The Intensity of Deterioration among the Scheduled Tribes at the Shadow of Globalisation- A Study of Kerala

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Abstract
Globalization has become a new term for signifying dramatic changes in the nature of international relations in the latter part of 20th century and dawning of 21st century. Globalization conveys many meanings and things emphasizing a global rather than a national context. It is something like a process by which it redefines the world affairs especially in relations between states. In other words it is the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies such that events in one part of the world have effects on peoples and societies far away. Globalization denotes expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers a shift or transformation in the scale of human organization that keeps links among distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world’s regions and continents. But it does not pose as a universal process of global integration, in which there is growing convergence of cultures and civilization. As an economic term, it denotes the acceleration of the international connections in the global economy in the last few decades and the emergence of global corporations and relatively open international financial markets. The word also invokes themes of cultural union as a result of media and electronic interconnections from satellite broadcast, television, fax machines, cyber space etc. Globalisation is the integration of Economic, political and cultural systems across the globe through interactions between nations, with the economic perspective government policies around the globe that have opened economies domestically and internationally, aided by technological development have spurred increases in cross boarder trade, investment and migration so large that many observers believe the world has enter a qualitatively new phase in its economic development. But there are sharp differences on its impact on society. The Indian state of Kerala have had entirely different experience of development process from anywhere else in the country, the much celebrated Kerala model of development has faced enough criticism for excluding the tribals, Dalits, fisher folks and other weaker sections of the state. The present paper argues that It is been accepted that the celebrated kerala model of development has not made much changes for the socio-economic life of the tribals of kerala, by using different secondary data sets the paper argues that after the sixty years of formation of the state tribals continues as one of the most marginalised community within the state, the post globalised developmental projects and developmental dreams of the state has again made the deprivation of the tribals of kerala and the developmental divide has increased between the tribal and non-tribal in the state. 

Keywords: Tribals, Technological development, Development process

The word ‘tribe’ is generally used for a socially cohesive unit, associated with a territory, the member of which regards them as politically autonomous. Often a tribe possesses a distinct dialect and distinct cultural traits. Tribe can be defined as a “collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so”. According to R.N. Mukherjee, a tribe is that human group, whose members have common interest, territory, language, social law and economic occupation. Tribals who are a continuously neglected lot, are the forest dependent people in India. The process of globalisation can be defined the way it has to be seen, economic, political, social, cultural or any other, there are examples that globalisation is not at all a new phenomenon and which started early ages of the recorded human history, Globalisation describes an on going process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a globe spanning network of communication and execution. The term is sometimes used to refer specifically to economic Globalisation: the integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, and the spread of technology (Bhagawati, 2004) India started the process of economic globalisation in the early of 1978 by taking small steps and during the 1991, the major policy changes were adopted and India opened up for liberalisation and privatisation. Liberal economic and trade policy, opening up of Indian market for the foreign trade and investment, huge privatisation of public sector, and highlighted rapid economic growth were the main characteristics of this process. In the shadow of this, there were claims by the government of India that per capita income has increased considerable and huge decrease in the number of people who live under the poverty line. But this was later understood as the play with numbers by the Planning Commission of India. This huge process have impacted directly and indirectly the millions living in India, this was reflected in the all sectors, agriculture, industry, health education and even culture and lot more in the day today life of every Indian. The process of has brought shining economic growth with two digits of GDP, but which created the more structural inequalities in the Indian society where all ready huge inequality have existed.
and still persisting. The process of globalisation has hit the lives across the globe, but the people who have hit by this was the indigenous communities everywhere, it was worse affected the lives of Dalits, Adivasis, other backward populations and women in India and they were the people who had to pay the price for so called celebrated post liberalised economic growth of the country.

Scheduled Tribes who have been historically out of the mainstream development initiatives partly due to the still continuing socio-economic barriers and partly due to the inadequacy of the Government programmes in reaching these disadvantaged groups, still find themselves in difficult to compete with other sections of the society. Tribes are very important in constituting the population of the country as they are 8.2 percent of the total population of India. They constitute 3.2 percent of the total population of Kerala. Tribal education has many problems to face as hindrance for development. These are external constraints and internal constraints.

External constraints: ST students constitute 1.2 percent of the total enrollment in schools. The perspective adopted for educational development among tribal communities fails to adequately address the specific disadvantages characterizing tribal population. For instance, the population and distance norms formed by the government have not been beneficial to tribal locations because of their sparse population and sporadic residential patterns. Though Kerala’s performance compares well with those of other states. The disparities between the marginalized communities and other social groups in terms of quantitative and qualitative indicators. The disparities increase at higher and higher levels of education, particularly in technical and professional education which provide better access to more remunerative jobs. It these disparities within the state that matter more in view of the high unemployment rate in the state and consequently the highly competitive nature of the labour market. Further, in formulating policies and programmes for tribal education it is essential to understand the complex realities of tribal life and the expectation of tribals from the system, and this has never been done either by the tribal welfare department or by the education department. Consequently, no worthwhile policy for tribal education has been formed. Because the more pass percentage rate from the schools of STs can only produces more students for higher education. Besides most of the increase in employment in the country and the state is taking place in the private sector rather than in the public sector. In such a context job reservation for STs in the public sector become less relevant today in accessing jobs by them.

Internal constraints: The internal problems of tribal education refer to the quality of school provision, suitable teachers, relevance of content and curriculum, medium of instruction, pedagogy, and special supervision. A majority of schools in tribal areas are without basic infrastructure facilities. Normally, school buildings in tribal areas have thatched roofs, dilapidated walls, and non-plastered floors. Research evidence shows that a large number of tribal schools do not have teaching-learning materials, or even blackboards. In tribal areas the opening of a school is equated with the posting of a teacher and same is the case with ‘ashram’ schools. Though the demand for changing the content and curriculum to suit the tribal context has been an old one, no serious effort has been made in this direction in any state, except for some sporadic pilot projects. The uniform structure and transaction of curriculum has put tribal children at a disadvantage. Apart from all this lack of awareness of the teachers about tribal culture and environment also force the tribal students to withdraw from education. All these issues are emerging in their primary and high school levels. These constraints force them to drop-out their education at very early levels and higher education will be only a dream for them.

Impact of Globalization on Tribals
The process of globalisation has made unprecedented change in the lives of indigenous people across the world, though the degree of exploitation and marginalisation vary from state to states and tribal group to group. Tribals as a homogeneous group across India has paid the price for the globalisation process led development which was reflected through the large scale so called developmental projects, displacement from the forest, alienation from the land and livelihoods, violation of rights with the forest and its resources and threatening their existence, the example of the central Indian tribal belt where the states like Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh have had enough displacement of the tribal people and alienation from their livelihoods. According to one estimate, irrigation projects, mines, thermal power plants, wildlife sanctuaries, industries, etc. between 1950 and 1990 in India, displaced 213 lakh persons. 85 percent of them are tribals (Fernandes & Paranje, 1997) T his is in the context where poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, anemia, illiteracy, morbidity, bondage and dept is phenomenally higher among the tribals than anybody else in the country. Though the impact on tribals was different to the state and specific tribals are concerned the alienation by the process is and double marginalisation was true to all the tribal groups, there were assertion form the tribals in the forms of resistance as social movements in response to the capital lead development and its consequence their lives, this was emerged basically in the places where there development intervened as brutal to the tribal people, but those where suppressed by the state mechanism with the help of local industrial and capital lobbies from wherever it has emerged. Considering all this one has to say that the LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation) policy
made the tribal population as the victims of development which was highlighted by finance ministers of India with two digits of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth which made financial system fluctuating with unstable economy with a more unequal society all together.

Development of Kerala and Tribals
Kerala’s female-to-male ratio, at 1.058, is identical to that of Europe and North America. It is substantially higher than that for China (0.94) or for the rest of India (0.93). Further Kerala is much ahead of other Indian States in achieving the goal of universalising elementary education. The State ranked first among major Indian States in the Human Development Index (HDI) at the three time points of 1981, 1991 and 2001 (National Human Development Report, 2001, Planning Commission, 2002), but its per capita income lagged much behind the all-India average till recently. Implied in this phenomenon is a higher rate of translation efficiency in terms of public action, and giving higher priority and precedence to the development of these services (such as education and health) in response to organised public demand (Centre for Developmental Studies-UN 1975), but there were questions raised that how equally this development is distributed within the Kerala society, Previously, ‘tribal’ communities had been noted as ‘outliers’ of the Kerala model’s ‘central tendency’ (Kurien 2000: 194)—as exemplars of the ‘harsh micro-realities’ hiding beneath macro-level social indicators (Ramanathaiyer and MacPherson 2000: 196)—but a consensus now formed that the adivasis were in fact the victims of the model. The Communist Party had refused to organise along community lines, had insisted on issues of ‘class’ and emphasised the well-being of ‘peasants’ and ‘workers’. What used to be seen as a cornerstone of the Kerala model (Heller 2000; Jeffrey 1992) was now perceived as having silenced the voices of marginal communities, particularly the tribals. When there was hunger death and starvation in the adivasis colonies of the state especially from Wadyandu and Palakkadu districts the question was raised by the Prof. K Kunjaman an eminent economist states that weather Tribals of the state was not part of the Kerala model of development. Kerala has comparatively less population of tribals, the scheduled tribal population is 3,64189(male-180169 and female-184020, the Waynadu district has highest number of tribals(1,36062) and idukki and Palakkad are the next two districts where the tribal population is high in the state. Paniyar is the biggest tribe among the 35 major tribal groups in the state (census of India-2001).

There are 33 scheduled tribal communities in the state which constitute about the third percent of the total population of the state. According to the survey there are about one lakh tribal families with 100912 individuals, among them near 27,416 families have land, this is the land including the lands with out proper records, this includes 20,027 families who are having five cent land 14,9777 families below the nice cents of land. after 2004 government has given land to more than ten thousand families under different programmes and missions but the number of land less has increased despite of this in the state, so the land question of tribals still remain same or bad as the early conditions of the state. 49 per cent doesn’t have toilets and more than 39850 families don’t possess a kitchen. Kerala is known for the highest literacy in the county with the percentage of 93.9 but the literacy rate for the tribals in the state is mere 72.77 and most of them drops out from the school at the primary level and go to get their livelihood. kerala is a state which embarked on total literacy campaign and achieved total literacy with a rate of 93 percentage but for tribals the literacy rate is 72.22 percentage and 98,536 people are still illiterates and the number of people who received the formal education is 2.48 lakhs only, Palakkad is the district where AHADS (an NGO) has worked but still the literacy rate among the tribals her is 57.63 percentage which is far behind than anybody. The drop out rate among the tribal students is also high in the state, 15393 students in the primary, 12907 students of secondary and 1453 students from the higher secondary has dropped out for several reasons. Among the tribals more than 77680 people in the age group between 15-59 are unemployed this is including 2112 graduates, 200 post graduates and 2000 of professionally qualified people. The survey also shows the pressing poverty among the tribals in the state, about 2402 families take meal one time in a day and amongst them half are agricultural laborers and 34,092 families only have two meals a day and the number of family members who are having malnutrition is 13,960. The share of BPL population among ST was decreased to 24.2% in 1999-2000 from 37.3% in 1993-94. ST constitute 3% of the total BPL population while the proportion of ST population is only 1.14%. It implies that the incidence of poverty among the ST is about three times that of the total population of the state, though all families are given ration cards there are 2381 families where all members in the family is not included in the ration card and the people who don't have a voters id card is 40,037. Kerala has registered a remarkable improvement in poverty reduction over the years among all the social sections, including SC and ST population. The socio economic position of most of the tribals residing in the scheduled area of the state is miserable. Socially they are at the lowest rank of the society. Although agriculture is predominant in the pattern of tribal economy, most of them are depending mainly up on cheap daily wages, these all show the tribal population of kerala is side lined than anybody else.

Land struggles
Kerala is one of the state in India where land reform taken place and two acts where passed in this regard, but
two struggles demanding for land in the state has was questioning the populore image of the land reform, Chengara is a local place in the Pathanamthitta district of the state, where about 300 families of Adivasis, Dalits and other landless people converged on the rubber estate owned by Harrison’s Malayalam Plantation Ltd and thatched sheds there and started living there demanding for the land for cultivation and financial assistance for each family after 790 days of struggle they demands were adjusted and they were informed that they will be given land and financial assistance which is yet to be given. The another was in Mutta, Mutta is a wild life sanctuary in Wayanadu district was capture and tribal were started living it the land over there under the leader the banner of Adivasi Kshema Samithi, an adivasi organization, on February 19 2003 at Muthanga forests they were fired the people including women, children and elderly by police and brutally evicted from the that land by the state government, One tribal was killed in the police firing, while many others were wounded. A policeman who was held hostage by the tribals was also killed in the fight. Apart from these there were other small struggles for land across the state but all of then where suppressed by the state government, these shows how state has delt with the issue of adivasis and their demands.

Globalisation and Kerala
Kerala is one state in the country, which had to suffer a lot as a result of the process of integration of economy with the international market place much before the advent of globalisation. In fact, for Kerala, globalisation started the moment the colonial raiders set foot on its soil, inaugurating the western conquest of India. Kerala’s agricultural products found its way to the European markets and, in course of time, domestic production had to be fine-tuned to the vagaries of international market place. coconut, coir, cashew, spices etc which were and continue to be the mainstay of Kerala’s agriculture faced ups and downs consequent on the changes in demand and supply at the international level. However this state was also not free from the national level policy changes that were adopted in a particular period in time. Kerala’s post-liberalisation period, starting in 1991, however, the tensions inherent in an alternative model of development that forsakes capitalist accumulation and global competitiveness in favour of the redistribution of wealth through land reforms and the provision of general social security through social programmes and labour regulation have become ever more pronounced. The lack of industrialisation and mechanisation, high unemployment rates and fiscal deficit that Kerala faced in an increasingly liberalised market (Tharamangalam 2006: 9–15). With the LPG policies, (Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation) all those cushions have been done away with. The removal of import restrictions has seen the market flooded with imported agrarian produce. It has literally crushed Kerala’s agriculture. The other policies of the central government, especially in areas like education, health, public distribution system, industrial policy, had made far reaching consequence in the economy and society of the state. When ninety percentage of tribals are engaged in the primary sector, its also has to be noted that they are the meagre workers and don’t own any thing, the same sector was hugely hitted by policy changes adopted by the state and this was reflected directly in the livelihood of the adivasis in the state. The state has become a mere consumer of products with a remittance economy by the keralites working out side the state and country. New Kerala is embarking on huge and large investment projects in order to stabilise the economic growth, the Adivasis of this state with poor socio-economic achievements; they left in open in the state to fight against this with out even a stable livelihood and income when health, education and all other services got privatised.

Acuteness of the Socio-economic problems faced by the tribals
Poverty and Illiteracy
Poverty and Ignorance continue to keep them poor and less dignified. Education can bring changes and development gradually for the next generation. There are primary schools in several tribal settlements, mostly far away for most of the villages. Moreover, quality education which is available to the majority is not available to the poor tribals. Tribal children can be encouraged to send to towns and cities for better education and higher studies. Distribution of old clothes and some ration is not the solution. Most of the tribal people live for a day and do not plan much for future. Education will bring in change in their world view and give them hopes for a better tomorrow. There are a number of unwed mothers among the poor tribals in Wayanad, especially from the Adiya and Paniya tribe. Assistance to education can change the plight of the poor young girls to find a living think about a family.

Ownership of land and Occupation
Most of the tribes were originally food gatherers and all of them made a living from the forest. Tribals are placed in colonies where they are forced to live. Tribals normally do not destroy forest or its resources. Cutting a tree trunk for building a hut has become an offence. Tribals should be protected with the right to labour and resources of the forest. Assistance should be given to develop better infra structure in their settlements. Harassments from government servants especially of the forest department need to be solved state wide. Tribals should have complete ownership of a piece of land they stay.
Health and Hygiene
Many tribal people die of malnutrition, ignorance and superstitious beliefs. Accessibility to proper health facilities is very rare. In Wayanad, there are many affected by cancer and most of them, abandoned by their dear ones. The Adiya and Paniya tribe in Wayanad are very poor and victims of these kinds of sicknesses. Though there are primary health centers, its services are very limited and not easily reachable. Advanced checkups and treatments are not available and affordable to the majority of the tribal people. Health education and proper sanitary amenities are far from them. Regular medical clinics or camps, special assistance to diagnose and advance treatments in cities can make their life better.

A Tragedy Unfolding: Tribal Children Dying
The continuing deaths of infants and children due to malnutrition in Attappady, the only tribal block in Kerala, reflects the state government’s apathy towards addressing issues germane to the tribals residing in the region. Malnutrition deaths of infants/children are highly prevalent in India. The country accounts for 29% (3.09 lakh) of all first-day deaths globally (Singh: 2013). The extent and severity of malnutrition deaths of infants/children, however, differs among various social groups and states. For instance, malnutrition deaths are highly prevalent among socially marginalised groups such as tribals, fisherfolk and dalits, and rampant in socio-economically backward states such as Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (Khéra: 2008). But it is shocking to see in Kerala—a state with superb achievements in human development, people’s planning, governance, and women’s literacy an alarming rate of malnutrition deaths of tribal infants/children. The UNICEF Report (2013) observed that a total of 39 deaths had been reported from Attappady tribal block in Palakkad district between April 2012 and May 2013. Major causes included asphyxia, acute respiratory distress syndrome, aspiration, apnoea, preterm and low birth weight, development growth delay, and intrauterine growth retardation (IUGR). C D Rozario (2013) noted that 36 children had died in the past 16 months (from January 2012 to April 2013) as compared to 25 and 32 starvation deaths in 1996 and 1999 respectively. The Ekbāl Committee Report (2013) said that in 2013 about 30 children died within a few hours/days of their birth. A team of experts from the National Institute of Nutrition (2013) visited Attappady tribal block for studying infants or children deaths and reported that the infant mortality rate (IMR) there was 66 as compared to 14.1 deaths per 1000 live births in the rest of the state.

Conclusion
The development of Kerala has started from the early periods the formation of the state, and there after it was called as model by academicians considering many factors which led to the high social development of the state even with low per capita come. This has laid the foundation for the development of far developed society in terms of developmental indicators in India compare to other parts of the country. But some sections of the population particularity, Tribals, Dalits and fisher folks were not beneficiaries of this development or they were not shared the development as equal as others in their state because of many reasons. That has side lined their development in the state and they are most backward and under developed people in the state. Globalisation project has changed the life across the state and changed the day to day life, this change is reflected in the all walks of the life and all strata of society. How globalisation has impacted one has to be examined by looking at which layer of society one belongs to. What is evident from the survey that is conducted KILA is that tribes are the weakest and excluded people from the general development experience, from this foundation of development there was emergence of middle class in one side and migration of to side state and country which decided the post globalised developmental projects and developmental dreams of the state has again made the deprivation of the tribals of Kerala and the developmental divide has increased between the tribal and non-tribal in the state.

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