

Tribe-Caste Dynamics in South India

Sociological Bulletin
73(4) 420–430, 2024
© 2024 Indian Sociological Society
Article reuse guidelines:
in.sagepub.com/journals-permissions-india
DOI: 10.1177/00380229241287351
journals.sagepub.com/home/sob



Ritambhara Hebbar¹ and Soumya Prakash²

Abstract

There are over 150 tribal communities in South India. Many of them live in remote and forested areas. However, historically, they have had a close relationship with caste society. The dominance of caste is evident in their everyday contexts, economic relations and social status within the local social hierarchy. The article reflects on how the situation of tribes in South India cannot be fully comprehended without acknowledging the overbearing influence of caste ideology and politics on their lives. It will focus on two Scheduled Tribes in South India, the Paniyan and the Koraga, to illustrate practices of untouchability and social deprivation among them. Despite their Scheduled Tribe status, the Paniyan and the Koraga continue to face caste-based discrimination and cannot access basic services provided by the state. There is a deep sense of dispiritedness among them and, increasingly, they are isolating themselves from ‘others’ in their vicinity. Isolation has become an active mode of distancing from caste and asserting their tribal identity. It expresses their rejection of tribal integration, and associated politics, responsible for their marginalisation.

Keywords

Tribe, caste ideology, social deprivation, isolation

Introduction

The Koraga, a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) in Dakshina Kannada district, Karnataka and the Paniyan, a Scheduled Tribe in Wayanad district, Kerala are among several Scheduled Tribes in India who have a history of being treated

¹ Centre for Study of Developing Societies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, Maharashtra, India

² School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, Maharashtra, India

Corresponding author:

Ritambhara Hebbar, Centre for Study of Developing Societies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, Maharashtra 400088, India.
E-mail: rhebbar@tiss.ac.in

as untouchables and routinely endure human rights violations against them (Hebbar, 2014). The article focuses on these two tribes to illustrate the historical and cultural specificity of the practice of untouchability experienced by them and how the policy of integration has failed to redress this significant lacuna in restoring a sense of dignity and well-being in their lives. They continue to be discriminated against and experience social deprivation (Brownlee, 2013). Social deprivation is not associated with poverty or economic deprivation, but with that which is at its foundation. It refers to a 'persisting lack of minimally adequate opportunities for decent or supportive human contact including interpersonal interaction, associative inclusion, and interdependent care (ibid, p. 199)'. Their contact with caste society has been 'persistently hostile, degrading or cruel' and has aggravated their sense of social deprivation (ibid, p. 200). It has pushed them towards social loneliness, a realisation that restricted social networks are inadequate and meaningless in coping with the exclusionary caste order (Vries, 2022). They have evolved mechanisms of self-isolation to protect themselves from vilifying social contact, and their Scheduled Tribe status has provided them with possibilities of reframing their association with caste society. In this context, the article explores how Scheduled Tribe status has helped communities like the Koraga and the Paniyan to redress their experience of social deprivation and reclaim their sense of culture and identity.

The article will present a brief profile of the Koraga and the Paniyan to illustrate their problematic relationship with caste society. The first section provides a general overview of the Paniyans and the Koragas and delves deeper into their past to comprehend their unequal caste encounter. The second section elucidates the contexts of their social deprivation, and how the same has led them to isolate themselves from the caste system. The concluding section reflects on how the Scheduled Tribe status has gradually emerged as their breakpoint from the caste order. The article is based on archival resources and fieldwork conducted separately by the authors in Wayanad and Dakshina Kannada over the last four years. It draws on detailed interviews, life stories and histories of persons from the Paniyan and the Koraga, and organisations working closely with the communities.

History and Profile of Social Deprivation

Both the Paniyan and the Koraga are known to be reclusive and avoid social contact with neighbouring caste and tribal communities, who consider them as defiling and lowly. Paniyans are the largest landless tribes of Kerala living in Wayanad, the northeastern district of the state. They form 45% of the total tribal population in Wayanad.¹ They also live in certain neighbouring districts of north Kerala like parts of Kannur, Kozhikode and Malappuram. Paniyans reside in small settlements which are locally and administratively referred to as 'colony' (Prakash, 2019).² They have different patrilineages known as 'illams'. Rules of inheritance among them is through 'marumakkathayam'.³ The two main deities they worship are Guligan and Kaad Bhagvathy (Parthasarathy, 2007).

Paniyans were traditionally shifting cultivators, later enslaved by the agricultural caste group like the Gowndars in Wayanad transforming them into agrestic slaves by obscuring their association with the forests (Kulirani, 1981). There is ambiguity about their origin and settlement in Wayanad in most ethnographic accounts. Thurston (1909) adheres to the popular perception of Paniyans among the European planter community as being the descendants of ancestors who were ship-wrecked on the Malabar coast. Even though the Paniyans refer to themselves as 'Ippimala Makkal that is children of a legendary small mountain, their history of being enslaved by the Gowndars is more prominent in their oral history'. Luiz (1962, p. 218) mentioned that 'at one time they were the principle stock-in-trade for the slave trade in the west coast and it is quite possible that they were imported from Africa and sold in Malabar'. During British rule, they helped the hunters to hunt wild animals like tigers and panthers with spears and nets (Parthasarathy, 2007). Innes (1905), the first settlement officer of Malabar observed that Paniyans were the chief agricultural coolies living in the foothills throughout the district except in Palghat Taluk. Like most hill tribes, they too cultivated hill rice in patches of forests, which they cleared by burning and shifting and were also employed as woodcutters and elephant mahouts and shikaris.

However, they were also identified as slaves of wealthy landlords when feudalism and slavery were predominant in South India. To quote Stuart (1891), 'Every Paniyan is some landlord's man'. When the planters first began to settle in Wayanad, they purchased land with the Paniyans living on it, practically as slaves of the landowners (Thurston, 1909, p. 453). They were also exploited for illegal activities like hunting, dacoity, kidnapping, coffee smuggling, gold smuggling, robbery including murders owing to their knowledge about sorcery. However, later their knowledge about sorcery was used to demonise them relegating them to a stigmatised status vis-a-vis the caste society. They continued to work as agrestic slaves for the Nairs and other Janmis (landlords) in the pre- and post-colonial period till the abolition of slavery in 1918. However, the practice of bonded labour continued till the 1980s. They became estate workers with the development of plantations in the latter half of the 19th century. Even now their contribution in terms of labour is more prominent as they primarily work on plantations owned by local caste and religious groups such as the Nairs, Thiyyas, Christians, Muslims, Chettis, Gownders and the Pathiyans. The Paniyans are treated as untouchables by the caste groups including the Pathiyans, who are a landed scheduled caste community. The local tribal groups, Mullakuruman and the Kuruchiyan, also maintain social distance from the Paniyan. The name 'Paniyan', which etymologically means 'worker' in Malayalam, rips them off their socio-cultural identity as an ethnic group.

Livelihood diversification was always a survival strategy for the Paniyans of Wayanad. Their affinity with the caste society has only pushed them into severing their life in the forest and reduced them into a mass of labour made 'free' in the double sense: free of any means of subsistence and free to sell their labour power (Raman, 2010, p. 66). However, their knowledge about the land and forests, their beliefs, their skills at hunting and gathering were all exploited by the landlords and used against them confining them to a low position in the society. They were

even prevented from giving Hindu names to their children and were known by the landlord or planter's name for whom they worked as bonded labourers. The tribes in Wayanad have had antagonistic relationships with caste groups since the time of the defeat of the Veda rajas against the Kadamba rulers.⁴ Despite their significant role and contribution to the agricultural production of crops like rice, coffee, pepper, tea and ginger by engaging in all the processes right from sowing to harvesting till the crop is ready for consumption, they are treated as polluted and perceived as expendables.

The Koraga population is distributed across Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts in Karnataka and the neighbouring district of Kasaragod, Kerala. As per the 2011 Census of India, their population is 14,794 persons and is characterised by an increasing downward trend, raising serious concern over their health and nutritional status (Nalinam, 2013). For a people whose population was 4,355 persons in 1895, their present numbers reek of an untold story of distress and social abandonment (Stuart, 1895). They continue to live in seclusion, with minimal social contact with other communities. The Koraga settlements (also known as colonies) are small, with not more than thirty to forty families, and dispersed across specific blocks of Dakshina Kannada such as Mangaluru, Belthangady, Sullya, Bantwal, Karkala and Puttur. While a majority of the Koraga continue to report their traditional occupation as basket making, especially women, many of them also supplement their incomes by rolling beedis on a per-piece basis for beedi companies. However, they are also engaged as agricultural labour, masons, coolies, scavengers and other manual workers (Ramchandra, 2019). In Mangaluru district, the majority of the Koragas are involved in scavenging and cleaning work (Bano, 2016). Hitherto considered Hindus, the Koragas are *Daivaaradhakas*, propitiators of spirits, but there is a small section of Christian Koragas, whose situation is no different from the rest of the community members.

Koragas were enumerated for the first time in the 1871 Census and were categorised as 'Pariah' or as outcastes. Later, the Census Report of Madras State 1901 termed them as a 'wild tribe of basket makers and labourers' (Vasudevan, 1998, p. 134). While the census reports since 1871 have consistently termed them as 'aborigines, hill tribes, dwellers of forests', they were also counted as one among the five slave castes (others being the Holey, Madiga, Asadi and Mudiga) in the region residing in the plains (ibid, p. 79). They were further classified as 'depressed caste' in the census from 1921 till 1951 and classified briefly as 'scheduled caste'. From 1961 onwards, they were reported as 'Scheduled Tribes' and in 1986, they were included in the official list of 'Primitive Tribal Groups', which was later renamed as PVTGs in 2006 (Hebbar, 2022).

There is hardly any historical text on the people of the 'Canarese' or contemporary Dakshina Kannada and Udupi region that does not refer to the Koragas, yet there seems to be confusion over who they are and their relationship with caste society. Sturrock (1894) describes them as 'forest tribes' whose 'chief means of subsistence is basket making', but also compares them to the 'Holey', a scheduled caste community in Karnataka. Brought from 'Anantpur to Canara' by Hubashika as part of his army to fight Lokaditya, the son of the ruler Mayuravarma, the Koragas had to take refuge in the forests after their defeat. There are various

versions of this story, including the one in which Hubashika is proclaimed as the 'chief of savages' called the Corar or Coragaru, who after 'driving away the Brahmins ruled Tuluva for twelve years from BC 446 to 434', but was tricked and killed by Lokaditya, through a ploy to marry his daughter to Hubashika's son (Vasudevan, 1998). Other than the recurrent reference since the 1500s to the Koraga being a separate community with a distinct language was the confusion about them being a tribe or a caste. Another distinctive feature of the Koraga was their belief system. They were feared as forest people and 'worshippers of the devil', who will not be mentioned after dark, instead referred to as the 'dark-legged' (Sturrock, 1894). The Koragas, especially among the upper and dominant castes such as the Brahmins and the Bunts, were and are still considered the warders of mystical powers. For instance, a Koraga woman was regarded as someone capable of 'gifting a child' (Makkala Dana or Koraga Dana) to the childless or a woman suffering frequent miscarriages (Vasudevan, 1998). A Koraga woman is known to not only take away the bad omen symbolised in the exchange of money, rice, oil, etc., for the negative force that has taken hold of a woman and child but also to breastfeed a child of a woman incapable of doing so. The child would often be given a nickname by the Koraga nurse and referred to as such in the household. This form of exchange amidst the general practice of untouchability against the Koraga is inexplicable, although the cultural history of the region does throw light on this ominous paradox.

Koragas, believers in Daivaaradhane (worship of Bhutas or spirits), are followers of Koragajja, Daiva (Divine spirit), a mythical/historical figure addressed with the suffix 'ajja' symbolising a grandfatherly presence, a guardian, not just of the Koragas but also the Kshetra (area). The term Kshetra refers to Tulunadu, the land of the Tuluva people, known by certain common features: a commonly spoken language, Tulu; propitiation of spirits and the serpent God, Daivaaradhane and Naga Mandala or Nagaradhane respectively; and Aliya Santana system of inheritance or matrilineal inheritance passed on through the nephew, which is now replaced by Makkala Santana or patrilineal system of inheritance passed on through the son (Bhatt, 1975). The Koragas are therefore considered natives of Dakshina Kannada and Udupi along with two other tribes, the Malekudiya or Kudiya and Maratis, also called Kudubis by Sturrock (1894) and many other caste groups (Vasudevan, 1998). They are one of the original custodians of the 'Tulu-Tuluva-Tulu Nādu' heritage (Bhatt, 1975). However, the story of the Koragajja captures the quandary of a people known for divinity but never allowed to move past their label as 'untouchables'. There are many versions of the story, but the gist is that Koragajja was an orphan belonging to the Koraga community brought up by a foster mother, apparently a Billava (traditionally a toddy-tapping caste, also cultivators) woman, who instructed him to carry a load of supplies to a temple, the famous Kadri temple in Mangaluru, but is stopped at a distance lest he pollute the temple premises. Offloading the supplies, Koragajja climbs a nearby pomegranate tree and disappears, only to become a Daiva (a divine spirit) known for bestowing health and healing to believers suffering from adversities. Other stories narrate how Koragajja played a prominent role in settling territorial disputes between different village Daivas associated with various caste groups in

return for a place in the forest, cooked meals from the village and seven Adhisthalas (primaeval dwellings) to be worshipped without light and in darkness. Bhuta worship continues to this day in the region and Koragajja's legion of followers across castes has only expanded over time. The defeat of Hubashikha, the deific status and the subsequent self-exile of Koragajja, and Paddadanas (folk songs) bring out the confounding social contract of the Koragas with caste society (Honko, 2000; Vasudevan, 1998).

Institutionalised Nature and Forms of Social Deprivation

The previous section presented the historical trail of social deprivation experienced by the Paniyan and the Koraga. One of the significant commonalities between the Paniyan and Koraga is their identification as 'slave castes', or people who served the dominant castes in the region. Despite their cultural distinctiveness and affiliation to life in the forest, their encounter with caste society has been highly unequal and discriminatory. In the case of the Koragas, their traditional occupation was basket-making but with increasing contact with caste society, they were pushed into defiling occupations and the status of 'untouchables'. The historical reference to them being a part of the Tuluva army, at war with the Kadamba rulers, alludes to their antagonistic encounter with the caste order.

The dehumanising Ajalu practice that had afflicted the Koragas till it was banned through the Karnataka Koragas (Prohibition of Ajalu Practice) Act, 2000 substantiates their mythical and historical connections with caste society. It also frames the experiences of social deprivation of the Koragas, as they were treated as untouchables and deprived of basic civil and political liberties. The equivalent term of Ajalu in Kannada is 'enjaluyenjaluy', associated with things considered defiling and sullied. The Koragas have been subjected to Ajalu practices such as accepting 'ajalu' offerings such as 'food mixed with cut hair strands and pieces of nails of sick persons or of those experiencing financial or other problems' to ward off their 'Anishta (Impurities)' (Sabitha & Usharani, 2019, p. 795). Ajalu included the Koragas participating as buffaloes in the mock buffalo race held an hour before the main Buffalo race, Kambala.⁵ Koraga men also had to enact the sexual act as part of the dance they performed on the Kambala field, a night before the event. The entire dance and the group's movements mimicked the actions that take place during sexual intercourse. This practice was justified as a fertility ritual, conducted to increase the fertility of the soil, cleanse evil influences and ward off bad omens and misfortune. They lived by performing defiling jobs and ate leftover foods discarded by others. They were socially segregated and a section among them considered the most inferior had to hang a pot across the neck to avoid their spit falling on their path. They could not access public wells, tanks and other public facilities (Das, 1989).

Even now, Koragas continue to face discrimination. There are fabricated police cases against them and regularly subjected to police high-handedness. A Mehendi function of the groom belonging to the Koraga tribal community at Kotattatu village of Udupi district was interrupted and the groom's family members were

meted with police brutality as the neighbouring caste villagers objected to music being played as part of their celebrations, allegedly an attempt to imitate their caste neighbours (*The Hindu*, 2021).⁶ They are denied rented accommodation, and the most recent among such cases were reported from Byndoor town panchayat (Samaga, 2023). The members of the 'Koraga Abhivridhi Sanghagala Okutta', a Koraga collective, protested in front of the District Collector's office at Manipal in September 2020 against the alleged misuse of funds allotted to the Koraga community (Singh, 2020).

Paniyan tribes also face similar forms of criminal intimidation under various laws which reinforces their marginalised status. Out of the thirty-six cases filed by Childline in Wayanad under the new Prevention of Children from Sexual Offences Act, of 2012, twenty-seven of them are against people belonging to the Scheduled Tribe, many of them are Paniyans. The othering of the Paniyan community cuts across various sectors of their lives. Provided here are three cases, among many, that illustrate the forms 'othering' takes in their everyday lives. The first case is about their systematic profiling, as irresponsible people, uncaring and without any foresight about their children's future. At a Parent Teacher Association meeting at the residential school in Wayanad, the hostel warden taunted a Paniyan woman about her niece's interest in boys saying 'Ivalkku padikaan ella, pidikaan aan kududhal ishtam' (she is interested more in boys than in studies). These types of discouraging experiences only contribute further to their social exclusion. Illiteracy and the number of dropouts are the highest among Paniyans as compared to other tribes in Kerala (KIRTADS, 2020). The second case pertains to the Thellampata temple at Noolpuzha village, which is now dedicated to Goddess/Bhagvathy and was the sacred grove of the Paniyans. The non-recognition of communal property rights helped the more powerful Pathiyans to acquire it reducing the Paniyans to mere spectators and dance performers in the associated rituals. The third case relates to Shanta, a Paniyan woman in her 40s from Noolpuzha village, who experiences disdain and rejection by her neighbours. It is common while travelling on the bus to be spurned by co-passengers. She recalls how once one of the co-passengers, a woman, not only tilted her body away from her covering her arms with the ends of her sari to avoid touching her, but also asked her to shift to another seat.

Scheduled Tribe Status and the Caste-Tribe Crossroad

Our identity as a tribe belonging to Wayanad cannot be extinguished just like the kattan⁷ burning continuously in the hearth of every Paniyan household' (Thangam, Paniyan woman from Chethaleyam Paniyan settlement, personal communication, April 28, 2022).

The quote relates to the fire of rebellion and self-assertion lit years ago through the mobilisation efforts of the local tribal communities, with the first 'Adivasi Sangamam'⁸ organised in Mananthavady, Wayanad on 12th October 1992. Consequently, in 2003, the Paniyans participated in the Muthanga struggle to alter

their image from an archetypal landless people, erstwhile agrestic slaves, demanding land titles to a distinctive forest tribe.⁹ During those forty-seven days in Muthanga, they tried to recreate in the forest their traditional tribal ethos. They built sheds on Kongani kaad (dry grasslands) without cutting any trees and lived on available resources in the forest. Based on the principles of sharing, relatedness and balance of the local ecology, they consumed only the young bamboo shoots leaving the mature ones for animals like elephants, deer, etc., to emphasise their ecological sensibility that they are only one among the many co-dwellers in the forest.

The Paniyans have become increasingly discrete about their culture and way of life. They do not allow the presence of outsiders as they fear that their ceremonies and conversations will be recorded and put on social media. On Kakkapola, observed on the seventh day after a person's death, Pennapaatu (the continuous recital of their oral history) is sung by the Attali. Attali is the person who presides over the rituals. It starts at night and continues till the following evening. They want to protect their customs from the glare of outsiders or Poruthulavar (people who come from downhill). Maintaining social distance from caste society extends to the Paniyans refusing to marry their daughters into other communities. They fear that this would rekindle experiences of discrimination and humiliation in their lives.

The Paniyan and the Koraga have had their respective struggles to seek a life of dignity. For the Koragas, their long and bitter struggle to get rights to basic provisions such as health, education and housing was a simultaneous endeavour to reduce their dependence on the caste order. The beginnings of social reforms among the Koragas are traced to Kudmul Ranga Rao, a leading figure of the depressed classes movement in the region, who moved away from caste society by joining the Brahma Samaj. He acquired land for the Koragas in Mangaluru, Udupi and Puttur, built houses for them, and developed schools in many places across the region (Ushaprabha, 2013). Devdas Shetty started the Samagra Grameena Ashrama in 1987, a Udupi-based organisation, later managed by Asoka Shetty, which initially focused on addressing the lack of education, health, employment opportunities and, importantly, a sense of community among the demoralised Koragas by establishing the Koraga Federation. P. Gokuldas, one of the first graduates in the community, was the first president of the Federation (Majumdar, 2018). The struggle to get land titles picked up subsequently.

The Mohammed Peer Committee report (1994) further strengthened their tribal status and claims for land rights, although they are still demanding its proper implementation to this day (D'Souza, 2023). There have been other movements such as the Karnataka Adivasi Hakkugala Samithi that have been working along with the Koragas for land and housing rights (Sabitha, 2022). The community has leaders, notably Bogra, known for his role in the anti-Ajalu struggle, and many women such as Gowri Kenjur, the first woman president of the federation, and Sushila Nada who led the month-long march from Shimoga to Bengaluru demanding the restoration of land rights (Majumdar, 2018).

Despite mobilising their respective communities and publicly voicing their concerns, the aloofness of the Koragas and the reticence of the Paniyans continue

to characterise their everyday life (Vasudevan, 1998, p. 161). These traits personify their historical experiences of social deprivation. In recent times, their pursuit of a distinct and separate identity as Scheduled Tribes has only reframed this distinguishing feature. Their Scheduled Tribe status has served to socially distance themselves from the caste order, by securing basic rights to land, housing, education and health facilities, and simultaneously trying to foster an identity unyoked from caste afflictions.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

Notes

1. As per the 2011 census, Paniyans are 45% (69, 116) of the total tribal population in Wayanad.
2. These colonies are on Poromboke lands, attached to the erstwhile paddy fields without title deeds (Pattayam), ranging from a few cents to not more than an area of five acres with houses, a shrine and a burial ground. These are unguarded territories without fencing, located adjacent to open fields and forests, and are highly vulnerable to animal attacks. They lack proper access to basic infrastructure like roads, electricity and drinking water facilities (Prakash, 2019).
3. Right of inheritance is observed through sister's children.
4. Mullakurumba tribes claim to be the descendants of Veda/Vedar Kings, who ruled Wayanad before it was taken over by Kottayam Pazhassi Raja (Kjosavik & Shanmugaratnam, 2007, p. 1187).
5. The Koraga men were divided into group of three in which two will kneel down and act like buffaloes (Konas) while the third person is the runner who would tie the rope around the neck of both men and make them run till the finish line. On reaching the finish line, the bystanders would hit them with the stick just like they would do to the real buffaloes. Surinje (2023, November 25). Caste and feudalism in Kambala: A case against the sport's celebration in Bengaluru. *The NEWS Minute*. <https://www.thenewsminute.com/karnataka/caste-and-feudalism-in-kambala-a-case-against-the-sports-celebration-in-bengaluru>
6. Special Correspondent. (2021, December 28). Bridegroom, invitees suffer injuries as police storm into Mehendi function in Udupi: The police received several complaints about loud music being played here. *The Hindu*. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Mangalore/bridegroom-invitees-suffer-injuries-as-police-storm-into-mehendi-function/article38058803.ece>
7. Kattan is boiling tea leaves over the hearth in an aluminium pot till the fire is extinguished.

8. Adivasi Sangamam, an Adivasi collective, brought together 1500 people from forty different tribes, representing thirty-five organisations, and movements from eleven states across India. This day is also significant for Wayanad tribes as it was the day that Thalackkal Chandu had led them to victory in capturing the Panamaram fort occupied by the British in 1802 (Cheria et al., 1997).
9. The Muthanga forest was home to different tribal communities like Paniyans, Bettakurumar, Kattunaickan, Adiyans, Mullakurumar and Kuruchiyan until they were forcibly evacuated when it was declared a Wildlife Sanctuary in the 1970s and 77 sq. km of forest was leased to the Birlas for growing Eucalyptus plantation.

References

- Bano, W. (2016). Koraga a vulnerable tribe in Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka, India. *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies*, 4(11), 33–37. <https://www.internationaljournalcorner.com/index.php/theijhss/article/view/127108>
- Bhatt, G. (1975). *Studies in Tuluva history and culture*. Gururaja Bhatt.
- Brownlee, K. (2013). A human right against social deprivation. *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 63(251), 199–222. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/1467-9213.12018>
- Cheria, A., Narayanan, K., Bijoy, C. R., & Edwin. (1997). *A search for justice: A citizen's report on Adivasi experience in South India*. St Paul's Publication.
- Das, S. T. (1989). *Lifestyle Indian tribes* (Vol. 3). Gyan Publishing House.
- Hebbar, R. (2014). *Reflections on marginalization of tribes in South India* (pp. 49–51). Yojana (Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India). <https://www.cbgaindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Scheduled-Caste-Sub-Plan-and-Tribal-Sub-Plan.pdf>
- Hebbar, R. (2022). Journey from 'backwardness' to 'poverty': Particularly vulnerable tribal groups in South India, *ICC Quarterly*, 48(3/4), 309–320. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/364307136_Particularly_Vulnerable_Tribal_Groups_in_South_India_From_'Backwardness'_to_'Poverty'_ICC_Quarterly_Winter_2021-Spring_2022_Nos_3_4
- Honko, L. (2000). *Textualization of oral epics*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Innes, C. A. (1905). *Malabar Gazetteer* (Vols. I & II). Kerala Gazetteers Department.
- KIRTADS. (2020). *Educational backwardness of Paniyan community on Wayanad*. https://repository.tribal.gov.in/bitstream/123456789/74690/1/KIRT_2020_003.pdf
- Kjosavik, D. J., & Shanmugharatnam, N. (2007). Property rights dynamics and indigenous communities in highland Kerala, South India: An institutional historical perspective. *Modern Asian Studies*, 41(6), 1183–1260. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4499817>
- Kulirani, B. F. (1981). *Paniyan ethnography: Structure and process*. Mimeograph. Anthropological Survey of India, Southern Regional Centre.
- Luiz, A. A. D. (1962). *Tribes of Kerala*. Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh.
- Majumdar, S. (2018). *Walking a different path: Koraga community in Karnataka organize for rights*. Actionaid. <https://www.actionaidindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Walking-a-Different-Paths-28.03.2018.pdf>
- Nalinam, M. (2013). Depopulation of Koraga tribe in South India. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 8(4), 1–5. <https://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol8-issue4/A0840105.pdf>
- Parthasarathy, J. (2007). *Problems of indebtedness: Tribal experience in the Nilgiris district*. Tribal Research Centre.

- Prakash, S. (2019). Paniyan tribe as 'The Other': Experiences from an Anganwadi Centre in Wayanad District, Kerala. *Jharkhand Journal of Development and Management Studies*, XISS, 17(1), 8023–8036.
- Ramachandra. (2019). Changes in Kinship and family among the Koragas: A case study of selected villages in Kundapur Taluk, Udupi District. *International Journal of Applied Research*, 5(12), 208–217. <https://www.allresearchjournal.com/archives/2019/vol5issue12/PartD/5-11-34-290.pdf>
- Raman, R. (2010). *Global capital and peripheral labour: The history and political economy of plantation workers in India*. Routledge.
- Sabitha. (2022). Koraga tribal land rights movement in coastal Karnataka. *Social Science Dialogue*, 2(2), 15–20. <https://www.thesocialsciencedialogue.com/post/koraga-tribal-land-rights-movement-in-coastal-karnataka>
- Sabitha, & Usharani, B. (2019). Education as a means of social mobility for the primitive tribe of Karnataka: Issues and challenges. *International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews*, 792–796. <https://ijrar.com>
- Samaga (2023, December 17). Caste discrimination: Koraga tribal community civic workers in Karnataka's Udupi denied homes. *The New Indian Express*. <https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/2023/Dec/17/caste-discrimination-koraga-tribal-community-civic-workers-in-karnatakas-udupi-denied-homes-2642330.html>
- Singh (2020, September 20). Intersectional nature of discrimination—The case of Koraga Tribe. *Centre for Law & Policy Research*. <https://clpr.org.in/blog/intersectional-nature-of-discrimination-the-case-of-koraga-tribe/>
- Stuart, H. (1895). *Madras district manuals: South Canara* (Vol. II). Government Press.
- Sturrock, J. (1894). *Madras District manuals: South Canara* (Vol. I). Government Press.
- Thurston, E. P. (1909). *Castes and tribes of Southern India* (Vols. VI-P to S). Government Press.
- Ushaprabha, D. (2013). Role of Kudmul Ranga Rao in empowerment of Dalits in the undivided Dakshina Kannada district. *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research*, 5(2), 50–60. <https://doi.org/10.5897/JPAPR11.031>
- Vasudevan, C. (1998). *Koragas. The forgotten lot*. The Ethos.
- Vries, B. (2022). Four types of anti-loneliness policies. In K. Brownlee, D. Jenkins, & A. Neal (Eds), *In Being Social* (pp. 274–286). Oxford University Press.