous plateau of Wayanad is known for its teak forests. The tropical evergreen forests found at an elevation of 300 meters and above are mainly concentrated in Lady Smith Reserve Forests in Chedlayam range. The semi-evergreen forests are those falling between tropical evergreen and deciduous plateau. In the center of the district are hills lower in height while the northern parts have high hills. The eastern part of the district is low lying and is full of plantations like tea, coffee, pepper and cardamom.

Wayanad gets an average rainfall of 2500 mm a year. Annual rainfall is as high as 3000-4000 mm in high altitude western boarder of the district. The district has four seasons viz. cold weather (December to February) hot weather (March to May) South West Monsoons (June to September) and North East Monsoon (October to November). During the hot weather the temperature goes up to the maximum of 35°C and during the cold weather the temperature goes down to 15°C.

Major river of Wayanad is the east flowing Kabani, an important tributary of Cauvery. Almost the entire Wayanad district is drained by Kabani and its three tributaries, viz., Panamaram river, Mananthavady river and Thirunelly river. The other important rivers are Mahe and Chaliyar. Mahe river originates from the western slopes of the dense forests of Mananthavady Taluk. The Chaliyar River originates from the Elambileri hills of Sultan Bathery Taluk and flows through Ernad and Kozhikode Taluks before it empties into the Arabian Sea.

Chembra peak (2345m) Vellarmala (245m) Bansuramala (2061m) Elembileri mala (1839m) Bhrammagiri (1608m) Kunnelpadimala (1607m) Thariodemala (1553m) are some important mountains in the district.

The district has high floral and faunal diversity. However the ecosystem of Wayanad is subjected to great stress, human as well as natural. Forest degradation and high input crop pattern has substantially altered the ecosystem. The district now has two climatic zones, the dry zone lying in the east and the wet zone lying in the western parts of the district. Introduction of new crops on massive scale has significantly reduced the ground the ground water level and certain parts of the district faces draught situation.

History

Human existence in Wayanad dates back to stone age. Archaeologists consider Edakkal caves in Wayanad as one of the earliest centers of human habitation. The term Wayanad derived from “*vayalnadu*”, the land of paddy fields indicating that the region was known for its agriculture centuries back. It is believed that in ancient times Wayanad was ruled by the Vedar tribe. Later Wayanad came under the rule of Pazhassi Rajahs of Kottayam Royal Dynasty. The modern history of Wayanad began with the invasion of the region by Mysore rulers in late 18th century followed by the decline of the hegemony of Kottayam rulers over the region. In early 19th century Wayanad came under the control of British whose rule lasted for almost two centuries. The British opened up the plateau for cultivation of tea and other cash crops. By 1940s Wayanad witnessed large-scale migration of peasantry from south Kerala, resulting in the changes in crop pattern, land use and economic activity. Settler peasantry was making *valyal-nadu*, the land once known for paddy fields a land known for its high input cash crops.

Table 2.1 Decadal Population Growth in Wayanad (1941-51 to 1991-01)

| Census period | Decadal Growth Rate% |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1941-51 | 59.17 |
| 1951-61 | 62.6 |
| 1961-71 | 50.35 |
| 1971-81 | 33.71 |
| 1981-91 | 21.32 |
| 1991-01 | 17.04 |
| <i>Source: Census Reports</i> | |

People

The district has a mixed population of Hindus, Christians and Muslims. As per 1991 census, of the total population of the District, 50% is Hindu, 26% is Muslim and 23% is Christian. Other religious groups that include a small jain community who has a long history in Wayanad, form 1% of the total population. Barring a few, Malayalam is used as the common language in the District. It is understood and spoken by non-Malayali communities that include Tamils, Kannadigas and a section of Adivasi communities.

Till the arrival of settler peasantry from plains, Wayanad was essentially tribal. However today they form only 17 % of the total population of the district. Population of Scheduled Castes is relatively small in Wayanad in comparison with the rest of the districts of Kerala. According to 2001 census Scheduled Castes form 4.27% of the District.

It is the least populated district in Kerala after Idukki. The population density of Kerala is 819 per square kilometers while it is only 369 for Wayanad. 786627 inhabit the district, which forms 2.47% of the total population of Kerala (31838619) as per 2001 census. Of the total population of the district, 136062 (17.3%) are Scheduled Tribes, the Adivasis. The Scheduled Tribes in the district accounts for 37.36% of the total tribal population of Kerala, which according to 2001 census is 364189.

As per the 2001 census, the total population of the district is 780619 of which 751007 are rural. The census figures indicate that only 3.79 % of the total population is urban whereas the figure for the state is 26%.

Population of Wayanad is basically agrarian with the majority of the working population of the district is involved with agriculture, either as cultivators or agriculture laborers. Census of India 2001 reveals that 47.3 % of the total work force of the district is involved with agriculture while the figure for Kerala is 22.8%. 30.5% of the total labour force of the district is agricultural laborers .The figure for Kerala is 15.8%.

Table 2.2 A Comparison of Demographic Features-Kerala & Wayanad

| | Kerala | Wayanad |
|---|---------------|----------------|
| Density per Sq.Km | 819 | 366 |
| Urban Population | 26% | 3.79% |
| Literacy | 90.90% | 85.25% |
| Male literacy | 94% | 90% |
| Female literacy | 88% | 81% |
| Sex Ratio (Female per 1000 males) | 1058 | 995 |
| Sex ratio (0-6 years) (Female per 1000 males) | 960 | 959 |
| Scheduled Castes | 9.80% | 4.27% |
| Scheduled Tribes | 1.10% | 17.43% |
| Sex ratio (ST) (Female per 1000 males) | 1021 | 1019 |
| Sex Ratio (SC) (Female per 1000 males) | 1048 | 993 |
| Decadal population growth (1991-01) | 9.40% | 17% |
| Work participation rate | 32.30% | 39.53% |
| Non workers | 67.70% | 60.50% |
| Main workers | 25.90% | 28.20% |
| Women work participation rate | 15.30% | 23.17% |
| Cultivators | 7% | 16.77% |
| Agricultural laborers | 15.80% | 30.50% |
| <i>Source: Census Report of India 2001</i> | | |

Table 2.3 Wayanad District - Land Utilization

| | | % distribution of total land area |
|--|------------------------|--|
| 1 | Forest | 37.1 |
| 2 | Non Agriculture use | 3.4 |
| 3 | Uncultivable land | 0.6 |
| 4 | Pasture & Grazing land | 0 |
| 5 | Tree crops | 2.4 |
| 6 | Cultivable waste land | 1.6 |
| 7 | Fallow land | 0.3 |
| 8 | Net sown area | 54.6 |
| | Total | 100 |
| <i>Source: District Information Office, Kalpetta, Wayanad 2004</i> | | |

Table 2.4 Geographic and Demographic Features of Wayanad District

| Parameter | Unit | Parameter | Unit |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Total Area | 2131 sq. kms | Forest Area | 787.87 sq. kms. |
| Net Sown Area | 1142.03 sq. kms. | Net Irrigation Area | 88.65 sq. kms. |
| Occupied Houses | 133.16 thous. | Total Population | 780.62 thous. |
| Total Males | 391.27 thous. | Total Females | 389.35 thous. |
| Urban Population | 22.95 thous. | Rural Population | 649.18 thous. |
| Rural Pop Male | 330.17 thous. | Rural Pop Female | 319 thous. |
| Urban Pop Male | 11.78 thous. | Urban Pop Female | 11.16 thous. |
| Total Sc Pop | 27.84 thous. | Total St Pop | 114.97 thous. |
| Sc Pop Rural | 26.39 thous. | St Pop Rural | 112.54 thous. |
| Sc Pop Urban | 1.45 thous. | St Pop Urban | 2.43 thous. |
| Total Male Literates | 255.68 thous. | Total Female Literates | 218.93 thous. |
| Rural Literates | 458.06 thous. | Urban Literates | 16.55 thous. |
| Rural Male Literates | 246.67 thous. | Rural Female Literates | 211.39 thous. |
| Urban Male Literates | 9.01 thous. | Urban Femaleliterates | 7.54 thous. |
| Rural Male Literacy | 87.54% | Rural Female Literacy | 77.64% |
| Urban Male Literacy | 88.98% | Urban Female Literacy | 79.03% |
| Total Literates | 474.61 thous. | | |
| Total Workers | 260.51 thous. | Main Workers | 227.45 thous. |

*Source: General Information Services Terminal of National Informatics Centre, Government of India
<http://gist.ap.nic.in> (accessed on 29 March 2005)*

Wayanad-Economy

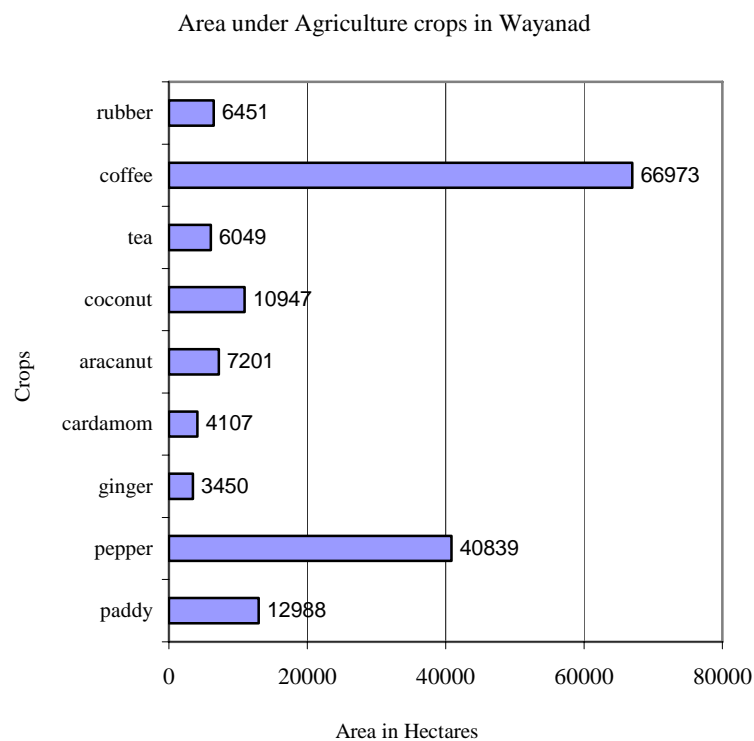
Wayanad is basically agrarian, with plantation economy playing a major role. Of the total 2131 Sq.Km the district has, 788 Sq.Km, forming 37% of the total area, is covered by forest. 1142 Sq.Km of the total area is used for agriculture. It forms 54% of the total land area of the district. The district is characterized by perennial plantation crops and spices with coffee forming the main agriculture crop of the district. Coffee is cultivated 66973 hectares. Coffee in the district shares 33.65 per cent of the total cropped area in the district and 78 per cent of the coffee area in the state. Other Major crops are pepper (40839 ha), Coconut (10947 ha), Rubber (6451 ha), Areca nut (7201 ha), Cardamom (4107 ha), and ginger (3450 ha). Pepper is grown along with coffee in the north eastern parts of the district, especially in Pulpally and Mullankolly . Paddy, once the major crop of the District, is now cultivated in 12988 ha and only a single crop is harvested. Much of the paddy field of the district is being converted for banana cultivation. Ginger cultivation in Wayanad has also substantially increased in recent times and paddy fields are increasingly being converted for ginger cultivation. Many traditional rice varieties have also disappeared.

The district contributes significantly to Kerala's foreign exchange with significant portion of its produces exported. Recently vanilla produced from the district earned much foreign exchange. Due to the increase in demand for organic vanilla many farmers are cultivating vanilla, notwithstanding its price fluctuations in the market. From its main produce coffee

in the last 10 years Wayanad has earned the country foreign exchange worth Rs 4192.48 crores.

According to 2001 census 47% of its working population is involved with agriculture or related activities. The average size of holdings is 0.68 ha. A variety of crops including annuals and perennials are grown in these smallholdings. The crops include coconut, betel nut, pepper, vegetables, tuber crops, drumstick, papaya, etc. and fruit trees like mango and jack.

Throughout the district coffee is cultivated. Thirunelli, Kuppathode, Nenmeni, Ambalavayal, Sultan's Battery, Muttill, Kottappady and Kalpetta villages have considerable extent under coffee cultivation. Another important agricultural product of the district is pepper which is cultivated mainly in Sultan's Battery and Vythiri taluks. Tea , another important crop in Wayanad , is cultivated mainly in Thavinhal, Muppainad, Kottappady, Achooranam and Kuppainad, Kottappady, villages. Other important crops of the district are cardamom, ginger, turmeric and rubber.



Source: Agriculture Statistics 2002-2003

Despite being cash crop based, fertilizer consumption is low compared to Kerala and India. Fertilizer consumption is 65 kilograms per hectare for Wayanad while it is 79 and 72 for Kerala and India respectively. Value of output per acre is Rs.5381/- while it is Rs.8034 for Kerala. Though agriculture is the backbone of the economy, nearly 90% of

its total area is not irrigated. Agriculture is mainly dependant on rainfall that is nearly 3000m.m. per year.

The agriculture data relating to the district reveals that per hectare credit to Agriculture is very high for the district with Rs. 4311 while it is Rs.2794 for Kerala and 1046 for India. Per capita bank credit for agriculture is Rs. 933/-, which is almost four times higher than Kerala and five times higher than India.

The district does not have any significant industry Wayanad is a backward area in the industrial map of Kerala and there is no major industrial unit in the district worth mentioning except a few factories for processing tea and coffee. Though there are high potential for the processing of local agriculture produces, there is significant processing units in the district.

Animal husbandry is reasonably developed in the district. According to 2003 livestock census the district has 110496 cattle in the district and during 2003-04, 33339900, liters of milk was procured by milk societies alone in Wayanad. Dairy is a subsidiary economic activity for a significant section of the population of the district. There are 12 veterinary hospitals and 9 key village centers in the district. Kerala Agriculture University has set up a veterinary college in Lakkidi.

Non Timber Forest Produce also contributes significantly to the economy of the district. During Feb 2003 to March 2004, NTFP worth Rs. 7202170 was auctioned from Wayanad³.

The Government of Kerala has identified Wayanad as a Tourism District and tourism is an emerging sector in Wayanad. The scenic beauty and rich heritage sites of Wayanad offer several opportunities for tourism expansion in the district. The important tourist centers are Pookot Lake (Vythiri) , Kuruva island (Mananthavady) Thirunelly Temple (Mananthavady) Edakkal Cave (Ambalavayal) , Pazhassi Tomb (Mananthavady), Wild life sanctuaries in Muthanga and Begur , Waterfalls in Sujipara, Kanthanpara and Meenmutty . The two prominent trekking centers in this district are Chembra Peak and Pakshipathalam.

³ SC & ST Cooperative Marketing Federation, Kalpetta

Table 2.5 Wayanad District-A Profile

| Parameter | Unit | Wayanad | Kerala | India |
|--|-------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| Relative CMIE Index Of Development | Index | 114 | 117 | 100 |
| Population Growth Per Annum | % | 1.94 | 1.32 | 2.14 |
| Population Density (Per Annum) | Nos. | 315 | 748 | 273 |
| Urbanisation | % | 3.41 | 26.39 | 25.73 |
| Literacy | % | 82.73 | 89.81 | 52.21 |
| Male Literacy | % | 87.59 | 93.62 | 64.13 |
| Female Literacy | % | 77.69 | 86.17 | 39.29 |
| Urban Literacy | % | 84.15 | 92.25 | 73.08 |
| Rural Literacy | % | 82.68 | 88.92 | 44.69 |
| Workers As % Of Total Population | % | 38.76 | 31.43 | 37.46 |
| As % Of Main Workers | | | | |
| Agriculture & Allied Activ. | % | 74.84 | 47.03 | 66.92 |
| Mining & Quarrying | % | 0.53 | 0.99 | 0.61 |
| Mfg.(Non-Household) Industries | % | 2.98 | 11.59 | 7.65 |
| Household Industries | % | 0.48 | 2.58 | 2.38 |
| Construction Workers | % | 1.7 | 4 | 1.94 |
| Other Services | % | 19.48 | 33.81 | 20.5 |
| Forest Area As % Of Reporting Area | % | 37.07 | 27.83 | 21.82 |
| Net Sown Area As % Of Reporting Area | % | 53.73 | 56.39 | 46.3 |
| Gross Irri. Area As % Of Reporting Area | % | 9.4 | 13.92 | 30.72 |
| Average Size Of Operational Holding | Hect | 0.9 | 0.36 | 1.69 |
| Fertiliser Consumption Per Hect. | Kgs | 65 | 79 | 72 |
| Value Of Output Of Major Crops/Hectare | Rs | 5831 | 8034 | 3576 |
| Value Of Output Of Major Crops/Capita | Rs | 1262 | 0 | 792 |
| Per Capita Food Grains Production | Kgs | 758 | 67 | 37 |
| Road Length Per 100 Sq.Kms. | Kms | | 322.49 | 60.14 |
| Railway Route Length Per 100 Sq.Kms. | Kms | 0 | 2.53 | 2.04 |
| Post Offices Per Lakh Population | Nos | 20.53 | 17.08 | 17.93 |
| Telegraph Offices Per Lakh Population | Nos | 2.53 | 6.84 | 4.93 |
| Telephones Per Lakh Population | Nos | 0 | 1181 | 800 |
| Bank Branches Per Lakh Population | Nos | 9.52 | 9.91 | 7.3 |
| Per Capita Bank Deposits | Rs | 919 | 4031 | 3269 |
| Per Capita Bank Credit | Rs | 1626 | 1962 | 1978 |
| Per Capita Bank Credit To Agriculture | Rs | 933 | 276 | 222 |
| Per Hectare Bank Credit To Agriculture | Rs | 4311 | 2794 | 1046 |
| Per Capita Bank Credit To Ssi | Rs | 20 | 188 | 185 |
| Per Capita Bank Credit To Industries | Rs | 121 | 563 | 705 |
| <i>Source: General Information Services Terminal of National Informatics Centre, Government of India http://gist.ap.nic.in (accessed on 29 March 2005)</i> | | | | |

Health

Medical facility of one type or other is available in 47 villages of this district, which constitutes 97.92 percent of total inhabited villages.

Communication

The land locked district is connected to Mysore and Coorg districts in Karnataka, The Nilgiris in Tamil Nadu, Kannur, Kozhikode and Malappuram Districts in Kerala by road.. Mananthavady-Tolpetti road, Mananthavady-Baveli road and Sultan Battery – Mysore Road connect the district to Karnataka. It is connected to the Nilgiri District in Tamil Nadu by Sultan Batheri - Ayyankolli – Gudallur road and Vythiri-Vaduvachal-Gudallur road. The three roads which connect with Kozhikode and Kannur districts of Kerala are Baveli-Tellicherry road via Peria ghat, Calicut road via Tamarasseri ghat and Mananthavady-Kuttiadi Road. Railway facility is not available in this district. The nearest railway station is at Calicut, 75 kms west of Kalpetta, the district headquarters. Bus connection and telephone facilities are available throughout the district. The district has a good network of village roads. However Wayanad ranks much below state average in terms of communication facilities. The district has 0.2 KM long road for every square kilometer.

Public Distribution System

The district has a reasonably good public distribution system with 289 ration shops, for 146927 ration card holders. Apart from the ration shops the district has 19 *Maveli* stores, 21 *Neethi* stores and 4 *Haritha* stores through which people can purchase groceries and vegetables at a subsidized rate.

Social & Cultural Institutions

The district has 153 public libraries, 500 reading rooms, 454 Anganawadis, 56 Balawadis , 43 adult education centers, 35 community halls, 233 sports clubs, 236 arts clubs and 44 cinema halls with a total seating capacity of 23800.

Education

There are a total of 301 Schools in this district, consisting of 149 Lower Primary Schools, 79 Upper Primary Schools, 29 High Schools, 32 Higher Secondary Schools, 6 Vocational Higher Secondary Schools and 6 Special Schools. Wayanad is single Education District with One Deputy Director, One District Education Officer, and three Assistant Educational Officers. It has also a District Institute of Education and Training, located at Sulthan Bathery. Besides, a Kendriya Vidyalaya, a Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya and 8 CBSE Schools and 1 ICSE School are functioning in this District.

Till nineties higher education in Wayanad was a big problem. Most of the Students have to go adjacent districts to satisfy their higher education needs. Now the situation is

changed, as the district has six first grade colleges, two Polytechnics, one Industrial Training Institute, four B.Ed Centres and three Teachers Training Institutes. Besides, There is an Engineering College, a Veterinary College and Oriental School of Hotel Management for Hotel Management and Catering Studies.

Despite some advances in social indicators since the last two decades, poverty remains a major problem in Wayanad. The district is one of the most backward in the State. A comparative data with rest of the State shows that the district is ranked 14th in terms of urban population, 13th in sex ratio, 12th in good condition of houses, 14th in telephone facility, 12th in literacy etc According to recent estimates, about thirty-five percent of the population live in poverty today. Poverty incidence is higher among Adivasi communities and they fall significantly below the district average in terms of infant mortality, female illiteracy, child malnutrition, access to basic sanitation services and access to productive infrastructure.

Table 2.6 Wayanad District-Some Vital Statistics

| Sl.No | Parameter | Units |
|--------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | Area | 2,131 sq.km |
| 2 | Taluks | 3 |
| 3 | Blocks | 3 |
| 4 | Panchayat | 25 |
| 5 | Revenue Village | 49 |
| 6 | Municipalities | 1 |
| 7 | Corporations | - |
| 8 | Households (as per 1991 Census) | 134654 |
| 9 | Population (as per 2001 Census) (p) | 786627 |
| | (a) Male (as per 2001 Census) | 393397 |
| | (b) Female (as per 2001 Census) | 393230 |
| 10 | S.C. Population (as per 2001 Census) | 33364 |
| | (a) Male | 16738 |
| | (b) Female | 16626 |
| 11 | S.T. Population (as per 2001 Census) | 136062 |
| | (a) Male | 67394 |
| | (b) Female | 68668 |
| 12 | Density (as per 2001 Census) | 369 |
| 13 | Literacy Rate (as per 2001 Census) | |
| | (a) General (as per 2001 Census) | 85.52 |
| | (b) S.C. (as per 1991 Census) | 75.27 |
| | (c) S.T. (as per 1991 Census) | 50.63 |
| 14 | Main workers (as per 2001 census) work participation rate | 308613 |
| 15 | Main workers (as per 2001 census) | 28% (of 308613) |
| 16 | Agricultural workers (as per 2001 census) | 47% |
| 17 | Non – Agricultural (as per 2001 census) | 53% |
| 18 | Individual operational holdings (No) | 155855 |
| 19 | Post- offices | 186 |
| 20 | Ration shops | 289 |
| 21 | Ration card holders (No.) | 146927 |
| 22 | Medical Institutions (No.) | |
| | (i) Allopathic | 134 |
| | (a) Government | 74 |
| | (b) Private | 60 |
| | (ii) Ayurveda | 77 |
| | (a) Government | 30 |
| | (b) Private | 47 |
| | (iii) Homeopathy | 70 |
| | (a) Government | 28 |
| | (b) Private | 42 |
| 23 | No. of computer Institutions | 21 |
| 24 | Industries | |
| | (a) No. of software Industries | |
| | (b) No. of Rubber Industries | 118 |
| | (c) No. of Textile based Industries | 1287 |
| | (d) No. of Industrial zones | |
| | (a) No. of software Industries | |
| 25 | No. of Railway stations | Nil |

Adivasi Communities of Wayanad

Adivasi communities, numbering 136062 (17.43% of the total population of Wayanad) do not form an homogenous entity. Major communities found in the district are Paniyan (44.77%) , Mullu Kuruman (17.51%), Kurichian (17.38%) , Kattunaickan (9.93%), Adiyani (7.10%) and Urali Kuruman (2.69%). They can broadly be categorized into three viz., agricultural laborers, marginal farmers and forest dependants. Paniyan and Adiyani communities who were traditionally bonded laborers and Urali Kuruman, traditionally artisans, constitute the major part of agricultural laborers. They form nearly 55% of the total tribal population of the district. Kattunaickan who have been classified as “Primitive Tribal Groups” by the Government almost entirely depend on forest for their livelihood either as forest laborers or as collectors of Non Timber Forest Produces. They constitute nearly 9 % of the total adivasi population of Wayanad. Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman, traditionally agricultural communities forming 35% of the total tribal population by and large are marginal farmers. Others form nearly 1% of the total tribal population.

Among the tribal communities of Wayanad, those who were traditionally bonded laborers such as Adiyani and Paniyan, forest dependant community like Kattunaickan and artisan community like Urali Kuruman are the most vulnerable sections of tribal communities in Wayanad. Traditionally cultivating communities like Mullu Kuruman and Kurichians are relatively better off than the rest of the tribal population of the district owing to the resource base – agricultural land - they had.

Paniyans

Paniyans are the single largest tribal community of Wayanad, forming 44.77% of the total tribal population of the District. The community is found in all the three blocks of the district and adjacent areas in Kozhikode and Malappuram districts. Traditionally they were bonded laborers attached to local landlords. There are references on this community indicating that they were bonded laborers even to land holding families of Mullu Kuruman and Kurichian tribes of Wayanad. Traditionally they were involved with paddy cultivation and were living in hill slopes and paddy fields adjacent to the land belonging to the landlords. It is said that they were even sold by local landlords when land transactions were made. Even after the abolition of bonded labor, they were depending on their former landlords for support and employment. With the arrival of coffee plantations in Wayanad by 19th century, they were used as laborers for clearing forests, and developing land. However, despite being the largest tribal community, they do not form a major labor force in the plantation sector of the district today. Their involvement was mainly with paddy cultivation but the conversion of paddy fields for other crops has reduced employment opportunities among them. They are one of the most vulnerable sections of tribal communities of Wayanad. This community has detribalized considerably with traditional community structure is declining. Younger members of the community are assimilative in attitude and positively respond to the welfare measures taken up by the government and other agencies. Though community is the largest Adivasi

community of the State/District they do not have adequate representation in the local bodies, in the leadership of the local political parties and in government service. Tribal rehabilitation projects of the Government, intended mainly for the former bonded laborers, have not provided much benefit for the Paniyans. This Adivasi community almost entirely depends on agriculture labor for their livelihood.

The community is found in all Blocks of Wayanad. It is the single largest Adivasi community of Kerala. The community is found in Malappuram, Kannur and Kozhikode districts of the State. They are also found in Gudallur Taluk of Nilgiri District.

Kuruman (Mullu Kuruman)

Mullu Kuruman, found mainly in Sultan Bathery Block of the district form 17.51 % of the total tribal population of Wayanad. This Malayalam speaking community is believed to be the descendants of Vedas, the ancient rulers of Wayanad. Traditionally they were settled agriculturists. Today a majority of them are marginal farmers and agriculture/agriculture labor is their predominant economic activity. Mullu Kuruman is one of the adivasi communities in the state that has remarkably benefited from the welfare programs of the State. Many of the community members are active in the public life of Wayanad, and they even have representation in the Legislative Assembly of Kerala. The community has accepted modernity to a great extent and has detribalized fairly⁴. In comparison with other Adivasi communities of Wayanad, they have better representation in the local leadership of the political parties, elected bodies and in government services.

The community is also found in adjoining areas of Gudallur Taluk of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu.

Kurichian

Like the Mullu Kuruman, Kurichians also were settled agriculturists. The community inhabiting mainly in Mananthavady and Kalpetta Taluks of the district form 17.38% of the total tribal population of the district. The community still have land holding, often joint, and agriculture is their principal economic activity. Till recently the Kurichians were following joint family system and community heads had much authority over its members. Traditional authority has changed in recent years but it still occupies an important role ceremonial aspect of Kurichian life. The community is known for its martial tradition. They were in forefront in the anti-British struggle led by the Pazhassi Raja of Kottayam Dynasty (of Malabar) in 18th century. The community claims a higher status over the rest of the communities in Wayanad. Like the Mullu Kurumans, Kurichians also have reasonably good representation in local decision-making bodies. Many of the community members are actively involved in party politics and have strong political affiliation.

⁴ Heavy influx of non-Adivasis to the region since 1940s coupled with exposure to modern education, political process, and media has altered the traditional life style of the communities. These changes are well represented in their food habits, dress, religious practices, language, worldview, community structure etc.

Kattunaickan

Kattunaickans constitute 9.93% of the total tribal population of the Wayanad and are mainly found in the Sultan Bathery Block of the district. They have been classified as “Primitive Tribal Group” by the Government of India, owing to their relative isolation from the rest of the communities. The community, also known as *Thenu Kurumba*, was traditionally hunters and gatherers. Till the beginning of the last century the community was leading more or less an independent life, depending on the forest resources. Even today a collection of Non-Timber Forest Produces is their major economic activity. The community inhabits mainly within the forests or in the fringes. A few has marginal land holding. Those living within the forest cultivate in the areas allocated to them by the forest authorities. Occasional forest labor and wage labor in agriculture sector also contribute to their income. Shrinking forest resources and lessening opportunities in agriculture sector has substantially affected the community, making them one of the most vulnerable sections the Adivasi communities of the State. Owing to their relative isolation, the tribal structure of the community is fairly intact with very little outside influence. The community speaks a dialect of Kannada but younger generation can converse in Malayalam. In comparison with the other Adivasi communities of Wayanad, they are the least exposed to ‘modernity’. Government welfare programs meant for this community have not provided intended results.

Adiyan

The Adiyan community form 7.10% of the total tribal population of Wayanad and is found mainly in Mananthavady Block of the district. Ethnographic accounts on Adiyans reveal that traditionally they were slaves to local landlords and later bonded laborers attached to these families. Even in the seventies, bonded labor in its residual form existed among this community and community members had a “patron- client” relationship with their erstwhile landlords. Like most of the Adivasi communities of the Kerala, Adiyans also are being detribalized as a response to socio-economic transitions that the region is undergoing. Community members, especially the young, are exposed to modern education, political process, and media etc. Community members interact freely with the non-tribals in the locality and are receptive to their food habits, dress, habits, religious practices, language, etc. Till the middle of the last century, traditional community leadership had played a very important role in Adiyan community. The role and functions of these traditional authorities have changed remarkably in recent years and except for their symbolic role in the ritual/ceremonial life, they do not have significant influence on community members. Political leadership of the parties active in the community has taken up most of roles once performed by the traditional authorities. A few traditional leaders have become active workers of political parties with strong presence in the community and in their personal capacity as political leaders involve in the community affairs. In the local leadership of some of the national/state political parties, community members are active. Most of the community members has political sympathies and take part in the local and general elections. Adiyans had representation in the Legislative Assembly of Kerala, and in local elected bodies as Panchayat Ward members and Block Panchayat Presidents. Despite having relatively better representation compared to other tribal communities of Kerala baring traditionally land-holding communities, Adiyans do

not have adequate representation in government services. They form one of the poorest sections of the Adivasi communities of Wayanad/Kerala. Majority of them are land-less.

Urali Kuruman

Urali Kurumans, forming 2.69% of the total Adivasi population in Wayanad and are found mainly in Sultan Bathery and Mananthavady Blocks of the district. Traditionally they were artisans involved with basketry and pottery. However, today most of the community members are agricultural laborers. Only a negligible section of them has any land holding. They are also known as *Betta Kuruman* and speak a dialect of Kannada. Though they are often locally identified as Kurumans, they have no ethnic affinity with Mullu Kurumans, aforesaid tribal community of Wayanad.

Other tribal communities

Other tribal communities in Wayanad include Tachanad Mooppan, Wayanad Kadar and Karimpalan, all three recently included in the Scheduled Tribes list of Kerala. They added up form 0.61% of the total tribal population of Wayanad. Majority of them are marginal peasants or agricultural laborers.

Till large-scale migration of settler farmers from plains Wayanad was essentially tribal. By the arrival of settlers, a major section of the Adivasi communities of Wayanad, particularly the Paniyan and Adiyani communities were working as bonded laborers to local landlords who were early settlers in the region. These communities generally performed the role of agricultural laborers similar to the role of Dalit communities like Pulayans and Cherumans in the plains. They were mainly involved with paddy cultivation and were paid in paddy. They had patron-client relationship with the local landlords (Janmis) and were even exchanged or sold during the temple festivals of Valliyoor Kavay by the landlords. The ethnonym ‘Paniyan’ (worker) and Adiyani (slaves) connotes this relationship they had with the local *janmis*. In the absence of traditional agricultural labour community like Pulayan and Cheruman, these communities were performing the role of the agricultural community. The labour relations that existed in Wayanad during the 19th and early part of 20th century was known as *Kundalpani*, in which annual contracts were made by Janmis and the agrestic bonded laborers. The communities involved with *Kundalpani* had no agricultural land of their own, but inhabited the plot allotted to them by the *janmis*.

Though the land reforms of the sixties had radically altered the feudal land relations, it did not significantly benefit the communities involved with *Kundalpani* in Wayanad. Even after the land reforms, the communities were keeping a patron-client relationship with their erstwhile landlords that continued till 1975 when bonded labour was abolished by the government. The community members were subsisting on the meager income they were receiving as paddy from the Janmis. After the abolition of bonded labour they turned paid agricultural laborers, who however were paid less than the wages for non-

tribal agricultural laborers. In the seventies, paddy still remained a major crop of Wayanad and a considerable section of the Paniyans and Adiyans were involved with paddy cultivation. Though the plantations were emerging in massive scale in the District, Paniyans and Adiyans were not much preferred by the large plantations, owing to their lack of sufficient skills in cash crop production. However small and medium farmers of Wayanad – significant section of which constituted erstwhile landlords – engaged them as laborers in sectors where higher skills were not required. Small and medium farmers of the region employed even children for agriculture related activities. The former bonded laborers who almost entirely became waged laborers by mid seventies had to depend totally on the market for all their food, clothing and other house hold requirements. The complete transition of these communities from bonded to waged laborers and market economy resulted in the extreme poverty owing to the fact that they had to compete with much skilled non – tribal laborers in the labour market. The changed land use pattern - from food crops to cash crops – demanded better skills for agricultural operations, which however could not be supplied by Adivasi communities like Paniyans and Adiyans. Plantation owners were in favor of non- tribal laborers, who were available in plenty in Wayanad. Till the beginning of the nineties paddy did provide some employment opportunity, but further shrinking of paddy reduced all possible opportunities by the communities. Paddy fields now converted to ginger and banana did provide some opportunities to this communities. However, the fluctuating price for these two crops has resulted in diminishing opportunities. They are often taken to neighboring Coorg district in Karnataka where Malayali farmers are taking land on lease for ginger and banana cultivation. Traditionally bonded laborers like Adiyans and Paniyans do not have non-agricultural skills that are in demand in the District. The community has only a very small landholding, which is not very sufficient to bring in a reasonable income. Their share in non-agricultural sector or in service industry is very minimal. Though tribes of Wayanad are generally associated with forests, these communities do not have significant interaction with forest and forest economy does not play any significant role in their economic activity.

Another major vulnerable Adivasi community of Wayanad, following the traditionally landless laborer community like Paniyan and Adiyans are Kattunaickan forming 9% of the total Adivasi population of Wayanad. They have been classified as “Primitive Tribal Groups” (PTG) by the government of Kerala owing to their pre- agricultural economic activity, mainly forest dependency and food gathering activities. Till the large scale migration of settler farmers from plains to Wayanad, this community was leading an almost independent life fully depending on the forest then rich in resources, mainly as food gatherers. Shrinking forest resources led them to seek alternative livelihoods transforming a major section of them as agricultural laborers to settler farmers. Changes in the crop pattern have resulted in the reduction of days in which they get jobs, leading to extreme poverty as in the case of Paniyans and Adiyans. There are 2885 PTG families, in 292 settlements in Wayanad whose concentration is mainly in Sultan Bathery Block of the District. Though it is generally assumed that the primary economic activity of Kattunaickan is collection of forest produces, a survey conducted by CEx-IIMK has revealed that forests contribute only 11% of the total income of the community. Contrary to the general belief, it has been found that more than 75% of the primitive tribals of Kerala are engaged in agriculture and allied sectors. Non Timber Produces (NTFP)

contribute a share to their family income, but the living conditions of this community is not very different from the traditionally bonded laborer communities like Adiyam and Paniyam.

Urali Kurumar, traditionally artisan community of Wayanad shares much in common with the aforesaid Adivasi communities viz. Paniyam, Adiyam and Kattunaikkan in terms of their economic activity today. The community was known for its non-agricultural skills like basketry. However these skills are not much required in the local labour market.

Adiyans, Paniyans, Kattunaikkans and Urali Kurumans form two third of the total tribal population of Wayanad and are the most vulnerable section of the adivasi communities of the District. The lean agricultural season falling in July – August is the season of extreme poverty for all the communities. To a significant section of these communities, free ration provided by the Government is the only means for survival in the lean season. Though government provide free medical facilities, in most cases, are not adequate enough to meet the health needs of the community. Since the seventies government has attempted to resettle a section of the Adivasi communities of the district in collective farms, distribution of surplus land, hutment rights, free houses, free medical facilities educational programmes etc. However the vast majority still have many unresolved problems especially landlessness in their traditional homeland and lack of means to an assured livelihood. Largest numbers of school dropouts belong to these communities. Similarly they form the low indicators in terms of health, education, income etc.

Conditions of traditionally settled cultivators like Kurichians and Mullu Kurumans are relatively better than the rest of the Adivasi communities of the District. They together form nearly one third of the total Adivasi population of the district. In terms of developmental indicators, they remain much ahead of the other Adivasi communities of Wayanad and are almost in par with general population of the district. These two communities have positively responded to most of the developmental initiatives of the government and have achieved remarkably. Traditionally these communities claimed higher status among other Adivasi communities, which in turn was ‘acknowledged’ by them by addressing these community members as “Mooppan”, meaning master. These communities till recently had considerable joint land holding and were involved with paddy cultivation as predominant economic activity. Like early settlers of Wayanad, there were instances in which Kurichians and Mullu Kurumans had patron-client relationship with Adivasi communities who were agrestic serfs.

Today these two communities follow the agricultural practices of other settler farmers in Wayanad and cultivate new crops that include coffee a, pepper and other crops common in Wayanad. General recession of agriculture economy of Wayanad had its implications on these communities too. The community members have reasonably good representation in the local leadership of all major political parties in the district. They have also become

the part of the resettlement programs. Also they are able to avail most of the welfare schemes of the government.

The Adivasi communities of Wayanad have been detribalized considerably owing to socio-economic transitions that the region has undergone since the middle of last century. Heavy influx of non-tribals to the region since 1940s coupled with exposure to modern education, political process, and media has altered the traditional life style of the communities. These changes are well represented in their food habits, dress, religious practices, language, worldview, community structure etc. Most of the community members are well conversant with Malayalam. Even in the households, Malayalam is increasingly becoming common replacing local dialects. Only a negligible section of the Adivasis – a very negligible section of the elder women – wears traditional dress. Most of the community members follow the ‘locally standardized’ religious practices. Traditional political structure is no more existent among the communities.

Being a “tribe” in Wayanad does not have much to do with traditional customs and practices, but has much to do with the extent of their marginalization in social, economic and political domain. They can more or less be identified as a political entity or a socio-economic formation than a cultural entity.

Developmental Initiatives by Government of Kerala

Since the formation of Kerala in 1956, the government has spent sizeable funds for the development of the Adivasis. The government had conceived large-scale rehabilitation projects in order to address rampant poverty of the Adivasi communities in Wayanad. This included Sugandagiri Cardamom Project, Pookkot Diary Project, Priyadarshini Tea Estate, Cheengeni coffee project etc. Almost all these projects aimed for their livelihood enhancement, are defunct. The output from those still functioning is not very encouraging. Alternative governmental measures to address Adivasi issues also failed to provide intended results. The decentralized plan, which provided opportunities for the Adivasis to identify resources and design appropriate action plan for their development too did not provide anticipated results. Apart from the livelihood development projects, government had implemented a large number of programs for the health and education. However majority of the tribal children of Wayanad is not in school and morbidity rate is high among the Adivasis of Wayanad.

Land Issue of the Adivasis of Wayanad

Land has been a major issue of Wayanad and since fifties it has been the essential component around which Adivasis were mobilized since 1950s. Nearly two third of the total tribal population of Wayanad were traditionally landless – they were either bonded laborers or were forest dependants. A few of the tribal families were allotted a portion of land by their erstwhile jannmis. Also government provided smallholdings, but most of these holding are not very viable. Also many of these holdings do not have proper titles. For the traditionally cultivating communities like Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman, land alienation was a key issue; A major portion of their land was alienated to settler farmers who migrated to Wayanad since 1940s. However there was no significant attempt from

the part of Government to restore alienated land to the Adivasi communities of Wayanad. Government of Kerala had framed rules in 1986 to comply with the Land Restoration Act 1975 passed by Government of India. However effectiveness of this act was limited owing to the fact that only a negligible section of the Adivasi population could give evidence regarding land alienation. Following public interest litigation by a non-tribal social activist from Wayanad in 1993, the Kerala High Court directed the State Government to implement the 1975 Act. However the State Government could not implement the Court order and even made attempts to amend the 1975 Act. Later in 1996, a new bill was passed that held all transactions of Adivasi land between 1960 to 1986 as legal and valid. However the President of India rejected the Bill in March 1998 on the ground that it was unconstitutional. In order to bypass the presidential assent, in 1999 an amendment was passed in the Assembly, but the High Court of Kerala rejected it, following public interest litigation by a non-tribal social activist from Wayanad.

Though Adivasi communities were demanding restoration of alienated land, the focus however was shifted to landlessness of the Adivasis by 2001. Following agitations from Adivasi organizations, Government of Kerala reached an agreement with Adivasi organizations on 16 October 2001 saying, *“subject to availability of land, all tribal families of Kerala will be given 1 to 5 acres of land .The land distribution will begin on 2002 January 1”* As per the same agreement, a “Tribal Mission” was suggested by the Government / Adivasi leaders to work on tribal land issues (for identifying land, designing resettlement measures etc). Subsequently government issued an order on 9 November 2001 forming a Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM). TRDM on January 1, 2002 put before the government a set of proposals addressing land distribution related issues of the Adivasi of Kerala. TRDM has recommended to the Government of Kerala that land distribution have to be completed within a period of five years starting from January 1, 2002.

TRDM in 2001 has identified 14031 Adivasi families in Wayanad who are landless. In addition it has identified 12184 families in Wayanad whose landholding is less than one acre. As per the government agreement all the adivasi families whose land holding is less than one acre will be provided 1-5 acres of land, implying that out of the total 27000 tribal families in Wayanad, 26215 families would be given land. Government has identified 8713 acres of land in Wayanad. They have also identified 11645 acres of land in neighbouring districts where Adivasi families – majority of them are from Wayanad – could be rehabilitated. Government in principle has accepted many of the recommendations of TRDM. In Wayanad, land belonging to the rehabilitation projects, like Sugandagiri and Cheengeni has already been distributed among a few families. A few Panchayats have distributed revenue land under the Panchayats to the Adivasis. Government of Kerala has reassured that all landless tribal families would be provided land by January 2007.

Adivasi mobilization in Wayanad since independence

The history of Adivasi mobilizations in Wayanad dates back to the fifties when the Communist Party of India was gradually gaining foothold in the area by initiating struggles against the landlords for the first time. The first generation Communist Party workers – most of them belonging to early Hindu settlers from North Kerala – had been organizing Party classes in Adivasi settlements and were receiving sympathy and support from the poorer sections of the Adivasis, particularly bonded laborers.

The Communist Party of India in the beginning and later the Communist Party of India (Marxist) were in the forefront of mobilizing Adivasi communities for better wages (wages given in kind as paddy). Efforts by the Party were successful to an extent that wages were doubled after the struggles it led against local landlords. In fact theirs was an extension of the struggles it had been waging against feudal land relations elsewhere in Kerala. Communist Party's intervention was mainly on the patron-client relationships that existed among the landless Adivasi bonded laborers and the landlords. This intervention did provide rich dividends for the Party, as it was able to make inroads into a major section of the Adivasi communities of Wayanad. In spite of its involvement with the Adivasis in Wayanad, the Party was not successful in raising other issues that were crucial for the Adivasis. Complex issues of ethnic identity, encroachment of forest and tribal land by immigrant settler farmers from south Kerala were never the priority of the Party. However the Communist Party followers sympathetic to Adivasi issues were taking initiative in this direction. Formation of an umbrella organization of all Adivasi communities of Wayanad, *Wayanad Adivasi Swayam Sevak Sangh* (WASSS), was the first attempt by the pro-Adivasi sympathizers within the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in that direction.

The Sangh acted as an umbrella organization uniting under its fold various adivasi groups, members of which carried diverse political ideologies. Though registered as a non-political society, the *Wayanad Adivasi Swayam Sevak Sangh* overtly involved in mobilizing the Adivasis. WASSS undertook various civil protests against levying of tax for Adivasi farmers as well as against alienation of tribal land. The membership of WASSS was open to sympathizers from non-Adivasis too. When faced with dominant influence of Marxists, Jan Sangh sympathizers within WASSS left the organization in 1970 to form another one with the patronage of Jan Sangh and RSS. This group was named Wayanad Adivasi Samgam (WAS).

Unlike the parent organization WASSS, which represented various communities and political inclinations, Wayanad Adivasi Samgam (WAS) consisted of members from the land holding tribal communities particularly Kurichianr. The stated objectives of the Wayanad Adivasi Samgam were (a) creation of a tribal district in Wayanad (b) Restoration of alienated tribal land (c) opposing the spread of Christianity and Islam in Wayanad. (d) Abolition of bonded labor. The WAS was successful in raising Adivasi issues to the mainstream politics and it continued political activity till the declaration of emergency in 1975 when many of their cadres were arrested. The organization became defunct for a short period in Wayanad. Today it is active again in Wayanad with the overt

support from the district unit of Bharatiya Janata Party. This organization has considerable influence among landed Adivasi communities of Wayanad.

Wayanad Adivasi Swayam Sevak Sangh was active in Wayanad till 1973. But soon Congress sympathizers within the organization came out of WASSS forming Kerala Adivasi Samajam. This organization is the predecessor of Adivasi Vikas Parishad of Indian National Congress. The remaining members of WASSS supported the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in floating another tribal organization in the district named, Kerala Girivarga Sangam. This new group worked as a support organization of the peasant union of CPM, Kerala Karshaka Thozhilali Union (KSKTU) . Kerala Grivarga Sangam however failed to attract popular support as a section of its leadership defected to Communist Party of India (CPI).

While WASSS was gaining support among the Adivasi communities of Wayanad in the sixties, the new radical left movement was gaining momentum in the region. The younger cadres of *Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali Union* (union of agricultural laborers sympathetic to Communist Party of India – Marxist) were being radicalized by groups influenced by the extreme left. These groups, generally referred to as Naxallites, were organizing peasants to wage armed rebellion against government and it identified Adivasi bonded laborers as potential support base in its struggle against landlords. Some adivasi communities, particularly the bonded laborers provided tacit support to the ‘naxallites’. But following state repression, the movement dissipated gradually.

During the eighties and early nineties issues relating to Adivasis were in the agenda of the district units of all major political parties. However barring the occupation of forest land by the Adivasis under the auspices of *Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali Union* (KSKTU), the peasant organization of CPM in the state , there was no major effort to mobilize the Adivasis in the District.

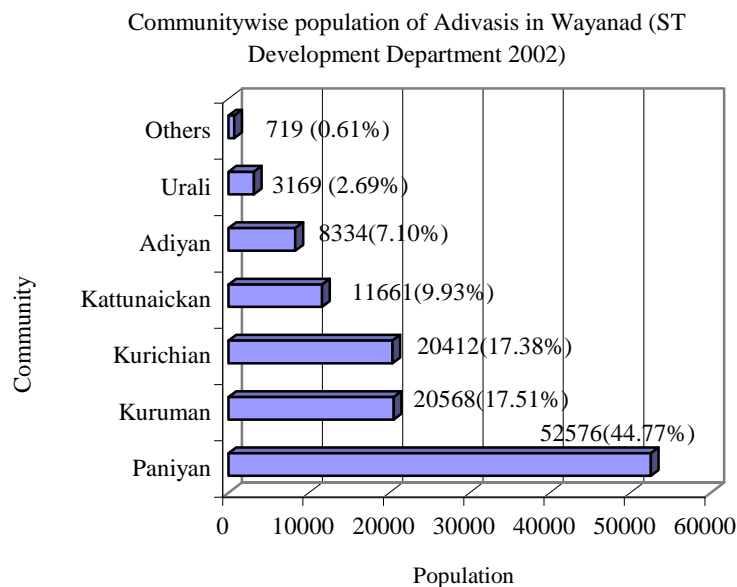
Emergence of Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha , an independent organization free of political party affiliation brought Adivasi issues into the forefront , forcing the government in 2001 to reach an agreement for (a) allotment of land up to five acres to all landless and land poor(having less than one acre (b) inclusion of a master plan for integrated Adivasi development in the 10th Five Year Plan (c) cabinet decision to include Adivasi areas in the 5th Schedule for self governance (d) a tribal mission by Kerala Government to try out the provisions of this agreement. Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha had considerable influence over the tribal population of Wayanad, particularly among the landless. However owing to confrontational stand it took against the government, its influence is waning among the Adivasis in Wayanad.

Major tribal movement that has significant influence over the tribal communities cutting across ethnic boundaries is Adivasi Kshema Samithi (AKS), formed in 2000 under the patronage of the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). With the support of the party machinery, AKS was able to take foothold in most of the tribal settlements in the district. AKS has a base in almost all tribal settlements in Wayanad. Its leadership is multi-tribal and majority of its members are women. At present it has a membership of nearly 15000 Adivasis in Wayanad. The major concern of

the organization is land issue of the tribal population and the method of struggle it adopts is occupation of forestland for cultivation. Since its formation, it has occupied forestland in 19 localities in Wayanad, covering 5000 acres of land. 2000 adivasi families inhabit the land occupied by AKS.

Adivasi Communities in Wayanad at Crossroads

Integration of Adivasi communities with the plantation/market economy of Wayanad is complex as the wavering economy of Wayanad coupled with changing crop pattern was not conducive for the total integration of the Adivasis into the mainstream. Barring the traditionally land owing Adivasis, the other communities were not able to effectively utilize the welfare programs of the State either. These communities are not equipped with the skills that the local market demands. Moreover impoverisation of the region owing to crashes in agricultural prices has resulted in the entry of non-tribals in the labour market, further reducing opportunities for the communities in question. The communities remain outside the much acclaimed as ‘Kerala Model’.

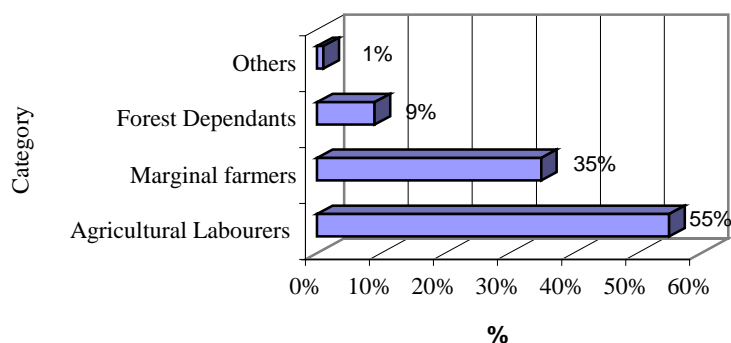


Wayanad has the highest concentration of Adivasis in the State. Crores were spent under Plan and non-Plan programmes by the State Department of Tribal Welfare since the formation of state, though the outcome was not very encouraging. Paniyas and Adiyans, two groups heavily involved in the Wayanad occupation, became serfs to local landlords in the 18th century, unlike groups such as the Kurichian and Kuruman. The inland Wayanad region today has the highest concentration of Adivasis, in large part as a consequence of the Grow More Food programme initiated in 1942-43, which pushed many Adivasis off their lands.

Table 3.1 Classification of Adivasi Families-Community Wise

| SI No | Community | Families | % of tribal families | Male | Female | Total | % of tribal population |
|-------|---------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Paniya | 11635 | 44.06 | 25728 | 26848 | 52576 | 44.77 |
| 2 | Adiyan | 1958 | 7.41 | 4047 | 4287 | 8334 | 7.10 |
| 3 | Kattunaickan | 2991 | 11.33 | 5826 | 5835 | 11661 | 9.93 |
| 4 | Urali Kuruman | 826 | 3.13 | 1544 | 1619 | 3163 | 2.69 |
| 5 | Kuruman | 4578 | 17.34 | 10366 | 10202 | 20568 | 17.51 |
| 6 | Kurichian | 4253 | 16.10 | 10301 | 10111 | 20412 | 17.38 |
| 7 | Others | 167 | 0.63 | 336 | 383 | 719 | 0.61 |
| | Total | 26408 | 100.00 | 58148 | 59285 | 117433 | 100.00 |

Adivasis of Wayanad - based on traditional Economic Activity



Panchayatwise Distribution of Adivasi population (2001 census)

Tribal communities are found in all the twenty-five Panchayats of the district and in Kalpetta municipality.. In Wayanad there is no predominant tribal Panchayat where the population of tribal communities exceed the non-tribals. Their major concentration is in Noolpuzha (39.29%), Thirunelly (40.72%) Panchayats. In all other Panchayats their population is below 30%. In the entire district there is only one village in where they form the majority. In Noolpuzha village of Sultan Bathery Taluk, they form 50.02% of the total population.

Table 3.2 Panchayat Wise Distribution of Adivasi Population in Wayanad

| SI No | Panchayat | Total Population | ST Population | % of ST |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Ambalavayal | 34345 | 4775 | 13.90 |
| 2 | Edavaka | 31168 | 4910 | 15.75 |
| 3 | Kaniambetta | 29516 | 6035 | 20.45 |
| 4 | Kottathara | 16636 | 4600 | 27.65 |
| 5 | Mananthavady | 45477 | 6819 | 14.99 |
| 6 | Meenangadi | 32067 | 7099 | 22.14 |
| 7 | Meppady | 39849 | 3516 | 8.82 |
| 8 | Mullenkolly | 29519 | 2741 | 9.29 |
| 9 | Muppainad | 24033 | 988 | 4.11 |
| 10 | Muttil | 31227 | 4562 | 14.61 |
| 11 | Nenmeni | 44096 | 7086 | 16.07 |
| 12 | Noolpuzha | 26184 | 10288 | 39.29 |
| 13 | Padinharethara | 24823 | 2647 | 10.66 |
| 14 | Panamaram | 42922 | 10056 | 23.43 |
| 15 | Poothadi | 39687 | 7262 | 18.30 |
| 16 | Pozhuthana | 17397 | 3266 | 18.77 |
| 17 | Pulpalli | 34293 | 7143 | 20.83 |
| 18 | Sulthanbathery | 42059 | 4894 | 11.64 |
| 19 | Thariyode | 11843 | 2649 | 22.37 |
| 20 | Thavinhal | 38654 | 6790 | 17.57 |
| 21 | Thirunelly | 27450 | 11178 | 40.72 |
| 22 | Thondernad | 22455 | 4374 | 19.48 |
| 23 | Vellamunda | 36415 | 5720 | 15.71 |
| 24 | Vengappally | 11072 | 2661 | 24.03 |
| 25 | Vythiri | 17820 | 875 | 4.91 |
| 26 | Kalpetta Municipality | 29612 | 3128 | 10.56 |
| | Total | 780619 | 136062 | 17.43 |
| <i>Source: Census of India 2001</i> | | | | |

Table 3.3 Village-wise population of Adivasi Communities of Wayanad

| Sl.No | Taluk | Village | Gen. Pop | ST | ST % |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1 | Mananthavady | Thirunelly | 11719 | 5508 | 47.00 |
| 2 | Mananthavady | Thrissilery | 15731 | 5670 | 36.04 |
| 3 | Mananthavady | Payyampally | 12391 | 3239 | 26.14 |
| 4 | Mananthavady | Mananthavady | 33086 | 3580 | 10.82 |
| 5 | Mananthavady | Thavinhhal | 16766 | 2159 | 12.88 |
| 6 | Mananthavady | Periya | 11469 | 2534 | 22.09 |
| 7 | Mananthavady | Thondernad | 11092 | 2581 | 23.27 |
| 8 | Mananthavady | Valat | 10419 | 2097 | 20.13 |
| 9 | Mananthavady | Edavaka | 15620 | 2163 | 13.85 |
| 10 | Mananthavady | Nallooroad | 15548 | 2747 | 17.67 |
| 11 | Mananthavady | Cherukottur | 10806 | 2262 | 20.93 |
| 12 | Mananthavady | Panamaram | 11651 | 2620 | 22.49 |
| 13 | Mananthavady | Anchukunnu | 18049 | 4603 | 25.50 |
| 14 | Mananthavady | Porunnanore | 19609 | 3370 | 17.19 |
| 15 | Mananthavady | Vellamunda | 16806 | 2350 | 13.98 |
| 16 | Mananthavady | Kanjirangad | 11363 | 1793 | 15.78 |
| 17 | Sulthanbathery | Nadavayal | 14943 | 3590 | 24.02 |
| 18 | Sulthanbathery | Poothadi | 14849 | 2717 | 18.30 |
| 19 | Sulthanbathery | Pulpalli | 29298 | 6014 | 20.53 |
| 20 | Sulthanbathery | Padichira | 29697 | 2485 | 8.37 |
| 21 | Sulthanbathery | Kidanganad | 9157 | 3314 | 36.19 |
| 22 | Sulthanbathery | Irulam | 21111 | 3608 | 17.09 |
| 23 | Sulthanbathery | Purakkadi | 19955 | 4575 | 22.93 |
| 24 | Sulthanbathery | Krishnagiri | 12597 | 2559 | 20.31 |
| 25 | Sulthanbathery | Sulthanbathery | 21210 | 1212 | 5.71 |
| 26 | Sulthanbathery | Kuppadi | 24898 | 4165 | 16.73 |
| 27 | Sulthanbathery | Noolpuzha | 12978 | 6491 | 50.02 |
| 28 | Sulthanbathery | Cheeral | 15620 | 2299 | 14.72 |
| 29 | Sulthanbathery | Nenmeni | 28476 | 4787 | 16.81 |
| 30 | Sulthanbathery | Ambalavayal | 16363 | 2921 | 17.85 |
| 31 | Sulthanbathery | Thomattuchal | 17744 | 1854 | 10.45 |
| 32 | Vythiri | Padinharethara | 15174 | 1483 | 9.77 |
| 33 | Vythiri | Kuppadithara | 9649 | 1164 | 12.06 |
| 34 | Vythiri | Kottathara | 16816 | 4638 | 27.58 |
| 35 | Vythiri | Kaniambetta | 25648 | 5342 | 20.83 |
| 36 | Vythiri | Muttil North | 11295 | 1718 | 15.21 |
| 37 | Vythiri | Muttil South | 19467 | 2805 | 14.41 |
| 38 | Vythiri | Vengappally | 10995 | 2623 | 23.86 |
| 39 | Vythiri | Kavumannam | 9984 | 2042 | 20.45 |
| 40 | Vythiri | Thariyode | 1859 | 607 | 32.65 |
| 41 | Vythiri | Achooranam | 9754 | 1059 | 10.86 |
| 42 | Vythiri | Pozhuthana | 7643 | 2207 | 28.88 |
| 43 | Vythiri | Kunnathidavaka | 8831 | 503 | 5.70 |
| 44 | Vythiri | Chundale | 8989 | 372 | 4.14 |
| 45 | Vythiri | Kottappadi (Part) | 21833 | 750 | 3.44 |
| 46 | Vythiri | Thrikkaipatta (Part) | 10384 | 2563 | 24.68 |
| 47 | Vythiri | Muppainad | 22935 | 617 | 2.69 |
| 48 | Vythiri | Vellarimala | 8730 | 574 | 6.58 |
| 49 | Vythiri | Kalpetta Municipality | 29612 | 3128 | 10.56 |
| | Total | Wayanad | 780619 | 136062 | 17.43 |
| <i>Source: Census of India 2001</i> | | | | | |

Baseline Survey

Introduction

The most important source of data on the tribal population of Wayanad is the census data. This data gives basic information on population in terms of age, sex, literacy, occupation, etc. However census data does not dwell upon a wide variety of facets of information on tribal population- like aspects relating to education, health, migration, income, political participation, so on and so forth. It was therefore decided to conduct a baseline survey, which is exploratory in nature to arrive at some basic conclusions on the *present state* of tribal population of Wayanad district.

Methodology

In this survey, the basic unit of enumeration is the tribal household. According to a survey conducted by the Department of Tribal Development in the year 2002, there are 26466 tribal households in the district. These households are spread across three blocks - Kalpetta, Mananthavadi and S.Battery and 7 major tribes as given hereunder:

Table 4.1 Distribution of Adivasi Households in Wayanad-Total Number of Families Community Wise/Block Wise

| Community | Kalpetta | Mananthavady | S.Batheri | Total |
|--------------|----------|--------------|-----------|-------|
| Adiyan | 0 | 1783 | 142 | 1925 |
| Paniyan | 3430 | 3468 | 4249 | 11147 |
| Kattunaickan | 345 | 619 | 2102 | 3066 |
| Kurichian | 1156 | 2963 | 29 | 4148 |
| Kuruman | 461 | 472 | 3073 | 4006 |
| Urali | 75 | 143 | 646 | 864 |
| Others | 1240 | 70 | 0 | 1310 |
| Total | 6707 | 9518 | 10241 | 26466 |

Source: Unpublished Survey by Scheduled Tribes Development Department 2002

Table 4.2 Community Wise Distribution of Families

(Percentages)

| Community | Kalpetta | Mananthavady | S.Batheri | Total |
|--------------|----------|--------------|-----------|-------|
| Adiyan | 0 | 92.6 | 7.4 | 100.0 |
| Paniyan | 30.8 | 31.1 | 38.1 | 100.0 |
| Kattunaickan | 11.3 | 20.2 | 68.6 | 100.0 |
| Kurichian | 27.9 | 71.4 | 0.7 | 100.0 |
| Kuruman | 11.5 | 11.8 | 76.7 | 100.0 |
| Urali | 8.7 | 16.6 | 74.8 | 100.0 |
| Others | 94.7 | 5.3 | 0 | 100.0 |

Table 4.3 Block Wise Distribution of Families

(Percentages)

| Community | Kalpetta | Manathavady | S.Bathery |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Adiyan | 0 | 18.7 | 1.4 |
| Paniyan | 51.2 | 36.5 | 41.5 |
| Kattunaickan | 5.1 | 6.5 | 20.5 |
| Kurichian | 17.2 | 31.1 | 0.3 |
| Kuruman | 6.9 | 5 | 30 |
| Urali | 1.1 | 1.5 | 6.3 |
| Others | 18.5 | 0.7 | 0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

As the population of tribal households is known, it is possible to estimate a sample size, which will give information on households with 95% reliability. For estimating the sample size, the number of members in a family was selected as a parameter and based on a pilot survey, Standard Deviation on the size of family was estimated. Based on this it was estimated that, for getting data with a reliability of 95%, a minimum number of 386 households would have to be covered. In actual practice, 436 households were enumerated. Enumeration was conducted during the months August-September 2004. In instances where the sample size was very small, we have increased it to make it more representative. This is the reason for increasing the sample size, though marginally. The stratification of the sample households was based on first the distribution of tribal households across the three blocks in the district. This number was further stratified based on the distribution of tribal communities within each block. Generally, the approach was to select contiguous tribal hamlets and enumerate households till a certain required number was reached. Given below is the coverage of the sample across the tribal communities and blocks.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Sample Households (Community-wise/ Block-wise)

| Community | Kalpetta | Mananthavady | S.Batheri | Total |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Adiyan | 0 | 29 | 5 | 34 |
| Paniyan | 53 | 55 | 66 | 174 |
| Kattunaickan | 10 | 13 | 34 | 57 |
| Kurichian | 18 | 45 | 1 | 64 |
| Kuruman | 7 | 7 | 47 | 61 |
| Urali | 2 | 4 | 10 | 16 |
| Others | 28 | 2 | 0 | 30 |
| Total | 118 | 155 | 163 | 436 |

Table 4.5 Proportionate Community Wise Distribution of Sample Households

(Percentages)

| Community | Kalpetta | Mananthavady | S.Batheri | Total |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Adiyan | 0 | 85.3 | 14.7 | 100.0 |
| Paniyan | 30.5 | 31.6 | 37.9 | 100.0 |
| Kattunaickan | 17.5 | 22.8 | 59.6 | 100.0 |
| Kurichian | 28.1 | 70.3 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| Kuruman | 11.5 | 11.5 | 77.0 | 100.0 |
| Urali | 12.5 | 25.0 | 62.5 | 100.0 |
| Others | 93.3 | 6.7 | 0 | 100.0 |

Table 4.6 Block Wise Distribution of Sample Households

(Percentages)

| Community | Kalpetta | Mananthavady | S.Batheri |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Adiyan | 0 | 18.71 | 3.1 |
| Paniyan | 44.9 | 35.48 | 40.5 |
| Kattunaickan | 8.5 | 8.39 | 20.9 |
| Kurichian | 15.3 | 29.03 | 0.6 |
| Kuruman | 5.9 | 4.52 | 28.8 |
| Urali | 1.7 | 2.58 | 6.1 |
| Others | 23.7 | 1.29 | 0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Size of Households

Size of households in terms of number of members is an important indicator of the socio economic base of the households. The following Table 3 gives the picture on size of Adivasi households

Table 4.7 Classification of Sample Households Based on Number of Members

| Number of members | Number of Families |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | 2 |
| 2 | 17 |
| 3 | 30 |
| 4 | 90 |
| 5 | 99 |
| 6 | 59 |
| 7 | 38 |
| 8 | 37 |
| 9 | 20 |
| 10 | 17 |
| 11 | 16 |

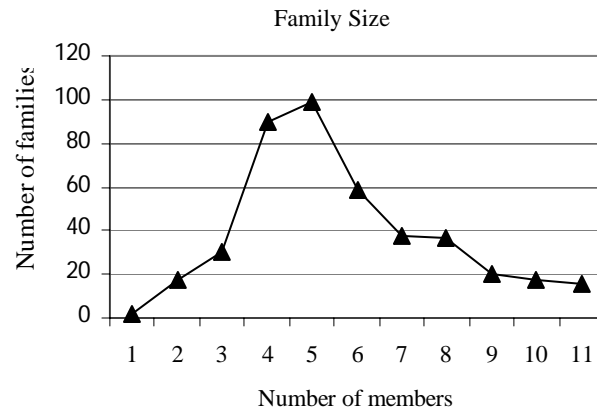


Table 4.8 Variations in Family Size

| Name of Tribe | Number of members - Arithmetic Mean | Standard Deviation |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Adiya | 5.6 | 2.1 |
| Paniya | 6.2 | 2.7 |
| Kattunaickan | 5.1 | 2 |
| Kurichian | 5.9 | 2.7 |
| Kuruman | 5.2 | 1.5 |
| Urali | 5.8 | 1.9 |
| Others | 5.3 | 1.6 |
| Total | 5.7 | 2.4 |

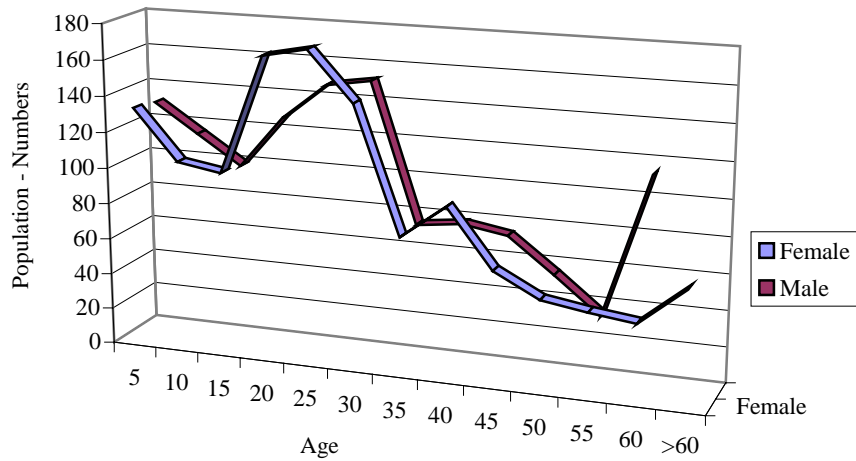
Average size of all tribal households surveyed works out to 5.7. Standard Deviation is 2.4. However some inter tribal differences can be observed. Paniya tribe has slightly higher average family size. For this tribe deviation from the mean size also appears to be higher.

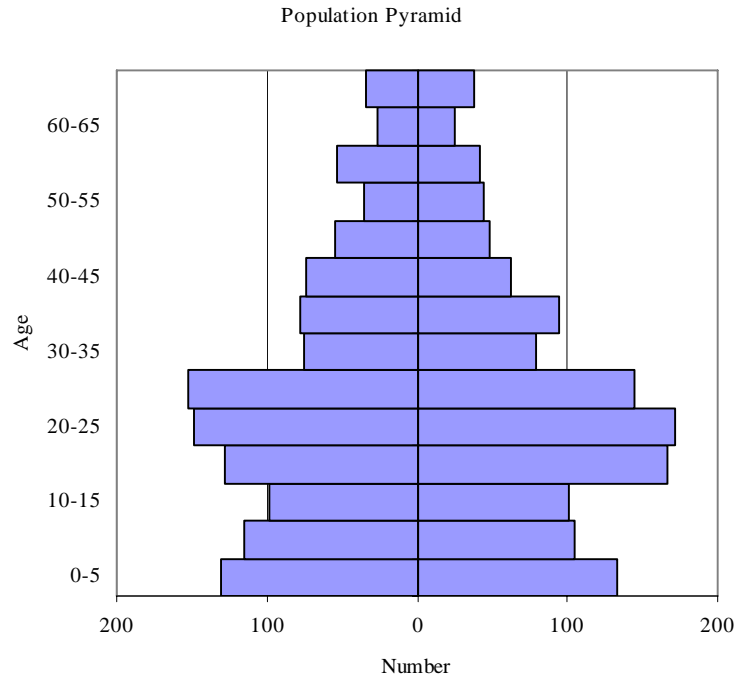
The following table as well as the graph gives a picture of age distribution of the respondent group.

Table 4.9 Age Wise Classification of Members of Sample Households

| Age | Male (%) | Female (%) | Total (%) |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 0-5 | 131 10.88 | 133 10.59 | 264 10.73 |
| 5-10 | 115 9.55 | 105 8.36 | 220 8.94 |
| 10-15 | 99 8.22 | 101 8.04 | 200 8.13 |
| 15-20 | 128 10.63 | 167 13.30 | 295 11.99 |
| 20-25 | 148 12.29 | 172 13.69 | 320 13.01 |
| 25-30 | 152 12.62 | 145 11.54 | 297 12.07 |
| 30-35 | 75 6.23 | 79 6.29 | 154 6.26 |
| 35-40 | 78 6.48 | 94 7.48 | 172 6.99 |
| 40-45 | 74 6.15 | 62 4.94 | 136 5.53 |
| 45-50 | 55 4.57 | 48 3.82 | 103 4.19 |
| 50-55 | 35 2.91 | 45 3.58 | 80 3.25 |
| 55-60 | 53 4.40 | 42 3.34 | 95 3.86 |
| 60-65 | 27 2.24 | 25 1.99 | 52 2.11 |
| < 65 | 34 2.82 | 38 3.03 | 72 2.93 |
| Total | 1204 100.00 | 1256 100.00 | 2460 100.00 |

Age Wise and Gender Wise Classification





A total of 2466 respondents are covered in this survey. Of this 25% or 687 respondents are below the age of 15 and 1237 respondents are below the age of 25. This indicates a relative 'youth' of the population. But there are different dimensions to this 'youth'. Birth rates of the respondent group should be high because, as seen in the graph, as much as 265 respondents are children less than the age of 5. The number of children in the age groups 5-10 is 222 and 10-15 is 200. But this trend also indicates a gradual reduction in the population up to 15 years. This could be due to high infant mortality as well as child mortality. Maximum number of population is in the age group 20-25 indicating a relative youth of population. Similarly there is a sharp fall in the population from the ages 40 to 55. Reasons could be morbidity or malnutrition. There is a slight increase in the population above the age of 55 years. One thing that is interesting to note is that there are no discernible difference in the age profile of male and female population excepting the fact that the population trend of female population follows that of the males with a lag.

The gradual reduction in numbers of respondents above the age of 25 should be a matter of serious concern for more than one reason. The ages 25-55 is the prime working age, and thereafter, people tend to move out of labour force. A decline in the ratio of working population to dependent population will increase the burden on working population. It can lead to a cyclical situation of working people having too many mouths to feed, and in the process ending up with severe malnutrition, morbidity and eventual withdrawal from the labour force itself. As we see later, this situation is exacerbated by the reduction in the number of employment days.

In order to examine the levels of dependency of population, we have classified the population into three age groups i.e. 0-15 years, 15-55 years and above 55 years. In doing so we have assumed that the age group 15-55 is the working population.

Table 4.10 Cross Classification of Respondent Population-Age Group and Community Wise

| Age | Adiyan | Paniyan | Kattunaickan | Kurichian | Kuruman | Urali | Others | Total |
|-------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| 0-15 | 71 (37) | 290 (27) | 77 (26) | 107 (29) | 62 (20) | 27 (30) | 53 (34) | 687 (28) |
| 15-55 | 108 (57) | 675 (64) | 195 (67) | 225 (61) | 213 (69) | 51 (56) | 92 (59) | 1559 (63) |
| >55 | 12 (6) | 93 (9) | 21 (7) | 36 (10) | 34 (11) | 13 (14) | 11 (7) | 220 (9) |
| Total | 191 (100) | 1058 (100) | 293 (100) | 368 (100) | 309 (100) | 91 (100) | 156 (100) | 2466 (100) |

(Figures in parenthesis refers to percentages to total)

The above table reveals that the proportion of population above the age of 55 is very low among the tribal communities. The following graph as well as chart explores the extent of dependency, among the Adivasi population surveyed.

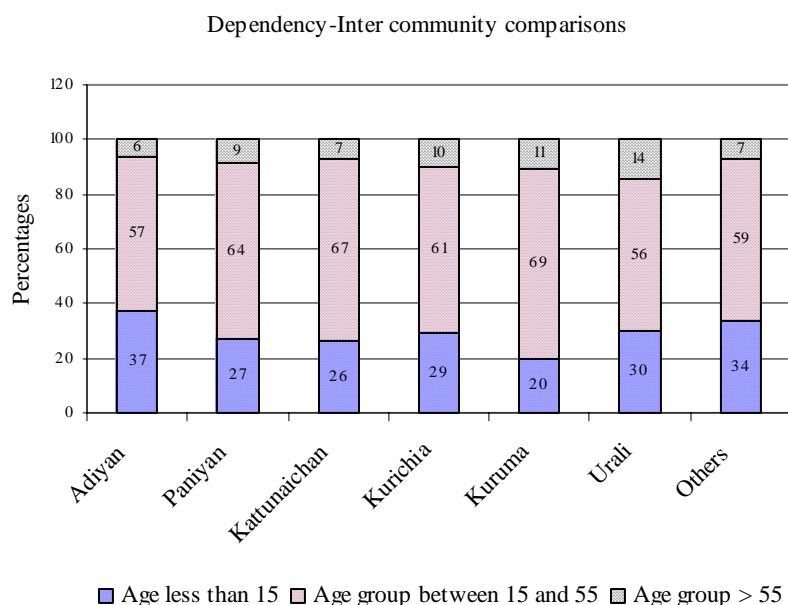


Table 4.11 Dependency Ratio

| Community | Dependency Ratio |
|--------------|------------------|
| Adiyan | 0.77 |
| Paniyan | 0.57 |
| Kattunaickan | 0.50 |
| Kurichian | 0.64 |
| Kuruman | 0.45 |
| Urali | 0.78 |
| Others | 0.70 |

Here we see that a same trend cuts across the communities that have been surveyed. In general the population is ‘young’ and dependency levels are low. Dependency levels are

lowest in Mullu Kuruman community and highest in Urali community. That the low levels of dependency are caused by high mortality and morbidity rates is another aspect of this observation. Age pyramids of all the communities are given hereunder:

Table 4.12 Age Profile of Adiya Community

| Age | Male | (%) | Female | (%) | Total | (%) |
|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 0-5 | 11 | 12.36 | 11 | 11 | 22 | 11.64 |
| 5-10 | 12 | 13.48 | 19 | 19 | 31 | 16.40 |
| 10-15 | 7 | 7.87 | 10 | 10 | 17 | 8.99 |
| 15-20 | 7 | 7.87 | 10 | 10 | 17 | 8.99 |
| 20-25 | 7 | 7.87 | 12 | 12 | 19 | 10.05 |
| 25-30 | 12 | 13.48 | 10 | 10 | 22 | 11.64 |
| 30-35 | 5 | 5.62 | 7 | 7 | 12 | 6.35 |
| 35-40 | 5 | 5.62 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 6.88 |
| 40-45 | 9 | 10.11 | 5 | 5 | 14 | 7.41 |
| 45-50 | 4 | 4.49 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 3.17 |
| 50-55 | 2 | 2.25 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2.12 |
| 55-60 | 5 | 5.62 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 3.17 |
| 60-65 | 2 | 2.25 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1.06 |
| 65 and above | 1 | 1.12 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2.12 |
| Total | 89 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 189 | 100 |

Population Pyramid of Adiyar Community

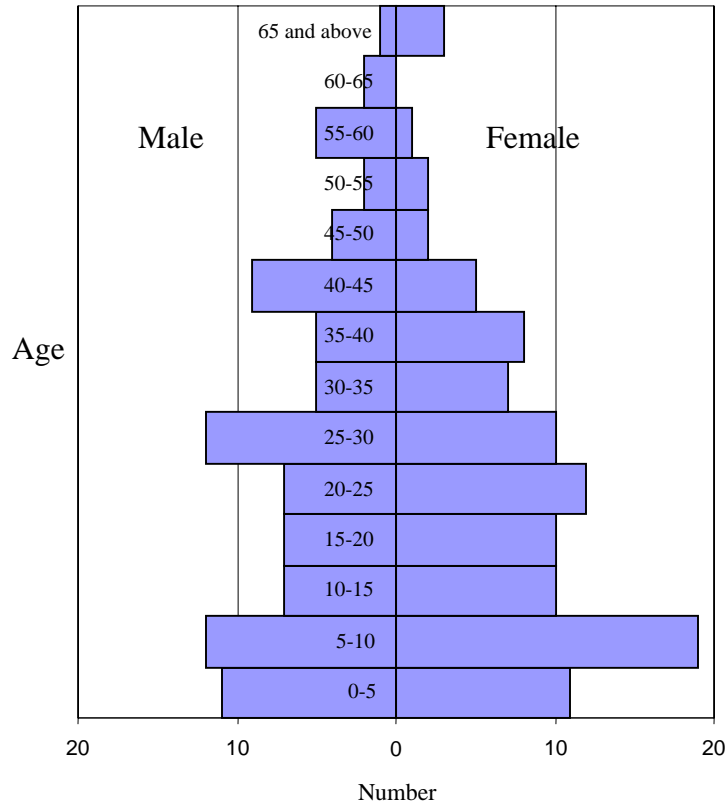


Table 4.13 Age Profile of Paniyan Community

| Age | Male | (%) | Female | (%) | Total | (%) |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| 0-5 | 62 | 11.68 | 59 | 11.22 | 121 | 11.45 |
| 5-10 | 46 | 8.66 | 46 | 8.75 | 92 | 8.70 |
| 10-15 | 33 | 6.21 | 44 | 8.37 | 77 | 7.28 |
| 15-20 | 54 | 10.17 | 82 | 15.59 | 136 | 12.87 |
| 20-25 | 79 | 14.88 | 55 | 10.46 | 134 | 12.68 |
| 25-30 | 73 | 13.75 | 57 | 10.84 | 130 | 12.30 |
| 30-35 | 30 | 5.65 | 28 | 5.32 | 58 | 5.49 |
| 35-40 | 36 | 6.78 | 40 | 7.60 | 76 | 7.19 |
| 40-45 | 25 | 4.71 | 28 | 5.32 | 53 | 5.01 |
| 45-50 | 27 | 5.08 | 24 | 4.56 | 51 | 4.82 |
| 50-55 | 15 | 2.82 | 21 | 3.99 | 36 | 3.41 |
| 55-60 | 23 | 4.33 | 23 | 4.37 | 46 | 4.35 |
| 60-65 | 16 | 3.01 | 9 | 1.71 | 25 | 2.37 |
| 65 and above | 12 | 2.26 | 10 | 1.90 | 22 | 2.08 |
| Total | 531 | 100 | 526 | 100 | 1057 | 100 |

Population Pyramid of Paniyan Community

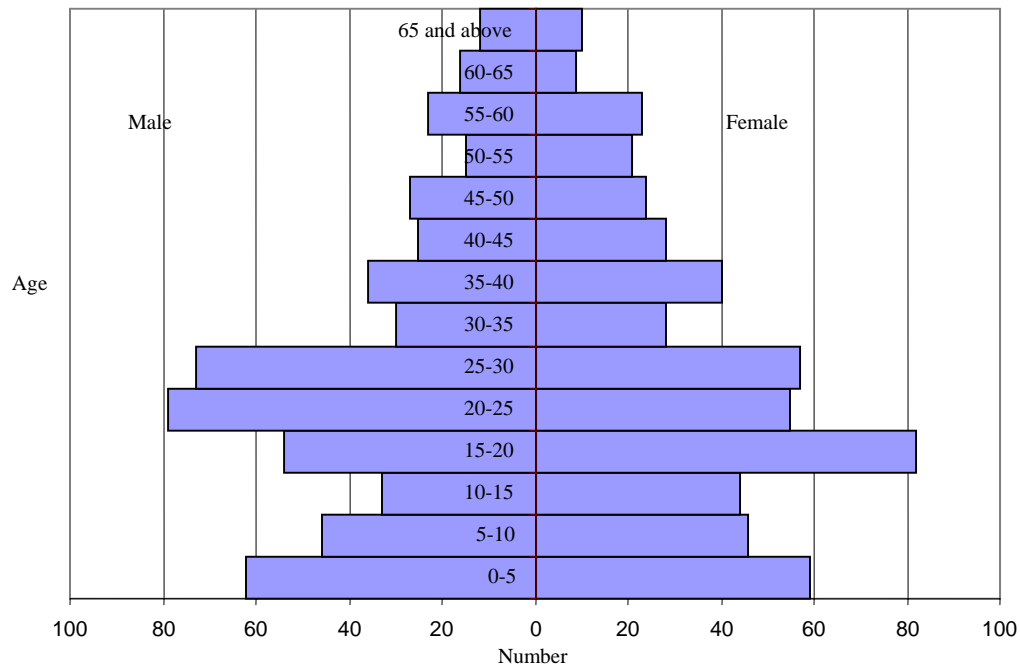


Table 4.14 Age Profile of Kattunaickan Community

| Age | Male | (%) | Female | (%) | Total | (%) |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 0-5 | 19 | 12.75 | 13 | 9.03 | 32 | 10.92 |
| 5-10 | 14 | 9.40 | 12 | 8.33 | 26 | 8.87 |
| 10-15 | 12 | 8.05 | 7 | 4.86 | 19 | 6.48 |
| 15-20 | 16 | 10.74 | 27 | 18.75 | 43 | 14.68 |
| 20-25 | 24 | 16.11 | 16 | 11.11 | 40 | 13.65 |
| 25-30 | 13 | 8.72 | 13 | 9.03 | 26 | 8.87 |
| 30-35 | 3 | 2.01 | 16 | 11.11 | 19 | 6.48 |
| 35-40 | 9 | 6.04 | 13 | 9.03 | 22 | 7.51 |
| 40-45 | 16 | 10.74 | 7 | 4.86 | 23 | 7.85 |
| 45-50 | 8 | 5.37 | 5 | 3.47 | 13 | 4.44 |
| 50-55 | 3 | 2.01 | 6 | 4.17 | 9 | 3.07 |
| 55-60 | 5 | 3.36 | 3 | 2.08 | 8 | 2.73 |
| 60-65 | 4 | 2.68 | 2 | 1.39 | 6 | 2.05 |
| 65 and above | 3 | 2.01 | 4 | 2.78 | 7 | 2.39 |
| Total | 149 | 100 | 144 | 100 | 293 | 100 |

Population Pyramid of Kattunaickan Community

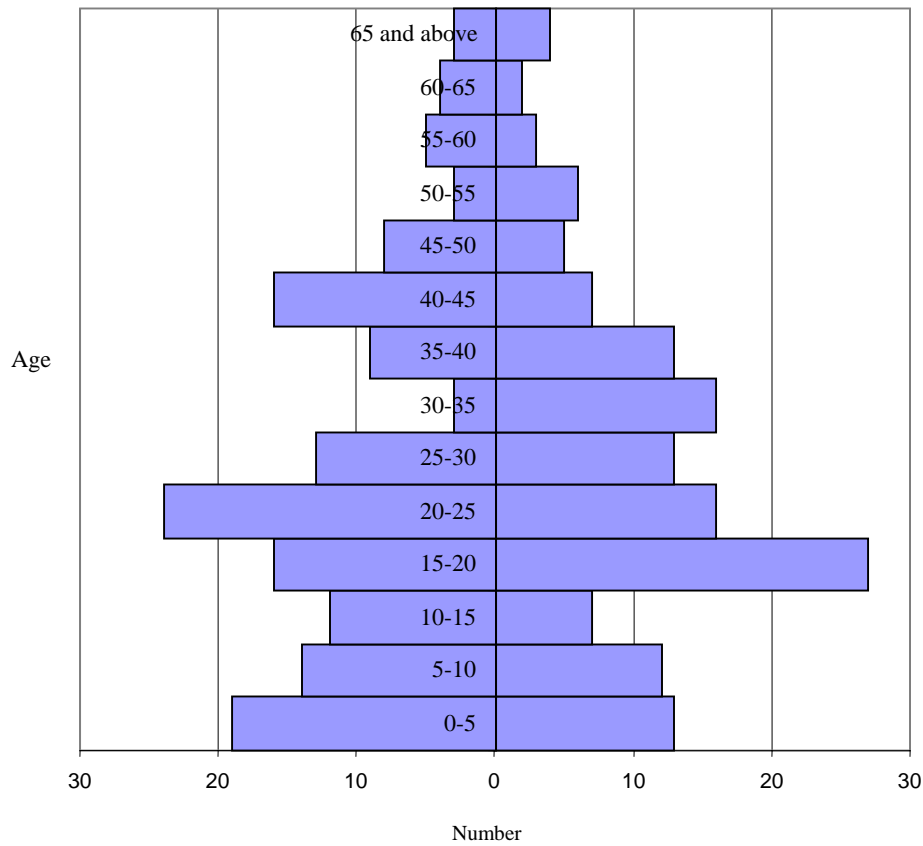


Table 4.15 Age Profile of Kurichian Community

| Age | Male | (%) | Female | (%) | Total | (%) |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 0-5 | 16 | 8.25 | 22 | 12.79 | 38 | 10.38 |
| 5-10 | 24 | 12.37 | 7 | 4.07 | 31 | 8.47 |
| 10-15 | 21 | 10.82 | 16 | 9.30 | 37 | 10.11 |
| 15-20 | 19 | 9.79 | 15 | 8.72 | 34 | 9.29 |
| 20-25 | 25 | 12.89 | 22 | 12.79 | 47 | 12.84 |
| 25-30 | 20 | 10.31 | 31 | 18.02 | 51 | 13.93 |
| 30-35 | 17 | 8.76 | 8 | 4.65 | 25 | 6.83 |
| 35-40 | 12 | 6.19 | 15 | 8.72 | 27 | 7.38 |
| 40-45 | 10 | 5.15 | 7 | 4.07 | 17 | 4.64 |
| 45-50 | 6 | 3.09 | 7 | 4.07 | 13 | 3.55 |
| 50-55 | 7 | 3.61 | 4 | 2.33 | 11 | 3.01 |
| 55-60 | 7 | 3.61 | 4 | 2.33 | 11 | 3.01 |
| 60-65 | 3 | 1.55 | 4 | 2.33 | 7 | 1.91 |
| 65 and above | 7 | 3.61 | 10 | 5.81 | 17 | 4.64 |
| Total | 194 | 100 | 172 | 100 | 366 | 100 |

Population Pyramid of Kurichian Community

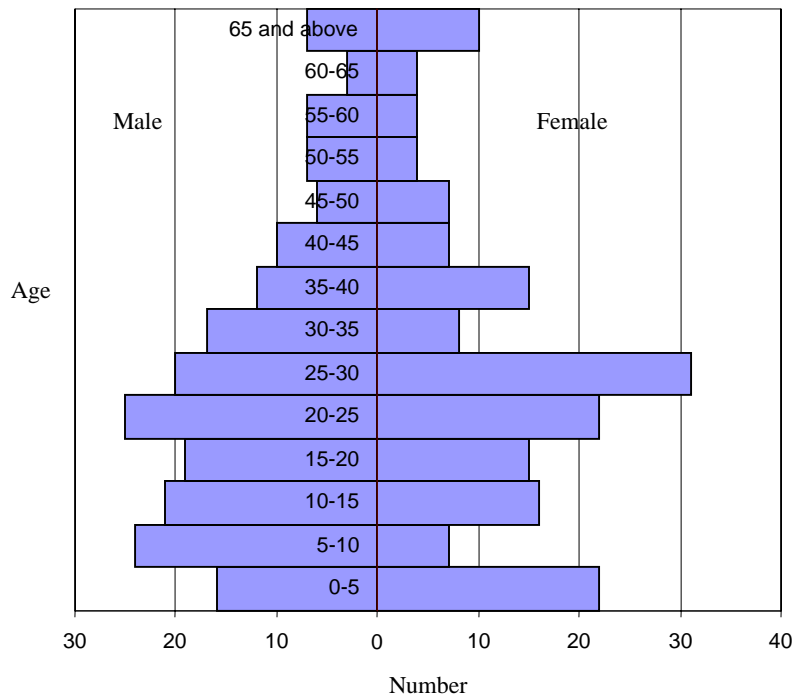


Table 4.16 Age Profile of Mullu Kuruman Community

| Age | Male (%) | Female (%) | Total (%) |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 0-5 | 14 9.52 | 12 7.45 | 26 8.44 |
| 5-10 | 7 4.76 | 5 3.11 | 12 3.90 |
| 10-15 | 11 7.48 | 12 7.45 | 23 7.47 |
| 15-20 | 16 10.88 | 18 11.18 | 34 11.04 |
| 20-25 | 24 16.33 | 32 19.88 | 56 18.18 |
| 25-30 | 23 15.65 | 22 13.66 | 45 14.61 |
| 30-35 | 13 8.84 | 8 4.97 | 21 6.82 |
| 35-40 | 8 5.44 | 9 5.59 | 17 5.52 |
| 40-45 | 4 2.72 | 9 5.59 | 13 4.22 |
| 45-50 | 7 4.76 | 7 4.35 | 14 4.55 |
| 50-55 | 4 2.72 | 9 5.59 | 13 4.22 |
| 55-60 | 8 5.44 | 5 3.11 | 13 4.22 |
| 60-65 | 2 1.36 | 5 3.11 | 7 2.27 |
| 65 and above | 6 4.08 | 8 4.97 | 14 4.55 |
| Total | 147 100 | 161 100 | 308 100 |

Population Pyramid of Kuruman Community

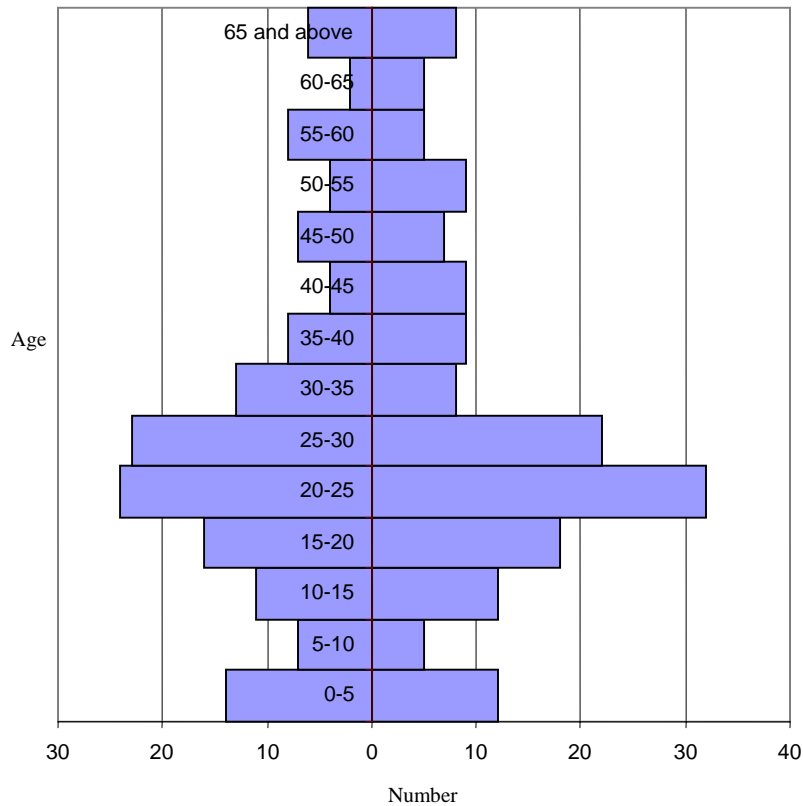


Table 4.17 Age Profile of Urali Community

| Age | Male | (%) | Female | (%) | Total | (%) |
|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| 0-5 | 3 | 6.38 | 7 | 15.91 | 10 | 10.99 |
| 5-10 | 6 | 12.77 | 4 | 9.09 | 10 | 10.99 |
| 10-15 | 4 | 8.51 | 3 | 6.82 | 7 | 7.69 |
| 15-20 | 7 | 14.89 | 6 | 13.64 | 13 | 14.29 |
| 20-25 | 6 | 12.77 | 5 | 11.36 | 11 | 12.09 |
| 25-30 | 5 | 10.64 | 4 | 9.09 | 9 | 9.89 |
| 30-35 | 2 | 4.26 | 4 | 9.09 | 6 | 6.59 |
| 35-40 | 1 | 2.13 | 2 | 4.55 | 3 | 3.30 |
| 40-45 | 4 | 8.51 | 1 | 2.27 | 5 | 5.49 |
| 45-50 | 0 | 0.00 | 1 | 2.27 | 1 | 1.10 |
| 50-55 | 3 | 6.38 | 0 | 0.00 | 3 | 3.30 |
| 55-60 | 4 | 8.51 | 4 | 9.09 | 8 | 8.79 |
| 60-65 | 0 | 0.00 | 2 | 4.55 | 2 | 2.20 |
| 65 and above | 2 | 4.26 | 1 | 2.27 | 3 | 3.30 |
| Total | 47 | 100 | 44 | 100 | 91 | 100 |

Population Pyramid of Urali Community

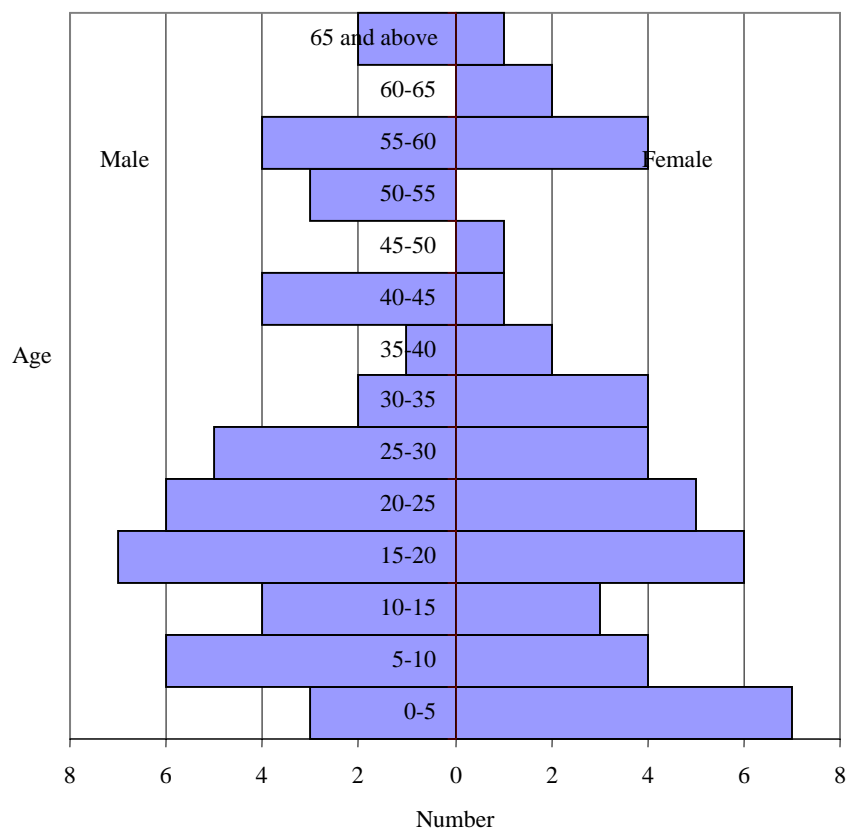
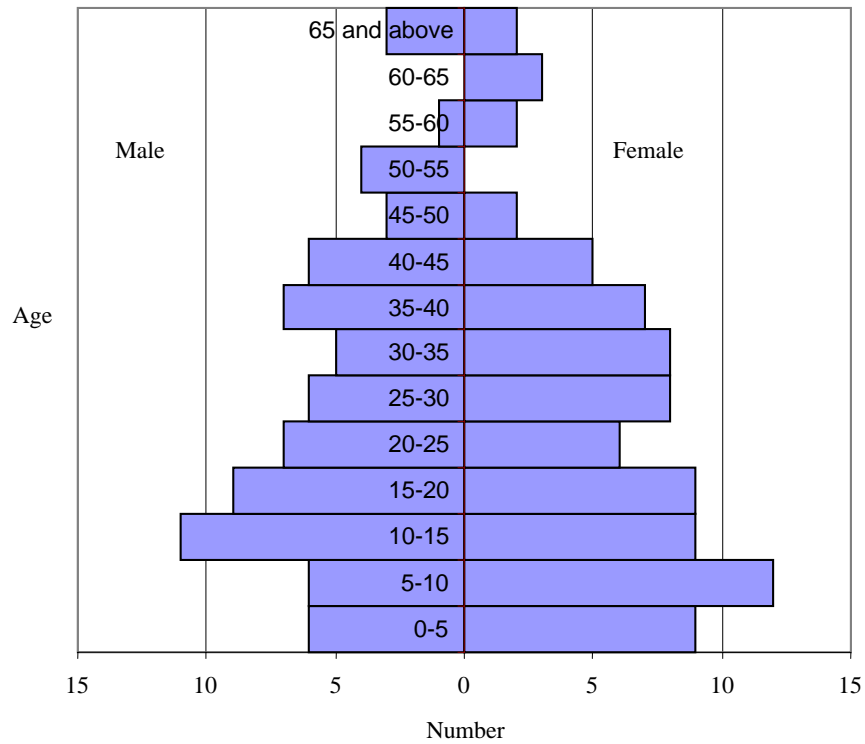


Table 4.18 Age Profile of Other Adivasi Communities

| Age | Male (%) | Female (%) | Total (%) |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| 0-5 | 6 8.11 | 9 10.98 | 15 9.62 |
| 5-10 | 6 8.11 | 12 14.63 | 18 11.54 |
| 10-15 | 11 14.86 | 9 10.98 | 20 12.82 |
| 15-20 | 9 12.16 | 9 10.98 | 18 11.54 |
| 20-25 | 7 9.46 | 6 7.32 | 13 8.33 |
| 25-30 | 6 8.11 | 8 9.76 | 14 8.97 |
| 30-35 | 5 6.76 | 8 9.76 | 13 8.33 |
| 35-40 | 7 9.46 | 7 8.54 | 14 8.97 |
| 40-45 | 6 8.11 | 5 6.10 | 11 7.05 |
| 45-50 | 3 4.05 | 2 2.44 | 5 3.21 |
| 50-55 | 4 5.41 | 0 0.00 | 4 2.56 |
| 55-60 | 1 1.35 | 2 2.44 | 3 1.92 |
| 60-65 | 0 0.00 | 3 3.66 | 3 1.92 |
| 65 and above | 3 4.05 | 2 2.44 | 5 3.21 |
| Total | 74 100 | 82 100 | 156 100 |

Population Pyramid of Other Adivasi Communities



In general, the trend is the same but inter community differences can be observed. From the above pyramids it is visible that among the Kattunaickan community, the number of females in the age group 15-20 years far exceeds that of males. But in the next age category 20-25 years, the number of males is far exceeding females. How does this happen? Why is the female to male ratio as low as 886 among the Kurichian community? In the Kurichian as well as the Mullu Kuruman communities, there is a sharp decline in the number of females above the age 30 years. Both these communities are land-owning communities and female labour number is valued in these communities. These observations offer leads for demographic enquiry.

Later in this section we have noted that life expectancy of Adivasi communities are substantially lower than the state average. For example, looking into the age profile of the population we see that highest number fall within the age group 20-25. Mortality rate is high both for male and females above the age of 25. But the higher mortality rate of men are often attributed to addiction to alcohol and tobacco and mal nutrition. As a result, at any given moment of time, the number of female population will exceed that of male population.

Male/Female Ratio

One distinguishing facet of the demographic profile of the Adivasi communities has been the prevalence of a favorable female ratio for all communities excepting Kurichian and Kattunaickan communities. As seen in the following table, there are inter group variations.

Table 4.19 Male/Female Ratio

| Community | Number(Number of Women per 1000 Men) |
|------------------|---|
| Adiya | 1123 |
| Paniya | 1078 |
| Kattunaickan | 966 |
| Kurichian | 886 |
| Kuruman | 1102 |
| Urali | 1068 |
| Others | 1108 |
| Total | 1040 |

Two communities, Kattunaickan and Kurichian are having adverse female ratio. These two are of very different types. Kattunaickan community continues to be primarily food gatherers and lives mainly inside or at the periphery of reserve forests. Kurichian community, on the other hand is relatively better developed. This community is matrilineal system of inheritance and women are treated well. This community is also the 'land owning' community in Wayanad. They are the landowners in many parts. This community is found to have the most adverse female ratio.

In Kerala as a whole, female to male ratio is 1048:1000. In most of the tribal communities surveyed here, it is observed that this ratio is far above. In the case of Paniya community it is 1123 females for 1000 males. However the low proportion of females to males in Kurichian and Kattunaickan communities require serious investigation.

Later in this section we have noted that life expectancy of Adivasi communities are substantially lower than the state average. For example, looking into the age profile of the population we see that highest number fall within the age group 20-25. Mortality rate is high both for male and females above the age of 25. But the higher mortality rate of men are often attributed to addiction to alcohol and tobacco and mal nutrition. As a result, at any given moment of time, the number of female population will exceed that of male population.

The policy implications are that welfare programmes for Adivasi communities should focus their attention in developing schemes for the benefit of single women whose numbers are relatively large. Policies should also address problems like alcoholism and malnutrition.

Infrastructure

Availability of adequate infrastructure is an important index of the quality of life of the tribal population. Here, we are examining the position of the tribal population in terms of availability of infrastructure like houses, electricity, drinking water, sanitary toilet and nearness to availability of public conveniences that will facilitate their entry into civil society. Availability of facilities for education and health become important indicators.

Dwelling

Table 4.20 Type of Houses

| Type of houses | Number | Percentage |
|----------------|--------|------------|
| Pucca | 343 | (79.3) |
| Kucha | 89 | (20.7) |
| Total | 432 | (100.0) |

Perhaps the single most important factor that brought about improvements in the habitation of tribal population is the decentralization of planning process. As it is seen below, as much as 79% of the population is residing in permanent houses.

Table 4.21 Area of Houses

| Area (Sq ft) | Number | Percentage |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 100 or less | 97 | (22.5) |
| 100 -200 | 157 | (36.5) |
| 200 -300 | 107 | (24.9) |
| 300-400 | 59 | (13.7) |
| Above400 | 10 | (2.4) |
| Total | 430 | (100.0) |

In the above table, dwellings of the respondent population are classified based on the area. This includes pucca as well as kacha houses. Average tribal family is residing in houses within the range of area of 100to 300 sq.ft.

Electricity, drinking water and sanitary toilet are three important indicators of infrastructure. Out of the 439 units covered in this survey, 137 households have supply of electricity, 335 households have supply of drinking water and 139 households have sanitary toilets. A single household can have more than one amenity; therefore out of the 439 households 335 households (76%) have at least one amenity mentioned here.

Wayanad district is one of the districts with highest rainfall. Yet this district has been facing drought situation in recent times, a phenomenon that is often attributed to the ecological degradation that the district has been going through. In this context it is worth examining the sources of water for tribal population. Here it is to be noted that it is possible that each family has more than one source of water. The following table gives a picture of the predominant source of water.

Table 4.22 Sources of Water

| Sources | Percentage of households covered |
|----------------|---|
| Well | 50.8 |
| Stream | 17.6 |
| River | 15.3 |
| Pipe | 13.8 |
| Tank | 2.4 |

Well water appears to be the most enduring source of water. This is followed by two other sources – stream and river. After decentralized planning process was initiated, a number of water supply schemes have been implemented. A large number of these schemes for water supply are dysfunctional. Therefore focus should be on efficient utilization of the infrastructure already created.

Other Amenities

Availability of other amenities is in some ways indicative of the quality of life. These reflect the ‘window’, which the tribal communities have with the rest of the world, the type of relaxation that they enjoy, etc. Following table give a picture of amenities enjoyed by the respondent households.

Table 4.23 Other Amenities

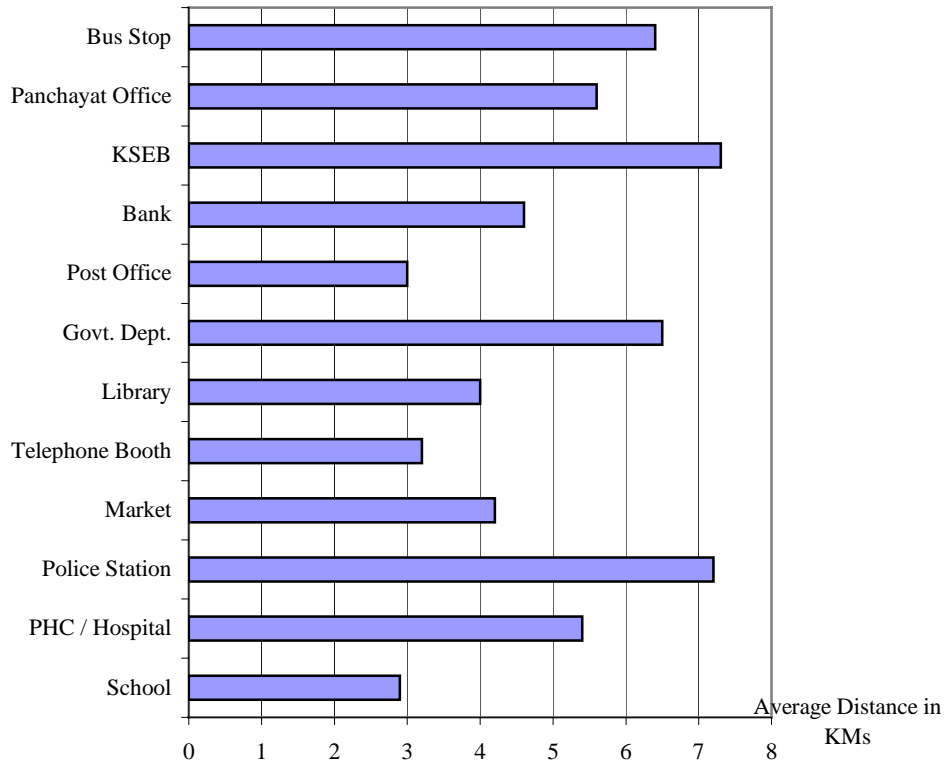
| Amenities | Number of households possessing the amenities |
|------------------|--|
| Radio | 170 |
| Television | 30 |
| Telephone | 13 |
| Tape recorder | 57 |
| Others | 26 |

It appears that for the tribal population radio is the main source of communication with the outside world. Out of the 430 households covered in the survey, as much as 170 tribal households possess radios.

Other Infrastructure

One factor that determines the access of the tribal population to the civil society is the distance to some of the facilities. These will include distance to government offices, police stations, banks, schools and markets. We have identified 12 infrastructural facilities and averaged the distance to each of the facility. The following graph reflects the average picture for the tribal households covered in this survey.

Availability of Infrastructure



The picture that emerges is interesting. For the Adivasi population in Wayanad, institutions like schools, telephone booth, post office, market and library are available in an average range of about 4 kms. Police stations, government department offices, Electricity Board office and bus stop are available at an average distance of 6 kms or a little more. After the decentralization in the planning process, a large number of roads have been built connecting small hamlets. But this has not apparently given rise to increase in bus services. Perhaps tribal population is still forced to resort to private transport for emergency – something they can ill - afford, taking into consideration their earnings.

Traveling For Work

Traditionally, paddy cultivation was a main source of employment for some communities like Paniya and Adiya. Decline of area under paddy has resulted in unemployment for members of this community, particularly women. Secondly, the recent crash of prices in cash crops has created considerable unemployment in segments of Adivasi communities who are traditionally agricultural laborers. This could trigger movement by tribal communities in search of work for short periods not only within the district but also to neighbouring districts in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. In the following table data relating to distance traveled for work is explored.

Table 4.24 Distance Traveled For Work

| Distance of migration | Number of households declaring migration |
|------------------------------|---|
| 0-10 | 38 |
| 10-20 | 9 |
| 20-30 | 5 |
| 30-40 | 3 |
| 40-50 | 2 |
| Total | 57 |

A total of 57 households covered in this survey reported traveling to work. Average distance of migration for the entire sample covered in this survey was 11.3 kms.

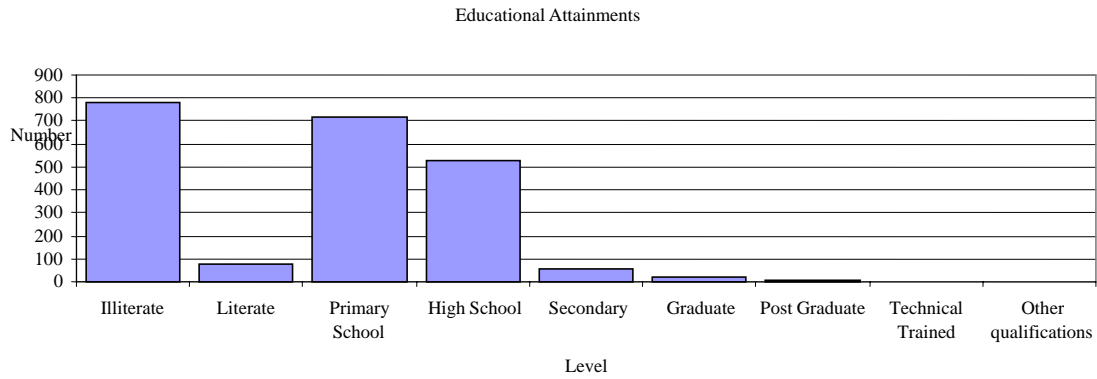
Literacy and Education

We have seen in the table on infrastructure that average distance to school is 3 kms or less indicating relatively easy access to school in terms of distance. The question that is raised here relates as to whether the tribal communities have been able to make use of the educational infrastructure and if they have not been able to do so, what are the reasons. A second set of questions relate to the gender dimension of educational attainment of the tribal communities. These two aspects are examined in this survey. And finally we ask questions relating to the availability of technical training – both traditional and modern, that could pave way for gainful employment.

The 439 households that were covered in this survey revealed the following levels of literacy.

Table 4.25 Levels of Literacy and Education

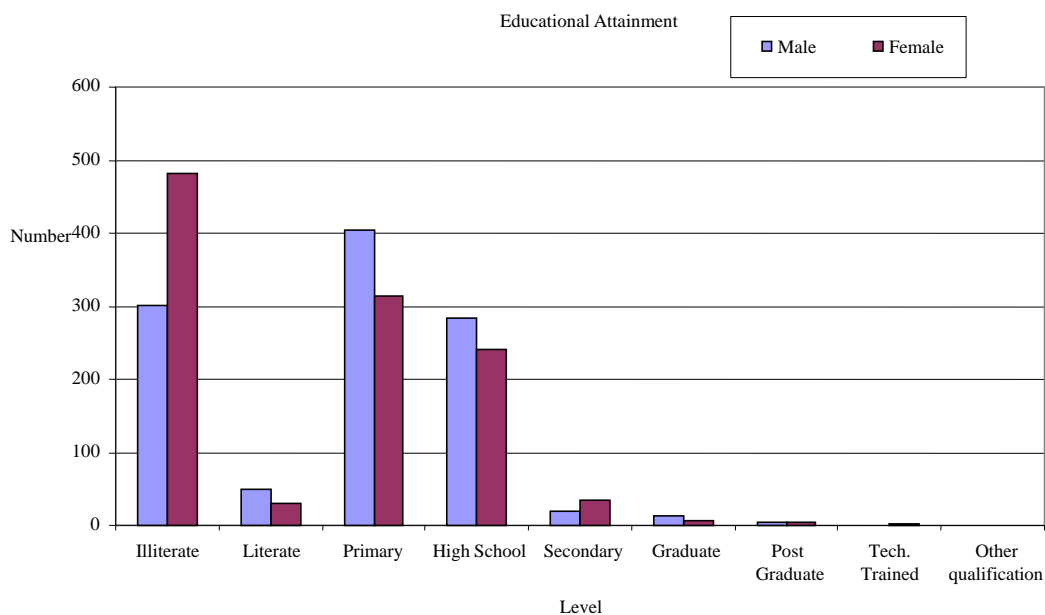
| Level | Total Number | % |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----------|
| Illiterate | 783 | 35.70 |
| Literate without schooling | 80 | 3.65 |
| Primary School | 720 | 32.83 |
| High School | 525 | 23.94 |
| Secondary | 54 | 2.46 |
| Graduate | 20 | 0.91 |
| Post Graduate | 8 | 0.36 |
| Technical Trained | 2 | |
| Other qualifications | 1 | |



This survey reported the level of literary attainment of 2193 respondents. It was observed that 783 persons who constituted 35.7% are illiterate and 80 respondents, though they did not go through formal schooling, can read and write. Literacy attainment peaks at primary school level. It is observed that 32.8% have completed primary education. But thereafter there is a steady tapering off. Only 525 respondents, constituting 23.9 per cent report having completed High School and 54 members constituting of 2.5 per cent report having completed Pre Degree level education.

Table 4.26 Educational Attainment: Gender Dimension

| Level | Male | % | Female | % |
|----------------------------|------|-------|--------|-------|
| Illiterate | 301 | 27.97 | 482 | 43.15 |
| Literate without schooling | 49 | 4.55 | 31 | 2.77 |
| Primary | 405 | 37.64 | 315 | 28.20 |
| High School | 284 | 26.39 | 241 | 21.58 |
| Secondary | 19 | 1.77 | 35 | 3.13 |
| Graduate | 13 | 1.21 | 7 | 0.62 |
| Post Graduate | 4 | 0.37 | 4 | 0.36 |
| Tech. Trained | | | 2 | 0.18 |
| Other qualification | 1 | 0.09 | | |



Literacy attainment certainly has a gender dimension. This survey throws some interesting insights. Female literacy attainments are lower than that of males. For example there are higher number of illiterates among female population. But gradually this difference seems to be tapering off. For example, there is more number of females who have completed secondary education than males. There is equal number of male and female postgraduates. All this suggests that though females were lagging behind in educational attainment, perhaps they are making greater efforts to overcome the limitations.

Table 4.27 Educational Attainment - Inter Community Differences

| Level | Adiyan | Paniyan | Kattunaickan | Kurichian | Kuruman | Urali | Others | Total |
|----------------------------|--------|---------|--------------|-----------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| Illiterate | 41.0 | 47.7 | 46.1 | 19.2 | 18.5 | 35.5 | 18.4 | 36.6 |
| Literate without schooling | 8.30 | 2.9 | 6.3 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 3.7 |
| Primary School | 30.8 | 34.1 | 28.7 | 28.3 | 21.1 | 38.2 | 35.3 | 30.9 |
| Secondary | 19.9 | 14.2 | 16.1 | 45.6 | 40.0 | 21.1 | 39.7 | 24.8 |
| Pre-degree | | 0.6 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 11.3 | 2.6 | 2.2 | 2.5 |
| Graduate | | 0.2 | (0.8) | 0.3 | 5.1 | | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| Post graduate | | 0.3 | | 0.6 | 0.7 | | 0.7 | 0.4 |
| Technical Trained | | | | 0.3 | 0.4 | | | 0.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

(Figures in parenthesis relate to percentages to total)

Inter Community Differences

The above table which shows the inter community differences in educational attainment has interesting insights to offer. Here the highest educational attainments of members of respondent groups are enumerated. Adiya, Paniya and Kattunaickan communities have roughly 40-46 percent as illiterate. For Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman communities this

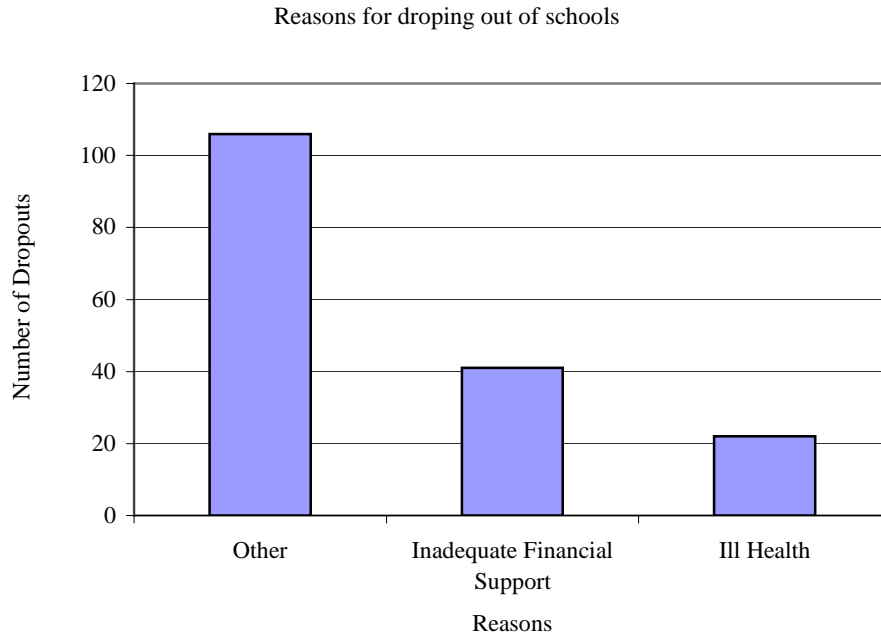
percentage is low. Among the Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman communities, roughly 40-45 percent of the respondents have completed secondary education. As it is seen above, Mullu Kuruman community is well ahead of other communities in the pursuance of higher education. About 11 per cent of the respondents from this community have completed Pre Degree level of education and about 5 per cent of the respondents are graduates.

Dropping Out of School

A sharp decline in numbers of respondents going in for higher levels of schooling is indicative of a sharp drop out rate at different stages of schooling. This is indicative of general trend, which has taken place over a period of time. Here we observe a sharp decline in literacy at two stages – primary level and high school level.

In the questionnaire, questions were asked whether any member of the respondent's family had dropped out from school. Respondents were mostly heads of families. Their response to the question related to their memory range. Most of the respondents gave vague replies as to the reasons for their dropping out of school. These replies were classified into the category of "Other reasons". In the chart below this forms reason number 1. This will have to be probed further. Other reasons 2,3, and 4 refer to 'Lack of financial support'; 'Ill health' indicates a sordid state of affairs.

At least some parents have reported ill health as a reason for dropping out of school. What is the nature of ill health? Does the root cause for ill health lie in malnutrition? These are some of the issues that need to be understood. Issues relating to health are separately handled in other sections of this report.



Dropping Out of School – Present Status

In this survey, we have referred to the drop out of school from the demographic data. The present status of drop out from school will have to be obtained from other sources. The most reliable source is the official data on enrollment to school. This data gives a comparative picture of drop out of scheduled tribe communities in different districts in Kerala. Drop out rate for the Wayanad district for the three stages of schooling put together is 6.6%, which is the highest in comparison with all the districts. For the Lower Primary School level as well as Upper Primary School Level the drop out rate is highest for Wayanad district. But drop out rate for students of Wayanad district at high school level is lower than many other districts. The following tables 3.24,3.25 and 3.26 give the inter district and intra district comparisons of drop out percentages. *(Source of data: “Selected Educational Statistics 2004-2005,published by Statistics Unit, Directorate of Public Instruction, Thiruvananthapuram, p21)*

Table 4.28 Drop out Rate of Students of Scheduled Tribe Communities of Wayanad Compared with State Average for ST Communities

| Level of Schooling | Wayanad District(%) | State Average for ST(%) |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| LP | 6.10 | 4.04 |
| UP | 8.01 | 4.85 |
| HS | 1.55 | 4.10 |

Table 4.29 Drop Out Rates of SC, ST and other Communities of Wayanad District Compared With State Average

| Community | Drop out Rate at Wayanad District(%) | Drop out Rate For State(%) |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Scheduled Tribes | 6.66 | 4.30 |
| Scheduled Castes | 4.41 | 1.33 |
| Other Communities | 4.02 | 1.11 |

Table 4.30 Drop Out Rates of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Other Communities of Wayanad District

Parenthesis

| Community | Lower Primary | Upper Primary | High School |
|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| ST | 6.10 | 8.01 | 1.55 |
| SC | 3.29 | 4.49 | 5.67 |
| All Communities | 2.58 | 2.09 | 4.02 |

Generally drop out rates of ST communities are higher compared with other communities as well as state average. But when Wayanad district is taken independently, it can be observed that drop out rate at High School level is lower (1.55%) when compared with SC as well as all communities. On the other hand, relatively high drop out rate at Upper Primary level (8.01%) should be a matter of concern.

Employment and Wages

The most important factor that sustains the Adivasi community is the avenues for gainful employment. Adivasi communities are at different stages of growth. Some communities like Kattunaickans are still at food gathering stage, while some other communities, having lost their land to settlers, are working as agricultural laborers. Secondly agriculture in Wayanad is going through a crisis after the implementation of policies of economic liberalization. There has been a crash in the prices of hill produce like coffee, pepper, cardamom etc. Opportunities for wage labour is the most important factor in determination of the economic condition. It is in this background that the survey probes issues relating to employment and income.

Defining Income

Measurement of income poses several conceptual problems. Almost all Adivasi communities excepting the food gathering communities like Kattunaickans have at least a small plot of land in which something is grown, very often tuber crops, spinach, vegetables etc. Of these, tuber crops particularly provide some type of emergency food reserve. Some communities like Mullu Kuruman and Kurichian are land owning and individuals may own land up to a few acres. Part of the return from land is sold into the

market and part of it is used for self-consumptions. It is difficult to separately account the money values of the agricultural produce used for self-consumption.

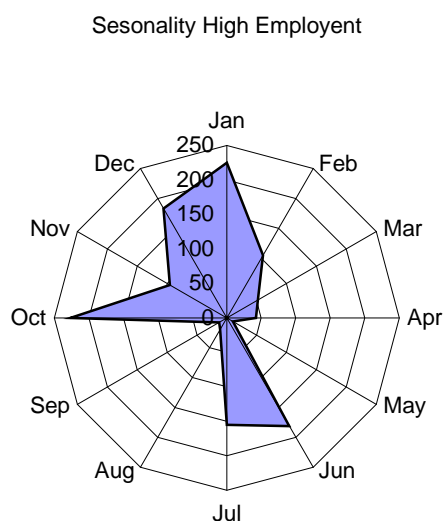
What is attempted here is a limited exercise. Attempt is made to enumerate the employment days during the month prior to the month of conducting this survey and also to estimate the money income and expenditure during the same month

Table 4.31 Types of Employment Undertaken

| | Agriculture | NTFP Collection | Forest Labor | Private Sector | Government | Others |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|------------|--------|
| Men | 328 | 23 | 36 | 10 | 14 | 36 |
| Women | 212 | 18 | 21 | 1 | 7 | 14 |
| Children | 7 | - | - | - | - | 1 |

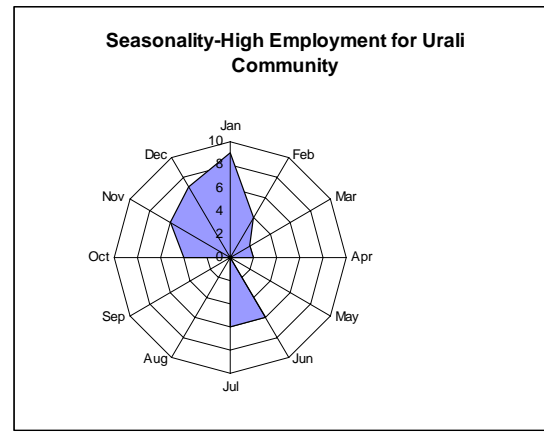
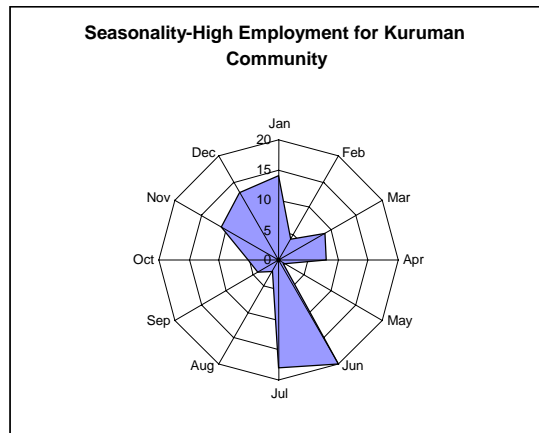
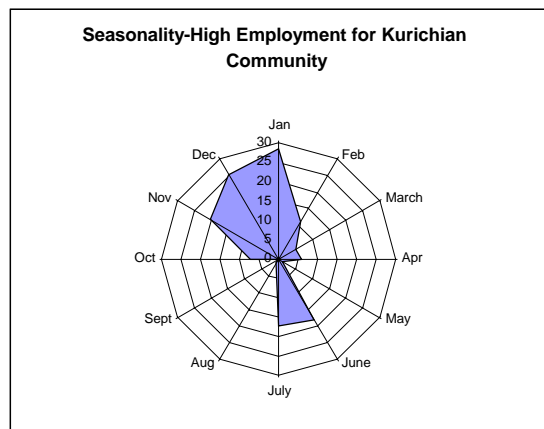
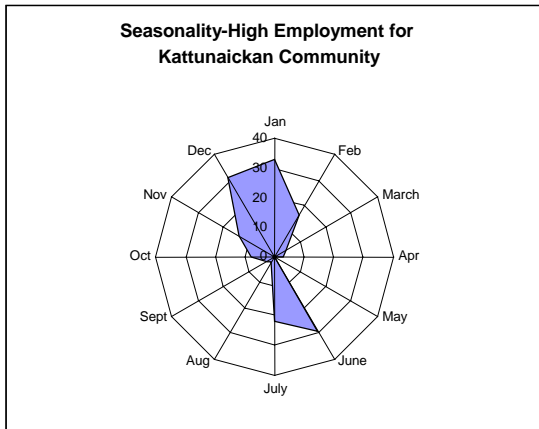
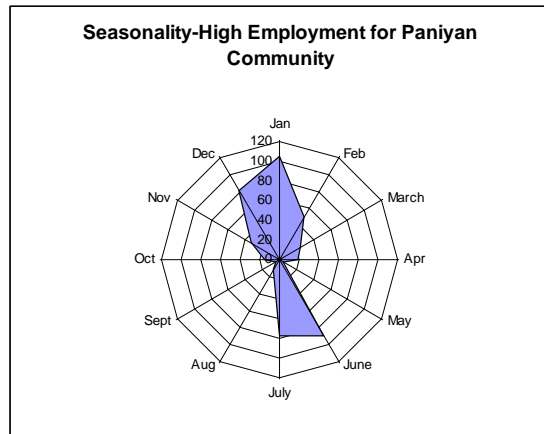
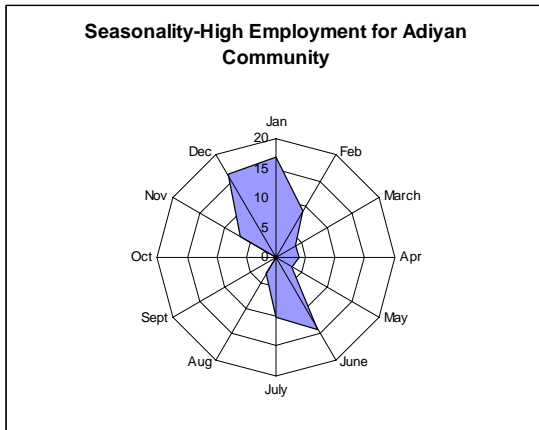
As it is seen above, the dominant type of employment undertaken by the Adivasi communities is agricultural labour. This is followed by forest labour and Non Timber Forest Produce collection. Very few of the respondents are working in government or private sector. Very few families are undertaking NTFP collection. Incidence of child labour is low.

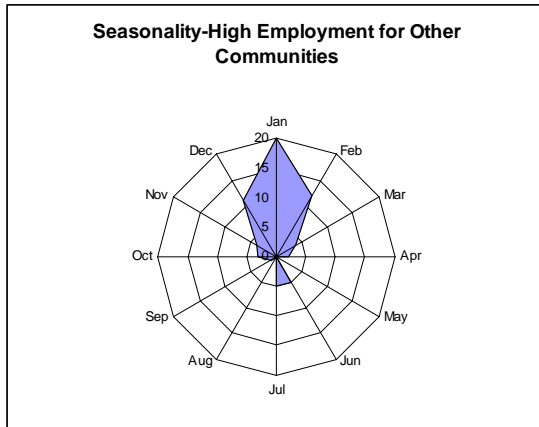
Seasonality of Employment



As revealed in the radar graph above, there are three seasons of high employment. The best season is December-January. This relates to coffee. Related other activities include mending of coffee plants, drying and curing of coffee and grinding it into powder. Next season is June-July and this relates mainly to crops like ginger, yam, etc. The third season is October and relates to paddy. Area under paddy has been progressively coming down and consequently avenues for employment particularly for women has also got reduced.

In the following radar charts inter community differences relating to seasonality of employment is examined.





About seven months are seen as lean season for the Adivasi communities taken as a whole. The communities suffer from extreme poverty during these months. There is an urgent need to introduce non-farm sector skills to these communities. Non-farm activities will provide an input to farm activities. Alternately non-farm activities can make use of farm outputs for processing related work.

Some inter community differences are obvious. For the Mullu Kuruman community, coffee season extends beyond January up to March. This could be due to the procurement and trading related activities on coffee, which they are known to be doing.

Table 4.32 Man Days of Work Per Month

| Number of days of work | Male | Female | Children |
|------------------------|------|--------|----------|
| Less than 5 | 84 | 63 | 4 |
| >5 and <=10 | 101 | 58 | 1 |
| >10 and <=15 | 59 | 21 | |
| >15 and <=20 | 22 | 3 | |
| >20 and <=25 | 5 | 3 | |
| >25 and <=30 | 18 | 7 | 1 |
| >30 | 5 | 3 | |

Table 4.33 Prevailing Wage Rate (Daily)

| | Arithmetic Mean(Rs) | Standard Deviation(Rs) |
|--------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Male | 90 | 23 |
| Female | 58 | 18 |
| Child | 43 | 25 |

A total of 326 households reported data on man-days of employment per month. In the above house holds average man days of employment for men worked out to 8.8. In the same households women have had 3.9 days of employment per month and for children it was 0.13 days. This can be converted into money income as we have data relating to average wage for men women and children. Converted this way an average household has income as under:

Table 4.34 Assessment of Monthly Family Income

| Male | Women | Children | Total |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| 8.8 man days X Rs.90 | 3.9 man days X Rs.58 | 0.13 man days X Rs.43 | |
| Rs. 792 | Rs. 228 | Rs. 6 | Rs.1026 |

Wage Differentials

Table 4.35 Daily Wage Rate for Different Segments

| | Male | | Female | | Children | |
|--------------|------|----|--------|----|----------|----|
| | AM | SD | AM | SD | AM | SD |
| Agriculture | 86 | 13 | 56 | 31 | 47 | 35 |
| Forest | 107 | 17 | 104 | 21 | | |
| Plantation | 87 | 19 | 74 | 1 | | |
| House Hold | 25 | | 13 | 3 | 20 | |
| Construction | 148 | 37 | 93 | 51 | | |
| Others | 95 | 37 | 52 | 9 | 50 | |

AM:Arithmetic Mean

SD:Standard Deviation

As on now, construction labour offer highest levels of wages for men and forest related work offers highest wages for women.

Increase and Decrease in Employment Avenues

As the district is going through a crisis perpetrated by collapse of prices of agricultural commodities the employment situation for the tribal population has undergone drastic changes. The respondents were asked to identify the activities relating to jobs that have increased as well as decreased. As the table below shows employment avenues relating to most of the activities enumerated here have decreased.

Table 4.36 Activities in Which Jobs Have Increased or Decreased

| | Activities in which Jobs Increased / Decreased (Number) | |
|-------------|---|-----------|
| | Increased | Decreased |
| NTFP | 4 | 84 |
| Agriculture | 5 | 377 |
| Forest | 1 | 96 |
| Plantation | 0 | 47 |
| Trade | 0 | 26 |
| Handicraft | 0 | 27 |

Dependence on Forests

Adivasi communities relate themselves to forests more than any other communities. But to what extent are these communities dependent on forest for livelihood? These questions have two dimensions. Firstly there is a decline in the availability of NTFP. Secondly due to non-availability of NTFP, Adivasi communities have been seeking alternate avenues of employment.

Table 4.37 Employment in NTFP Collection

| | Number of persons involved with NTFP collection | Percentage |
|----------|--|-------------------|
| Male | 90 | 8.36 |
| Female | 42 | 3.76 |
| Children | 6 | |
| Total | 138 | 6.29 |

As it is seen above, out of the 2193 members in 439 households, only 138 members (6.29%) are involved in NTFP for a livelihood.

Income and Expenditure

There are some difficulties in understanding the income and expenditure of families. These families generally do not keep any accounts. At best broad estimations are made. In this case, to reach at a measure of precision, respondents were asked to remember the sources and amount of income and expenditure during the past month. Often income and expenditure figures do not tally. Respondents may not fully give data relating to the loans taken. There are also other limitations. Seasonality factors operate in generation of income. Therefore attempt is made to estimate the total family income of the respondents of this survey and calculate average family income. This can be compared with the estimation that was made in the earlier section. More important is to obtain an insight into the components of family income and expenditure of tribal families. The following data relates to 430 households who reported this information.

Table 4.38 Components of Income of Adivasi Families

| Income | Amount in Rupees | Percentage |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Agriculture | 194678 | 35 |
| NTFP | 9630 | 2 |
| Labour | 221565 | 41 |
| Trade | 1000 | |
| Others | 121826 | 22 |
| Total | 548699 | 100 |

Table 4.39 Components of Expenditure of Adivasi Families

| Expenditure | Amount in Rupees | Percentage |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Food | 292880 | 50 |
| Medicine | 93760 | 16 |
| House Hold items | 67680 | 12 |
| Entertainments | 8053 | 1 |
| Tobacco | 66370 | 11 |
| Alcohol | 28990 | 5 |
| Others | 28800 | 5 |
| Total | 586533 | 100 |

Total income of 430 families that reported this information is Rs.548699. Average income per family works out to Rs.1276. Total expenditure for the respondent group of households were Rs.586533 which works out to Rs1364 per household. Thus there is a case of indebtedness. On an average, each family has indebtedness to the extent of Rs.88. Monthly indebtedness will cumulate into yearly indebtedness. In this case, yearly indebtedness will work out to Rs.968. In the next section we have analyzed indebtedness separately.

We have made two estimates of family income of the Adivasi households. As per the earlier estimate made, it was Rs.1026 per month and as per the estimate made in this section, it is Rs.1364 per month. In both calculations there could be under estimation. Families consume part of their agricultural produce. This is not accounted for. Secondly, there is a tendency to under state the incomes in anticipation of some benefits from the government.

The above table as well as the pie charts below, gives a picture of the components of income and expenditure. About 35% of the income of the families surveyed comes from their own agriculture. Interestingly only a very small portion of this is used for self consumption and major part is produced for the market. A greater portion of income comes from wage labour – in plantations, quarries, construction related activities, etc. It can also be noted that Adivasi families earn 22 per cent of their income from sale of Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP). This is despite the several restrictions that have been placed on the gathering of NTFP.

As far as expenditure is concerned, it is understandable that 50 per cent of expenditure goes for food. But the expenditure of 16 per cent for medicine is an indicator of the prevailing state of morbidity.

Table 4.40 Average Monthly Income and Expenditure of Adivasi Communities Compared

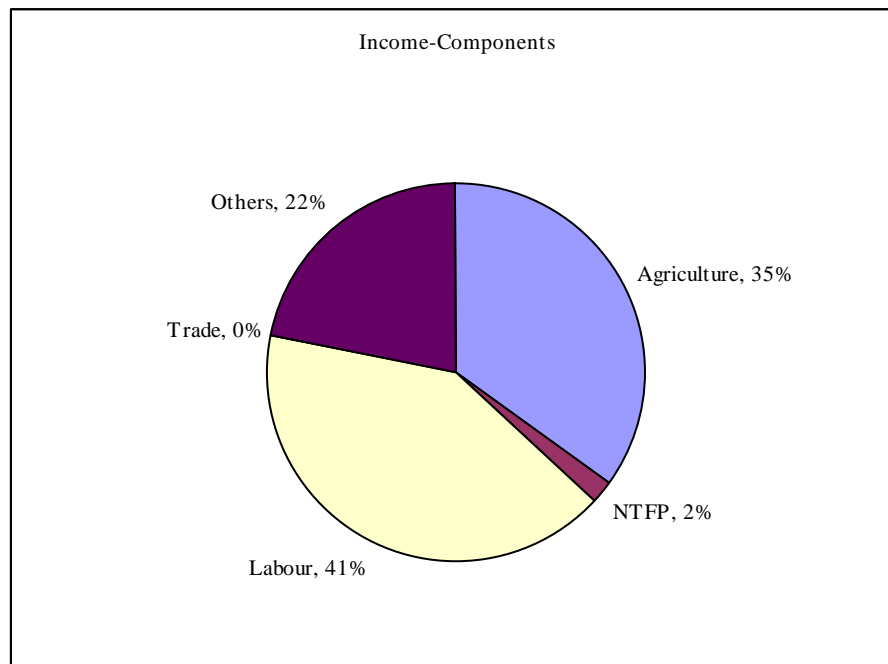
(In Rupees)

| Community | Average Income | Average Expenditure | Expenditure > Income | Number |
|--------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------|
| Adiyan | 1353 | 1405 | 52 | 34 |
| Paniyan | 1187 | 1205 | 18 | 173 |
| Kattunaichan | 1091 | 1278 | 187 | 57 |
| Kurichia | 1223 | 1474 | 251 | 64 |
| Kuruma | 1713 | 1903 | 190 | 60 |
| Urali | 1014 | 1312 | 278 | 16 |
| Others | 1256 | 1257 | 1 | 30 |
| | 1262 | 1405 | 143 | 434 |

Two communities, Urali and Kurichian have relatively larger expenditure over income.

Components of Income and Expenditure

In the following pie charts, components of income and expenditure of the respondents are given.



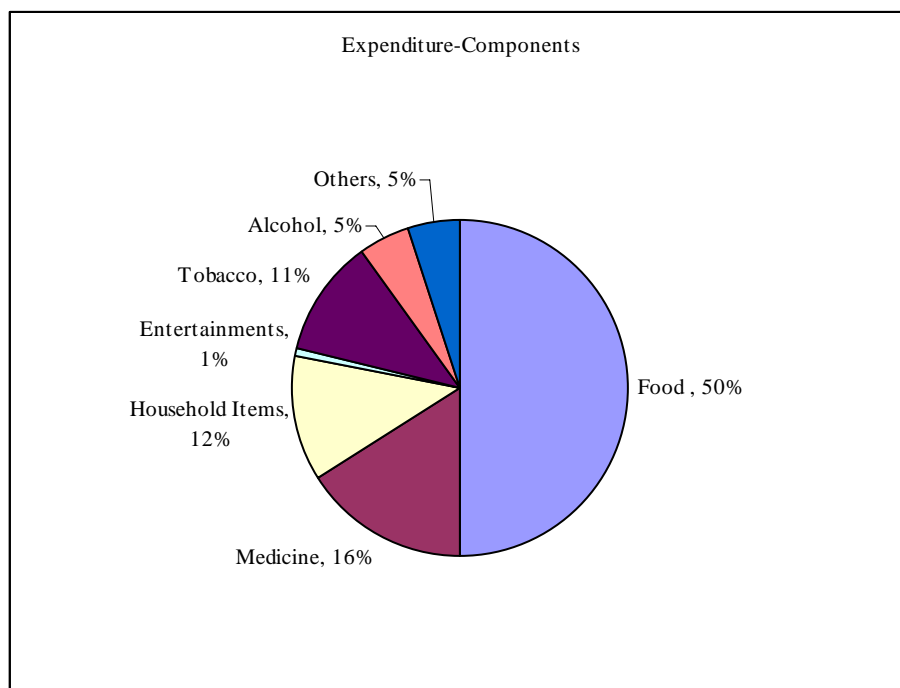


Table 4.41 Components of Income – Inter-community Differences

| Community | Agriculture | NTFP | Labour | Trade | Other | Total |
|--------------|-------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
| Adiyan | 26.94 | 2.61 | 55.57 | 0 | 14.88 | 100.00 |
| Paniyan | 32.50 | 0.77 | 52.57 | 0 | 14.15 | 100.00 |
| Kattunaickan | 24.44 | 10.35 | 49.46 | 0 | 15.75 | 100.00 |
| Kurichian | 60.36 | 0 | 52.25 | 0 | 12.73 | 100.00 |
| Kuruman | 36.33 | 0.34 | 14.79 | 0 | 48.54 | 100.00 |
| Urali | 15.40 | 0.31 | 62.11 | 0 | 22.18 | 100.00 |
| Others | 35.01 | 0 | 52.25 | 0 | 12.73 | 100.00 |

Table 4.42 Components of Expenditure- Inter Community Differences

| Community | Food | Medicine | House hold items | Entertainments | Tobacco | Alcohol | Others | Total |
|--------------|-------|----------|------------------|----------------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Adiyan | 51.37 | 11.16 | 9.83 | 1.47 | 14.80 | 7.41 | 3.98 | 100.00 |
| Paniyan | 49.81 | 15.08 | 4.00 | 2.32 | 17.04 | 7.72 | 4.03 | 100.00 |
| Kattunaickan | 46.99 | 17.32 | 12.80 | 0.27 | 13.13 | 6.53 | 2.96 | 100.00 |
| Kurichian | 64.43 | 11.10 | 8.99 | 0.65 | 6.89 | 1.30 | 6.63 | 100.00 |
| Kuruman | 40.69 | 18.11 | 29.68 | 1.49 | 3.24 | 2.16 | 4.63 | 100.00 |
| Urali | 45.82 | 25.72 | 5.12 | 0 | 13.57 | 0.95 | 8.81 | 100.00 |
| Others | 61.78 | 20.65 | 4.91 | 0 | 3.02 | 1.84 | 7.80 | 100.00 |

Indebtedness

Table 4.43 Indebtedness of Respondents

(Amount in Rupees)

| Indebted to | Total Amount | Number of families reporting | Average amount |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| Money lender | 165920 | 19 | 8732 |
| Trader | 134910 | 128 | 1053 |
| Bank | 2908567 | 101 | 28797 |
| SHG | 194650 | 79 | 248 |
| Friends and relatives | 140150 | 26 | 5390 |
| land Owner | 17040 | 13 | 1310 |
| Society | 537870 | 8 | 67233 |
| Total | 4099107 | 378 | 10844 |

A total of 378 families reported a total indebtedness of Rs.40.99 lakhs, which work out to an average indebtedness of Rs.10844 per family. Average indebtedness was highest to cooperative society, but the number of families that reported it was only 8. On the other hand average indebtedness to bank was Rs.28797. After initiation of liberalization policies, financial sector is often criticized for withdrawal from developmental finance. Therefore there is a need to know as to what constitute the relatively high outstanding in bank loans. The crisis that the farming community of the district face is compounded by the crash in prices of agricultural produce. At least some families complained about the difficulties in repayment of bank finance.

Indebtedness appears to be on the high side. However this picture of indebtedness will have to be deconstructed in order to understand the trend. For this purpose, we have classified the respondents into two groups. The first group consists of two communities, Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman. These are communities that are traditionally land owning. The other communities have been clubbed together. Average outstanding have been calculated in respect of each of the group. This picture is given in the following chart.

Table 4.44 Average Outstandings – Group Wise (Kurichian & Kuruman)

| Average outstanding of members of Kuruman and Kurichian communities(Rs) | |
|---|--------|
| Money lender | 150000 |
| Trader | 1539 |
| Bank | 40110 |
| SHG | 3161 |
| Friends and relatives | 7129 |
| land Owner | 1100 |
| Society | 107104 |

Table 4.45 Average Outstandings – Group Wise (Other Communities)

| Average Outstandings of Members of Other Communities Put Together (Rs) | |
|---|-------|
| Money lender | 884 |
| Trader | 864 |
| Bank | 13538 |
| SHG | 1587 |
| Friends and relatives | 2105 |
| land Owner | 1404 |
| Society | 783 |

As it is evident, under each of the heads of indebtedness, average outstanding loans of landowning class is much higher than that of the remaining sections of respondents. The table also shows that banks have assisted Adivasi communities in a big way. The current tendency in banks is to withdraw from developmental finance.

Developmental Assistance

In this section, we are examining issues relating to the types of assistance received by the Adivasi communities and the approach of the agencies that are involved in delivery of assistance.

Table 4.46: Types of Assistance

| Type of Assistant Received | Number of Respondents | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Outright grant | 151 | 41 |
| Material benefit | 196 | 53 |
| Interest free loan | 7 | 2 |
| Other loan | 14 | 4 |
| Total | 368 | 100 |

(Figures in parenthesis relates to percentages to total)

Most of the respondents have received either material benefit or outright grant.

Table 4.47 Sources of Information on Government Schemes

| Sources | Number of respondents |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Local Body | 270 |
| NGO | 55 |
| Govt. Dept. | 327 |
| News Paper | 67 |
| Political Party | 63 |

For the respondent groups, the main source of information on government schemes has been government departments. This reflects a favorable situation as far as the public relations efforts of the respective departments. The second source has been local bodies.

Here it becomes pertinent to know the approach of the government bodies. We have attempted to classify this factor on a four-point scale ranging from “Very helpful” to ”hostile”.

Table 4.48 Perceptions on Approach of Political Parties

| Views on | Very Helpful | Helpful | Not Helpful | Hostile |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Local Body | 14 | 237 | 144 | 33 |
| NGO | 210 | 14 | 84 | 210 |
| Govt. Dept | 42 | 244 | 109 | 29 |
| Political Party | 2 | 87 | 244 | 94 |

A majority of respondents have rated the local bodies as well as government departments as basically helpful. Majority of respondents have rated NGOs as very helpful. Political parties appear to come in a bad light here. Majority of respondents have rated political parties as “not helpful”. What more, 94 respondents rated the political parties as “hostile”.

There is a need to go beyond these obvious observations. Some of the critical issues will have to be discerned. These will have to be based on the qualitative observations. The issues that emerge are interesting. The post of Tribal Promoter is a highly politicized post. A tribal promoter selected during the regime of a political party obviously shows greater sympathy to colonies that sympathize with that political party and visit hamlets that are sympathetic to that political alliance. This appears to be the reason as to why some tribal promoters are rated well while others are despised strongly.

Political leaders appear to be coming in a bad light. The general complaint is that political leaders visit tribal communities only during the time of election.

Decentralization process appears to have been supportive of the aspirations of tribal population in different ways. Kudumbasree programmes have certainly made a dent. Secondly the extent of transparency that is built into the decentralized planning entails that adequate publicity is given to the programmes of assistance has certainly been of some benefit to the tribal populations, as it is revealed through the qualitative comments made by the respondents.

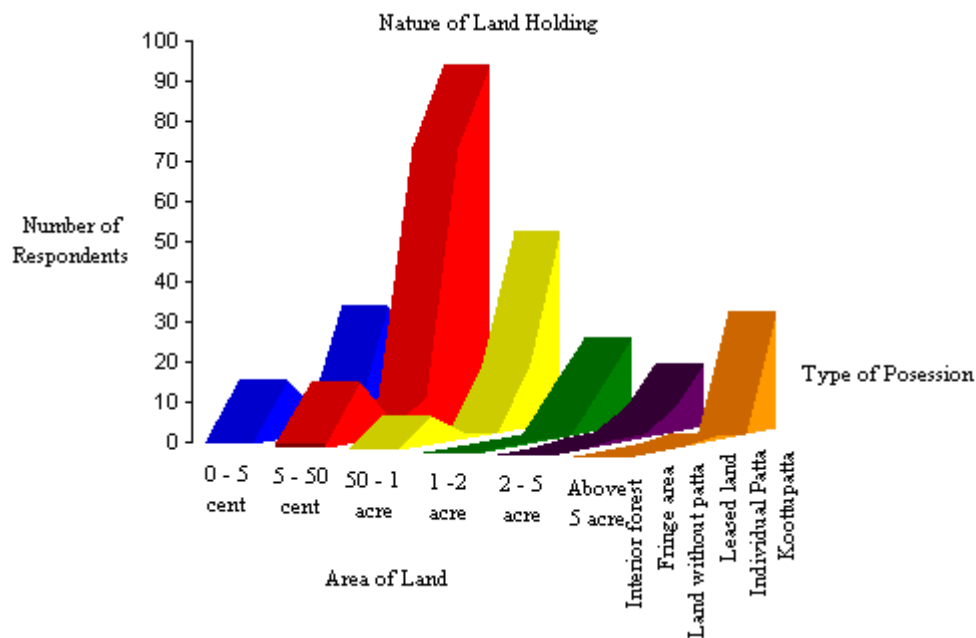
Land Holding

Land holding has been the most sensitive issue relating to the tribal situation in recent times. This issue received a national attention during the year 2003, when a section of tribal population forcibly occupied a portion of the Muthanga forest as a symbolic gesture and the police action that followed.

In this section, an attempt is made to examine alienation of land from various angles. Our source of data continues to be the 439 respondents surveyed. Firstly, we examine the nature of land holding. This is followed by analysis of the reasons for alienation and the response of the landholders to regain their land.

Table 4.49 Nature of Land Holdings

| Area | Koottupatta | Individual Patta | Leased land | Land without patta | Fringe area | Interior forest |
|--------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 0 - 5 cent | 16 | 30 | 2 | 5 | 15 | |
| 5 - 50 cent | 92 | 71 | 8 | 3 | 15 | 1 |
| 50 - 1 acre | 49 | 16 | | 1 | 7 | |
| 1 -2 acre | 22 | 11 | | | | |
| 2 - 5 acre | 16 | 6 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Above 5 acre | 30 | | 1 | | | |
| Total | 225 | 134 | 12 | 10 | 37 | 1 |



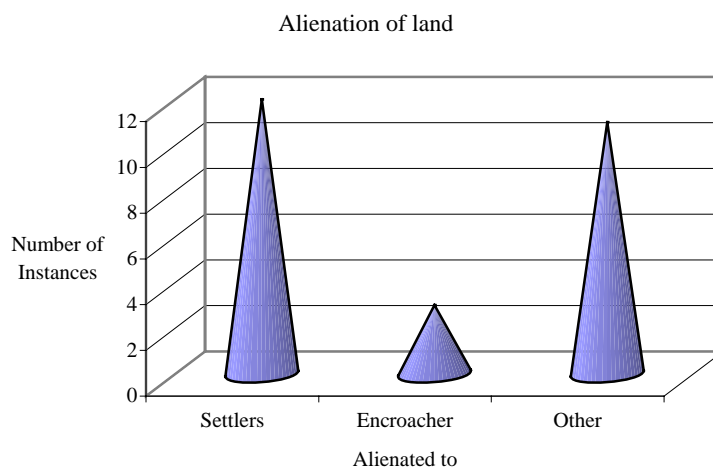
Median size of holdings is of the range 5 Cents – 50 cent. This means that average size of holdings is small and not adequate to sustain a family. Obviously, most families are doing some type of cultivation- usually an amalgam of horticultural and tuber crops to give them a measure of food security. This is supplemented by the wage labour, which the members of the families undertake. Most common type of holdings is Kootupatta or possession of land for a lineage. Land under this tenure can be sold only with the consent of all adult members of a lineage. As much as 225 respondent households have their land on this tenure. This is followed by individual patta.134 households have reported possession under individual patta. Interesting aspect is that for both types of pattas the average size of holdings is 5 cents to 50 cents. About 30 families have kootupatta above 5acres. These are Mullu Kuruman /Kurichian joint families. The other types of possession of land are insignificant.

To Whom Land is Alienated

In this survey, 26 instances of alienation of land were reported. Tribal land appears to be alienated to three categories of individuals or institutions. These are settlers, encroachers and others. The chart below gives the relative intensity under each of the category.

Table 4.50 Alienation of Land

| To Whom - land was alienated | | | |
|------------------------------|------------|-------|--|
| Settlers | Encroacher | Other | |
| 12 | 3 | 11 | |



Alienation of tribal land is an issue that has now acquired political dimension. History of alienation dates back to about 70 years when the first settlers from central Travancore started emigrating to Wayanad district and acquiring land through legal or illegal means.

Since then, a lot of water has flowed under the bridge. There have been High Court judgments in favor of tribal population. Recently the situation reached explosive levels, resulting in police action and deaths.

In this survey, respondents were asked to give details about the alienation of their land. It was interesting to note that only 26 respondents reported alienation of their land. Out of the above, 23 respondents gave the exact extent of alienation of their land. Total area of alienated land was 57.8 acres and average works out to 2.5 acres. Of the 26 instances of alienation, only in 12 cases land is alienated to settlers. In 11 cases alienation has taken place due to other reasons. In these cases land is alienated to:

- Erstwhile landlords
- Religious bodies
- Members of same community
- Members of other communities
- Acquisition by government for developmental projects

Response to Land Alienation

Response to alienation has been sharp as it is evident from the data. Out of a total of 26 cases of alienation, in 14 instances, the owners attempted to get back their land. In most cases, the respondents adopted legal means such as filing a criminal complaint with the police, filing a suit at the court etc. In one instance, the respondent stated that he destroyed the fencing made by the settler.

The tribal population in general has limited capability to take up litigation for redressing their grievances. Responses to this question were somewhat incomplete as only a few respondents gave their feedback. What is interesting is that neither political parties nor the Non Governmental Organizations are found to be supporting the tribal communities in retrieving their alienated land.

Table 4.51 Court Cases -Who is supporting it

| Name of the agency | Number |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| Court | 3 |
| Police | 1 |
| Political Parties | |
| Concerned Individual | |
| NGOs | |
| Social Organization | |
| Self | 3 |
| Others | 1 |

Seven respondents stated that their attempt to retrieve alienated land resulted in some type of conflict. Twenty of the respondents who lost their land stated that the government machinery was not very helpful in enabling them to get back their land.

There is a need to go beyond some of the quantitative observations made above regarding alienation of land. Such observations are visible in some of the qualitative comments, which the respondents have made regarding their efforts to get back their alienated land.

First group of comments relates to the legal aspects. Many respondents noted that the fact that they do not have any supporting document to prove ownership of their land is a factor that has stood in the way of retrieving their land. In a few cases, land in the possession of the respondents, were sold to settlers for cash. As there was no title deed to prove their possession of land, the sale was also conducted without going through any legal formalities. Here it is possible that the land was sold to the settler at a price, far below the market price. There is an absence of any machinery to oversee such sales. In one case the respondent has pathetically noted that she made distress sale of her land to settlers to meet expenses following suicide of her husband.

Another aspect of lack of awareness of legal process also surfaces in this survey. In a few cases in which the respondents did win the case, there was inordinate delay in the filing of execution petitions. This could be due to financial reasons. All the above factors points out to a need for a legal machinery that will work to support the tribal population in aspects relating to law.

That the members of the Adivasi communities are not viewing the governmental machinery, the local level administration, political parties and Non Governmental Organizations favourably is a matter of concern. One respondent reports that he informed the Panchayat regarding encroachment of his property, but the authorities or elected representatives did not visit his *ooru*. But none of these organizations appear to have come forward to take up the causes of Adivasi communities. On account of their small size, Adivasi communities do not form a vote bank. This could be the reason for the relative disinterest of political parties on issues relating to Adivasi communities.

Wayanad has the largest agglomeration of Non Governmental Organizations. Still none of these are found to be working to take up the issue of land for the tribal population.

Despite the limitations stated above, there are many positive indications of tribal communities reacting strongly to retrieve their land. At least in one case, a respondent ran a 20-year long legal battle and obtained a verdict in his favour.

Health

In this section, we examine issues relating to morbidity, preferences of different systems of medicine, availability of pre-natal and postnatal care and reasons for mortality of the tribal population.

Preferences in Medical Care

The following table gives preferences of respondents regarding use of available health care facilities. The table is not inclusive in the sense that each of the respondents can express his preference for more than one facility.

Table 4.52 Preferences of Institutions

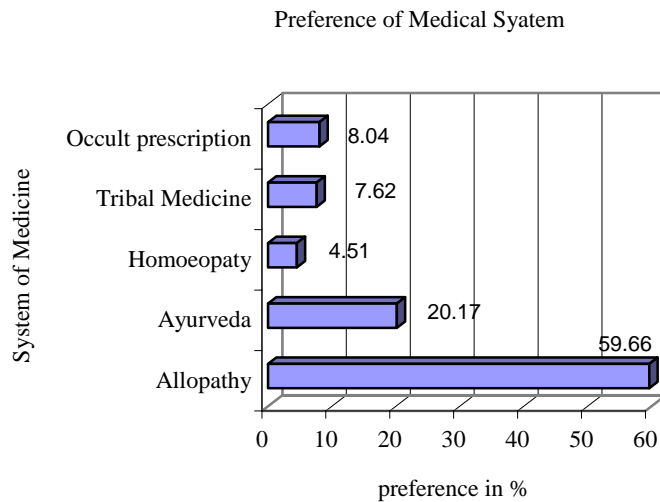
| Name of Institution | Number |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| Government Hospital | 406 |
| Mobile Clinic | 148 |
| Primary HC | 142 |
| Private Hospital | 108 |
| Private Doctor | 57 |
| Field Worker | 36 |
| Sub Center | 10 |

The most favored institution in health care is the government hospital. This perhaps indicates that in spite of all its limitations and inadequacies, government hospitals are approachable for the tribal population for affordability as well as quality of medical care.

Preference for Medical System

Table 4.53 Preference of Medical System

| Type of System | Number | Percentage |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Allopathic | 423 | 59.66 |
| Ayurvedic | 143 | 20.17 |
| Occult prescription | 57 | 8.04 |
| Tribal Medicine | 54 | 7.62 |
| Homeopathic | 32 | 4.51 |
| Any Other | 0 | 0.00 |
| Total | 709 | 100.00 |



Allopathic medical system is still the most preferred system. This is followed by Ayurveda system. It appears that occult practices and tribal medicine has received lower priority.

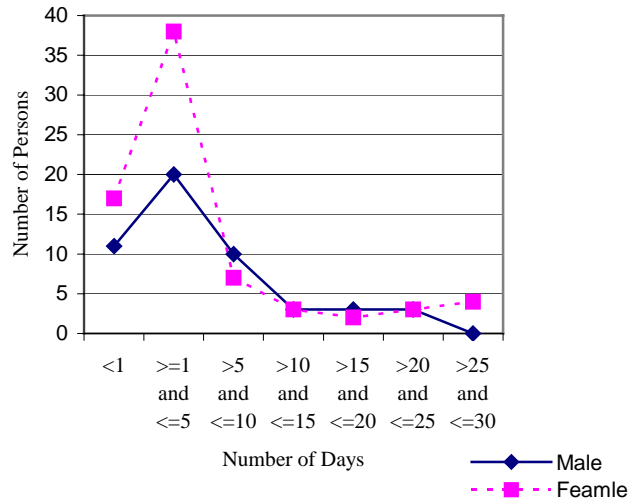
State of Morbidity

In this survey, the 439 households that were covered had 2401 members. At the time of this survey, 189 persons were sick. These included 84 men and 105 women. Morbidity rate therefore works out to 7.8 per cent. In other words, for every 1000 population 78 persons are sick. In order to understand the nature of morbidity, we have attempted to separately classify those who have been sick for a month or less and those who are sick for more than a month. The following table gives classification of

Table 4.54 Classification of Short Duration of Sickness(less than 30 days)

| Number of days of sickness | Male | Female | Total |
|----------------------------|------|--------|-------|
| <1 | 11 | 17 | 28 |
| >=1 and <=5 | 20 | 38 | 58 |
| >5 and <=10 | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| >10 and <=15 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| >15 and <=20 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| >20 and <=25 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| >25 and <=30 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| Total | 50 | 74 | 124 |

Sickness-Short Duration



There is not much difference in the pattern of morbidity of male and female groups in this cluster. The incidence of sickness for 1-5 days is higher in the case of women

Table 4.55 Sickness – Short Duration: Causes

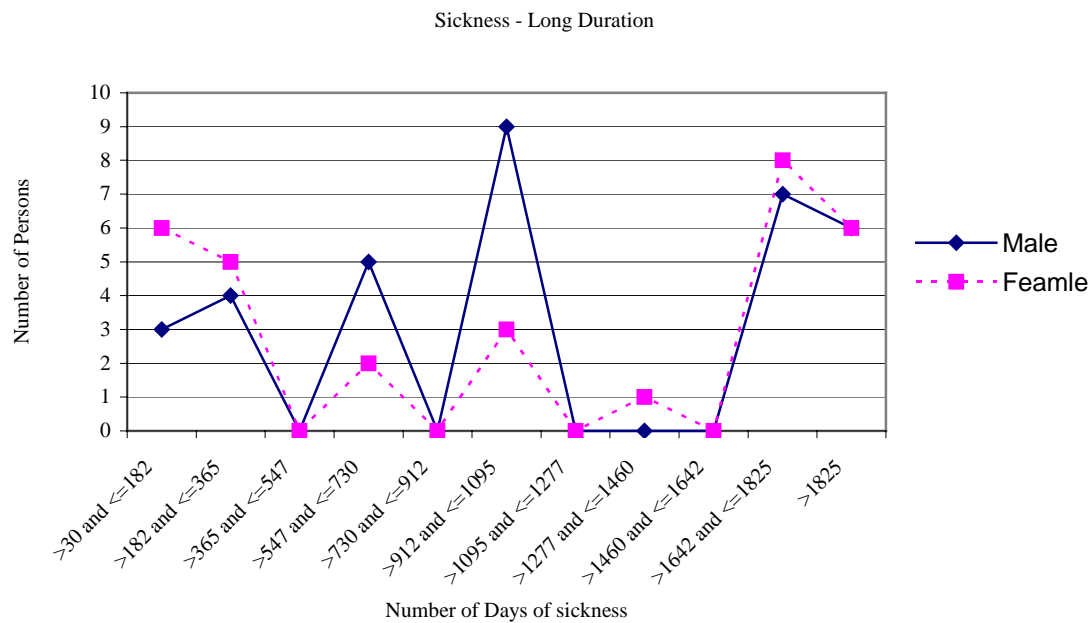
| Classification of disease | Male | Female | Total |
|---------------------------|------|--------|-------|
| Sickle cell anemia | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Rheumatism | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Tuberculosis | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Diabetes | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Epilepsy | 1 | | 2 |
| Cancer | | | |
| High blood pressure | 3 | 12 | 15 |
| Heart disease | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Goitre | | 1 | 1 |
| Polio | | | |
| Allergy | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Others | 22 | 40 | 62 |

As far as the incidence of sickness for short duration (30days and less) is concerned, it is clear that women suffer more than men, but no specific cause is identified. The main sickness is rheumatism both for men and for women.

Now we look into the picture of sickness for long duration. At the time of this survey, 65 persons were suffering from various types of illness for more than 30 days.

Table 4.56 Sickness – Long Duration (more than 30 days)

| Length of sickness, number of days | Male | Female | Total |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| >30 and ≤182 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| >182 and ≤365 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| >365 and ≤730 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| >730 and ≤1095 | 9 | 3 | 12 |
| >1095 and ≤1460 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| >1460 and ≤1825 | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| >1825 | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Total | 34 | 31 | 65 |



The number of persons suffering from some illness for less than 30 days and those suffering for more than 30 days are nearly the same. However we are not going into greater details about the type of sickness. This problem has medical dimensions. We examined the medical records of the Vivekananda Medical Mission, at Muttill, Kalpetta in order to identify the dominant sickness of the patients admitted there. The following are the most common illness reported.

1. Viral Fever
2. Urinal Tract Infection

3. Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease
4. Acute Gastro Enteritis
5. Upper Respiratory Tract Infection
6. Low Back Ache
7. Hypertension
8. Ischemic Heart Disease
9. Sickle Cell Disease
10. Pulmonary Tuberculosis
11. Acute Respiratory Tract Infection
12. Myocardial Infarction
13. Antenatal Care
14. Gastroenteritis
15. Acute Gastritis
16. Geriatric Disease
17. Acute Bronchitis
18. Inter Vertebral disc Problem
19. Pelvic Inflammatory Disease
20. Peptic Ulcer
21. Acid Peptic Disease
22. Conges eve Cardiac Failure
23. Diabetic Mellitus
24. Lower respiratory Tract Infection
25. Insulin Dependent Diabetic Metllus
26. Acute Renal Failure
27. Peripheral Vascular Disease

Sickle Cell Anemia is a disease that is frequently found in Mullu Kuruman community and is frequently a cause of death. For this community the disease is seen as a genetic factor.

Prenatal and Postnatal Care

It was observed earlier that a majority of the tribal population covered in this survey depended on government hospitals and Primary Health Centers. But it is seen that they visit these institutions more in case of sickness. Prenatal medical checkups are not practiced by about half of the respondents in this survey. This will certainly have impact on infant mortality.

Table 4.57 Prenatal Care

| Prenatal Check up | Number of respondents | Percentage |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Yes | 223 | 51.15 |
| No | 213 | 48.85 |
| Total | 436 | 100.00 |

The type of help and support received during delivery has a determining influence in infant and maternal mortality. We have seen earlier that about half of the households surveyed visits to doctor is not a routine practice during pregnancy. The following table shows that in about half of the cases delivery itself is not with the assistance of a doctor

Maternity

Table 4.58 Assistance for Delivery

| Assistance During Delivery | Number | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Traditional Midwife | 46 | 11.39 |
| Relatives/ Friends | 146 | 36.14 |
| Doctor | 194 | 48.02 |
| Nurse/ Midwife | 18 | 4.46 |
| Total | 404 | 100.00 |

Immunization Practices

In this survey, the respondents were asked about their resorting to immunization with respect to

Tuberculosis
 Diphtheria
 Polio
 Measles

251 households constituting 57% of the total households surveyed reported having administered preventive vaccinations against all the four diseases, 325 households (74%) reported resorting to vaccination for three of the above diseases and 344 households (78%) had administered preventive vaccinations for two of the diseases. This shows two things. Firstly the tribal population is aware of the practice of preventive vaccinations. Secondly facilities are available within the reach of the population. But the picture is not all that rosy. Many families have complained that they do not have money to pay for the conveyance to hospitals and PHC.

Mortality

In the households that were covered in this survey, it was noted that 49 persons had died. This involved 33males and 16 females. For the males, average age at the time of death was 47.6, while for the females the average age was slightly higher at 51.7.

Age group wise classification of mortality indicates that mortality peaks at two age groups - 40-50 years and above 60 years. But when separately tabulated for males and females, the picture becomes clear.

Table 4.59 Age of Death – Total Sample Surveyed

| Age | Number | Percentage |
|--------------|--------|------------|
| <=10 | 10 | 10.75 |
| >10 And <=20 | 6 | 6.45 |
| >20 And <=30 | 8 | 8.60 |
| >30 And <=40 | 11 | 11.83 |
| >40 And <=50 | 21 | 22.58 |
| >50 And <=60 | 9 | 9.68 |
| >60 | 28 | 30.11 |
| Total | 93 | 100.00 |

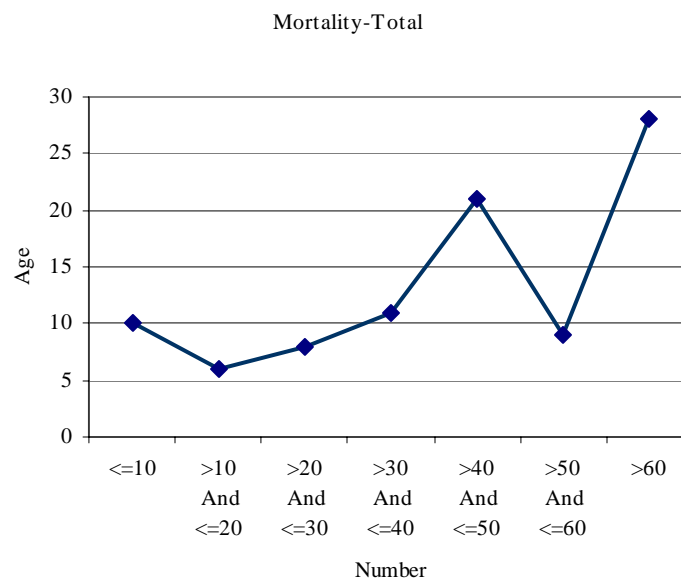


Table 4.60 Age of Death - Male

| Age | Number |
|--------------|--------|
| <=10 | 2 |
| >10 And <=20 | 4 |
| >20 And <=30 | 8 |
| >30 And <=40 | 9 |
| >40 And <=50 | 19 |
| >50 And <=60 | 8 |
| >60 | 13 |

Mortality- Male

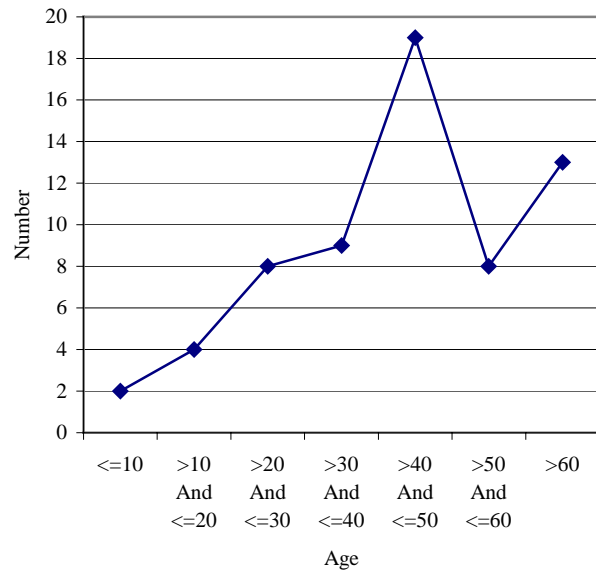
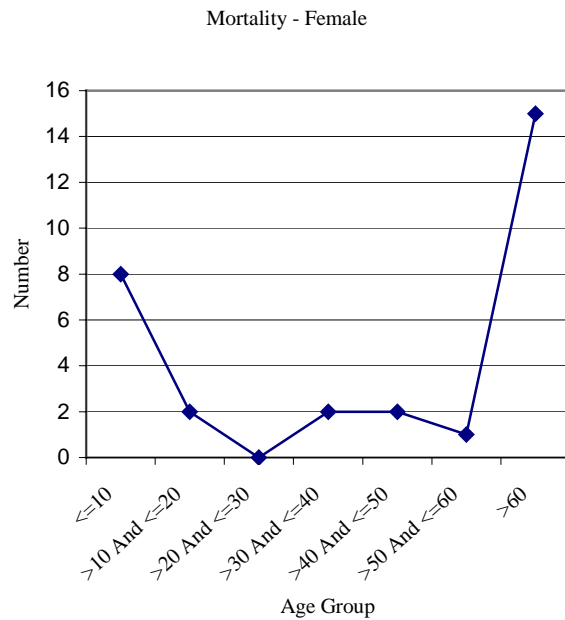


Table 4.61 Age of Death –Female

| Age | Number |
|--------------|--------|
| <=10 | 8 |
| >10 And <=20 | 2 |
| >20 And <=30 | 0 |
| >30 And <=40 | 2 |
| >40 And <=50 | 2 |
| >50 And <=60 | 1 |
| >60 | 15 |



Among men, maximum number of deaths has taken place during the ages 40-50- years. The dominant reasons are as under:

Table 4.62 Causes of Death – Male

| Name of Sickness | Number |
|---------------------|--------|
| Others | 8 |
| Accident/ Injury | 7 |
| Chronic diseases | 6 |
| Fever | 4 |
| Suicide | 3 |
| Murder | 2 |
| Alcoholic addiction | 1 |
| Total | 31 |

Out of 31 deaths reported, 7 deaths are due to accident or injury resulting from accident. In 2 instances it is murder and 3 deaths are recorded as suicides. The picture is a little different when it is the case of women as it is seen in the following table 37.

Table 4.63 Cause of Death – Female

| Cause of Death | Number of cases |
|------------------|-----------------|
| Others | 5 |
| Fever | 4 |
| Chronic diseases | 3 |
| Child birth | 1 |

No specific dominant cause is seen. Even mortality related to childbirth is not significant. This may be due to the fact that childbirths are mainly taking place at hospitals. All deaths are due to natural causes.

Political and Social Awareness

For analyzing social and political awareness of the community, questions relating to their political affiliation, voting behavior, political involvement and their involvement with decentralized planning were asked. Questions were also asked about the nature of their association with political parties and their attitude towards the new political movements emerging among them. The survey has revealed that most of the community members have sympathy towards political parties active in the locality. Most of the informants who are active members of the political parties share a view that the local leadership of the party with which they are affiliated are concerned about the tribal issues, but still they are not in a position to take them up at higher levels. They also share the belief that the political affiliation is instrumental in raising their awareness on wider issues. Data gives an impression that contemporary political discourse in Kerala has deeply penetrated into the tribal communities and has strong influences on them.

A majority of the community members are not very sympathetic towards the alternative political movements emerging among them. Though the land struggle led by Gothra Mahasabha (the movement led by C.K.Janu) was able to invite much public and media attention, the community members, it seems, do not have much sympathy towards it. Majority of the informants denounce such movements and the confrontationist stand taken by them against the government. A few of them once sympathetic to the Gothra Mahasabha are now its strong critics and indict the leadership of the alternative movements for turning the agitations violent. They also are critical of the idea of “occupation of reserved forests” as they feel that this would ultimately lead to heavy deforestation.

The data pertaining to political/social awareness indicate that the community members, cutting across ethnic boundaries are politically conscious and contemporary political discourse has deeply penetrated into them.

The community members take part in local / general elections indicating higher political awareness among them. For most of the community members, the voting behavior is determined by their political affiliation. However for local body elections, candidate’s association with the community is the main criteria for voting. They community members generally agree that voting rarely helps in changing their situation, but for the larger interest of the society, they take part in the elections. Data has clearly shown that the communities have integrated in the “political life” of Kerala.

For the effective implementation of decentralized planning, Government of Kerala had suggested the revival of “Oorukoottams”, the traditional community council. It is the Oorukoottams that identify local developmental issues, prioritize them and suggest feasible solutions. Also it had to identify beneficiaries of various developmental initiatives. The idea was to ensure the participation of the Adivasi communities in the

utilization of Tribal Sub Plan funds allocated to the Panchayats. The data clearly indicate that penetration of political discourse has weakened the traditional leadership. The role and functions of these traditional authorities have changed remarkably and, they do not have any significant influence on community members. Political leadership of the parties active in the community has taken up most of roles once performed by the traditional

The data indicates that the community members are not very enthusiastic about the “community council” and rarely attend Oorukoottams.

authorities.

Summary and Conclusions – Adivasi Communities in Transition

Over the past half-century the habitat of Adivasi communities have undergone drastic changes. In this process, they have lost much of the control over the land and forest. Traditional bondages ceased along with the employment opportunities these provided. Liberalization of the economy has resulted in drastic fall in the price of cash crops, which in turn reduced the employment and incomes of the agricultural sector and this has affected the livelihood of Adivasi communities. Due to large-scale immigration of settler farmers from central Travancore, the demographic profile of the Wayanad district has undergone changes. Adivasi communities which once constituted a majority of population of the Wayanad district are now marginalized and reduced to a mere 17%.

The objective of the Baseline Survey was to obtain information on various facets of the state of affairs of Adivasi communities in Wayanad District. These facets are mainly population trends, education, health, livelihood and views on politics and governance. In this survey, the unit of enumeration was the household.

On an average, the Adivasi households surveyed here have 5.7 members. There are inter tribal variations in the number, but these variations are not significant. The Adivasi population is relatively ‘young’ the mode class interval of age being 20-25 years. This could be due to high birth and death rates. There is a sharp fall in the population above the age of 60. The result is a low dependency ratio. This has resulted in relatively low dependency ratio of 0.6. In other words, every hundred persons who are working, support 60 persons who are dependent on them. Male-female ratios for the whole population surveyed work out to 1040 females for every 1000 males. Two communities, Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman have lesser number of females. In the case of Kurichian community the number of females is alarmingly low. These two communities are landowning communities and relatively better placed. Hence the low female ratio will have to be investigated.

Thanks to the initiatives made in the social sector, particularly after decentralized planning, about eighty per cent of the respondents are staying in pucca houses, built mainly with Panchayat assistance. Most of the houses have a size 100-200 sq.ft. In terms

of infrastructure, it is seen that most of the amenities like telephone booth, Public Health Centre, market, school, etc are within a maximum average distance of 8 kms. Average distance to school is only 2.5 kms.

Despite the relatively easy access to schools, the drop out rate from schooling is very high. Drop out is sharp at primary and high school levels. Reasons for such high drop out rate merit serious attention. A variety of reasons like 'financial problems' and 'health problems' are stated. Many students seem to have difficulty with the curriculum. A gender dimension is visible in the educational attainments. In this survey it is seen that there are more number of female illiterates than males. Progressively this gap is being bridged. For example, at the secondary school stage, there is more number of females. Thus we see that women are catching up.

Most of the members of the respondent households are dependent on agriculture, the main season being the months December –January. There are also two short seasons, during June-July and October respectively. Average man-days of employment for men is 8.8 and for women 3.9 and for children 0.13. Collection of NTFP is being undertaken by the respondent families in a very limited way. In other works Adivasis who are seen as 'children of forests' are not more dependent on forests for survival in any big way.

Two alternate estimations are made about the average monthly income of families. Lower side estimate is Rs.1026. Higher side estimate is Rs.1364. This should be referring to the monetary income. Families are cultivating vegetables and tuber crops in their own plots mainly for self-consumption.

For most of the families surveyed, family expenditure is greater than income. For the respondent group as a whole, for the month covered under the survey the deficit was at the rate of Rs.88 per household per month. This deficit could cumulate into Rs.968 per year. This deficit is met by various types of borrowings. But indebtedness of families is more to commercial banks and traders rather than moneylenders. In other words, money lenders generally do not prefer to give loans to Adivasis, and now that commercial banks are withdrawing from financing weaker sections it is the traders who are lending to them more.

Average size of landholding of Adivasi families surveyed is in the range of 5-50 cents and most common type of tenure is *koottupata*. Instances of alienation of land are relatively less. In this survey, only 26 cases were observed. Interestingly in all cases, the concerned persons have taken action, legal or otherwise.

The issue that raises serious concern about Adivasi life relates to their health. Morbidity ratio for the group surveyed is 7.8 percent. In other words, for every 1000 population 78 persons are sick. Due to this high level of morbidity, life expectancy is reduced. This explains the steady decline in the numbers of respondent population as age progresses. Adivasi communities rely almost completely on Public Health Centers and Governmental Hospitals for medical aid. Tribal medicine is resorted to only in a very limited way. Focus should be on quality of delivery of health services. Among men, more deaths are

taking place during the ages 40-50, and the proportion of unnatural deaths (suicides, murder, accident) is also high.

Despite being marginalized in many ways, Adivasi communities surveyed showed a high level of political consciousness. An apparently contradictory situation seems to prevail. On one hand, Adivasi communities are conscious of the fact that the higher echelons of political leadership do not adequately hear them. On the other hand it is seen that almost all of them are participating in the electoral process. Adivasi communities have their views on many contemporary issues including views about the movement led by C K Janu. Adivasi communities show a clear preference against regional parties and a marked preference for national parties. This participation in electoral process is seen by the communities as 'contributing to democracy' as many bluntly expressed. The fact that communities that face social exclusion can think of democracy and political participation in broadest terms, gives a ray of hope for the future of these communities.

Review of Institutions

Qualitative studies have revealed that important institutions that have a significant relationship with the Adivasi communities are Scheduled Tribe Development Department, Forest Department and Departments functioning under Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRI hereafter), particularly Health. With departments that do not fall under the PRI including Police and Forest, the interaction of the Adivasi communities is very minimal. Though the media often report use of excessive force by police against Adivasi communities, community members view such acts more as aberrations rather than rule. Most of the government departments that have direct relevance to the Adivasi communities – Health, Education, Agriculture, Animal husbandry, Social welfare etc are functioning under local Panchayats since the Ninth Plan.

During the Ninth Plan, 80% of the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) funds were allotted to the local bodies to implement tribal development programmes. Following the criticism raised by various sections, including tribal leaders, allotment of funds under TSP was withdrawn. However since 2003-04, 50% of the TSP fund is allotted to the Panchayats for its tribal development programs that are conducted by various departments functioning under it. Owing to this Panchayat Raj Institutions are the key player in tribal development in the district. PRIs are the main stakeholders of tribal development today as it spends 50% of the total TSP funds in the district. The remaining 50% of the funds is distributed to Non Governmental Organizations and various other departments including the tribal development department. Nearly 20% of the funds is utilized directly through the STDD. Lack of co-ordination between various departments in designing and implementing projects relating to tribal development is a matter of deep concern. Major portions of Tribal Sub Plan fund allocated for the district is spent by local bodies.

Panchayat Raj Institutions

The district has 25 local Panchayats, 3 block Panchayats and one district Panchayat. The TSP funds allotted to the local bodies are shared within these local bodies based on the nature of projects conceived by each. To make the proper utilization of TSP funds by the local bodies, Government of Kerala has set new guidelines based on which projects are conceived, implemented and monitored. The participatory development model now practiced for utilizing Tribal Sub Plan funds allotted to the local bodies is based on “oorukoottam”, the settlement council. Since 2003-04, it has become mandatory that all tribal development programs of the State have to be implemented through participatory exercise, i.e. *oorukoottam*, the settlement groups. These groups in each settlement will identify the problems, prioritize and put before the working group of the local Panchayats. The local level working group includes the tribal members of the local elected bodies, representatives of different government departments now working under Panchayats, tribal members of the community development society executive, representatives of the NGOs working locally, tribal promoters etc. It is mandatory that at each *oorukoottam* nearly 50% of all the tribal community members should participate and in which at least 50% should be women.

Proposals from Oorukoottams are presented at a mandatory “development seminar” and the feasibility of the proposals are publicly debated at the Panchayat level. Outcome of the ‘Development Seminar’ is evaluated by the respective local level working groups and are submitted to District level technical advisory committee with District Collector as chairman and departmental officials and experts as members. Once the advisory committee approves the proposals, it is sent to the State Working Group on tribals. It is this working group that approves the projects. Once the State Working Group approves the projects, local bodies have to assure peoples participation in implementing the projects. Details of the projects have to be made public (including the amount involved, methods of implementation etc. Local level working group has to disseminate the details in written form.. According to the recent government directives, the public can freely access all documents in connection with Tribal Sub Plan expenditure. At the implementation level, social auditing by Oorukoottams has to be conducted at an interval of three months. The District collector has constituted a grievance cell where any defect in the implementation can be reported. Anybody misappropriating tribal fund can be punished under Human Rights Violation Act and Atrocities Against Tribals Act of Kerala.

The projected objectives of the Oorukoottam are

- To empower tribal communities so as to identify, design and implement developmental programs
- To ensure the right of tribal communities to utilize all the resources set aside for the development of tribal communities
- To strengthen traditionally existing community council (*oorukoottam*) and to ensure participation of community members in developmental initiatives in tribal localities.

The approach of the new Oorukoottam-based developmental initiative is based on Tribal empowerment, participation of tribal communities in project formulation and implementation and self-realization.

It aims to achieve

- Social security, human development and economic development
- Transparency in all tribal development initiatives
- Concurrent monitoring and evaluation in order to ensure successful completion of the projects formulated.
- Strong legal action against those who violate government dictum on issues relating to tribal development
- Rationalization of all developmental initiatives based on a database prepared with active participation of tribal community members

The priorities of Oorukoottam based developmental initiatives are

- Maximum utilization of the land in possession of the Tribal communities and insistence on crops that ensure food security.
- Houses for all tribal families
- Formation of Self Help Groups among the tribals and initiatives for micro-enterprises
- Integrated programs addressing food security, nutrition, health care, housing, drinking water, hygiene and electricity. Special programs targeting the welfare of women, children, aged, mentally and physically challenged and destitute.
- Improvement of the quality of education from nursery to higher secondary school level
- Assurance of better services (health, social security etc)
- Protection and conservation of all assets in tribal localities
- Empowerment of community council and women neighborhood groups
- Maximum utilization of the services of Tribal Promoters appointed by the Tribal Development Department
- Linking of all regional schemes to locally identified schemes

During the financial year 2003-04 directives were given by the Kerala State Planning Board to the PRIs on the expenditure of TSP fund allotted to the district. It has insisted that fund should not be spent for construction of roads, expenditure for infrastructure development should not exceed 25% of the TSP allotment, and 50% has to be spent for the packages targeted for the welfare of the poorest sections

The new ‘Oorukoottams model’ came into effect only during 2003-04. It is still in its infancy. Government of Kerala is providing training for the Adivasis at Kerala Institute of Local Administration. As an approach to tribal development, Oorukoottam provides sufficient space for participation in planning and execution and monitoring of the projects, but being a model in its infancy, it is yet to be evaluated. Tentative observations provide the following information.

- Barring a few, the Adivasi community members do not take serious interest in Oorukoottams
- In Oorukoottams, the participation is “assured” by the local Panchayats as a formality to be fulfilled by local level planning
- Most of the members attending the Oorukoottams are, just mute participants

- Issues debated at Oorukoottams are mainly relating to basic infrastructure development.
- Issues relating to quality of services are rarely discussed.
- The community members do not “own” the new model as a possibility for empowerment and development.
- The whole process of conceiving of projects, implementation and monitoring are done as a mandatory formality rather than a serious attempt to make it efficiently functioning.

The ‘oorukoottam’ model is conceived on the idea of traditionally existed tribal community structure. However the tribal communities of Wayanad have undergone drastic changes in the past few decades and the traditional organizations do not have a significant role in the decision making of the community. Revival of the once existed model needed very careful and discreet intervention, but the present training programs etc rarely provide sufficient inputs. It has been observed that Local Panchayats generally are concerned about the welfare of the Adivasi communities and do attempt to address the issues confronted by them. But a common tendency is that the Adivasi communities do not get a fair and adequate share from the general fund allotted to the Panchayats. As a practice only TSP funds are utilized for the Adivasi communities. Measures to correct the apparent anomalies have been taken by the Panchayats so as to get maximum benefit for Adivasi communities from expenditure under TSP. One glaring deficiency that was observed was that there was no consultation between Panchayats in contiguous areas. Local Bodies as well as NGOs do not have any feasible project that would help the livelihood development of the Adivasi communities. No significant projects are conceived at the Oorukoottams or by the NGOs that would help livelihood development.

Though the community members generally approve the decentralized planning, concern has been raised by many tribal leaders about the decentralized planning and oorukoottam based participatory planning. They point out that in the decentralized planning, the interests of political parties who run the local governments are pivotal as the local government is formed on party lines. The elected tribal members of the Panchayats represent the interest of the political party he/she is affiliated with. Similarly the oorukoottam heads also represent such interests and it is difficult to effectively assert or even highlight community interests.

Following suggestions are made to make the decentralized plan more efficient

- Mechanism for social preparation at community level to ensure meaningful participation of the communities in developmental initiatives

Scheduled Tribes Development Department (STDD)

The STDD of Kerala was formed in 1975 to supervise the tribal development activities of the state. At the state level, a senior IAS officer who is a Secretary to Government, heads this department whose headquarters is in Trivandrum. The Department has the nodal responsibility for administering various developmental schemes and formulation, implementation and monitoring of various plans and schemes. The Director of the department is the supervising authority over the tribal development activities.

In Wayanad tribal development activities of the Department is undertaken by offices of the Project Officer, Kalpetta and two Tribal Development Offices located at Sultan Bathery and Mananthavady Blocks. The Project Officer based at Kalpetta, and two Tribal Development Officers (TDOs) based at Sultan Bathery and Mananthavady coordinate the developmental activities of the Department in Wayanad. There are 15 Tribal Extension Officers (TEOs) working either under the Project Officer in Kalpetta or Tribal Development Officers in Sultan Bathery and Mananthavady. As per the present structure, 5 TEOs are working under each. STDD has recruited nearly 430 tribal volunteers (Tribal Promoters) to assist the department in carrying out the developmental activities in the district. This field-based social animators function as the link between the department and the community. The promoters identify the issues confronted by the community, identify the beneficiaries and report to TEOs. The TEOs verify the reports submitted by the promoters and take action depending on the merit of the case and availability of funds. At present the STDD in Wayanad is involved in a number of support programs mainly relating to health and education. The activities include mainly the disbursement of TSP fund allotted to the district. Allotment is mainly based on the decision by the Oorukoottam (community council). It also supports a few livelihood development programs. The STDD in collaboration with the Department of Education runs four Model Residential Schools and an Ashram school for communities classified as Primitive Tribal Groups. However, funds for these are coming directly from TSP allocations from the State budget.

STDD runs a mobile health clinic, the intended beneficiaries are those who do not have access to modern medical facilities, Primary Health Centers, hostels, kindergarten and Single-teacher schools etc.

At the district level a Working Group with District Collector as chairman and District Planning Officer as Convener has been constituted to monitor the developmental initiatives of the STDD of the District. The district heads of various government departments, including TDOs and Project Officer are the members of the Working Group. The projects conceived by the STDD are put before the Working Group for approval. Once the projects are approved, the proposals are put before the State Tribal Advisory Committee with minister for Scheduled communities as chairman and Director of STDD as convener for sanction. It is the District Working Group that monitors the welfare activities of the department in the district.

The Kerala Administrative Committee Report of 2001 has suggested a high power social audit team for the effective implementation of the programs done by STDD. It has suggested the composition of the committee that includes retired officials having expertise in tribal development, academics working on tribal development, journalists, representatives of NGOs, representatives of political parties etc.

Adivasi communities in Wayanad feel that the STDD is supportive and provide necessary help in emergency. However it seems the expectations of community members are high and they are not satisfied to the expected level. From the field it has been observed that the department staff as well as the tribal promoters are reasonably empathic to the communities, but they fail to provide maximum benefit to them. The department officials highlighted following issues confronted by them in addressing tribal problems in the district in an effective manner. Their major apprehension is that they do not have control over the funds spent by local bodies, but is blamed for lapses in implementing tribal development programs. The department staff in a focus group discussion had the following remarks to make about their activities:

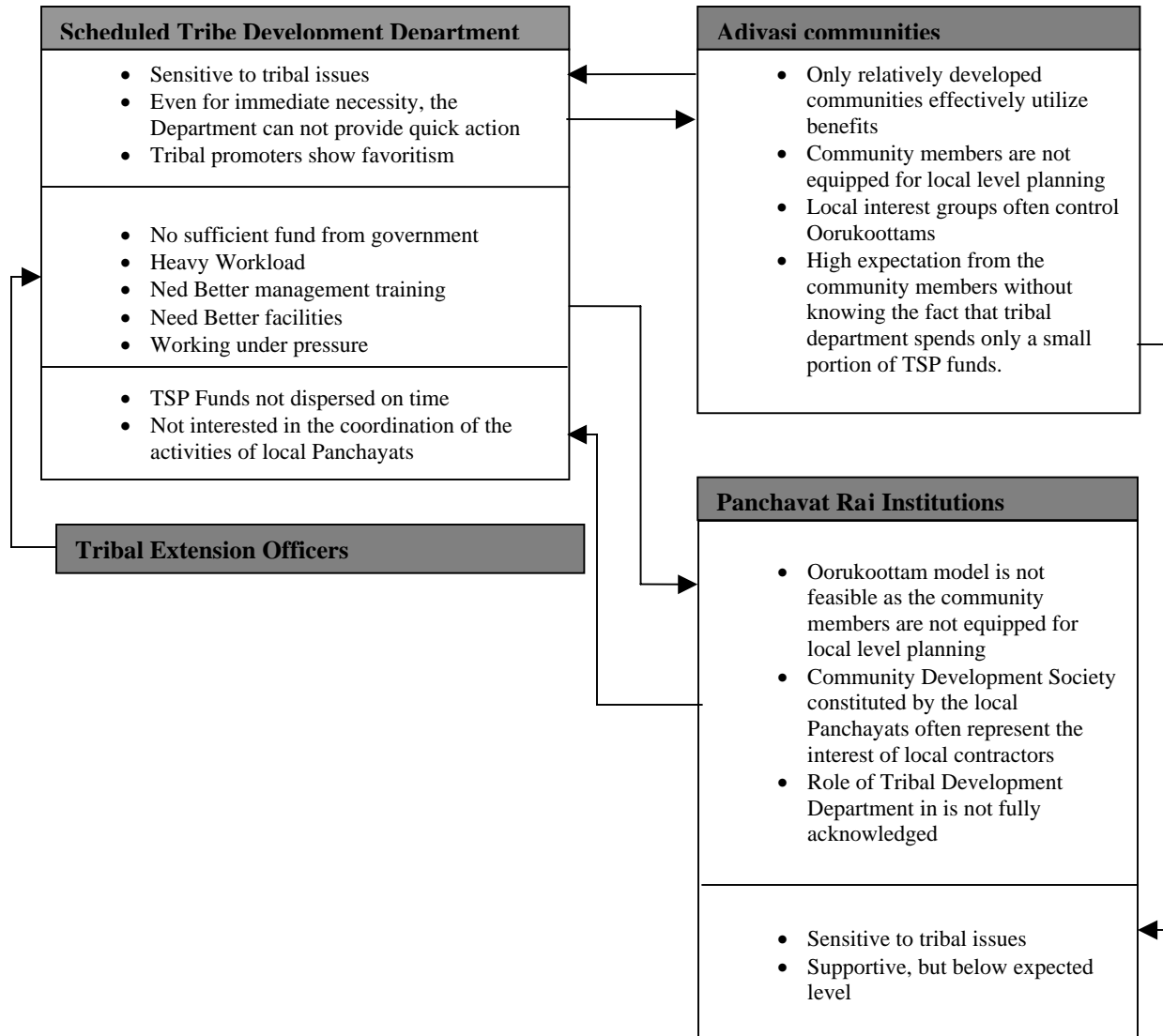
- (a) Jurisdiction of TEOs, the grass root officials, is very wide often covering two Panchayats in a district that has the lowest density of population. Many of the Adivasi settlements are not easily accessible owing to lack of sufficient transport facilities. Due to this it is difficult for them to visit the settlements, record local issues and attend needs regularly. Tribal Promoters (volunteers) appointed by the government to assist STDD in many cases fail to reach the settlements and report the department to the local issues regularly.
- (b) The TEOs who work at grassroots do not have any financial power. Even in an emergency situation they are not in a position to support deserving community members. Immediate support could not be provided by the TEOs in case of severe health problems, malnutrition etc. Though the community members expect financial support from TEOs in case of emergency, the present structure of the STDD does not provide any provision for that.
- (c) Only a small portion of the TSP fund is spent by the STDD. Local bodies spend 50% of the TSP fund. Of the remaining 50% of the fund, a major portion goes to NGOs and other agencies for tribal development. In practice the STDD spends only a quarter of the TSP fund allotted for the district. Media and public are not aware of this fund allocation mechanism and when such lapses occur, public fury is turned against the department.
- (d) Funds allotted to the local bodies are supposed to be spent according to the decision of the *Oorukoottams* (neighborhood groups of tribal community members). *Oorukoottams* are convened when the Gramasabha meeting of the Panchayat is convened. At the *Oorukoottams*, the community members rarely speak out the issues confronted by the community. In most cases they are mute spectators. Even elected tribal members of the Panchayat are not eloquent at the

Oorukoottams. Often the decisions made at the Oorukoottams become more beneficial to the non-tribals. Projects are designed in ways that would benefit non-tribals. A larger portion of the fund allotted is spent on infrastructure development.

- (e) For approving tribal development projects undertaken by the local Panchayat, the presence of the officials of the SDTD is not mandatory. The officials of the Department have no role in the implementation or progress of the projects undertaken. At present there are no mechanisms to evaluate the projects and suggest corrective measures. A committee, “Community Development Society”, implements the projects, which in practice is a society working on behalf of local contractors.
- (f) STDD of Kerala spends a large amount of TSP fund through NGOs in the district, but local department officials are not informed about the nature of the development projects undertaken by these NGOs. As such there is no mechanism to evaluate the outcome of these projects. Projects taken up by the NGOs also turn to be more “infrastructure” oriented.
- (g) The projects designed for the betterment of health and education are not under the control of STDD, making it difficult for the Department to be involved in the activities of schools or health units.
- (h) Very often fund allocations are not adequate. Though an amount of Rs.75000/- is allotted for the construction of houses for the homeless tribal community members, in many cases a major part of the amount is spent for transportation of materials to the site (some of which are not easily accessible) Housing projects are implemented by the local bodies and construction is undertaken by committees that are functioning on behalf of local contractors.
- (i) Though there are programs like “food support”, to address malnutrition among the tribals in the district, the amount allocated for the district is very nominal. With the amount allotted, only 5 kilograms of rice and 500 grams of green gram could be given to the deserving families per year. Schemes like this invite public attention, but public are not aware of the limited resources available for the effective implementation of such programmes.
- (j) Benefits of the tribal development programs in Wayanad went mainly to two communities viz., Mullu Kuruman and Kurichians. These two communities have achieved remarkably in terms of development. Special measures have to be taken up by the government to address the issues confronted by Paniyan, Adiyan, Oorali Kuruman and Kattunaickan communities. The members belonging to these four communities fail to compete with Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman communities when local openings are created. Even for higher studies the students belonging to these four communities fail to get admission as applicants from Kurichian and Mullu Kuruman communities fill the reserved quota.

- (k) Only skill the Paniyan / Adiyar / Oorali community members have is to do agricultural work relating to traditional crops. But the change in the crop pattern makes it difficult for them to find regular employment. Government needs to design alternative programs that would be beneficial to the most deserving communities in the district. Providing land alone will not be an answer to the livelihood issues. Land will be fragmented soon based on the number of family members of the land allotted families making it difficult for viable farming.
- (l) The TEOs of the STDD need better facilities to function in an efficient manner. The offices lack even minimum space and communication facilities. Though there was a decision to provide two wheelers to TEOs a few years back, so far no steps have been taken in this regard. Government needs to re-demarcate the jurisdiction of TEOs in order to reduce the workload. More TEOs, preferably from most deserving tribal communities could be recruited through a special recruitment drive in Wayanad. Most of the officials working in the district lack sufficient skills to manage issues relating to tribal development. Provision for intensive training on development management has to be made for the extension officers
- (m) The projects implemented with the TSP and other centrally sponsored funds are expected to follow a set pattern prescribed by the state and central governments. The prescribed norms are applicable to the projects wherever they are implemented within the state. Both the central government and the state government are in the process of implementing administrative reforms and modernizing government programmes. Further it would be unviable to suggest changes within the ongoing structure and process of the projects that is implemented all over the state while we are expected to suggest alternatives within the Wayanad context.

Evaluation of Scheduled Tribe Development Department and Panchayat Raj Institutions – relative perceptions



As mentioned earlier, the key players in Adivasi development are STDD and PRIs. In the above flow chart the perceptions of Adivasi communities on STDD and the perception of the department towards the communities and the Panchayat Raj institutions are examined. It has also included the perceptions of the TEOs, the primary link between the community and the STDD is examined. The comments recorded are based on focus group discussions conducted at different stages of the study with various groups. The data gathered from such discussions has revealed that the Adivasi communities generally feel that the STDD is sympathetic to them. But they also note that the capacity of the Department is limited. For instance, the Tribal Extension Officers do not have emergency funds that can be disbursed in emergency situations. During some focus group discussions, the community members pointed out that the tribal promoters rarely visit the settlements and often they show favoritism in identifying beneficiaries of various schemes undertaken by the department. From the focus group discussions it has been found that while a majority of the community members prefer Panchayat Raj Institutions over STDD as better agency to address the issues confronted by them, a significant section, including prominent tribal leaders have raised apprehension about the Panchayats saying that Panchayats run by political parties whose interests often contradict with the interests of the community. They are of the opinion that even in beneficiary selection, political affiliation of the deserving members is taken into account. The perception of STDD officials in Wayanad is also in similar bearings. They point out the inadequacies of Oorukoottams and the lack of capability of the local level planners in conceiving viable projects. They also point out that Oorukoottams and Community Development Society (CDS) constituted by the local Panchayats represent local interest groups. Panchayat Raj institutions generally feel that The Tribal Development Department of Kerala is not releasing Tribal Sub Plan Funds making it difficult to implement projects on time.

Evaluation of the institutions involved with the tribal development activities of the district, it has been found that STDD has the central role in ensuring better outcome of the utilization of TSP funds in the district, notwithstanding the fact that they get only a small share of TSP funds since the 9th Plan. . The Kerala Administrative Committee Report of 2001 has suggested that The Scheduled Tribes Development Department should play the nodal role in monitoring and evaluation of TSP programmes in the State including those taken up by the Local Governments. The Administrative Committee Report has also suggested that through their field level and district level offices, the department should collect and consolidate data on implementation of various programmes by the Local Governments as well as by sister departments relating to tribal development.

Despite the lapses and feelings, the present Oorukoottam based development offers a remarkable opportunity for participatory planning and transparency. As a policy issue and viable process it is likely to be strengthened and institutionalized. Owing to this fact the STDD in addition to their present responsibilities should take up the role as a facilitator for the Adivasi development in the district. The chart given below outlines the input needed for such a role and the expected output.

Input

- Measures for timely disbursement of funds to Panchayat bodies
- Training for staff in monitoring and evaluation of Developmental Programs
- Training in managerial skills for TEOs
- Social work/social science orientation for TEOs
- Better infrastructure facilities for TEOs (telephones, motorbikes, better office facilities etc)
- Reduction of clerical workload of field staff
- Availability and discretion to use funds by TEOs
- Intensive training for Oorukoottam heads on participatory planning
- Intensive training for Tribal Promoters
- Community based data base

Output

- Social preparation of community members to make Oorukoottam based participatory planning effective
- Capacity building in various aspects of project formulation
- Efficiency in management of tribal development programs

Forest Department

In Wayanad only less than 10% of the total Adivasi population follow a lifestyle demanding dependence on forest resources. Majority of this are Kattunaickan, the community classified as Primitive Tribal Groups. A few Urali Kuruman, Adiyans and Paniyans families also have partial dependence on forest, as a substitute for income during the lean season. According to official estimate of the Forest Department, nearly 500 families are dwelling in the North Wayanad and South Wayanad forest division. Kurichians and Mullu Kurumans who have a better development index compared to the other communities rarely use forest resources as means for their livelihood. Adiyans and Paniyans had been involved with agriculture labour for more than three centuries. The dependence of Paniyans and Adiyans is limited to the extent of their settlements located in the fringes of the forestland. Their dependence is limited to the extent of collecting fuel wood and sometimes fodder.

For those inhabiting the forest, the forest resources hardly satisfy their needs owing to the shrinking resources and forest regulations that restrict collection from sanctuaries. Most of them are associated with forests as forest laborers, than as collectors of Non Timber Forest Produces. Most of these families have small landholdings within the forests where they cultivate mainly yam, coffee and pepper. Non Timber Forest Produces are collected as per the demand expressed by the tribal cooperative societies, the returns for which are very minimal considering the risks and labour involved in the extraction of products. It has been observed that the community members seek involvement with the collection of NTFP only in the absence of manual and agricultural jobs available for them.

The interaction between the Adivasis and the forest department therefore, is very minimal. The interaction is limited to easing collection of minor forest products, prevention of over extraction, and limiting their living areas within their allotted plots. With the creation of Vana Samrakshana Samithi (VSS), presently the forest department accommodates a non-advasis inhabiting in the fringes of the forests. In fact, with the creation of VSS there are apprehensions that the outsiders may claim right over forest product if it becomes attractive because of the possible value addition of NTFP

It cannot be said that except in organized or unorganized willful effort to encroach into the forest lands there exist any serious conflict between Adivasis and forest department officials. There are a few clashes of interest between forest officials and the forest dwelling Adivasis when either of the two encroaches into the other's area. In case of Adivasis cultivating outside their allotted premise, it often leads to the field level forest officials destroying the crop. Some forest dwelling Adivasis also reported that they had been driven off when they cross state boundaries within the forest. They sometimes cross state boundaries to collect minor forest products. Another possibility for conflict between the forest officials and the Adivasi communities is in deciding the limit to extract the forest products. Over extraction of forest products is of course possible to the extent of shrinking of resources. The possibility of traders misusing the Adivasis' privilege in extracting the forest products is always prevalent.

Except in the circumstances of law enforcement by the state, in the normal day-to-day life, neither Adivasis nor the forest officials have complaints against each other. Rather there exists cordiality. Forest Department in fact is a source of employment for the forest dwelling Adivasis.

Presently, there are organized struggles for the allotment of forestland to the Adivasis. The struggle for the forestland comes from all sections of Adivasis irrespective of their present compatibility to adopt a forest friendly life style. Of course, the draft policy statement of the government of India too adopts a pro- adivasi perspective. Since a large section of non-forest dwelling Adivasi communities of Wayanad has adopted or is likely to adopt an urban life style, this may anticipate two different outcomes. Either the struggle for preservation or exploitation of the forest resources will be intensified.

Development Strategies

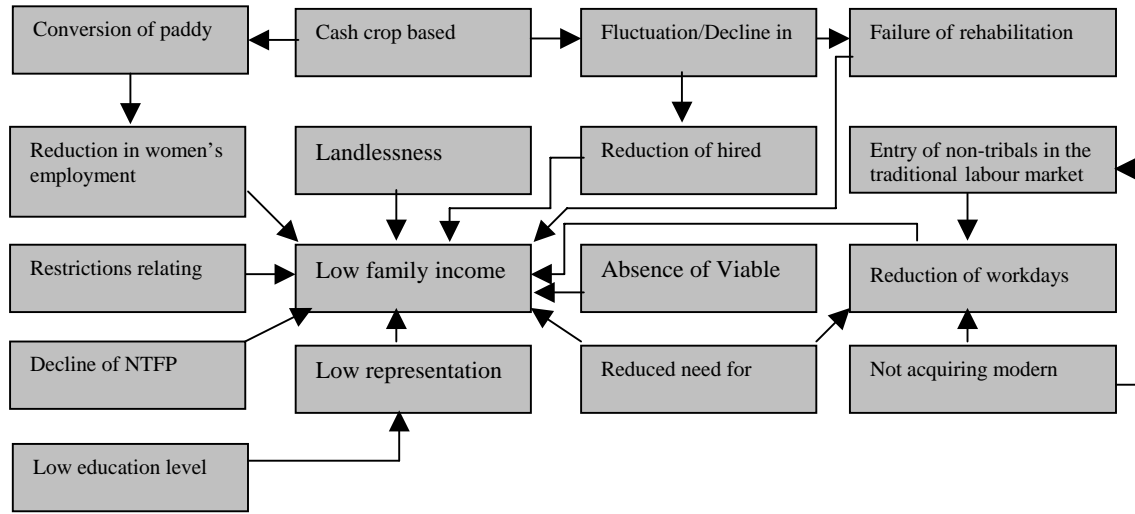
In this section, an attempt is made to conceptualize the “problems” of Adivasi communities of Wayanad and juxtapose the same against a SWOT analysis of the Wayanad district as well as such an analysis of the individual Adivasi communities of Wayanad. This exercise is undertaken to arrive at some basic premises on which comprehensive development of the district can be conceived. However the broad assumptions are as given hereunder.

- Adivasis being a part of society, it may not be possible to have a development package exclusively for them. Instead such a plan should be one, which will be predominantly focused for the benefit of Adivasi communities.
- Any development plan should take into consideration the need for food security. This is related to the commitment of government to provide land to the Adivasi families by the year 2007.
- Any intervention should be multi dimensional in nature and can have private-public participation. Panchayat Raj institutions will have a pivotal role. NGOs can also be invited to participate.

As it is observed earlier, the biggest crises faced by the Adivasi communities relate to their livelihood. In simple terms it means family income. All concomitant problems faced by the tribal communities – high morbidity and mortality, relatively low educational achievements, etc, can be traced in some way to issues relating to livelihood.

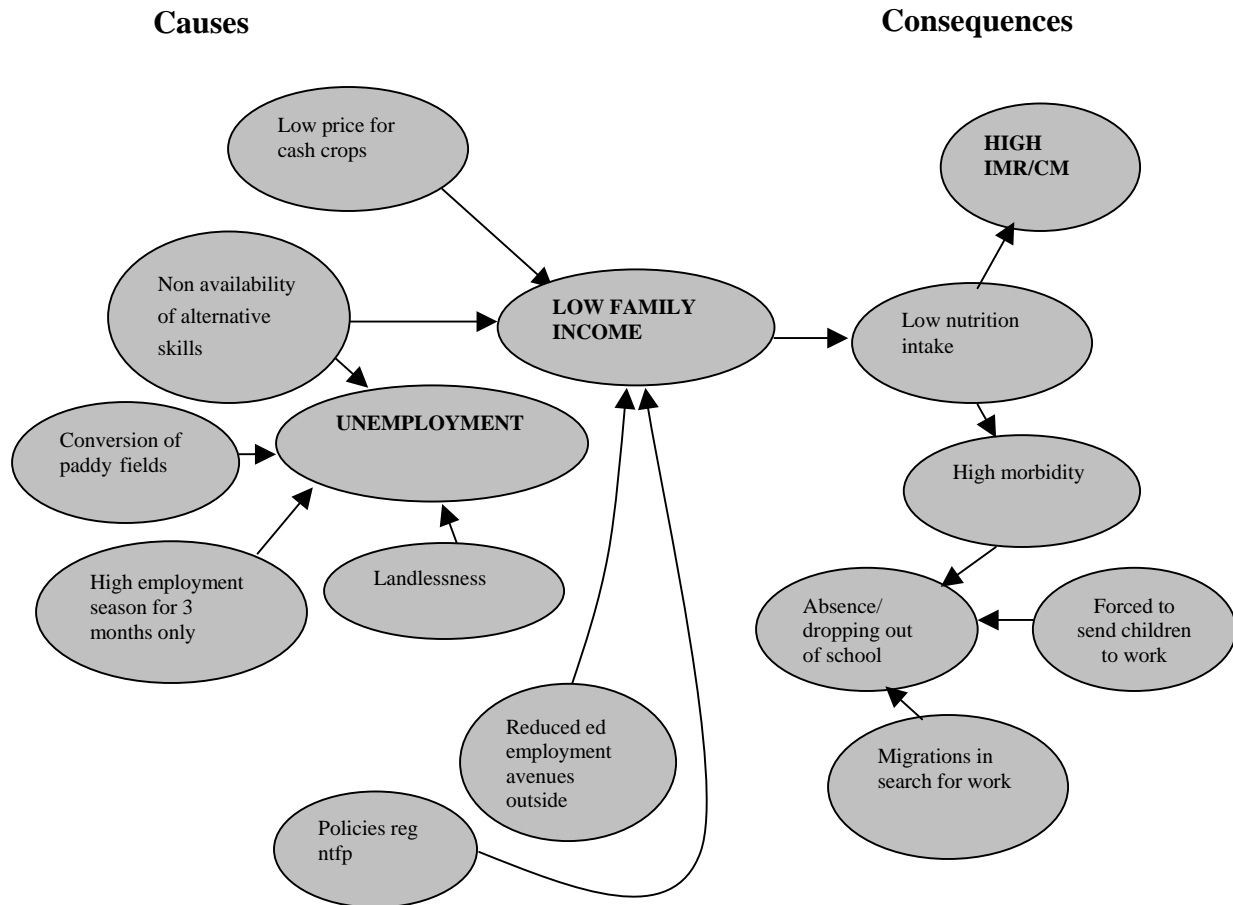
In the following flow chart these issues are explored.

Livelihood Issues



The above issues can be seen as causes and consequences as we see below:

Chart 2 Low Family Income – Causes and Consequences



It is worth examining the issues as revealed in the above flow chart against our perception of SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) of Wayanad District

SWOT Analysis of Wayanad District

Strength

- Rich in cash crops
- Pristine landscape
- Ideal climate through the year
- Rich in diversity and resources
- Abundance of bamboo as a resource
- Non Timber Forest Produces
- Good network of small towns
- Reasonably good telecommunication & road network
- Reasonably good health care facilities
- Access by road to bigger cities like Calicut/ Mysore / Bangalore
- Presence of research organizations for agriculture, biodiversity, veterinary science
- Initiatives for development of intermediate technology
- Relatively peaceful coexistence of different communities
- Politically aware public and empowerment received through decentralization process
- Significant section of the population (Scheduled Tribes) having protective measures from government
- Reasonably good development indicators compared to rest of India

Weakness

- Fluctuating price for cash crops
- Economy based on crop cycles
- Chemical intensive farming and environmental destruction
- Less developed non farm sector
- Non availability of non- agriculture skills
- Large number of impoverished population
- Administrative machinery that functions below the desired level
- Large number of Adivasi population who are landless and do not have anything

Opportunities

- Tremendous potential for the processing of cash crops
- Value addition of existing crops
- High value agricultural products
- Potential for the processing of Non Timber Forest Produces
- Potential for sustainable tourism
- Potential for Development of bamboo sector
- Relatively young population capable of adopting new skills

Threats

- Environmental destruction
- Increasing marginalization of the poor and the Adivasis and resultant social unrest
- Withdrawal of banks from financial sector and the entry of Non Banking Financial Companies
- Crisis in farm sector resulting in farmer suicides
- Declining employment opportunities
- Mass tourism and related vice

Individual Adivasi communities are diverse. These communities have evolved differently. Hence an attempt is made to draw a SWOT analysis of individual Adivasi communities.

SWOT analysis of Adiya Community

Strengths

- Skilled in Agriculture related work
- Somewhat high political /social awareness
- Active participation in local level development
- Widely accepted community leaders
- Capability to generate public sympathy in favor of the community
- Better social position for women
- Concentrated in one locality
- Ability to adapt to new skills

Weaknesses

- Small size of population
- Landlessness
- Only a few possess non agricultural skills
- Poor health condition
- Low life expectancy
- Lack sufficient number of people having higher education

Opportunities

- Government's commitment to provide land by 2007
- Agriculture based development
- Animal husbandry
- Primary processing of agriculture produce
- Primary processing of forest produce
- Handloom
- Bamboo based small scale units

Threats

- Continuous reduction of area under paddy cultivation reducing employment opportunity
- High exposure to chemical intensive farming and concomitant health problems

SWOT Analysis for Paniyan Community

Strengths

- Possess a good amount of agricultural skills
- Large size of population
- Capability to generate public sympathy

Weaknesses

- Landlessness
- Uneven distribution of population
- Low political/social awareness
- Lack of powerful leadership
- Poor health & hygienic condition
- Backward in literacy & education
- No significant non agricultural skills
- A large number of population living under extreme poverty

Opportunities

- Government's commitment to provide land by 2007
- Rehabilitation of existing development projects
- Capability to take up agriculture based activities as well as allied agricultural activity
- Primary processing of agriculture produce
- Rural Non Farm activities
- Bamboo sub-sector
- Animal husbandry

Threats

- Continuous reduction of area under paddy cultivation reducing employment opportunity
- High exposure to chemical intensive farming and concomitant health problems

SWOT Analysis for Kattunaickan Community

Strength

- Possess forest based skills
- Excellent knowledge of forest
- Skills in the extraction of Non Timber Forest Produce
- Classified as “ primitive Tribal Groups” for availing better support from Government

Weakness

- Total dependency on forest
- Lack of sufficient skills in agriculture/ related work
- Low political/social awareness
- Partial isolation from rest of the population of Wayanad
- Poor health condition
- Lack sufficient number of people having higher education

Opportunities

- Government’s commitment to provide land by 2007
- Animal husbandry
- Primary processing of forest produce
- Ecotourism
- Bamboo based small scale units
- Their knowledge of forest is useful for work as tourist guides and related professions

Threat

- Shrinking forest resources
- Forest regulations

SWOT Analysis for Kurichian Community

Strength

- Traditionally land holding
- Relatively better placed in terms of development index
- High political /social awareness
- Active participation in local level development
- Better representation in government service
- Widely accepted community leaders
- Large number of people who have obtained higher education
- Entrepreneurial skills

Weakness

- Division of agricultural land

Opportunities

- Government's commitment to provide land by 2007
- Agriculture based development
- Animal husbandry
- Primary processing of agriculture produce
- Non farm sector
- Tourism

Threat

- Conversion of existing paddy fields owned by the community

SWOT Analysis for Mullu Kuruman Community

Strength

- Traditionally land holding
- Relatively better development index
- High political /social awareness
- Active participation in local level development
- Better representation in government service
- Widely accepted community leaders
- Large number of people obtained higher education
- Possess entrepreneurial skills

Weakness

- Division of agricultural land

Opportunities

- Government's commitment to provide land by 2007
- Agriculture based development
- Animal husbandry
- Primary processing of agriculture produce
- Non farm sector
- Tourism

Threat

- Conversion of existing paddy fields owned by the community
- Farming with high chemical inputs has created health problems
- High incidence of genetic disorder, sickle cell anemia

SWOT Analysis for Urali Community

Strength

- Possesses artisan skills particularly bamboo based as well as pottery
- Excellent knowledge of forest
- Population concentrated in one locality
- Adaptability to new skills

Weakness

- Landlessness
- Small size of the population
- Lack of sufficient skills in agriculture/ related work
- Low political/social awareness
- Partial isolation from rest of the population of Wayanad
- Poor health condition
- Lack sufficient number of people having higher education

Opportunities

- Government's commitment to provide land by 2007
- Animal husbandry
- Carpentry
- Handicrafts
- Bamboo based small scale units

Threat

- Loss of traditional skills

Any process of economic and social development cannot solely be addressed to one community or social group. It may be possible to develop plans for which Adivasi communities are the main beneficiaries. In other words, development of the Adivasi communities will have to be located in the overall development of the district.

The next question relates to who should be the main players in the development interventions envisaged here. We assume that Panchayat Raj Institutions should have an important role to play. A good deal of scope exists for cooperation with the private sector as well as NGOs particularly in activities connected with the development of Rural Non Farm Sector (RNFS).

In our inception plan we have considered the above factors. We have identified broad areas of feasibility for employment and income generation to the Adivasi communities of Wayanad District. Areas identified are:

- Bamboo is widely grown in Wayanad and it can be utilized for livelihood development of the communities.
- Tourism is an emerging sector in the district. A pro-poor tourism targeted predominantly for the income generation of Adivasi communities.
- Rehabilitation of existing projects meant for Adivasi communities, particularly, the Priyadarshini Tea Estates and Thirunelly Powerloom.
- Animal husbandry and related activities, particularly production and marketing of organic milk and diary products.
- Development of land distributed at Sugandagiri and value addition of agricultural produce.
- Development of Rural Non Farm Sector (RNFS)

The baseline survey has revealed that the majority of the population has some land and roughly a quarter of the Adivasi families have land holding to the extent of one acre and above. This land can be gainfully utilized for food security. The baseline survey has not analyzed the nutritive intake of the communities. A proper nutritive survey is required in order to identify the crops that have to be introduced or revived for food security. The land can be used for animal husbanding, organic farming, cultivation of medicinal crops etc. Specific proposals have to be designed for the land development taking agronomic condition and market feasibility.

Integrated Development of Bamboo and Bamboo based products

Bamboo is an important renewable resource on which around 2.5 billion people all over the world depend greatly for a wide range of products and livelihood. Nearly 1000 documented uses of Bamboo has been identified internationally. It accounts for approximately 25% and 20% of the total biomass produced respectively in the tropics and the sub-tropical areas. Bamboo has several unique advantages, namely: (i) ability to rejuvenate degraded areas; (ii) grows well in plantation models in harmony with other species, and hence there is no need for mono-culture; (iii) short rotation cycle of 2-5 years; and (iv) widely recognized traditional resource having quicker acceptability.

Bamboo

- The fastest growing plant on this planet and can be harvested four times a year
- A critical element in the balance of oxygen and carbon dioxide in the atmosphere
- A viable replacement for wood
- An enduring natural resource
- Versatile with a short growth cycle
- An essential structural material in earthquake architecture
- A renewable resource for agro-forestry production.
- A natural controllable barrier
- Bamboo shoots provide nutrition
- Integrally involved in culture Indian Bamboo sector generates 432 million workdays annually
- 2.5 Billion people use bamboo for various activities relating to the day- to-day life
- 1 Billion people live in Bamboo houses
- Yields six times more cellulose than fast growing trees
- Suitable for afforestation in degraded land

Wayanad is rich in bamboo resources and it is the district having the second largest reserve of the forest bamboo of the State. It is estimated that Wayanad forests have 600000 tonnes of bamboo reserve, forming nearly a quarter of the total bamboo reserve of the state. More than fifty species of bamboo are grown in Wayanad, predominant of which is *Bambusa bambos*. This species is found abundantly in private land holdings also.

Important Bamboo species found in Wayanad

- Bamboosa bambos – (*Mula, Illi*)
- Bamboosa bambos Var. *gigentia* – (*Paramula*)
- Ochlandra beddomei – (*etta*)
- Ochlandra scriptoria – (*etta*)
- Ochlandra setigera – (*eera, oda*)
- Pseudoxytenanthera ritcheyii – (*Erankol*)
- Pseudoxytenanthera monadalpha – (*etta*)
- Schizostachyum beddomei – (*etta*)

Traditionally the Bamboo played a very important role for the Adivasi communities of Wayanad and the communities used it for a number of purposes that were closely associated with the rural life. Owing to its easy availability, vigorous regeneration, fast growth, high production, quick maturity, short rotation, the Adivasi communities in the District used it for the construction of houses, agricultural implements, mats and baskets.

Rationale for inclusion of Bamboo as a sub sector for livelihood development of Adivasi communities of Wayanad.

- Abundance of Bamboo as an underutilized resource
- A resource for direct / supplementary income
- Traditional association with bamboo
- Opportunities for semi skilled workers in extraction and primary processing
- Higher opportunities for women
- Opportunity for traditionally landless communities like Paniyan, Adiyan, Kattunaickan and Urali Kuruman communities
- Minimum requirement of training input

Bamboo sector as a livelihood option for the Adivasi communities derives from the fact that:

- Wayanad has nearly 25% of the total bamboo reserve of the state
- Can be cultivated in waste lands and denuded forests
- The resource is easy to regenerate and causes no serious ecological damage
- Environment friendly production and value addition of Bamboo products
- It is labour intensive
- Governmental support for Bamboo sector through National and State Bamboo mission
- Demand for bamboo as a substitute for wood
- Production of bamboo plywood, bamboo flooring and other value added products

- Possibility for huge market outside, including export
- Possibility to link with to the emerging tourism sub sector
- Possibility for providing regular income
- Possibility for decentralized extraction and primary processing
- Possibility to link with PRI action plans.
- Bamboo shoot can be consumed as food
- Export potential of bamboo shoots
- Possibility to utilize every part of bamboo

Despite its cultural importance and its availability, bamboo has never gained commercial importance in the local economy. The major industrial consumer of bamboo of Wayanad was the Grasim Industries Ltd., Kozhikode. It is estimated that nearly 40000 tonnes of Bamboo were extracted by Grasim industries Kozhikode annually for its pulp production when the factory was functioning. Though the district is rich in bamboo resources, it is an underutilized resource. Its potential has not been clearly tapped yet. This resource can be turned into manufacture of several value added products that can generate income for a large number of Adivasi families in Wayanad. Considering the major scope for development of bamboo in Wayanad both as a raw material for the traditional handicraft sector as well as for modern industry, special programmes can be developed with the appropriate skill development. Thus it can create greater employment opportunities at various levels, especially for women.

The traditional primary uses of Bamboo have been in the pulp-and-paper, construction, and energy sectors. Recently, however, it has become increasingly evident that a wide range of intermediate and finished products could add significant value to bamboo and would assist the domestic private sector in the creation of productive capacities, employment, and income. The qualities of bamboo culms - straightness, lightness, strength, hardness, high fiber content and easy workability - are ideal for different technological purposes.

A number of universities, institutes and business units in India have undertaken important research projects related to bamboo production and utilization. Marked achievements have been scored in bamboo integrated processing and utilization in an industrialization scale, especially bamboo plywood, bamboo flooring, bamboo mats and bamboo shoot, which is playing active and important roles in poverty alleviation. Processing techniques and machines have been studied and designed to meet the increasing demand for bamboo products, particularly bamboo plywood, particleboards and hardboards. Secondary processing techniques such as bending, moulding, costing, polishing and dyeing, which are important for furniture, artistic articles and other fine products, are also included in their research programmes.

Bamboo and Forest Act of India

Bamboo is categorized under Non Timber Forest Produce in India. However, under Indian Forest Act (1927) and for enforcement of its provisions they are legally clubbed with trees as per Section 2 of the Indian Forest Act. Accordingly all movement of above products for trade is regulated under transit rules framed under the Act. Many species are now being grown outside the forest area in agro forestry systems. In order to promote agro forestry and trade, many states are liberalizing transit restrictions on these produce. Unfinished bamboo figures in the negative list of exports from the country.

In a significant policy shift, the Kerala Government has decided to remove bamboo and related items like reed and cane from the list of forest produce. The move, aimed at accelerating the growth of the fledgling bamboo industry in the State, will facilitate free felling of the stocks in one's own lands without having to get the permission of the Forest Department.

Bamboo Industry in India

India is home to almost 45 per cent of the world's bamboo forests. India produces 4.5 million tonnes of bamboo in about 8.96 million hectares of forest. Bamboo covers 10 million hectares of the country that include forests as well as homestead cultivated. About 50 per cent of the bamboo produced in India grows in the North-Eastern region and West Bengal. India has the second largest bamboo reserves in the world after China, but has tapped only one-tenth of its potential. As per official estimates, the Indian bamboo industry has a size of Rs. 2,040 crores per year at present, while the domestic market potential is Rs. 4,463 crores. It grows at a rate of 15-20 per cent and is projected to be worth Rs. 26,000 crores industry by 2015, given the comprehensive promotional schemes under the National Bamboo Mission

Currently, the bamboo products industry solely relies on the domestic market, while there is a huge demand for its products in the US, the EU, Latin America and in the South East Asian countries.

A National Mission on Bamboo Applications and Trade Development has been launched to involve the community in growing and primary processing of bamboo. It proposes to organize community-level common facility centers where village artisans can work for value addition to bamboo. It also envisages the development and adoption of technologies and processes for enhancing the efficiency and quality in producing bamboo-based products. The Mission envisages strengthening of the resource base by planting bamboo in 2 million hectares. In line with the bamboo development plan with the recommendations of National Mission on Bamboo Applications (NMBA) launched by the Government of India, Government of Kerala has constituted the State Bamboo Mission in November 2003. Government has initiated a series of activities in consultation with all sections of stakeholders in the sector and chalked out the Mission programmes and strategies to be initiated in the first phase of its programmes. The plan envisages a holistic approach aimed at increasing the State's bamboo resource base and making available appropriate technology for ensuring its better utilization. It has also drafted a Bamboo Policy for the state.

The world trade in bamboo is currently estimated at 14 billion US dollars every year in which India's contribution is not very significant. India is projected to become a world leader in bamboo exports by 2015.

Strategies for Development of Bamboo as a livelihood option for Adivasi communities

- Capacity building, training and empowerment
- Environment friendly technology
- Management of access to natural resources
- Promotion of regeneration of bamboo in denuded forests through participatory forest management
- Dialogue with private sector for collaborative operations
- Revamping of economic modeling, incorporating advanced management techniques (long-term economic projections for sustainability)
- Internationally accepted 'Product' development and 'pricing' (environmental and economic standards)
- Linkages with exporters

Input

- Capacity Building and training
- Infrastructure
- Advanced management
- Environmental Management System
- Dialogue with private sector for collaborative operations
- Revamping of economic modeling, incorporating advanced management techniques of international standards (long-term economic projections for sustainability) and Internationally accepted 'Product' development and 'pricing' (environmental and economic standards)
- Concern for design
- An independent expert body
- Linkage with Panchayat Raj Institutions

Output

- Empowerment and new skills
- Better products
- Better access to market
- Streamlining public-private partnership
- Attracting export market
- Transparency and local economic development

URAVU, an NGO based in Wayanad is working in the bamboo sub-sector of the district. It is engaged in developing models for utilization of Bamboo. It has submitted an outline of the Bamboo Development Scheme for Adivasi communities of Wayanad district.

Following expert agencies can be consulted for making Bamboo as a feasible livelihood option for adivasi communities

- Kerala Forest Research Institute, Peechi
- Kerala State Bamboo Mission
- Cane and Bamboo Technology Center, United Nations Industrial Development Organization, Guwahati
- Tata Energy Research Institute, Delhi
- Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay
- Bamboo Society of India, Bangalore

Rural Non Farm Sector (RNFS)

It has been observed in the Baseline Survey that the biggest problem faced by Adivasi communities in Wayanad relate to low family income. Educational disadvantages, high level of morbidity and mortality and a host of related problems can be traced to low family income as a consequence of reduced number of days of employment. It was further noted that for the above communities, out of one full year, as much as 7 months are lean season for employment. With the drastic reduction in paddy cultivation, employment avenues, particularly for women have declined. Even other traditional sectors like the cash crop economy are reeling under pressure of falling prices. Adivasi communities own small tracts of land. Roughly half of the respondents of the Baseline Survey owned one acre or more of land. While this land can be developed gainfully, a vibrant non farm sector will have to be developed to provide employment and incomes to Adivasi families. Given hereunder is the definition of RNFS.

Rural Non-Farm Sector

The RNFS comprises all non-agricultural activities – mining and quarrying, house and non-household manufacturing, processing, repairs, construction trade, transport and other services – in villages and rural towns of up to 50000 population, undertaken by enterprises varying in size from household ‘own account enterprises’ all the way to factories”.

Rural economy is intimately linked to agriculture. A Substantial share of rural manufacture involves agro processing and the production, repair and supply of farm inputs. Dominant sectors of rural economy will consist of trade and service establishments that cater largely to rural demand. The prospect of growth of Non Farm Sector will hinge on farm sector.

In Wayanad district, farm sector is reeling under pressure of structural readjustment following policy of economic liberalization. But it is possible to identify traditional and modern non- farm activities which may stay and be viable. By and large, Adivasi communities have been excluded from non- farm activities due to a variety of reasons.

With the increase in levels of literacy with proper training it may be possible for Adivasi communities to enter into non-farm activities.

There are no non-farm activities that can be addressed exclusively to Adivasi communities. But given the right skills, members from the Adivasi communities can participate in many non- farm activities. Following are a list of some of the activities under manufacturing and processing, trade and service sectors.

Manufacturing and Processing

- Primary processing of coffee
- Processing of ginger
- Processing of non timber forest produce
- Manufacture of handicrafts with high design content
- Assembling of computers
- Processing milk products
- Manufacture of herbal medicines
- Repair of household electrical appliances
- Carpentry, furniture making
- Manufacture of value added bamboo products
- Manufacture of bio fertilizers

Service Sector

- Budget tourism related activities based on natural capital
- IT enabled services
- Repairing and servicing of farm machinery
- Waste management
- Plumbing
- Electrician
- Running auto taxi services
- Distribution and maintenance of solar energy products
- Health care services
- Veterinary services
- Catering services

Trade

- Marketing of organic products through dedicated shops
- Marketing of bio fertilizers

The above list is at best indicative. It is not possible to develop all of the above activities at the same time because each of the activity requires different type of support. It would be possible to identify some high growth and emerging sectors and examine these activities from all angles – i.e. from policy support and supporting organizations to market and technology.

We envisage units in which tribal and non-tribal members participate. NGOs can also be assigned a role in assisting tribal communities in entering RNFS. Their role will be in attempting to market new product or providing training input to the entrants.

Rehabilitation of Existing Projects

In order to improve the living condition of the Adivasi communities of the district, government of Kerala had initiated a number of projects in Wayanad since the formation of the state. Cheengeri Extension Scheme that started in 1958, The Sugandagiri Cardamom project, Vythiri that started in 1978, Pookkot Girijan Collective Farming Cooperative Society Ltd started functioning in 1979, Priyadarshini tea estate of Mananthavady started in 1986 and The Wayanad Handloom, Powerloom and Multi purpose Industrial Cooperative Society Ltd, Thrissilery started in 1999 are the major projects started in the district with the financial support from the government. Of these larger projects like Sugandagiri and Pookkot is no more functioning as the land belonging to the project was distributed among the community members owing to the demand from tribal organizations. Agriculture department uses the land belonging to Cheengeri Extension scheme for developing model plots. The only surviving projects are Priyadarshini tea estate and The Wayanad Handloom,. Powerloom and Multi purpose Industrial Cooperative Society Ltd, Thrissilery. Both these projects are running on loss, but effective rehabilitation of these projects would provide employment opportunities for up to 1500 Community members.

Rehabilitation of Priyadarshini Tea Estate, Mananthavady

It is a project run by Mananthavady Tribal Plantations Co-Operative Limited (MTPC), Mananthavady, a society formed for the socio-economic development of freed bonded tribal families of the Mananthavady Taluk in the Wayanad District. The main objective of the society was the cultivation of cash crops like Tea, cardamom, coffee and other food crops on scientific lines under the joint ownership of the society members of which are scheduled tribes and to distribute it among the members themselves or to market it outside. Only those freed from bonded labour and slave families recommended by the Government would be given membership and employment. But as per the discretion of the management, it has full right to provide, as per the availability, employment on a

temporary basis to the members of other Scheduled castes and permanently settled in the Mananthavady Taluk

The project started functioning in 1985 and the tea production began in 1996. Of the 995 hectares of the project, only 390 hectares are used by the project. Government of Kerala grant of 535.38 lakh provided the initial capital for the project. The project has seven plantations and a factory where the tea leaves procured from own plantations and bought from outside are processed to produce tea. The total number of workers currently engaged in both the factory and tea estates is 350. The total number of members in the society comes up to 193 all from the tribal communities. Till 1999 the project was running on profit. However, the current liability of the society amounts up to RS.150 lakh, major portion of which is wages due to the employees and outstanding loan of Rs.50.17 owing to Tea Board

The above plantation is a unique project started by Government of Kerala in 1986. Following the abolishment of bonded labour, a large number of members of tribal population came out of bondage, but ended up being unemployed. As plantations are labour intensive activity, the government decided to assign 390 acres of land already covered by tea plantation to a cooperative society formed by members of Adivasi communities. The society also established a CTC tea factory. During peak seasons, the factory provided employment for 750 members from Adivasi communities. Workers were given all the benefits like statutory wages with incentives, Provident Fund, gratuity, bonus etc. The unit started production in 1996. The working results are as under.

Table 6.1 Working Results of Priyadarshini Tea Estates

| Year | Tea Production(kgs) | Sales (Rs.lakhs) | Profit/loss(Rs.lakhs) |
|-------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1996-97 | 579882 | 226 | 28.7 |
| 1997-98 | 727553 | 462 | 18.3 |
| 1998-99 | 478142 | 237 | 62.3 |
| 1999-2000 | 571734 | 224 | 95.3 |
| 2000-01 | 376895 | 157 | 22.7(Loss) |
| 2000-02 | 368679 | 119 | 39.4(Loss) |

The unit was generating profit for the first four years as seen above. Thereafter the unit became loss making and gradually became sick. Continuous loss has affected the unit in more than one ways. Regular manuring and maintenance of plants are not being done. Secondly the CTC factory machinery remains not maintained properly at all

The unit apparently turned sick due to the following reasons.

- The society's production of green leaves constituted roughly 50% of the requirements. Balance was obtained from private growers who supplied coarse tea leaves. This tea started fetching lower than market prices.
- There was a crash in tea prices in the year 2000 - 01 onwards.

It is interesting to note that within such a short period of its existence, the unit marketed a brand tea "Malabar Gold" though not very successfully. The Board of Directors have come to the conclusion that the only option for successful operation of the unit will be for the plantation to produce its own tea leaves. For this purpose the plantation area will have to be expanded to 600 acres by buying 110 acres of additional land. Cost of this is estimated at Rs.1.5 Crores.

Though ten years has passed since the starting of production, only one third of its actual potential has been utilized, primarily due to lack of proper maintenance and upgrading of the machinery. On account of its loss making position, the unit was forced to cut down on maintenance. Only a small portion of the tea leaves is procured from the tea estate, making the capacity of the tea factory underutilized. The chief market for the product is the auction market at Cochin where the price for tea dust was below the production cost. Though the society had branded a tea "Malabar Gold" but it has not succeeded in effective marketing of this product. The society though has two outlets both located in Mananthavady, the sales out of these is only marginal constituting 3% of its total sales.

Another major problem faced by the Society is the lack of proper management. The post of Managing Director of the concern is usually a senior government official, usually the RDO of Wayanad district. The post is subject to frequent transfers and there are occasions in which the Managing Director of the tea estate changing in a gap of one or two months. It lacks efficient management organizational practices. The factory is suffering from lack of adequate maintenance as a result of which there is a huge production loss. In order to make the society profitable, it has made plans to convert some of the estates into cashew plantations. However, it has not succeeded in converting it owing to lack of sufficient funds.

It has been found that the society has immense potential of producing organic tea that fetched high price in international market. As chemical fertilizers and pesticides have not been used for the past few years, the existing garden can be turned into an organic farm, to meet the stipulated standards of UPASI (United Planters association of South India). Experts are of the opinion that the young nature of the plants would provide better yields and this has high export potential.

Tea prices worldwide have marked a decline in the recent years, especially after the liberalization policies followed by the government. In Kerala itself tea plantations are not doing particularly well. But there is a very good niche market for certain brand of tea like the organic tea produced without pesticides. Feasibility should be examined as to how the Priyadarshini Tea Plantation can be converted to an organic tea-producing unit addressed

to global market. This would involve a process of certification. A more elaborate marketing plan is required to identify the products and the market.

Agencies to be consulted:

- Tea Board of India, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Govt. of India, AB Path, Kurseong , West Bengal, 734 203
- UPASI Tea Research Foundation, Valparai, Coimbatore Tamil Nadu - 642127
- Indian Institute of Plantation Management, Bangalore
Jnana Bharathi Campus
P.O. Malathalli, Bangalore - 560 056.
- ACCORD, Gudallur
- INDOCERT
[Indian Organic Certification Agency]
Thottumugham P.O.
Alwaye - 5 (for organic certification)

Organic Tea

Organic tea is the fastest growing segment in the US market (US\$ 4.2 billion in 1997) and along with the EU, taken as a whole (US\$ 5 billion), it is the world's largest market followed by Japan (US\$ 1.2 billion). Forecast for 2005 indicates that the EU market for organic food could reach a retail value between £20 and £30 billion. An average of 28% growth rate and local supply unable to satisfy increasing domestic demand, EU imports of organic products account, on average, for 40% of total sale offering excellent opportunities for developing countries to export. Estimate of global trade of organic product is US\$ 100 billion by 2006. Demand for organic tea like other food items has also been growing rapidly since it was introduced in the late 1980's. Organic tea consumption has grown by about 10 percent globally.

Having seen the harmful effects of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, the world is slowly reverting to natural ways of nourishment without adulteration by chemicals. The resulting produce is said to provide a fuller and richer taste besides being healthier for consumption. India has recently launched the National Programme for Organic Production, which provides an institutional mechanism for the implementation of National Standards for Organic Products through a National Accreditation policy and programme. This accreditation system includes certification of organic farms, products and processes as per the National Standards of Organic Products (NSOP). A certification – “India Organic”, communicating the authenticity and the origin of the product, will be granted on the basis of compliance with the NSOP. Only such exporters, manufacturers and processors whose produce is duly certified by the accredited, inspection and certification agencies will use this certification mark .

The concept of organic farming is gaining ground with Indian tea planters too. India, the largest producer and consumer of tea in the world, is well known for availability of a wide variety of teas. India produced 840 million kg of tea during 2000. With the onset of liberalization, the Indian tea industry is on the threshold of a new global competition and therefore, there is an urgent need to focus on retaining and improving the competitive advantages. The same can be achieved only by improving the productivity and quality, containing the cost of production, enhancing the marketing ability and value addition. In this context, production of organic tea, a value added product, assumes considerable significance. Unlike the market trend for tea in general, demand for organic tea like other food items has also been growing rapidly since it was introduced to the world market in the late 1980's. Over the past decade, organic tea consumption has grown by about 10 percent globally. Reflecting this strong demand, organically grown teas command a premium of 30 – 40 % over conventionally produced tea. Hence, organic tea production is more remunerative than conventional tea production even after taking into consideration the lower productivity and higher production costs.

The growth in the production of organic tea from 1990 to 2000 has been 20 fold. The production of organic/organic in conversion tea was 1, 50, 000 kg in 1990 and it increased to 21, 50, 000 kg in 2000. In India, the cultivation of organic tea started in Darjeeling during 1986 and gradually spread to the tea areas of Assam and South India.

Rehabilitation of the Wayanad Handloom, Power loom and Multi purpose Industrial Cooperative Society Ltd, Thrissilery

The Society with the initial grant of Rs. 350 lakhs from the government of Kerala started functioning in 1999 with the aim of rehabilitating single Adivasi mothers of Wayanad District. Though the aim of the society is not entirely the development of the Adivasi population, the major beneficiaries of the project are adivasi women. A board of directors comprising of 7 elected members and four ex officio members runs it. The society has basic infrastructure having facilities for powerloom, handloom, training, powerhouse, houses, canteen etc. The intended beneficiaries are 540, majority of which were Adivasi women.

The initial estimate of the project was for 550 lakhs and the budget break up was as follows.

Table 6.2 Initial Estimate Wayanad Handloom Cooperative Society Ltd.

| Description | | Amount |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Land and Land Development | Rs. 25.50 Lakhs |
| 2. | Building | Rs. 221.00 Lakhs |
| 3. | Machinery | Rs. 200.00 Lakhs |
| 4. | Power connection Generator | Rs. 25.00 Lakhs |
| 5. | Pre-Operative Expenses | Rs. 10.00 Lakhs |
| 6. | Margin Money | Rs. 20.00 Lakhs |
| 7. | Contingency 10% | Rs. 48.50 Lakhs |
| Total | | Rs. 550.00 Lakhs |

Of the 550 lakh of rupees that was planned, 27.50 lakhs was from share capital, 418 lakhs from grant from government, and 104 lakhs from loans. However the society was able to procure only to procure from the government as grant, it was able to receive only 350 lakhs, which was utilized towards buildings, land, machinery, raw materials, electrification, electrical implements, houses etc. At present 52 people are working in the unit, of which 40 are belonging to tribal communities. The profitability for the first eight years of the functioning of the unit was envisaged in the initial project proposal. It was as follows-

Table 6.3 Profitability Estimate- Wayanad Handloom Cooperative Society Ltd.

| Year | Profit before depreciation (in Lakh) | Profit after depreciation (in Lakh) |
|-------------|---|--|
| 2000-01 | 30.99 | -5.10 |
| 2001-02 | 62.81 | 26.72 |
| 2002-03 | 85.74 | 49.65 |
| 2003-04 | 80.25 | 44.15 |
| 2004-05 | 74.44 | 38.34 |
| 2005-06 | 68.29 | 32.20 |
| 2006-07 | 61.80 | 25.71 |
| 2007-08 | 54.94 | 18.85 |

The textile unit now has 40 powerlooms (30 Semi-Automatic and 10 Plain Machines) 20 Handlooms, two sets of hanks to the cone winders, one sectional wrapping unit, and one yarn winder. Following is the summary of the production details of the unit since the commencement of the project. Of the production capacity of the textile unit only 60% of what was visualized initially is being utilized. . Though the unit has machineries that are reasonably update, owing to the lack of sufficient working capital it could not be utilized to its maximum potential. Since its inception, the society could not run the unit in a profitable manner. Following summary gives a profile financial situation of the unit.

Table 6.4 Financial Summary- Wayanad Handloom Cooperative Society Ltd.

| Year | Production (In Meter) | Amount-Realised (Rs.in lakhs) | G/Profit (Rs.in lakhs) | N. Loss(Rs.in lakhs) |
|-------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 2000-01 | 6676 mtr | 1.13 | - | - |
| 2001-02 | 91700 mtr. | 27.01 | 10.92 | 9.14 |
| 2002-03 | 37,421 mtr. | 16.73 | 6.42 | 9.62 |
| 2003-04 | 26,269 mtr. | 14.75 | - | 9.05 |

Currently the concern has to depend entirely on the sub-contract it receives from another textile unit in Kannur, which export the textiles produced in the society to a company in Japan. This is also a matter of chance as there is no guarantee about the orders and that the unit has no control over this. Another prospective has come up with the materializing of an agreement with NTC, signed just recently. As per this, the unit will have regular orders for 10,000 meters of cloth every month for the next one year. Own production works undertaken is very marginal though it is also possible for the unit to with stand with enough sub-contract works or orders for bulk quantities.

The marketing side is the other major problem, as the unit has no own marketing network at all. The one that is currently performed is useful only for local temple festival where the sales proceedings are only very negligible.

Agencies to be consulted:

Fair Trade Forum, India , National Administrative Secretariat
 No: 9 H D Raja Street, Eldams Road, Chennai 600018
Telephone: 91 44 4352313 / 4353084 Fax: 91 44 4342326 fairtrade@vsnl.net

National School of Design , Bangalore Centre, B112, Rajaji Nagar Industrial Estate, Bangalore 560 044
 Phone: (080) 2335 9873, 2338 7534
 Fax: (080) 2338 753 nidbc@dataone.com

Fair Trade is a growing, international movement that ensures that producers in poor countries get a fair deal. This means a fair price for their goods (one that covers the cost of production and guarantees a living income), long-term contracts that provide real security; and for many, support to gain the knowledge and skills that they need to develop their businesses and increase sales. Fair Trade guarantees producers a fair price and better trading and working conditions, enabling them to lift themselves out of poverty, preserve their culture and invest in their environment and communities. Fair Trade also means high quality and excellent value for consumers.

Development of land allotted to the Adivasi families of Sugandagiri

Sugandagiri Cardamom Project came into existence in February 1978. The project was sanctioned in 1976 under the Western Ghats Development Programme, to rehabilitate liberated bonded laborers. The administration of the project was under the Wayanad Co-operative Farming Society working under a Committee nominated by the Joint Registrar of Co-operative Societies. The project undertook of co-operative cultivation of cardamom, pepper and coffee under the supervision of the society. The project had 1500 hectares of forestland in its possession of which cardamom was planted in 850 hectors; coffee in 133 hectors, and in 160 hectors pepper. The project accommodated about 750 *adivasi* families as on the year 2000.

Following the agreement with Adivasi organizations agitating for land, government of Kerala wound up the project in 2003 and the land under the project was allocated to 438 families, with each getting 5 acres. The land allocation was based on a lot method and owing to which barring a few families majority got less developed land. As the plots allotted fall under forestland, the government was not able to give titles for it and at present the families have only possession certificate. Adivasi families holding the possession certificate do not have the right to clear the perennial trees growing on the land. Their right over the allotted land is limited only to use it without making any alteration to it. Forest department has apprehensions in providing titles for the land, as it would lead to felling of trees in mass scale leading heavy ecological damage to the fragile landscape. However, despite its limitations of the land allocation, community members are generally happy to have individual plots, winding up of the collective farm. With appropriate input, the land holdings can be utilized so as to improve the livelihood of the Adivasi communities there. Following interventions are possible to make it a viable option:

- Infrastructure Development
- Land Development
- Labour development
- Product diversification
- Centralized processing of hill produce

- Centralized marketing
- Capacity building

| Input | Action | Output |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Infrastructure development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of houses • Facility of drinking water • Maintenance of roads • Electricity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better living condition |
| Land development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watershed management • Soil conservation • Enhancing the fertility of soil • Turning organic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maximum area under utilization • Increased productivity |
| Diversification of produces | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insistence on food crops • Insistence of organic production • Floriculture • Horticulture • Animal husbandry • Fodder cultivation • Aquaculture • Non farm activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food sovereignty • Better market • Increased income |
| Training input | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skill development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better adaptability to newly introduced products • Entrepreneurship |
| Centralized processing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setting up of units for processing on various products • Storage | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value addition • Better price |
| Centralized marketing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setting up of a market network for products from Sugandagiri in Wayanad as well as outside through SHGs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better price • Better market • Employment opportunity for the educated among the community members |
| Social Preparation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity building | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowerment |

Feasibility studies have to be undertaken on converting Sugandagiri to an intensive development area for animal husbandry, organic milk, milk processing, organic vegetable and fruit production, processing of fruits, medicinal plants and processing, pisciculture and cultivation of orchids and ornamental plants. For many of these proposed activities forward linkages exist in Wayanad.

Rationale for developing Sugandagiri as a model

- Represent a state when all Adivasi families in Wayanad are provided land
- Concentration of Adivasi families in one area
- Exclusively Adivasi
- Possession right for 5 acres of land
- Underutilized land
- Availability of basic infrastructure
- Availability of expertise on produces
- Proximity to veterinary college of Kerala Agriculture University
- Forward linkages for the development of various areas identified

Sugandagiri is compact area and hence it is possible to initiate intensive development programme for the area coving both farm and non-farm activities. For selected activities forwards and backward linkages need to be worked out. Successful implementation of such projects will require investment in infrastructure and training. There is a role for social preparation for making the projects successful.

Following Agencies can be consulted for area development of Sugandagiri

- Kerala Agriculture University, Mannuthi
- Vegetable and Fruit Promotion Council Kerala, Cochin
- Coffee Board, Kalpetta
- Kerala State Diary Development Department
- Livestock Development Board, Dhoni, Palakkad
- Brahmagiri Development Society, Meenangadi
- MILMA
- Agriculture, Man, Ecology (AME Foundation), Bangalore
- CFTRI, Mysore
- Foundation for Revitalization of Local Health Traditions (FRLHT) Bangalore

Proposal for Community Based Tourism Initiative for Wayanad

Equitable utilization natural capital of Wayanad has immense potential as a livelihood option for the Adivasi communities of the district. Potential of the natural capital of the district as a livelihood opportunity for the Adivasi communities has not been sought by any agency so far. Though the emerging tourism sector of Wayanad - that generate approximately Rs.200 crores and expecting an annual growth of 12% - predominantly rely on the natural capital of the district, there has not been any significant attempt from the sector to make this revenue beneficial for the local communities.

Natural capital is a relatively recent term describing a form of capital that can be contrasted to produced/ economic capital and human/social capital. Natural capital generally refers to natural assets in their role of providing natural resource inputs and environmental services for economic production. It is different from the term natural resource. Natural resource is the source of raw materials used in the production of manufactured goods

Department of Tourism, Kerala has identified the district as a 'tourism district' in the nineties. Being well connected by road to destinations like Mysore, Bangalore and Ooty and proximity to Calicut having air and railway connections make Wayanad a potential hub for tourism in south India. It is estimated that nearly 4.5 lakh tourists are arriving Wayanad annually , mainly to the destinations identified by District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC). DTPC has already identified locations like Lakkidi (Vythiri Panchayat) , Pookkot Lake (Vythiri Panchayat) Soochippara waterfalls (Meppady Panchayat) , Kanthanpara waterfalls (Meppady Panchayat) , Meenmutty waterfalls (Muppainadu Panchayat) , Pakshippathalam (Thirunelly Panchayat) , Banasura Hills (Padinjarethara) , Vellerimala , Ambukuthymala (Nenmeni Panchayat) , Amba Hills (Vythiri Panchayat) , Narinirangi mala(Thirunelly Panchayat) , Manukkunnu (Muttill Panchayat) , Kurichianmala (Pozhuthana Panchayat) as important adventure destinations in the District. Identified heritage sites that have potential for development include Edakkal caves, and Wayanad heritage Museum in Ambalavayal, Pazassi tomb (Mananthavady) , Jain Temples (Panamaram and Sultan Bathery) , Katirakode temple (Thirunelly Panchayat) , Umamaheswari Temple (Kalpetta) and Mavilamthode (Pulpally) . Major pilgrim centers that have potential for development are Thirunelly temple (Thirunelly Panchayat) , Seethadevi temple (Pulpally) , Siva Temple (Thirunelly), Lourdes Matha Church (Pallikkunnu) , St.Judes church (Chundale) , Cheyambam church , Maidani mosque (Kalpetta) , Varambetta mosque (Padinjarethara) and Bavili mosque (Bavili) . Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary (Mananthavady / Sultan Bathery) contiguous with Nagarhole and Bandipur in Karnataka and Muthumalai in Tamil Nadu is another major destination.

Wayanad District Tourism Promotion Council has prepared a vision document to develop all these tourist destinations by providing better infrastructure facilities. However the insistence is mainly on day- trippers that would build more pressure on the environment

and there has not been any serious attempt to make it a strategy to link it with the development of the local communities with insistence of intergenerational equity.

Inter-generational equity is the principle of equity between people alive today and future generations. The implication is that unsustainable production and consumption by today's society will degrade the ecological, social, and economic basis for tomorrow's society, whereas sustainability involves ensuring that future generations will have the means to achieve a quality of life equal to or better than today's

Current stakeholders of natural capital utilization in Wayanad are private entrepreneurs (Hotels/ Resorts and home stay), District Tourism Promotion Council and Department of forest. A Non Profit organization with a stated objective to plan, initiate and support meaningful steps that lead to growth of responsible tourism in Wayanad is also active in the District. It has been found that barring a few private ventures, most of the tourism related activities in the district lack sufficient management skills and sensitivity to local needs. Most of the tourism initiatives of the district do subscribe to nature as a commodity and lack a nature-human symbiotic approach. Utilization of natural capital has not become an agenda before most of the Panchayat Raj Institutions. Developmental initiatives in Wayanad has not so far made any significant attempt to relate it with the potential openings it provides for the marginalized, including the Adivasi communities.

Tourism in Wayanad – Key issues

- Lack of sensitivity to local needs and sentiments
- Lack of sound management techniques including monitoring mechanisms
- Nature seen as mere commodity, lacking a symbiotic approach
- Top-down approach in planning
- Exclusion of Adivasi communities, the actual custodians of the natural capital
- Exclusion of Panchayat Raj Institutions in management & Planning process

Though the district revenue from natural capital utilization through tourism forms a major component of the non-farm sector income for the district, Adivasi communities forming 17% of the total population is at present do not benefit from this in any significant level. Considering this fact a new natural capital utilization strategy that would be beneficial for the Adivasi communities is proposed in the district with the possibility of 500 Adivasi community members getting direct and another 2500 indirect benefit. A detailed project feasibility study with immediate implementation strategies has to be done by the government.

Rationale for inclusion of Adivasi communities as a key component of natural capital utilization in Wayanad

- Legitimate owners of natural capital of the district
- A legitimate share/role in the utilization of natural capital
- A source of direct/supplementary/seasonal income
- Transfer of inherited traditional/historical knowledge/skills as product
- Assimilation of traditional/historical knowledge to suit modern economic growth
- Exposure to modern systems, lifestyles for social acceptability and sociological adaptability
- Ensure intergenerational equity
- Ensure a role/stake in communitarian management of common property resources

Natural capital based initiatives including tourism have better prospects for promoting pro-poor growth than many other sectors and that many of the supposed disadvantages of natural capital utilization are in fact common to most types of economic development in a globalising world. It can be mitigated with sound management practices and regulatory mechanisms. The proposed Natural Capital Management (NCM) potential of Wayanad derives from the fact that:

- The region is rich in natural capital
- Utilization of natural capital is labour intensive than manufacturing sector
- Expansion of employment and local wages
- Opportunities for linkages (for marketing value added agricultural / non-agricultural products).
- Development of collective community income
- Less hazardous than most type of economic development in globalizing world (like high industries)
- Soft option than most types of manufacturing industries especially in eco-sensitive regions
- New concepts in tourism targeted entirely for the development of the marginalized

Community Based Tourism Project of Wayanad proposes a cluster of camps for visitors/nature lovers located in various parts of the district. A portion of land already under the tribal development department (like Priyadarshini Tea Estates, Cheengeni etc can be use for this purpose). These camps will be targeted to high-end international and domestic visitors. Each camp can provide over-night accommodation facilities up to 25 guests, with modern amenities with international standard. Architecture has to be in synchrony with the environment. Wide range of activities should also be located here. This includes trekking, nature walk, educational programs and will have transportation facilities. Each camp should have provision for budget segments mainly addressed at domestic low-income group visitors, mainly students and nature lovers. A dormitory can be set for this purpose. Each camp should have kiosks that would sell value added

products from Wayanad and souvenirs and modern communication facilities like Internet service.

Proposed natural capital based development options

- Nature based - educational, trekking.
- Nature trails in collaboration with department of Forests (Like the ‘tiger trail’ in Periyar Tiger Reserve)
- Adventure - Angling, freshwater rafting
- Travel package connecting all identified tourist destinations that is managed by the Adivasi communities
- Special package for all-women visitors also by women as guides and managers
- Taxi & communication services
- Market for souvenirs, value added products from Wayanad
- Convention Centre

Rationale of Convention Centre

- Convention Centre in tune with the Meeting and Convention facility segment in international tourism
- There are no exclusive convention/training/exhibition facilities in the whole of northern Kerala
- The facility has potential to attract national/international users as well as large NGOs and IT companies and management institutions
- Wayanad is also the hub for coffee and other spice producers catering to export market

The project will have to be branded and advertised globally to target international/domestic audience who are sensitive to cultural and ecological issues. A few similar enterprises are already functioning in Wayanad under private ownership obtaining much international attention. While this project has to exist on commercial lines, it should be managed effectively without much administrative hurdles. While promoting the project maximum care has to be assured to avoid women centric advertisements, commercialization and exhibitions of Adivasi cultural and ritualistic representations.

Promotional aspects

- Dialogue with department of tourism for Special status
- Work for a brand name
- Sell the idea that the project is the celebration of indigenous knowledge systems/practices (not necessarily the poverty of the people)
- Sell the idea that the brand represents indigenous people and for their social and economic cause

Strategies for Community Based Pro-poor Tourism Initiative

- Capacity building, training and empowerment
- Management of access to natural resources
- Strategies to promote nature conservation
- Interventions in social and cultural impacts of tourism
- Improved services and infrastructure facilities
- Dialogue with private sector for collaborative operations
- A sound Environmental Management Systems -EMS- to be prepared inclusive of environmental assessment and valuation to act as a guideline for all involved.
- Visitor Management System
- Benefit sharing mechanism between stakeholders (Panchayat Raj institutions, community etc)
- Collaboration to be worked out between different stakeholders
- Historical development of the resource-use pattern, dependency and existing system of resource management in these areas.
- Revamping of economic modeling, incorporating advanced management techniques of international standards (long-term economic projections for sustainability)
- Internationally accepted 'Product' development and 'pricing' (environmental and economic standards)
- An independent expert body to be constituted to work for consensus between stake holders, wetting of project proposals, monitoring and to ensure fair play and also to address the negative aspects of mass tourism development

Input

- Capacity Building and training
- Infrastructure
- Advanced management
- Environmental Management System
- Interventions in social and cultural impacts of natural capital utilization
- Dialogue with private sector for collaborative operations
- Historical development of the resource-use pattern, dependency and existing system of resource management in these areas
- Revamping of economic modeling, incorporating advanced management techniques of international standards (long-term economic projections for sustainability) and Internationally accepted 'Product' development and 'pricing' (environmental and economic standards)
- An independent expert body
- Linkage with Panchayat Raj Institutions

Output

- Empowerment and new skills
- Better services
- Management of access to natural resources
- Disapproval of ethnic tourism
- Better access to market
- Streamlining public-private partnership
- Sustainability and benefit sharing
- Attracting international tourists
- For building consensus between stake holders, conflict resolution, wetting of project proposals, monitoring and to ensure fair play and also to address the negative aspects of mass tourism development
- Transparency and local economic development
-

SWOT Analysis of Community Based Natural Capital Management opportunities in Wayanad benefiting Adivasis

Strengths

- Declared as a Tourism District by Government
- An estimated number of 4.5 lakh of tourists, mostly domestic are visiting Wayanad every year and it is expected to increase.
- Natural capital
- Good network of small towns
- Reasonably good telecommunication & road network
- Reasonably good health care facilities
- Access by road to bigger cities like Calicut/ Mysore / Bangalore
- Reasonably good development indicators compared to other similar destinations in the Western Ghats

Weakness

- Infrastructure not developed to accommodate increasing tourist arrival in the District
- No serious effort from the part of government to attract upper end tourists (domestic as well as international)
- No strategy from the government to make the tourism potential pro poor/sustainable/community managed
- Panchayat Raj Institutions/ Local people/community are not the stake holders in the tourism sector
- Total absence of indigenous people in tourism promotion/development activities
- No evidence of any direct 'trickle down effect' of tourism economy to the indigenous people
- Exclusion of indigenous people as beneficiaries of public fund spending for tourism

Opportunities

- Tremendous potential for ecotourism
- Potential to attract international tourism
- Potential for state – private sector – community linkages
- Potential to make use of the emerging trends in equitable tourism
- Linkage with the market for value added products and non-farm activities
- Direct and indirect employment opportunity for significant section of local population
- Employment opportunity for Adivasi population /community participation
- Wise use of conservation practices of natural capital

Threats

- Environmental destruction
- Negative social/ cultural consequences
- Instability of tourism industry
- Tourist crowding resulting excess consumption of natural resources
- Conflict of interests between Pro-poor Tourism initiative and private tourism providers

Mitigation measures Envisaged

- Environmental degradation – can be handled by Environment Management System (EMS)
- Negative social/ cultural consequences – can be managed by Expert Body
- Instability of tourism industry – Can be managed through Visitor Management System (VMS)
- Tourist crowding and resulting excess consumption of natural resources – can be managed through VMS
- Conflict of interests between pro-poor-private-department tourism providers – can be managed by the expert body

Visitor Management System

- Visitor Management System addresses issues relating to ecological, social and tourist traffic - through assessment studies of carrying capacity.
- It formulates strategies to enhance/stabilize fluctuations in tourism earnings
- VMS would address resource consumption and management - reuse/recycling of water, cost-effective treatment systems, waste management etc
- VMS would identify and also recommend architecture suitable for the location.
- VMS prepares blueprint for infrastructure development
- VMS will work on economic modeling of visitor earnings and spending
- VMS will set guidelines for natural capital utilization and conservation measures
- Design monitoring and auditing mechanism

Environmental Management Systems

- EMS will assess nature capital - biodiversity indexing and valuation - and will provide a list of potential environmental impacts
- EMS will suggest a set of operational procedures for monitoring, controlling and reducing the impacts, and recording the results
- A procedure for audit

Part of the first element can come directly from already existing forest management records, EIA reports etc. New data too need to be generated afresh for the identified purpose. The second should be part of the management procedures. The third is an extra management procedure needed to demonstrate and ensure that the rest of the EMS is working effectively.

Detailed estimate of the project and mode of implementation has to be worked out in consultation with expert agencies, planners, community members and Panchayat Raj Institutions. Provisions have to be made to identify and nurture potential future managers for the project from the local community to impart professional management education through premier institutions. Since the key component of the project is Adivasi development, a part of the cost of the project has to be subsidized for an incubation period of three years. After the incubation period, the ownership of the project should wholly be bestowed with the community members. During the incubation period, the community members have to be imparted with new skills in hospitality/ natural capital management/tourism industry by the best agencies available in the field. Professionals would manage the project even after the incubation period until management professionals from the community emerge and are capable of managing the project independently. The project can provide direct employment to 500-600 persons and indirect employment to 2500.

Expert Agencies Suggested for further consultation

- Tourism planners in Government sector
- Indian Institute of Travel and Tourism Management
- Indian Institute of Management
- Kerala Forest Research Institute
- Forest Department, Government of Kerala
- Experts at Periyar tiger reserve
- CWRDM
- School of Planning and Architecture
- State Planning Board Experts
- Private entrepreneurs
- Groups promoting fair trade

Comprehensive Animal Husbandry Scheme

Animal husbandry is reasonably developed in the district. According to 2003 livestock census the district has 110496 cattle in the district and during 2003-04, 33339900, liters of milk was procured by milk societies alone in Wayanad. There are 12 veterinary hospitals and 9 key village centers in the district. Kerala Agriculture University has set up a veterinary college in Lakkidi. Dairy is a subsidiary economic activity for a significant section of the population of the district. However for Adivasi communities, particularly for the vulnerable sections, dairying is not an important economic activity. A recently conducted study on the animal husbandry of Adivasi communities by Sri.Sachithanandan, a social activist based in Kalpetta points out that, of the total 903 Adivasi families in Kalpetta Municipality, only 43 families have cows. It also shows that almost all cows under possession of Adivasi communities are of local breed and only 5% of the families use artificial feed. It has also identified the women component of the farming. It has also

observed that government funds have not been utilized effectively for the development of dairy among the communities. Also Banks are not very keen in providing support for

Rationale for integrated animal husbandry for Adivasi communities in Wayanad

- A supplementary income.
- Can be maintained in thatched sheds
- Income throughout the year
- Women employment
- Cow dung as manure
- Availability of veterinary services
- Extension services of Dairy Development Department and Kerala Agricultural University
- Possibility of production of organic milk
- Market demand for organic milk production
- Linkage to farm activities
- Insistence of dairy in Wayanad by government
- Possibility of decentralized production

Input Needed

- Availability of organic cattle feed
- Cultivation of green fodder
- Training in animal husbanding and organic milk production
- Veterinary services
- Facility to collect milk from households
- Centralized Storage and marketing arrangement
- Bank finance/Government subsidies

SWOT analysis for comprehensive dairy development scheme for Adivasi communities of Wayanad

Strengths

- Availability of fodder
- Demand
- Better margin for organic milk
- Availability of expertise

Weaknesses

- Lack of dairying skills of the communities
- Logistics of procuring and storage
- Market linkage
- Processing

Opportunities

- Supplementary income
- Employment for women
- Nutritive component

Threats

- Competition

District Panchayat can take initiative to take up a all Adivasi organic milk production in Wayanad. The district has 27 veterinary hospital, having at least one in each Panchayat. In addition the district has veterinary college of Kerala Apiculture University having extension services. Kerala Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation Limited (MILMA) has a chilling plant functioning

Education

As per 1981 Census, Wayanad district had a total literacy rate of 58.33 percent and for the adivasi population, it was a mere 20.74 per cent, thus indicating a gap of 37.59 percentage points. Within a decade, i.e. by 1991, total literacy level for the district had grown to 82.72 per cent while that of the adivasi population had grown to 50.74 %. Thus literacy level of adivasi communities in the District had not only increased substantially in absolute levels, it had also improved by 5.61 percentage points vis-à-vis non-adivasi communities. The baseline survey conducted by CEx-IIMK in 2004 reveals that the literacy level of Adivasi communities of the district is 65%. However community-wise there are remarkable differences. The communities with low economic background like Adiyam, Kattunaickan and Urali Kuruman form the lower rungs in educational achievement.

Though the tribal communities remain much behind the other communities of the district, majority of the members of population can read and write. Baseline data has revealed that 45% of tribals have formal schooling. But interestingly there is a significant section of population who can read or write though they have not been through a formal schooling process. This indicates the fact that the Total Literacy Program has been very effective. Adivasi community members generally view modern education as desirable for better living.

Educational Infrastructure

Wayanad district has 63 High schools, 73 Upper Primary Schools and 144 Lower primary schools 6 Vocational Higher Secondary Schools and 24 Higher Secondary Schools where Adivasi children are given education free of cost. Apart from these schools there are five Residential Schools run by Tribal Development Department where Adivasi children get upper primary and secondary education. Baseline Survey has revealed that barring a few, for most of the Adivasi settlements in the district school are available within a radius of 2.5 Kilometers. Most of the Adivasi settlements of the District are connected by road and students have access to schools even if they are located away from the settlements. For Upper Primary and High School going children, Scheduled Tribes Development Department has set up separate hostels for girls and boys.

Pre-metric hostels:

Scheduled Tribes Development Department, Government of Kerala has set up 31 pre-metric hostels in the district with 6 in Kalpetta, 12 in Sultan Bathery and 13 in Mananthavady. Nearly one thousand Adivasi children are attending either upper primary or secondary school from these hostels. An amount of Rs.500/- is spent on each Upper Primary School child and Rs.600/- for each student attending high school by tribal

development department to cover meals and other expenses. In addition to that, the children are given two pairs of dress a year, stationeries and notebooks. Students who attend schools from these hostels are also given lump sum grand usually given to other students. However they are not given monthly stipend usually allotted for Adivasi children attending the school. Till recently the welfare of the hostel was exclusively a departmental affair. Since 2004-05, local Panchayats take active role in the welfare of the hostel students. A hostel management committee with Village Panchayat President is monitoring the welfare of the hostel. The members of the committee includes the Panchayat President, elected member of the ward, elected tribal members of the Panchayat, Tribal promoters working within the Panchayat, social workers, tribal hostel warden and representatives of parents of the inmates.

Model Residential Schools

At present there are four Model Residential Schools and one Ashram school in Wayanad District. Students are selected to these schools based on written examination. These schools provide free boarding, lodging and education for the students. In addition to this, the students are also given some small allowance for their personal requirements. These schools have better facilities compared with other government or aided schools where majority of the Adivasi children are studying. The principal and the teaching staff of the school are deputed from the Department of Education, Government of Kerala; the administrative staff is deputed from the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Development Department.

Students are selected for MRS based on written test. The students admitted in these schools have better performance level compared to the rest of the schools and the drop out rate is minimum at the school. Principals who head these institutions are assuming their position almost at the end of their career and tend to remain in their job only for short periods. For the better functioning of these institutions, it is important that the head of institutions remain in their position for at least five years. For the post of teachers as well as principals, it may be appropriate to ask for their option to be posted in these schools, so that a certain amount of commitment can be expected. Postings to these institutions should not be viewed as punishment. Teachers from Adivasi communities may also be invited to join these schools.

Problems of Education among Adivasi Children of Wayanad

Scheduled Tribes Development Department, Government of Kerala allots major portion of its budgetary provision for economic development, which is spent for education considering the educational backwardness of the community. Beginning from the enrollment of Adivasi children in primary school, Scheduled Tribes Development Department is providing educational incentives for the children. This includes lump sum

grant, scholarship, free tuition, hostile facilities, free textbooks, free uniform, and incentives for parents etc. For primary school children belonging to Adivasi communities, a monthly lump sum grant of Rs. 95/- is given. In addition to the lump sum grant, the primary school children are also given a monthly stipend of Rs. 35/-. For secondary school going children the monthly lump sum grant is Rs.155/- and stipend is Rs.40/-. For high school going children the lump sum grant is Rs. 225 and stipend is RS.45/-. An Adivasi student who attends Plus Two courses get a monthly stipend of Rs.475/-. Apart from these parents of Adivasi children belonging to Paniyan and Kattunaickan communities get an incentive for encouraging children to attend primary school. Parents are given Rs.50/- per month on the condition that their children fulfill 70% of primary school attendance. In order to ensure maximum attendance, Scheduled Tribes Development Department has set up a number of hostels for Adivasi children undergoing upper primary and high school education where they can stay and attend schools nearby. There are 6 such hostels in Kalpetta, 12 in Sultan Bathery and 13 in Mananthavady. For those who stay in hostels, an amount of Rs, 500/- is spent for food and other expenses. For high school students the amount is Rs.600/-

According to official statistics, 17% of the total children attending schools in Wayanad belong to Adivasi communities. The figure indicates that proportion of Adivasi communities to general population in the district is maintained in school enrollment also. The study has revealed that there is 100% enrollment of Adivasi children in schools. However there is 6% drop out of Adivasi children at primary school and 8% at upper primary school level. The drop out rate at high school level is 1.55%, which is lower than the general drop out rate of school children in high school in Wayanad. However the percentage of students who get through SSLC examination is very low. Those who get through SSLC go for higher education. Available data indicate that 6% of the total ST children enrolled for Plus Two education in the district belong to Adivasi communities. Considering the fact that 17% of the total population of Wayanad is Adivasi, the proportion is not maintained in higher secondary education. Now we examine education at the three levels ie primary, secondary and high school.

Primary Education

The district has 144 primary schools either aided or run by government. Adivasi children get free education in these schools along with the incentives provided by the Scheduled Tribes Development Department . Children are also given mid-day meal along with other students of poor economic background. Since the introduction of decentralized plan primary schooling is under local Panchayats and the Panchayat standing committee looks after the functioning of schools. As a mandatory arrangement, in all schools a Parent Teachers Association (PTA) is functioning to support the school authorities/ local Panchayat in its day-to-day activities. It also monitors the performance of school. In localities where Adivasi population is high, parents of Adivasi children take active part in the PTA meetings.

In most of the schools where Adivasi children form a significant section of the students, their composition is multi-ethnic. It has also been observed that a major section of students attending these schools – governmental or aided – belong to poorer sections of the district and they share much in common with Adivasi students in terms of economic background. Most of the schools have basic infrastructure. School children are provided mid-day meals.

Though non-enrollment of Adivasi children was usual till a few years ago, today every child attaining school going age is enrolled in primary school. Involvement of Panchayats, Parent Teachers Association, tribal promoters and tribal extension officers ensure maximum enrollment. In aided schools where there is shortage of student enrollment, even local school management encourages children for enrollment. It has been found that the parents of majority of Adivasi primary school children are literates. Interviews with parents have revealed that most of them send their children as a social norm. However available data indicates that there is approximately 6% drop out at primary level. Considering the fact that the general drop out rate of primary school children in the district is 2.58%, relatively high drop out rate of Adivasi children invites special attention. It is also important that unlike non-Adivasi students, there is a high degree of absenteeism / irregular attendance resulting in relatively low performance of children.

Upper Primary Education

The district has 74 Upper primary schools. Since 9th plan schools are under the District Panchayat and district Panchayat Standing Committee is in charge of it. As in the case of Lower Primary Schools, most of these schools have basic infrastructure. It also has facilities computer etc. The day-to-day activities of the school are monitored by Parent Teachers Association as in the case of primary schools. While there is a general drop out rate of 2.09% at upper primary level, the drop out rate for Adivasi children is 8.01 indicating relatively high drop out at primary school. It has been observed that performance level of Adivasi children at upper primary schools are below the desired level and teachers presume that it is a product of high degree of absenteeism , irregular attendance and indifferent parental support

High School Education

The district has 64 high schools either aided or governmental where Adivasi children obtain free education. Since the 9th Plan the high schools are under District Panchayat and Parent Teachers Association monitors welfare activities of the schools. Most of the schools satisfy basic requirement for students in terms of infrastructure and facilities like play ground, library, laboratory and computer facilities. Adivasi children form a considerable segment of the high school going children. As per the data available with the department of Education, the drop out of Adivasi children at high school level is very low in comparison with the general drop out rate at school level. High school drop out rate for Adivasi children is just 1.05% while the figure for non- Adivasi children is almost three times higher, 4.02%. However performance level of Adivasi here again is low as in the case of primary schools and secondary schools. At the same time it has to be remembered that Wayanad generally falls behind other districts in Kerala in terms of SSLC results.

Problems relating to Residential Schools

Teachers as well as the principals who are posted to MRS and Ashram Schools have very little knowledge about Adivasi communities or for that matter the problems that these communities are facing. Despite all the facilities residential schools offer there is an environment of severe restriction that contrasts sharply with the perception of ‘freedom’ in the Adivasi way of life. Students have to live their life in campus that remain insulated from the cultural setting of the Adivasi communities.

Performance level of students

Qualitative study has revealed that performance level of students is very low compared with the other communities and there is a significant drop out rate primary and secondary level. According to the official statistics of the Department of Public Education, 6% of Adivasi children drop out at primary level and 8% at upper primary level while the figure for general population is following are the key issues relating low performance of Adivasi children at schools.

At Focus Group discussions with the teachers some of the related issues surfaced.

Teachers of Sugandagiri GUP School opined as under:

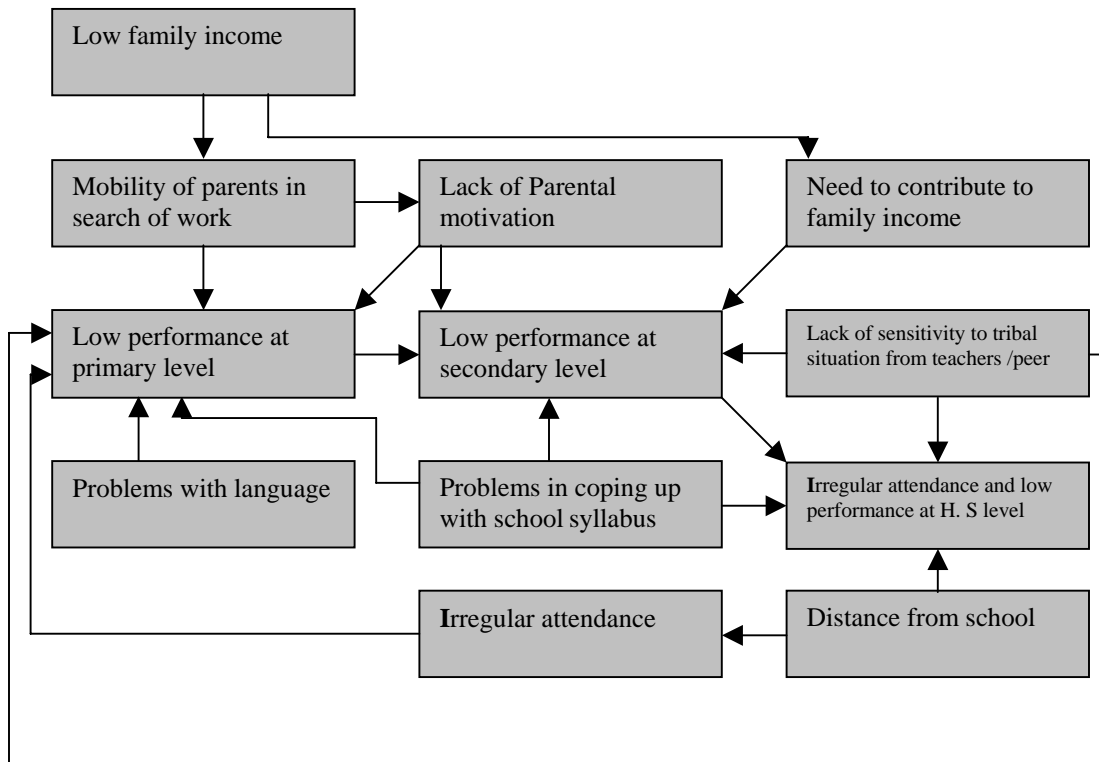
- Adivasi students have difficulty in completing home assignments due to lack of guidance and facilities from home. They are in a position to complete these, only at school under the guidance of teachers.
- Adivasi students are generally weak in science and mathematics.
- Adivasi students are generally less responsive in class
- Parental motivation is very low

The baseline survey and the qualitative research has revealed following significant issues relating to the adivasi children of the district

- Majority of Adivasi communities of Wayanad has basic literacy

- 100% enrollment of Adivasi children at primary level
- Majority of the parents of the tribal children now in schools have basic literacy
- The community members send children more or less as a social norm
- Community-wise difference in literacy levels with traditionally land holding communities have high literacy rate in par with general population of the district
- Majority of Adivasi children attend school till secondary level, but their performance is below desired level
- Relatively high level of absenteeism leading to drop out of a section from primary and upper primary level
- Irregular attendance is high among the most vulnerable (traditionally landless) communities like Adiyam, Paniyan, Kattunaickan and Urali Kuruman
- Performance of students at residential school is better, compared to their counterparts in other schools
- Level of educational achievement of all the communities lag behind the general population of the district
- Children who get through secondary education generally go for higher studies
- Proportion of Adivasi students to general students is very low at +2 level
- In higher education, the presence of Adivasi children is very negligible
- Lack of sensitivity from the part of teachers and peers towards tribal issues
- Language and problems of syllabus
- Ill health
- Poor economic condition of parents
- Pedagogy
- Presence of a large number of at risk children
- Lack of sufficient access to power, information and pivotal transactions in society.

Key issues relating to poor performance of Adivasi children in schools is shown in the flow chart below



Poverty

Poor economic background of the parents is a key issue that is directly related to irregular attendance of Children, particularly in the case of vulnerable sections of Adivasi communities of Wayanad. Poor economic condition of parents often demand movement of parents to distant palaces, leaving grown up children at home for looking after the younger children. Poor economic background of parents also demands the income of school going children, forcing them to take up agriculture/forest related jobs at early age.

Low parental motivation:

Though it is conventional to attribute the low levels of parental motivation as the major cause for irregular attendance, the baseline study and the focus group interviews reveal this is only one among numerous equally important issues. The study has revealed that almost all parents of the primary school going children have basic literacy and they send their children as a social norm. But parents in most cases are not literate enough to provide input for school going children.

Problems relating to syllabus

There is a general perception that primary school syllabus is heavy for tribal children and this is one reason why absenteeism is high among the children. However, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, the present education method followed in schools is addressing these issues. Another issue relate to home assignments. Teachers of schools have stated that students from adivasi communities have difficulties in completing their home assignments. It would be appropriate if the home assignments were completed in school under guidance of teachers.

Language

Though the parents of Adivasi children generally do not acknowledge, teachers are of the opinion that medium of instruction is a major issue confronted by Adivasi children in coping up with primary education. According to teachers, Malayalam vocabulary of Adivasi children is not adequate enough to follow basic lessons at a desired level. It has been observed that the children belonging to Kattunaickan and Urali Kuruman communities face this issue more acutely compared to the rest of the Adivasi children of the district as the language spoken at home is more related to Kannada than Malayalam. Moreover these communities are relatively isolated from rest of the population of the district as most of their settlements are located at the fringes of forest where the interaction with others are minimal. However majority of the Adivasis, it appears inadequacy of Malayalam vocabulary is not a major issue as (a) reasonably good number of children obtain pre-primary education through ICDS run Anganawadis where they where they acquire Malayalam vocabulary (b) Most of the parents of the primary school going children are literates and Malayalam is being increasingly used as the spoken language at home. For relatively isolated communities like Kattunaickan special attention has to be made for teaching Malayalam. The newly introduced peripatetic education program for Primitive Tribal Groups, is attempting to provide hamlet level education.

Distance from School

In moist of the tribal settlements the school facility is available within a radius of 2.5 Kilometers. Road and this connect almost all tribal settlements; it has to be assumed that is not a major issue confronted by the children.

Health

Ill health is a major issue confronted by Adivasi children, leading to irregular attendance of children at school. This is more frequent in the case of vulnerable communities like Adiyan, Paniyan, Kattunaickan and Urali Kuruman communities.

Lack of sensitivity from the part of teachers and peers towards tribal issues

It has been observed that in Wayanad only a negligible section of the teachers belong to Adivasi communities. Among the teachers, a major section is from other district who are not thorough with Adivasi situation. Special training to fulfill for disadvantaged section has to be done, SSA is attempting to address these issues but how far it can be successful is yet to be analyzed.

Irregular attendance leading to drop out

Nearly 15% of the total students studying in Wayanad belong to Adivasi communities. The figure is almost proportionate to the total Adivasi population of the district. Literacy wise Wayanad is one of the backward districts of the State. 2001 census data reveals that the literacy rate of the district is 86% while that of the State is 90.92%. According to the statistics available at Department of Education, Wayanad has the highest drop out rate in Kerala. There is a general drop out of 2.58% at primary school level, 2.09 at Upper primary level and 4.02% at high school. Corresponding figures for Adivasi children are 6.10%, 8.01% and 1.55%. From the data available with Education Department it is seen that drop out rate is very high compared to general population in the district. District wise information on drop out rate indicate that drop out rate is very high among the Scheduled tribes of the district. However it has to be assumed that in recent years, owing to many measures taken by the government, particularly local Panchayats, the drop out rate might have reduced to a further down. The data also indicate that as a general trend in Adivasi education in Kerala, students who reach high school continue their studies till 10th standard. It has clearly indicated that drop out at High School level is only 1.55%. Interestingly this figure is lower than the general drop out rate at high school level in Wayanad. Reduced drop out rate of Adivasi children at high school is a general trend seen in Kerala, signaling some positive trend among the communities towards higher education. The issue Adivasi children face in Wayanad is mainly that of absenteeism often leading to drop out, and poor performance level.

Problems relating to Adivasi communities were analyzed thoroughly, based both on qualitative and quantitative and following suggestions are made to improve the educational situation of the Adivasi communities of Wayanad:

- Provision of regular income for parents
- Special training for teachers in schools where tribal children are studying
- Special programs for 'at risk' community children like the Paniyan, Kattunaickan, Adiyar and Urali Kuruman.
- Special mentoring for students staying at tribal hostels.

- More number of Model Residential Schools and Ashram Schools for providing quality education
- Special programs for dropouts.

Economic Backwardness

The most important issue confronted by the Adivasi children is the poverty of their parents, which can be addressed only by providing land to the landless and initiating large number of income earning programmes both in farm and non farm sector.

Sensitizing the teachers.

Majority of the teachers now working in schools where there is a significant Adivasi population, it seems are not very thorough with the issues confronted by the children of Adivasi communities. The teachers need to be sensitized through intensive programs that would provide them thorough knowledge on tribal situation in Wayanad. District Panchayat, Department of Education and tribal development department with the support of specialized agencies within and outside the state need to take up a massive program in sensitizing the teachers. Special incentives can be given to teachers for the program. A significant portion of the fund allocated for tribal development has to be utilized for this purpose.

Programs for at risk communities

It has been found children belonging to Paniyan, Adiyani Urali Kuruman and Kattunaikkan form the children at risk having high incidence of drop out and poor performance level. The major reason is the economic backwardness of the community and the lack of resource base. Poor parental motivation is also seen in these communities forming nearly two third of the Adivasi population of the district. Skilled persons have to be appointed by government / district Panchayat for the mentoring of the community members. Settlement level campaign has to be undertaken with the support of local self-governments and the tribal development department.

Mentoring at tribal hostels

Though the tribal hostels in the district provide tuition facilities for children who are weak, it seems they have not given better results indicated by the fact that the performance level of children. Through effective mentoring, attitudinal changes in favour

of education can be attained. Specially trained experts have to be assigned for this purpose.

Increasing the number of Model Residential Schools and Ashram Schools

Only a small section of the Adivasi children in Wayanad get admission to residential schools., where the performance level of children is relatively better and the drop out rate is very low. Tribal development department can take initiative to open more residential schools in the district that should be able to cover at least majority of the school children in a phased manner. In such schools special training can be imparted along with the existing syllabus, with changes in pedagogy. Tribal development department manages the schools at present where the teachers are from the department of education. Teachers need to be specially recruited fro these schools and be given intensive training. Model residential schools can be started in every Panchayat where tribal population forms 20% and admissions can be given to children win the neighbouring centers. Special recruitments have to be made from Wayanad, selection of which has to be done from the tribal communities. Prior to the appointments, an intensive training input has to be given to teachers at the schools on issues related to Adivasi communities. There should also be various issues concerning tribal languages, economic life and sensitizing.

Special programs for dropouts

Students who have dropped out of schools practical training has to be given in various skills that need for existing farming sector as well as the emerging openings in Wayanad. Training programs that last for longer duration need to be done and areas like floriculture, fisheries, using for modern agriculture implements, bio-farming and new agriculture methods has to be provided. Training can also be given in traditional crafts, carpentry, maintenance and repair of household electrical appliances etc. This should function as a parallel scheme of education with regular courses. Students admitted for such courses need to be given special incentives too and an agency can be constituted for the placement of such students.

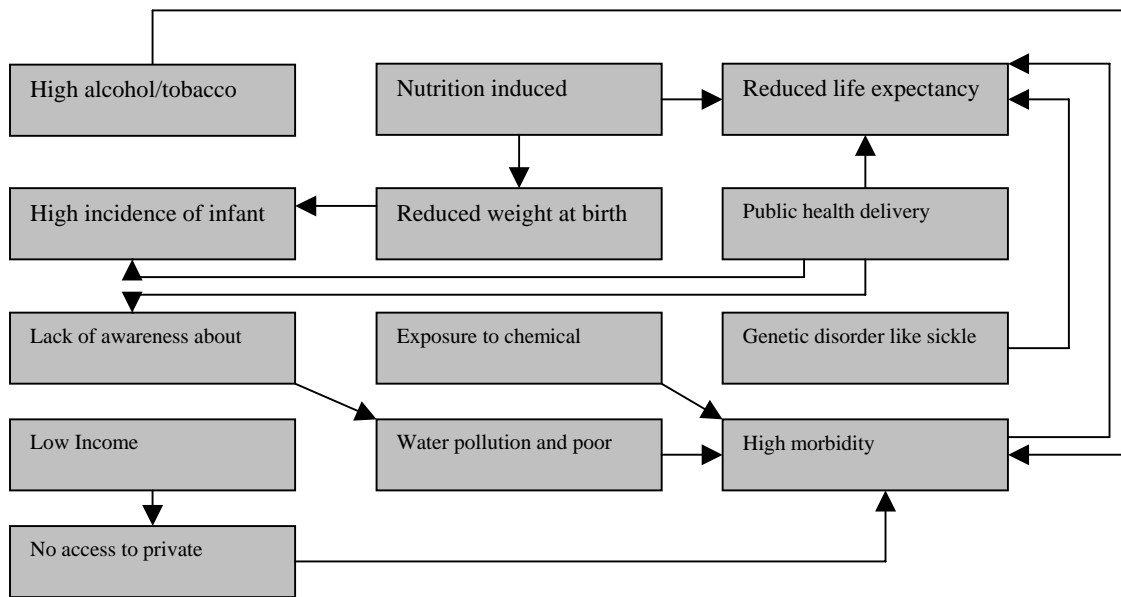
Following organization can be consulted in developing an effective education programs for the Adivasi children of Wayanad

- ACCORD Gudallur

Health

The baseline study reveals that the life expectancy of Adivasi communities is low, with majority of the population belonging to the age group of 30-40. It is observed that on an average 16% of the meager monthly income of a family is spent on medicine, indicating the high morbidity among the communities. It is also found from the survey that the life expectancy is low among the communities. Actual data on Infant mortality Rate is not available, but it has to be assumed that there should be high infant mortality rate among the communities, particularly among the vulnerable communities. Poverty coupled with genetic issues, high consumption of tobacco and alcohol, low nutritional intake, unhygienic surroundings and the exposure to chemical fertilizers and pesticides form the main reasons for the distressing health situation of the communities. Following flow chart explains the health related issues of Adivasi communities.

Key issues relating to the health condition of Adivasi communities



Genetic disorder

Most of the Adivasi communities of Wayanad, there is high incidence of genetic disorder such as sickle cell anemia that are directly related many diseases and low expectancy. Communities being small in size, the possibility of inheriting the traits from parents is high. In Wayanad at present there is no facility for effective treatment of sickle cell anemia result of which is that the victims have to live with that. Only the Vivekananda Medical Mission in Muttill has basic facilities for treating the anemia. They also run a rehabilitation program for sickle cell patients.

Sickle cell anemia is an inherited disease in which the red blood cells, normally disc-shaped, become crescent shaped. As a result, they function abnormally and cause small blood clots. These clots give rise to recurrent painful episodes called "sickle cell pain crises." This genetic disorder, mainly found among the mountain people, is due to the traits they developed in their body in resisting malaria. Sickle cell anemia is caused by an abnormal type of hemoglobin called hemoglobin S that reduces the amount of oxygen inside the cells, distorting their shape. The fragile, sickle-shaped cells deliver less oxygen to the body's tissues, disrupting blood flow.

Sickle cell anemia is inherited as an autosomal recessive trait, which means it occurs in someone who has inherited hemoglobin S from either of the parents. Although sickle cell disease is present at birth, symptoms usually don't occur until after 4 months of age. Sickle cell anemia may become life threatening. Blocked blood vessels and damaged organs can cause acute painful episodes, or "crises." Patients with sickle cell disease need continuous treatment, even when they are not having a painful crisis. Approximately 50% of victims of this disorder do not survive beyond age of 20 years.

As per the estimate of the pathology department of Calicut Medical Colleges, there are nearly 50000 potential victims of this trait majority of which are Adivasi communities. However this sickness is not generally seen among Kurichian community. Existing treatment facilities do not provide complete cure for the disease. The Vivekananda Mission is conducting a research program in collaborating with Kottakkal Ayurveda College for developing herbal medicine that would cure the sickle cell trait.

High tobacco/Alcohol consumption

Chewing of tobacco and consumption of alcohol is very high among the communities, again among the vulnerable sections. On an average nearly 10% of the total earning per month is spent on these, as per the survey. Community wise data show that the poorer segment of the Adivasis spends more on this. High consumption of tobacco/alcohol coupled with low intake of nutrition causes a number of diseases.

Low nutritional intake

Qualitative interviews have shown that the nutritional intake is very low among the communities. Owing to poor economic condition, calorie/protein rich food is not consumed. The issue is very acute in the case of women who depend only on partially filling meals, often once in a day. Traditional food habits have changed drastically and the wild tubers, which formed a part of the food, is not common, except for a few families. Availability of wild tubers which once was the part of the food habit is not very commonly used today. Food sovereignty is a major issue that relate to lower nutritional

intake. Most of the families have five to 50 cents of land, but rarely these land holdings are cultivated with food crops.

Exposure to Chemical fertilizers and pesticides

Due to the changes in crop pattern, high input agriculture is the major economic activity of the population, Often agricultural laborers are handling hazardous items without protective measures.

Poor sanitation and hygienic condition

Though majority of the families have access to drinking water facilities either by well or perennial sources, owing to the surrounding hygienic condition

In the Baseline Survey it is found that Adivasi communities prefer modern medicine to traditional practices and other systems of medicine. The community members have access to government hospital/ primary health centers that where they can avail medical facilities free of cost. Since the 9th Plan, primary health centers are under the supervision of local Panchayats and basic facilities are available for the common sicknesses. When /If medicines are not available at the PHCs, the doctors prescribe medicines outside and the cost of these medicines are met by the Tribal Development Department on production of the bills. Apart from the PHCs, the Adivasi communities can avail free medical facilities in two hospitals run by Non Governmental Organizations, viz., Vivekananda Mission Hospital at Mutil and Amrita Hospital at Kynatty.

Major issue confronted by the communities is the issue of inpatients. In Wayanad PHCs lack sufficient facilities for inpatients and longer duration sickness cannot be easily attend locally. For special treatment in such cases they are referred to Calicut medical College where the treatment is possible. On deserving cases Tribal development Department provides ambulance facility. But in most of the cases owing to lack of money to spend for travel, the community members are in a position to go to primary health centers. Due to the same reason, the community members cannot afford the expenditure in those cases when hospital admission is necessary. In some cases the tribal development department provide some amount for bystanders, but the Tribal Extension Officers who are having frequent contact with the community members are not in a position to provide support, as they do not have power to allot money in such cases. The deserving patients need to approach the concerned Tribal Development Officer (TDO) for support and often it is time consuming. However it has been observed that in genuine cases, tribal development department provide necessary support for the patient as well as for bystander.

As a part of the Mananthavady Health Project, a hospital has started functioning for the benefit of scheduled tribe people. The construction work of the hospital buildings is at the final stage. The project is a Central Scheme bearing 75 % of the total cost of RS 1 crore and 79 lakhs. The aim of the project is to provide modern medical facilities. Research about the diseases prevalent among the scheduled tribes and awareness campaigns on these diseases Propaganda are also going on in connection with the Mananthavady Health Project. Every year medical camps are being conducted in selected places involving expert medical practitioners.

Infrastructure available

- PHC/Hospitals within a distance of five kilometers
- Two NGO run hospitals where treatment/medicine is free for Adivasis
- Partly functioning mobile health unit of the tribal development department
- 430 paid tribal promoters (social animators appointed by Tribal Development Department to monitor tribal settlements and to report immediate needs)
- Provision for free medicine from Tribal Development Department (on production of bills on medicine prescribed by Government doctors)
- Local Self Government's intervention on primary health

Table 6.5 Governmental Health Facilities

| Block | Govt Hospital | Dispensary | Primary Health Centre | Community Health Centre | Family Welfare Centre |
|--------------|---------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Kalpetta | 2 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 7 |
| Mananthavady | 1 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 14 |
| S.Batheri | 2 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 7 |

Table 6.6 Hospital Beds available in the City

| Block | Govt Hospital | Dispensary | Primary Health Centre | Community Health Centre | Family Welfare Centre |
|--------------|---------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Kalpetta | 14 | 40 | 26 | 40 | 7 |
| Mananthavady | 0 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 14 |
| S.Batheri | 57 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 7 |

Suggestions

- Health sector should be in the hands of government
- NGOs can play only a supportive role in the health programs
- Aspirations of Adivasi communities are high and they would rely more on professionally qualified hands than with specially trained nurses from the community or 'bare foot doctors';.
- Health initiative for BPL families in Wayanad will be more effective than programs intended exclusively for Adivasi communities. BPL families would cover Adivasi families also.
- Make use of the universal health insurance scheme of the central government
- Of the premium of Rs.500/-, Rs.200/- can be met by Scheduled Tribe Development Department/ local bodies
- Make use of the Governmental machinery (PHCs, Calicut medical college) for insurance claim
- Health insurance covers the inpatients only and it would be good if Adivasi communities are charged for treatment, expenditure incurred can be claimed by PHCs and Medical College
- Introduce special drug bank at PHCs and Medical College for the exclusive use of Adivasi communities
- Issue health cards for the Adivasi communities / BPL families
- Campaign can be made to make use of health insurance for BPL families for making use of insurance and claims.
- Effective nutritional programs to be implemented
- Sensitize the 420 tribal promoters on health insurance and nutritional programs
- Sensitization of doctors / staff working in PHCs
- Identify private doctors and private hospitals that are ready for free consultation for Adivasi communities and make use of the services.
- Provide better incentives to Doctors working in Tribal areas.
- Revamping the hospital at Nalloornadu
- Revamping the mobile health unit
- Maximum utilization of NGO run hospitals like Vivekananda Mission Hospital in Muttill and Amrita Hospital in Kynatty

Vivekananda Mission hospital has submitted a proposal for the sickle cell affected Adivasis of Wayanad, feasibility of which need to be assessed with the help of Department of Pathology and Department of Community Medicine Calicut Medical College

Social Preparation

All the projects recommended herein are expected to enhance the overall well being of Adivasi communities. However to achieve this, they have to adopt a process oriented, flexible approach. This will enable the primary stakeholders to discuss and decide on the scope of the programme activities and their timing, pace and sequencing. Why did many Adivasi development projects in Wayanad fail to deliver? The most significant factor was the abysmal ignorance in the minds of the change-agents regarding how the Adivasis perceive and define their situations. In other words, the sociological factors which conditioned the adivasi mindsets were inadequately appreciated or addressed. Human beings everywhere internalize mindsets from biographic experiences and cultural influences. Personal experience and socialization thus occur in a social situation that has emerged historically. We perceive the world through internalized mindsets and only when the opportunities available are mutually compatible, people make use of those opportunities.

Most committee reports and studies on Adivasi communities in Kerala which formulate their recommendations and programs for Adivasi communities are based on the following premises.

- ‘Tribals’ are objects of developmental activities.
- For people involving the ‘tribal’ development, a specialized knowledge of ‘tribals’ is required.
- Senior officials and administrators and institutional agencies could bring about the ‘development of the ‘tribals’.
- The ‘expertise’ of the above decision makers should reach the ‘tribals’ through the mediation and managerial skills of the ‘extension officers’.
- The failure of all tribal development programme is due to the topographical remoteness, climatic shifts, traditional outlook and fatalism of the tribals and inadequate extension services.
- Appointments of personnel, institutions, supervision and related aspects alone are highlighted for revamping ‘tribal development’.

What is missed in all this, is a holistic social scientific understanding of the Adivasi situation today. The community organization pattern among the Adivasis stands drastically changed today. The traditional Moopans do not wield pivotal influence over people as in the past. More importantly they never ‘govern’ or ‘manage’ communities as the modern governments or bureaucracies do. Hence the idea that the extension officer could be a decision making partner with the Moopan is, to say the least, preposterous unpractical and demeaning. All this shows that such studies could not even grasp the surface level realities that inform the Adivasi mentalities and life worlds today. Though participatory development has been recommended, development skill remains an external agenda requiring external expertise. This ‘visionary’ project of shaping social life according to categorical schemata has been highlighted in all these exercises.

In the past, Adivasis in Wayanad lived through a network of symbiotic ties depending for their livelihood and shelter on the forest as well as traditional paddy agriculture. With the government takeover of the forest lands, governments' wildlife protection initiatives, settler inflow, establishment of government' bureaucracy, familiarity with the settler practice of commercial agriculture, deforestation, soil erosion, displacement demanded by 'development' and resultant social exclusion, the traditional practices gradually became irrelevant and Adivasis were reduced to daily wage labourers depending on settler enterprise.

Coming of the money economy, the modified labour status, documented property rights, decline of the traditional community governance by elders, destruction of traditional agriculture, introduction of arrack and other 'drugs' into their culture, the incursions of outsiders leading to frequent sexual assaults on adivasi women and the environmental degradation have all drastically revised Adivasi family life and domestic relations. While family worked as a collective unit in the past, this aspect has considerably weakened among the Adivasis today. This has affected the resilience of the domestic and community networks. Even parent-child relations have declined as children now earn some, even if meager, independent income.

As a result, the bonds between parents and children as well as between husbands and wives seem to have somewhat weakened in the region. It is not enough that the projects offer fresh opportunities, but we have to confirm that they are compatible with the mindsets of the beneficiaries.

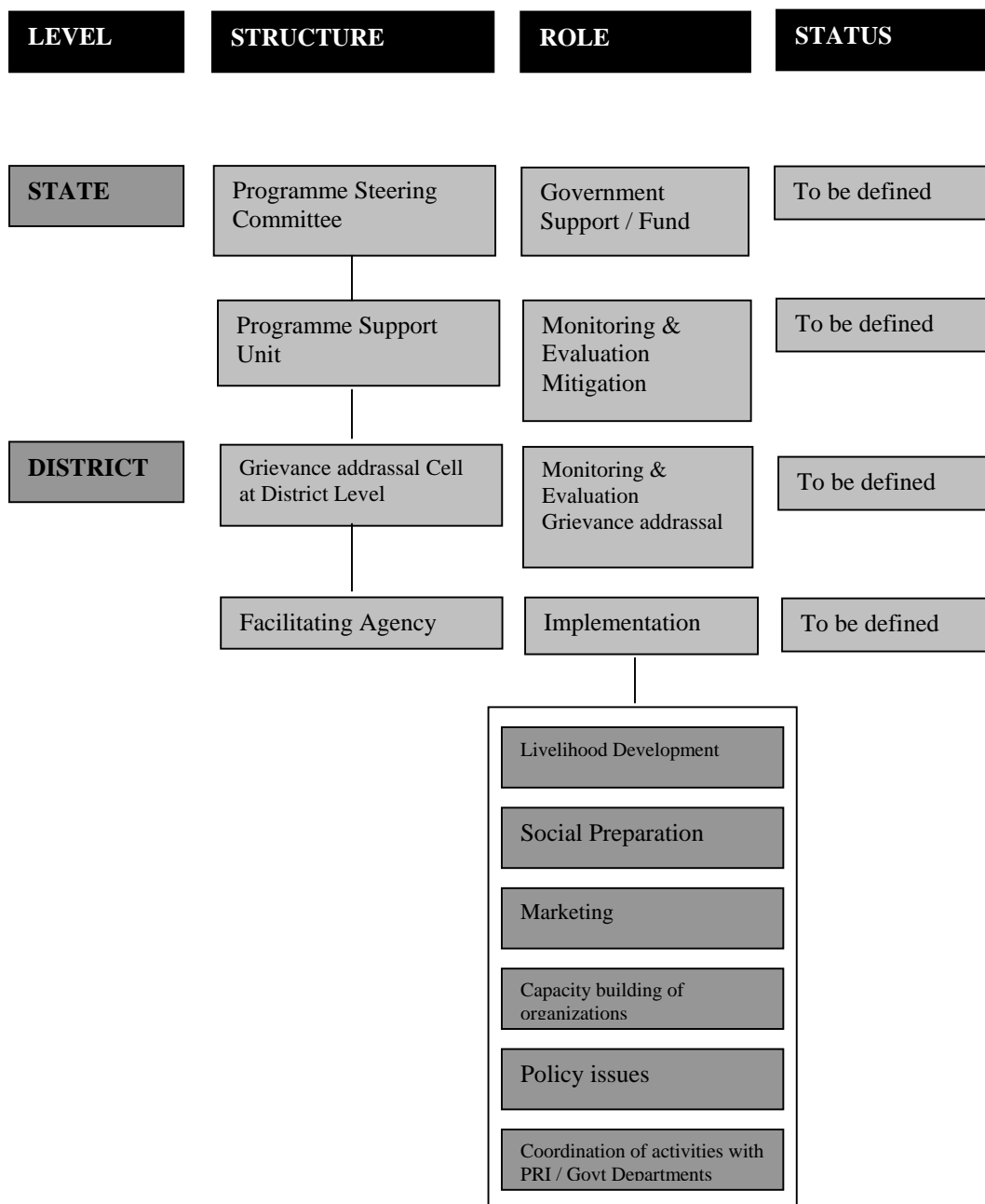
In today's fast-changing and globalized social milieu, Adivasis are often ill prepared to face the fresh challenges confronting them. This is because the Adivasis have seldom appropriated or internalized the rules of the new 'games' of the monetary economy. As such, it is imperative that the Adivasis should be enabled to become knowledgeable.

Social preparation thus entails a series of activities mediated by intensive training through social action research projects. In other words disadvantaged communities are helped to critically analyze their history, the contemporary world they are facing and the future awaiting them. They are also encouraged to deliberate on their relations with people outside their community. Further they will also review the gender relations among themselves, discuss the success stories, explore opportunities and act towards them. This would mean that Adivasis are helped to conduct a research on themselves and also to suggest alternative strategies and solutions. The research findings can be the starting point for many future projects. The research itself may prepare them to face the social world with more confidence.

Social Preparation involves making good coalitions between Adivasis on the one hand and PRI institutions, service providers, professionals etc. on the other, through social mobilization, capacity building and participatory planning in the Wayanad District.

- Workshops and training sessions are organized for young adults, women, elected representatives, tribal promoters etc. depending on the objectives of the programme and also the nature of the target-groups.
- Adivasis should be recognized as mature persons who are then encouraged to address their problems of poverty and social exclusion self-reflexively.
- Support measures are also holistically analyzed for developing viable solutions for the addressal of livelihood and other issues.
- Social preparation has to be organized in such a way as to strengthen the participatory planning processes in the Panchayats.
- A heightened awareness of Adivasi rights and also responsibilities should be incorporated into social preparation.
- Organizational and Managerial Skills of Adivasi men and women have to be cultivated through social preparation.
- Adivasis should be sensitized to the rules, regulations and policy issues that may impinge on the life-worlds.
- There should be a broad-based vision to reproduce citizenship among the Adivasis so that they are enabled to develop holistic and scientific knowledge of all critical issues that confront them in everyday life.
- Adivasis should thus be prepared to undertaking budget analysis, skill development, data management and also a critical monitoring of development.
- Areas that might need separate soil preparation analysis have to be desired for identifiable area for identification.

For effectively implementing the development programme for the adivasi communities, a broad implementation plan indicating the roles to be played by the respective agencies has been conceived.



| Programme Steering Committee | |
|--|---|
| Composition | Responsibilities |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minister for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Development • Principal Secretary, SC/ST Development • Director, Tribal Development Department • ST MLAs from Wayanad • MP from Wayanad | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fund Allotment • Ensuring Timely Disbursal • Monitoring the implementation through a programme support unit • Constituting the Facilitating Agency |

| Programme Support Unit | |
|--|--|
| Composition | Responsibilities |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experts drawn from different fields such as education, health, social work, social sciences , environmental issues etc • Institutions and agencies with experience in formulating , supporting and guiding Adivasi development Programs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting and guiding the Programme steering committee by making half yearly evaluation. • Suggesting changes in the implementation pattern • Identification of specialized agencies for consultation , studies etc |

| District Level Grievance Addressal Cell | |
|---|---|
| Composition | Responsibilities |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District Panchayat President • District Collector • District head of STDD • Two Adivasi women representatives of local bodies • NGO representative from Wayanad | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District level evaluation at regular intervals • Grievance Addressal |

| Facilitating Agency | |
|---|--|
| Composition | Responsibilities |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experts drawn from different fields such as education, health, social work, social sciences , environmental experts, marketing and management experts etc | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linkages with other district level tribal development Program • Social Preparation • Capacity Building of Organisations • Training in RNFS • Preparation of Database • Marketing • Studies |

The proposed five-year project will have to seek to ensure sustainable improvements in the food security and livelihood of Adivasi communities, particularly the traditionally landless by promoting a more efficient, equitable, self-managed and sustainable utilization of natural resources. This will be achieved by building the capacity of marginal groups through social preparation so that they become more capable of

planning, implementing and managing their own development and negotiating improved entitlements. The programme will emphasize enhancing the community access to resources, services and markets, and it will also facilitate rural non-farm activities. In addition, it proposes to strengthen the institutional capacity of government organizations, particularly Scheduled Tribe Development Department and Panchayat Raj Institutions. The project will take up programs that would sensitize various institutions, like Departments of Health and Education, so that these institutions would respond more effectively to the problems faced by Adivasi communities. It will also have to work on policy issues that are of relevance to the Adivasi communities.

To achieve its objectives, the proposed five-year project will have to adopt a rights and justice based approach to enable the primary stakeholders to determine the scope of project activities. The programme design thus has to be revised, adjusted and improved based on lessons learnt. A system of participatory planning and ongoing process evaluation will facilitate this process. In addition, the Adivasis will form subcommittees and user groups for the implementation and management of the activities.

Organization , Management , Monitoring & Evaluation

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe Development Department (ST/SCDD) at the State level will be nodal agency for the programme. At the state level, the programme will have a two-tier management structure as a Programme Steering Committee and a Programme Support Unit. The role of the Steering Committee is to seek funds from government or other agencies for programme implementation. The Programme Support Unit will undertake monitoring of inputs and outputs, at six-monthly intervals. This body which should comprise of specialists from different fields that are areas of concern for the project. At the district level there should be a grievance addressal cell comprising of District Collector, District Panchayat President, District head of STDD, Two Adivasi women representatives of local bodies and NGO representative from Wayanad. They will look after the periodical monitoring and also work as a Grievance Redressal Cell for the targeted groups. The Facilitating Agency will be a group of experts on various areas suggested in the project.

Budgeted Expenditure

The intervention suggested in this report falls roughly into three categories

1. Social preparation/empowerment/ skill development
2. Direct intervention for livelihood development
3. Investment in infrastructure

Issues relating to social preparation have been discussed in detail. This would involve empowerment through a praxis approach. There is also a need to establish a skill development center to train Adivasi youth particularly school dropouts, in intermediate agricultural and industrial skills that are important in developing agriculture, animal husbandry and non farm activities. It is also expected that such an institution will be able to impart entrepreneurial skills and attitudes that are required for development of farm sector as well as non farm sector.

Direct intervention has the following components

1. Activities for developing food security for those who possess some land.
2. Introduction of new activities - animal husbandry, and related milk processing etc - forward and backward linkages considered.
3. Bamboo cultivation and value addition.
4. Developing Rural Non Farm Sector.
5. Pro-poor tourism
6. Feasibility studies on each of the above activities and also relating to the rehabilitation of existing projects
7. Social Preparation
8. Capacity Building

The above budget is prepared for a period of 5 years. A total flow of RS.127.65 cr. is envisaged. This amount can be as to lower limits. Funds required above this limit can be obtained through international funding, private sector collaboration and bank credit apart from state agencies. This amount is in addition to the usual TSP fund allotted to the district in every financial year.

Summary of Programme Costs for Five Years in Rupees

| Components | Govt Fund | Credit | Rupees in Lakhs | % of base cost |
|---|-------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|
| A Social Preparation for Empowerment | | | | |
| Community Empowerment | 500 | - | 500 | |
| Beneficiary Skill Development | 400 | - | 400 | |
| Capacity building for support agencies | 120 | - | 120 | |
| Sub Total | 1020 | - | 1020 | 9 |
| B Livelihood | | | | |
| Feasibility study on Sugandagiri/ farm sector | 5 | - | 5 | |
| Study on Industrial Rehabilitation (handloom) | 5 | - | 5 | |
| Feasibility study on Priyadarshini Tea Estates Rehabilitation | 5 | - | 5 | |
| Feasibility Study on Pro Poor Tourism | 25 | - | 25 | |
| Feasibility Study on Rural Non- Farm Sector | 20 | - | 20 | |
| Land Development | 185 | - | 185 | |
| Agriculture/Horticulture Development | 1365 | 585 | 1950 | |
| Bamboo cultivation, Value Addition, Marketing | 1400 | 600 | 2000 | |
| Livestock Development | 2100 | 900 | 3000 | |
| Milk Processing/Marketing | 700 | 300 | 1000 | |
| Rural Non- Farm Sector | | 800 | 800 | |
| Subtotal | 5810 | 3185 | 8995 | 81 |
| C Community Infrastructure | 210 | - | 210 | |
| Subtotal | 210 | - | 210 | 2 |
| D Programme Management | | | | |
| District Level | 625 | | 625 | |
| State Level | 250 | | 250 | |
| Subtotal | 875 | | 875 | 8 |
| Total base costs | 7915 | 3185 | 11100 | |
| Physical Contingencies | | | 333 | 3 |
| Price contingencies | | | 1332 | 12 |
| Total Programme Costs (for five years) | | | 12765 | |

- The programme Cost is for five years as a special package
- The programme has to be undertaken by a separate agency constituted by the Government, as a five year project
- Additional funds can be sought if necessary, from various sources
- The package is in addition to the TSP fund allotted for the district
- Involvement of private sector in developing certain projects have to be considered in order to reduce the programme costs (for instance, bamboo development, marketing etc, value addition etc)

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