

CHAPTER 33

The Jenu Kuruba, Kadu Kuruba and Kattunayakan
of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala

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SURESH PAVIL AND NILANJAN KHATUA

From the ethnographic descriptions of E. Thurston (1909), Gopalan Nair (1911), A. Aiyappan (1948), A.A.D. Luiz (1962) and Nurik Bied David (1989), and several field trips conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India in the recent past, we get a description of a homogenous tribe of former hunter-gatherers, who speak a variant of Kannada dialect with some Malayalam and Tamil words included. This tribe is distributed in the tri-junction region of three southern states, encompassing the Nilgiris of Tamil Nadu, Wayanad of Kerala, Mysore and Kodagu districts of Karnataka, where they are known by different appellations depending on the area. Except for a few minor intra-cultural variations, the state boundaries in fact have hardly any significance vis-à-vis the people of this tribe. In Mysore and Kodagu districts of Karnataka, they are reckoned with names such as Kadu (Beta) Kuruba and Jenu Kuruba (or Jenu Kurumba). The Kannada word 'jenu' means 'honey', which signifies their traditional occupation of honey-collection. In the Tamil Nadu part of the tri-junction, names such as Kattunayakan and 'Thudeti Kurumban' (from the Tamil word 'thudeti' meaning 'honey') are used to refer to them, while in Wayanad and other adjoining areas of Kerala, the nomenclature of 'Kattunayaka' or 'Kattu Naicken' ('kattu' or 'kadu' meaning forest and the term 'Nayaka' being a title) are most common. They are also referred as 'Jenu Kojyo Shola Nayaku' (literally meaning 'honey-curing lords of the woods'). However, the word 'Shola' (which also means 'forest') in this nomenclature has nothing to do with another tribe called the 'Sholaga' in Karnataka.

Some old ethnographic accounts too have misrepresented the origin of this tribe, quoting unbelievable stories that they were once kings, lost the war, fled to the jungle, and became forest dwellers. On the contrary, however, the census report of Mysore states that 'they (Jenu Kuruba) belong to this locality and do not come from anywhere else, they move from one place to another in the same forest' (*Census of India, 1931*, XXV, Appendix X, 359). Lewis Rice wrote the following on the Jenu Kurubas, 'The Jenu Kurubas are

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found scattered in all the jungles. They have no fixed abode but wander about from place to place in search of honey, hence their name, from Jenu, i.e. honey. They are excellent climbers of trees and skilled in the use of sling and bow and arrow' (*Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, I: 215). Even Luiz mentions that,

Nor long ago they [Jenu Kuruba] were nomadic food gatherers who never thought of a settled life and home. When stationary they have the most disappointing type of long and low huts with the floor in level with the ground. The sides are of flattened bamboo and the roofs are covered with grass or leaves. Often they live under wind-breaks resting on trees, in the hollows of trees and over hanging rocks. Many were noticed to be in the open all the day and sleeping around a lighted fire at night. (1962, 78)

The ethnographer of the 'Village Survey Monographs' in 1961 noticed that 'they [Jenu Kuruba] were commonly in the habit of sleeping in the open around a fire. Actually in Pinjalli colony (where he conducted his fieldwork) one child was seen with burns on its body and it was learnt that the burns were sustained when the child rolled into the fire in sleep' (Ethnographic Study No. 8, *Monograph Series, Census of India, 1961*). Based on these accounts, he concluded that the Jenu Kuruba people lived practically a nomadic life till recently. Even now many aspects of the nomadic way of life continue to be seen among them. Due to the restrictions imposed by the forest department, free movement has become difficult for them and most of them are settling down in the villages, especially bordering the forests. Similarly, the Betta Kurubas have primarily depended for their livelihood on the forests since long and have developed certain skills like basketry, and so on. According to Iyer (1948: 69) the Betta Kurubas, are divided into three minor groups, namely, (1) Ane (elephant), (2) Bevina (Neem tree), and (3) Kolli (fire-brand). Iyer (1948) reports that in Coorg the Betta Kurubas are divided into two sections, the Mumpadi and Yelpadi; the former means families belonging to three hamlets while the latter stands for families belonging to seven hamlets.

The Jenu Kuruba speak in their own dialect which is similar to Kannada language. Even then there are minute differences which have been recorded by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. The language of the Jenu Kuruba is called 'Jenu Nudi'. However, the language of the Betta Kurubas is distinctive. Lewis Rice stated (1877: 1, 26) that the 'Kadu Kurubas speak a peculiar language, not understood by any other States'. Even now, they have retained distinctiveness of their language. It is referred to as the *Betta Kurubara Bhashe* or the language of Betta Kuruba people. During the 1961 census, it was returned under the name *kadu bhashe* or language of the forest dwellers.

The *betta kurubara bhashe* is spoken only by the Betta Kuruba, and by no other tribe who are the immediate neighbours, such as the Soliga and

the Jenu Kuruba. In addition to their mother tongue, the Betta Kuruba know Kannada and converse with outsiders in this language. In fact, during the 1961 census, many of them even in Coorg district are believed to have returned Kannada as their mother tongue.

In Tamil Nadu and Kerala, a settlement of the Kattunayakan is usually known as *Paadi*, while the one of the Jenu Kuruba in Karnataka is called *hudi*, which is a general switch over between Tamil and Kannada, from *ju* to *hu*, as in case of several other words between these two languages. Their habitations are generally named after their ancestors and elderly persons with suffixes such as *hunu*, *kolli*, *paadi*, etc. For example, Nellyankunna, Sempankolli, Marrakkampadi, etc., to mention a few. In Tamil Nadu, majority of their settlements are located intermittently in the forest areas in diversions of the Gudalur-Calicut road. Still one can see many of their traditional huts in clusters very similar to that of the Paniyan settlement. The traditional huts of the Kattunayakan people are made of bamboo walls (*thatties*) without any provision for ventilation. In the olden days they used to live in caves or in the hollows of huge trees inside the deep forest. They do not like anyone entering their huts with leather footwear, for they presume that all footwear is made of cow leather, which they consider as polluting. This belief continues to exist even today among the Kattunayakan but their huts have been largely turned into tiled houses.

In his book, *Wynad: Its Peoples and Traditions*, Gopalan Nair (1911: 110) mentions about migration from the Mysore forests where this tribe existed in large numbers under the name of 'Jain Kurubas', i.e. Jenu Kuruba. In this context, 'Jain' is a altered form of 'Jenu' meaning honey, the same as 'Thiben' in Malabar. They lived in *padu* (group of huts) on the slopes of hills under the supervision of *muthali*, the eldest man of each *padu*. They worshipped Masti and lived on *ragi* (*Elicina coriacea*) grown under shifting cultivation in the jungle and on the edible yams and roots found in plenty on the hills. The 'Jain Kurubas' would not generally be seen out of the forests, but they are now gradually approaching inhabited parts of the country in search of work in paddy fields. In the Reserve Forests, both these tribes are employed as elephant mahouts. The above description given by Gopalan Nair fits well with other writers except the description of their origin given by Thurston (1901).

In the state of Karnataka, there are two groups, viz., the Jenu Kuruba and the Betta Kuruba—the word 'betta' in the latter nomenclature meaning 'hill'. The Betta Kuruba people are specialists of bamboo work, apart from their traditional food gathering activity. Further, the Betta Kuruba number is small compared to the Jenu Kuruba. Some call both the tribes together as Kadu Kuruba. Realizing their abject poverty, the government authorities issued them caste certificate as 'Kadu Kuruba' so that they get the benefits of

being a PVTG. In fact Betta Kuruba is not a PVTG as this entry does not occur in PVTG list. In Karnataka, both the groups are mainly confined to Mysore, Chamarajanagara (a new district out of the erstwhile Mysore district) and Kodagu districts. More specifically, they are distributed in H.D. Kote, Hunsur and Periyapatna taluks in Mysore district, in Gundlupet taluk of Chamarajanagara district and in Virajpet, Somavarpet and Madikeri taluks of Kodagu district. In order to be clearer, it may be noted that the term 'Kuruba', which means 'Shepherd' in Kannada language, denotes a large caste of traditional sheep herders, who live in many villages all through the state, and their population is presumably over 10 lakhs. This caste known as 'Kuruba', and is part and parcel of the village caste structure. Unwittingly, the Particularly Vulnerable Tribe of 'Jenu' and 'Betta' got the suffix of 'Kuruba' in contact with multi-caste villagers. On the other hand, all the nomenclatures of this PVTG appear to be a description of a tribe having certain ways of livelihood like 'collecting honey' ('Jenu' or 'Ththen'), 'living in forest' ('Kadu' or 'Kattu'), or the geography of their habitat ('Betta' meaning 'Hill'), while no researcher so far has found out a name which emanates from the culture and language of the Jenu and Betta Kuruba. The same holds good for Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Further, most of these nomenclatures are listed in Scheduled Tribe list of all the three states, which creates enormous confusion, especially for one not acquainted with the area and people.

There are several intriguing puzzles regarding nomenclatures. For example, the Kattunayakan are listed as a Scheduled Tribe in all the four southern states with the same spelling. In Andhra Pradesh, this group finds entry at Serial No.11 as Kattunayakan. In Karnataka, Serial No. 20 has an entry of Kattunayakan and there is also the entry of Jenu Kuruba at Serial No. 15. Similarly, in Kerala, at Serial No. 9 is an entry of Kattunayakan and there are also the entries of Ththen Kurumban and Jenu Kurumban at Serial No. 37, whereas in the Scheduled Tribes list of Tamil Nadu, there is only a single entry as Kattunayakan at Serial No. 9. Except in Andhra Pradesh, in all the other three states, the Kattunayakan enjoy the status of the Particularly Vulnerable Tribe. No ethnographic account is found either in the early studies or even in the *People of India* volumes of the Anthropological Survey of India for the Kattunayakan of Andhra Pradesh. Yet during the 1961 census in Andhra Pradesh, 74 persons were returned as Kattunayakan; during the 1971 census, their population was 289; during the 1981 census, it was 399; during 1991 it was 643 and it came down to 161 during the 2001 census. There is also a remote possibility of Kattunayakan or Jenu Kuruba seasonally migrating to areas in Andhra Pradesh.

The origin of all such intriguing confusions can be traced to the fact that the lists of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were drawn from various lists of castes and tribes from the former Madras Presidency, the

Bombay Presidency, the 'C' states of Coorg and Cochin, the kingdoms of Mysore and Travancore, and the Dominion of Nizam, under the British rule, which account for all the areas of the four southern states of today. When the reorganization of the states took place in 1956, a mother list combining all these erstwhile administrative entities under the British served the purpose for drawing up the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes lists in these four southern states with a few additions and deletions. Over a period of time, the respective states took certain measures like deletion of unused entries or non-existing communities in their respective state lists. For instance, the Kerala government deleted certain entries like Konda Kapu, Konda Reddi, Kota, etc., from their ST list as these tribes were confined mainly to interior Andhra Pradesh and had no presence in Kerala. Likewise the Kota tribe were found only in the Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu and did not show any presence in Kerala or any other state.

Deletions of unused entries or non-existing communities in the four southern states have not been attempted since the 1950s. In certain cases, it has been also found that there are multiple entries of the same community in different names, for example, the Kattunayakan/Jenu Kuru(m)ba. This kind of anomaly has often led to sudden surge in the population figures of certain communities over a period of 10 or 20 years coupled with dubious claims of ST identity by non-ST people. The present boundaries of the states in India hardly have any relevance for the ethnic boundaries of the tribes who have lived in the forest areas for thousands of years. Thus, when states were formed on the linguistic criteria, in fact on the language spoken numerically by the most in an area, the ethnic boundaries of the tribes were torn across



FIGURE 11.1 THE JUNCTION AREA OF KARNATAKA, KERALA AND TAMIL NADU

the new states. Unfortunately, their number was very insignificant for any consideration. The entry of Kattunayakan in the ST list of Andhra Pradesh is a case in point. The state of Andhra Pradesh has not attempted to delete such entries so far, therefore, such confusions as mentioned above, still continue. However, it has another detrimental consequence for the PVTGs since a mistaken identity can lead to diversion of development funds in the wrong direction.

In Tamil Nadu, for instance, the sudden spurt observed in the population of two of the six PVTGs, namely, the Irular and the Kattunayakan, from 1981 onwards. The spurt in total population of the Kattunayakan from 1961 and 2011 can be observed in the following table.

TABLE 31.1: POPULATION OF KATTUNAYAKAN IN TAMIL NADU AND IN NILGIRIS DISTRICT

Census	Population of the Kattunayakan throughout Tamil Nadu	Population of the Kattunayakan in Nilgiris District, Exclusively, which is their Habitat
1961	6,459	591
1971	5,042	629
1981	26,383	1,245
1991	42,761	1,424
2001	45,227	1,443
2011	46,072	2,489*

Source: * ITC Survey.

In the Socio-Economic Survey of Scheduled Tribes in Nilgiris District conducted during 2010-11 by the Tribal Research Centre, Ooty, the population of the Kattunayakan in the Nilgiri district was found to be 2,489 (621 households). The census figures of the Kattunayakan in the Nilgiri district from 1961 to 2001, shows a very low population, increasing from 591 to 1,443; it is possible that the Kattunayakan tribe might have been mistakenly enumerated as the Paniyan, who live very close to the Kattunayakan settlements. In fact, the Paniyan population in the Nilgiris shows high growth from 1961 to 2001, i.e. from 3,195 to 9,121 persons. About 1,000 Kattunayakan were probably enumerated as Paniyan, as it appears.

But the more pertinent question is that who were those people or communities in various parts of Tamil Nadu who made claim for the Kattunayakan identity as early as 1961 itself? In fact, other than those 591 people of Kattunayakan tribe in the Nilgiris district in 1961, there were also 5,868 people who claimed themselves as Kattunayakan in various parts of Tamil Nadu in 1961 totaling to 6,459 for the entire Tamil Nadu. But hardly any ethnographic descriptors are found in support of the existence

of Kattunayakan in the plains of Tamil Nadu or in places other than the Nilgiris district. This trend continued till 2001 with an unprecedented spurt in Kattunayakan population from 1981 onwards.

Yet another reason for all such confusions can be traced to the removal of 'Area Restrictions' for the identification of Scheduled Tribes within the state since 1976. Arguably, the sudden spurt in the population of the Kattunayakan tribe from the 1981 census onwards is a result of this administrative decision taken in 1976. In the earlier ethnographic records, the Kattunayakan was identified only in the Nilgiris in conjunction with the Jenu Kurumba who were also contiguously living in the Wayanad-Coorg plateau of Kerala and Karnataka.

This traditionally foraging tribe, Kattunayakan spelt slightly differently, as Kattunakken in the state of Kerala is mainly distributed in the four districts, namely, Wayanad, Palakkad, Mallapuram, and Kozhikode. In Wayanad district, they are mainly concentrated in three blocks; Sulthanbathery, Mananthavady, and Kalpetta; in the blocks of Perinthalmanna, Vandoor, and Nilambur in Mallapuram district; in the blocks of Koduvalli, Kundamangalam and Kottumad in Palakkad district and in block Mannarkad in Kozhikode district.

In Wayanad, the Kattunayakan people are distributed in all the 24 Panchayats and one municipality of the district. In Palakkad district they are distributed in Alanallur, Kottopadam and Kumarampuzhur Panchayats. In all there are 14 settlements, namely, Chooriyodu, Thodukada, Ambalapara, Karadiyodu, Kottakunnu, Pulikkaladi, Pothopadam, Aanakunnu, Malakalpara of Kottopadam Grama Panchayat; Mochikkal and Uppukulam in Alanallur Grama Panchayat and Maruthakkadu, Kathopadam, Puffoom in Kumarampuzhur Panchayat, where the total number of households is 221. In Malappuram district, the Kattunayakan are seen in the Nilambur, Karayarakodu, Pothukattu, Kalikavu, Chaliyar, Chungatharra, Edakkara, Karufai, Vazhikadavu, Chokkad and Muthedam Panchayats of Nilambur block, and Pulamanchol and Manakuda Panchayats of Perinthalmanna block. In Kozhikode district, three Kattunayakan settlements have been identified, one of which is Kudilpara settlement of Pashukadavu, while the other two are in Thamarassery.

As per the 2006-7 Base Line Survey report of KIRTADS (Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies), there were 18,576 persons recognized as Kattunayakan comprising 5,055 households inhabiting in 501 settlements. In addition to KIRTADS, six ITDP/TDOs have been established, namely, in Palakkad, Nilambur, Kozhikode, Sulthanbathery, Mananthavady, and Kalpetta, for the development of tribes.

As far as the Karnataka part is concerned, Lewis Rice, in 1872, wrote that the population of Jenu Kurumba and Kadu Kurumba together was 2,923,

including of 1,466 males and 1,457 females (1877). Separate enumeration of the Jenu Kurubas was made only in the 1921 census when they numbered 1,672. In 1931 they numbered 4,603. The census of 1951 did not give separate figures for individual tribes.

In Karnataka, Nagarhole was the traditional habitat of the Jenu Kuruba. Around the year 1980, it was estimated that about 1,000 families were living in this area. When Nagarhole was declared as a National Park in the year 1983, the Jenu Kuruba people were rehabilitated at Nagapura in the year 1995 with 50 families. Presently, there are about 5,000 people still living inside the National Park, majority of them being the Jenu Kuruba.

In the 1961 census, the Jenu Kuruba tribe had been enumerated separately in other areas of the Old Mysore State but in Coorg district the Jenu Kuruba, along with the Betta Kuruba had been enumerated under one name, i.e. 'Kuruba'. Hence it is not possible to know the population of the Jenu Kurubas separately for Coorg district. Leaving out Coorg district (now called Kodagu), in the rest of the state of Karnataka the Jenu Kuruba numbered 3,623, and formed 1.89 per cent of the total population of the Scheduled Tribes in the state. Even in the 1971 census the total population of the Jenu Kuruba tribe was 6,623 persons in Karnataka. However by the 1981 census, the number shot up to 34,747 persons (17,867 males, 16,880 females), though it declined slightly in the 1991 and 2001 censuses to 29,371 (males 15,156 and females 14,215) and 29,828 (males 15,133 and females 14,695), respectively.

The only explanation possible for the abnormal rise in populations is that, some other group might have claimed the identity of the Jenu Kuruba. It is probable that some members of the 'Kuruba' community, who are traditionally a shepherd caste in the villages of Karnataka, claimed themselves as 'Jenu Kuruba'. The population figures from the 1981 to the 2001 census in different districts for the Jenu Kuruba support the above statement. For instance as per the 1981 census, they were reported to be in the districts of Bangalore (5,797 persons), Bijapur (3,253 persons), Tumkur (1,807 persons), Gulbarga (1,793 persons), Chitradurga (1,769 persons), Belgaum (1,701 persons), Raichur (1,217 persons) and Dharwad (1,047 persons) of Karnataka. All these above-mentioned names, are far-flung districts, much away from the home of a food gathering tribe of Jenu Kuruba, highly localized in Mysore and Chamarajnarag districts, at the southernmost tip of the state. Removal of area restriction for the Scheduled Tribes in 1978 facilitated other caste groups passing off as Jenu or Kadu Kuruba in Karnataka. It appears that the Census of India increasingly became aware of such problems. As it appears from the census tables on distribution, the spread of this tribe in 15 districts during the 1981 census reduced to 7 districts in the 1991 census and finally in the 2001 census, major distribution of Jenu Kuruba in the state was only in four districts (Table 33.2). In the 2011 census the Jenu Kuruba population is shown as 36,076 persons in Karnataka.

TABLE 33.2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE JENU KURUBA IN KARNATAKA STATE (2001)

District	Male	Female	Total
Mysore	7,947	7,812	15,759
Kodagu	5,088	4,949	10,037
Bangalore	943	879	1,822
Chamarajnarag	393	389	782
Total	14,571	14,029	28,400

So far no Base Line Survey has been carried out in Karnataka. Only when a field survey is conducted, may it be possible to get a tally with the census. As of now the census figures appear to be slightly exaggerated. The following analysis of the census figures may be slightly biased to that extent due to this fact. However, overall patterns may not change drastically.

The population pyramid of the Jenu Kuruba of Karnataka state shows that the community is an expanding and growing population with a large base of 0-4 years age group population and small tapering end as the age advances from infancy to old age. Both male and female populations in the age group of 0-4 years show a decline from 13.74 per cent in 1991 to 11.92 per cent in 2001 and 13.62 per cent in 1991 to 11.29 per cent in 2001, respectively. Population of the females in the age group of 10-14 years showed a slight decline from 11.89 per cent in 1991 to 10.36 per cent in 2001, but the number of males showed a drastic decline from 11.61 per cent to 8.23 per cent during this decadal period. A significant increase in the female

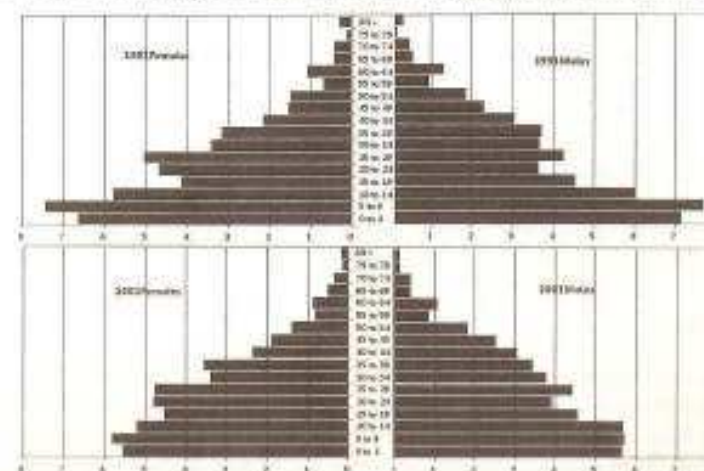


FIGURE 33.1: POPULATION PYRAMID DEPICTING THE AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE JENU KURUBA OF KARNATAKA

population was observed in the age group of 15-19 years, from 8.48 per cent to 10.34 per cent during this decadal period. The decline in both male and female population in the age groups of 30 to 34 years and 55-9 years was reflected in the population pyramid. Though longevity of the Jenu Kuruba is noticed as high, no significant difference is observed in the number of males and females who lived beyond the age of 80 years.

Sex Ratio

The overall sex ratio of the Jenu Kuruba in the state of Karnataka had increased slightly from 943 females per 1,000 males as per the Census of 1991 to 975 females per 1,000 males as per the 2001 census. A drastic increase in sex ratio from 953 to 1,026 during this decadal period in the age group of 5-9 years was noticed. The sex ratio in the age group of 20-4 years and 25-9 years decreased drastically from 1,373 to 1,271 and from 1,174 to 1088, respectively, during this decadal period.

Marital Status

In the state of Karnataka, marriages among the females had increased from 2.22 per cent in the 1991 to 2.43 per cent as per the 2001 census in the age group of 10-14 years. Marriages of females in the age group of 15-19 years had declined from 40.65 per cent as per the 1991 census to 35.53 per cent as per the 2001 census. Nearly, 94 per cent of females in the year 1991 were recorded as married in the age group of 25-9 years, and percentage of such marriages declined only slightly to 91 per cent in the 2001 census. The proportion of males being married in the age group of 20-4 years had increased from 38.33 per cent as per the 1991 census to 43.94 per cent as per the 2001 census. Both widows and widowers were recorded in the age group of 15-19 years as per the 1991 census with low frequency (0.1 per cent each), but their proportions had increased to 0.23 per cent each as per the 2001 census year. Nearly 0.39 per cent of the females in the age group of 10-14 years and 0.23 per cent of males in the age group of 15-19 years were reported as divorced according to the 2001 census.

Literacy

The overall literacy of the Jenu Kuruba in the state of Karnataka had increased from 27 per cent to 34 per cent from the 1991 to the 2001 census years. The female literacy had increased from 22 to 30 per cent during this decadal period. Percentages of non-literate population of females in the age group of 7 years and above declined from 83.53 per cent as per the 1991 census

to 71.44 per cent in the 2001. Percentages of non-literate population in the age groups of 7-14 years, 15-24 years and 25-49 years had increased from 6.27 to 8.12 per cent; 8.77 to 11.25 per cent and 15.19 to 18.81 per cent, respectively, during this decadal period. Levels of education among the males showed a decline from 6.52 to 3.82 per cent; 4.04 to 2.87 per cent; 1.35 per cent to 0.89 per cent which includes middle, metric and higher secondary level, respectively. Literacy levels were as low as 7.74 per cent in Heggadadevana Kote taluk where there are large concentrations of the Jenu Kuruba and Betta Kuruba tribes. The Ashram schools are functioning in the tribal areas for the last 20 years. Yet, till recently, there were hardly any persons among the Jenu Kuruba who had passed SSLC. However, Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement (SVYM), a voluntary organization, dedicated for the development of the Jenu Kuruba in H.D. Kote taluk, has succeeded in achieving the goal. During the year 2011-12, 15 students appeared for SSLC examination, and among them 14 students passed in the first attempt. So far 243 students have passed SSLC by the efforts of SVYM since 1988.

Kattunayakan Population in Tamil Nadu

As explained above, there are claims for the Kattunayakan identity from different Scheduled Caste, Backward Class and Most Backward Communities (MBC) from all parts of Tamil Nadu, including those found in Gudalur and Pandalur taluks of Nilgiris district. However, evidences from ethnographic references over a century indicate the presence of Kattunayakan or Jenu Kuru(m)ba only in the Nilgiris in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, only those Kattunayakan found in the taluks of Gudalur and Pandalur of Nilgiris district have been given focus under this study.

According to the Socio-Economic Survey of Scheduled Tribes in Nilgiris district conducted during 2010-11 by the Tribal Research Centre, Ooty, the entire population of Kattunayakan (2,480 persons; males, 1,261 and 1,219, females) comprising 621 households are distributed in 59 small villages in 10 Panchayats, namely, Mudumalai, O'Valley, Nelakkottai, Cherangode, Nelliyalam, O'Valley SVP, Devarshola SVP, Gudalur, Sri Madurai and Masinagudi of Gudalur and Pandalur taluks in the Nilgiris district.

According to the above mentioned Socio-Economic Survey, the highest concentration of Kattunayakan comprising 177 persons was found at Sembankolli settlement in Devarshola SVP Panchayat and the lowest number of 3 persons was reported from Nambilkannu settlement located within the Mudumalai Panchayat of Gudalur taluk.

According to the same survey, 40.21 per cent are in the age group of 0-18 years; 45 per cent of their population belongs to the working age group of

19-45 years; and 14.8 per cent are found to be in the age category of 46-60 years and above.

The current literacy status of the Kattunayakan tribe is 41.21 per cent, which is lower *vis-à-vis* literacy status of the Scheduled Tribes at the national level, i.e. 47.1 per cent in 2001. It is distressing to notice that nearly half, i.e. 47.82 per cent of the Kattunayakan people are still illiterates. There is a balanced rate of gender enrolment at the primary school level but there are only 0.24 per cent graduates and 0.04 per cent pursuing professional course from this tribe.

The age at marriage has increased in this community and there are only 0.34 per cent male and 5.45 per cent female members married in the age of below 21 years. Among the married, separation is found to be a rare incident and only 1.21 per cent have broken their marital relationships. Widows (12.06 per cent) are greater than the widowers who comprise 2.36 per cent. (TRI Survey, 2011-12).

The above-mentioned ethnographic accounts and an actual field survey by the TRI, Ooty, prove that the Kattunayakan population return in the 2001 census for the state of Tamil Nadu is incorrect and exaggerated; nevertheless, Table 33.3 is given here for the benefit of the reader.

The reasons for such misrepresentation are not very hard to find. Unfortunately, the Tribal Research Centre, Ooty, came out with a document 'Community Status Reports, 2003-08' (Parthasarathy, 2008), wherein about ten different Telugu-speaking endogamous groups listed under OBC and SC categories, were wrongly identified and reported as 'Kattunayakan' in various parts of the Tamil Nadu state. The Tribal Research Centre, Ooty, recognized certain groups like Thottia Naicker (Serial No. 35 in the MBC list of Tamil Nadu), Tholuva Naicker and Veralakara Naicker (Serial No. 112 in the BC list of Tamil Nadu), Jogi (Serial No. 12 in the MBC list of Tamil Nadu), Boyas and Oddars (Serial No. 12 in the BC list of Tamil Nadu), Panniandi also known as Panni Naicken (Serial No. 55 in the SC list of Tamil Nadu), Thosi (Serial No. 67 in the SC list of Tamil Nadu) as Kattunayakan. The documents prepared as 'Community Status Reports', in favour of falsely identifying groups, from the TRC, Ooty opened the Pandora's box for claiming Kattunayakan status for the groups who had hardly anything in common with the most Particularly Vulnerable Tribe confined to Nilgiris and a small adjoining tri-junction area as mentioned above.

In fact, claim to the name 'Kattunayakan' seems to have begun from 1961 onwards in various parts of Tamil Nadu, presumably by the Telugu-speaking endogamous groups having the titles of 'Naicker' or 'Naicken'. But it gained momentum during the last 20 years or so, especially during 2003-8 when the Community Status Reports of the Tribal Research Centre, Ooty, unwittingly recognized a number of Telugu-speaking 'Nayakan' in Tamil

TABLE 33.3: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF KATTUNAYAKAN IN THE STATE OF 'TAMIL NADU' (CENSUS 2001)

District	Total	Males	Females
Tamil Nadu Total	45,227	22,476	22,751
Thiruvallur	4,547	2,282	2,265
Chennai	808	377	431
Kancheepuram	5,091	1,545	1,546
Vellore	1,911	944	967
Tiruvannamalai	1,174	571	603
Viluppuram	2,930	1,440	1,490
Erode	864	443	421
The Nilgiris	1,443	698	745
Coimbatore	1,661	847	814
Dindigul	1,963	1,019	944
Karur*	1,046	502	544
Tiruchirappalli	1,662	803	859
Cuddalore	2,177	1,107	1,070
Nagapattinam*	1,467	725	742
Thiruvarur	1,495	713	782
Thanjavur	1,722	823	899
Sivaganga	641	314	327
Madurai	2,770	1,408	1,362
Virudhunagar	1,706	839	867
Ramanathapuram	933	481	452
Thoothukudi	2,709	1,373	1,336
Tirunelveli	4,657	2,295	2,362
Kanyakumari	861	418	443

Note: *Only those districts are shown where the Kattunayakan population is more than 500 persons.

Nadu as equivalent to 'Kattunayakan'. The enormous spurt in Kattunayakan population all over Tamil Nadu over a 20 year period apparently has been on account of these reasons.

Allocation of funds for the development of the PVTGs like the Kattunayakan are primarily made under the Conservation-Cum-Development, i.e. CCD Scheme, based on the census figures. The population figures of SC/ST communities are arrived at based on 'oral representation or self identification or self claim' of individuals as belonging to specific SC/ST communities and not based on any proof of records. If population figures are skewed, CCD funds could flow in wrong directions. The Project Officers implementing the CCD programme need to be alerted of such situations.

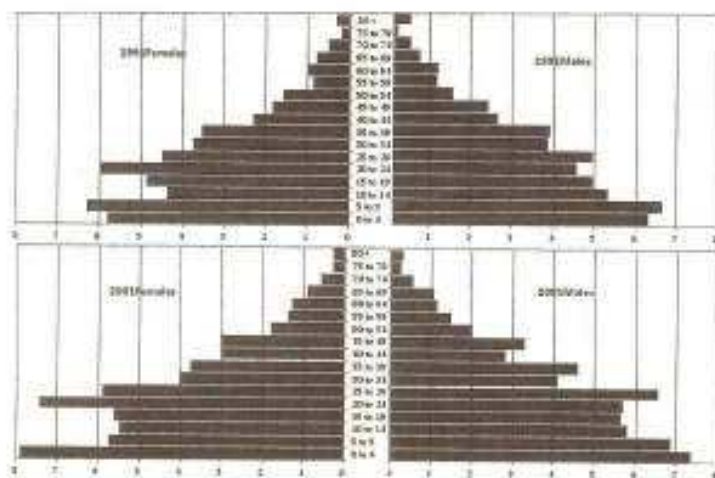


FIGURE 33.3: POPULATION PYRAMID DEPICTING THE AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE KATTUNAYAKAN OF KERALA

TABLE 33.4: KATTUNAYAKAN POPULATION IN KERALA

Year	Male	Female	Total	Sex Ratio
1981 census	4,532	4,277	8,809	943
1991 census	6,271	5,884	12,155	938
2001 census	7,425	7,290	14,715	981
2006-7*	9,275	9,301	18,576	1,002
2011 census	-	-	18,199	-

Source: *Base Line Survey, KIRTADS.

According to the 1981 census, the total population of the Kattunayakan in Kerala was 8,809 (Table 33.4). The total numbers increased gradually in the 1991 and 2001 censuses. The number of females in all the census years is less than the male counterpart. The sex ratio shows that the number of females is increasing per 1,000 males.

The age-sex compositions of Kattunayakan have been presented in the form of a population pyramid based on the census data of 1991 and 2001. The population pyramid shows a broad base in both the cases of male and female and shows uniformity in both sexes in all the age groups.

The literacy rate of the Kattunayakan in 1996-7 as per the Socio-Economic Survey was 20.77 per cent. Now the literacy rate is 56.48 per cent among the Kattunayakan as per the Base Line Survey, 2006-7. According to the 2001

TABLE 33.5: DISTRICT-WISE LITERACY RATE IN KERALA AMONG THE KATTUNAYAKAN

Literacy Level	Wayanad	Malappuram	Palakkad	Kozhikode	Total
Literate	9,032	974	310	62	10,378
Illiterate	5,976	711	357	45	7,089
Population above 5 years	15,008	1,685	667	107	17,467
Percentage	60.18	57.80	46.48	57.94	59.41

TABLE 33.6: LITERACY LEVEL AMONG THE KATTUNAYAKAN OF KERALA

Literacy Level	Wayanad	Malappuram	Palakkad	Kozhikode	Total
Up to 4th standard	5,777	596	250	47	6,670
Up to 10th standard	1,953	229	22	9	2,213
10th pass	405	90	15	4	514
10+2 pass	212	18	4	1	235
Degree pass	15	01	-	-	16
Postgraduate degree holder	5	-	-	-	5
Technical/Diploma holder	4	2	-	-	6
Adult Education (who can sign only)	661	38	19	01	719

Source: As per survey report of KILA, 2008.

census, the overall literacy among the Kattunayakan population was 33 per cent, of which male literacy was 37 per cent and female literacy was 29 per cent. Owing to the introduction of tribal residential schools in tribal areas in Wayanad, the literacy level among the boys is steadily increasing.

Ashram schools are functioning at Noolpuzha, Wayanad district and Manjeri, Mallapuram district, for the Kattunayakan children, including the Cholanaikkan.

Food Habits

The Jenu Kuruba eat a variety of plant and animal origin foods. Their daily food is *ragi mudde* and *uppu sara* (salt curry) or *soppu sara* (leafy vegetables curry). *Ragi* is ground and the flour is mixed and stirred in boiling water adding a little salt and some chilli powder. This is known as *hittu* or *mudde* and is eaten with or without some curry.

Green leafy vegetables such as *anne soppu*, *honaganne soppu*, *keere soppu*, *kaaki soppu*, *thumbe soppu*, *balle soppu*, *kumbala soppu*, *kadasige soppu*, *hiligannale*

soppu, *kariganale soppu*, *kolalike soppu*, etc., are eaten regularly. Tubers such as *nare gasu*, *ekku gasu*, *nare gasu*, *kalu gasu*, *choddi gasu*, *maru gasu*, etc., are eaten occasionally. Mear of wild boar and goat is relished. In general, the Jenu Kuruba food items have three characteristics, namely, *hovu* (hot), *sheetsu* (cold) and *ovayu* (air) (Vijayendra, 1998). Those Jenu Kuruba rehabilitated from Nagarhole habitat collect ration items such as rice (20 kg), wheat flour (4 kg), sugar (500 gm) and kerosene (3 ltr) per month per family.

Thurston observed that the Jenu and Betta Kurubas traditionally subsisted on wild bamboo seeds, edible roots, etc., often mixed with honey found in the jungle. He wrote, 'they are said not unfrequently to make a dessert out of bees in preference to milk, ghee (clarified butter) etc.' (1909, IV: 161). Many a times they consume honey straight from the hives (Misra 1975: 225). These people always move about in search of honey, yam, edible roots, fruits and edible leaves called *soppu*. However, of late, their movements in the forests have been very much restricted; hence it has become difficult for them to collect these edible articles from the forests. When they collect common roots, fruits, or edible leaves, they boil them and mix the same with some salt before eating. Bamboo shoot is cut into small pieces and soaked in water. The next morning it is washed with fresh water and again soaked in water. Likewise they change water for three days to eliminate poisonous elements from bamboo shoot, and then boil to prepare curry.

According to Thurston the Jenu Kuruba people are said to eat the flesh of bison whereas the Betta Kuruba abstain from the same (1909, IV: 162). In any case as Misra observed, 'they are poor hunters; so hunting of any big animal is out of question. With their own efforts they are able to get some goat's meat, birds, jungle and domesticated fowls, rabbits and eggs of different birds' (1975: 225).

Compared to the traditional food habits as described above, in the present times, a lot many changes are seen in their food and beverages. In addition to *ragi* and maize, rice and wheat are now available in ration provided by the government. Those who hold a green card get 20 kg rice, 5 kg wheat and 3 ltr of kerosene at a concessional rate in the ration shop. Edible oil has been introduced into their diet. Vegetable vendors visit their place with tomatoes, brinjal, etc. They have also tasted a variety of foods while at their stay in places like Coorg, Chikmagalur and Kerala as seasonally migrant labourers.

The Jenu and Betta Kuruba tribes in Karnataka did not consume any intoxicating drink as per the ethnographic report of the Census of India 1961, and even in 1975 as per Misra (1975). There are neither records nor folklore among them that they ever brewed or distilled liquor unlike many tribes in other areas.

Increased contact with other communities, especially when they went out of their settlement (*hadu*) to plantation areas in search of labour, introduced

them to liquor. A few years ago when a team from Anthropological Survey of India visited Malldhadi (near Antarasante, H.D. Kote taluk 1997), and Maddur Colony, where field work was conducted in August 2005, it was revealed that arrack was sold at a premium of one rupee, i.e. Rs. 13 per packet in the colony itself. In addition to consumption of alcoholic beverages, chewing tobacco and *gutka* has also been noticed among the young men and women. All these changes have an ill effect on their health.

Social Organization

The Jenu Kuruba do not have sub-divisions. Member of one cluster are known as *lanma* or *Gumpa*, but the precise meaning of these terms is not clearly known to them. Earlier ethnographic records give a vivid picture regarding their *hadis* and huts. Iyer (1948: 19) writes that,

The Betta Kurubas are settled in a hamlet of their own and their near bamboo huts are arranged in a quadrangular form, but leaving the four corners open as passages; in the center of the open space stands the *ambala*, an open hut which serves the elders for social and ceremonial gathering. No one is allowed to approach it with leather shoes on. At night all the unmarried boys above five years of age have to sleep here.

Thurston recorded the existence of bachelor's dormitories among the Jenu Kuruba. He wrote, 'a curious trait of this primitive (Jenu Kuruba) is that the unmarried females of the village or *hadu* generally sleep in a hut or *chavadi* set apart for them. But such dormitories are not found now among the Jenu Kurubas. The Census of India ethnographer in 1961 reported that dormitories called *chavadi* were once very popular among Betta Kurubas but nowadays, this institution is not so commonly met with even among them. He further said that in Maddur agricultural colony (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) there is no *chavadi* and all the residents of the colony owe their allegiance to the *chavadi* of Barambadl. However, when the AnSI team visited the same settlement in 2005 it was revealed that they had built a *chavadi* in front of the Ashram school building.

Economy

Even in 1961, it was observed by the Census of India ethnographer that the head of the household and other adult members go into the forest to collect honey or other forest produce. The female folk and young children attend to domestic work and during their spare time they move about on the fringes of the forests to collect edible leaves, roots, bamboo shoots, and so on. The Census of India ethnographer in 1961 recorded that all the male folk had gone out for collection of jungle produce like yam, honey, etc., during

his visit to Pinjally colony. In addition to collection of forest produce, they practiced shifting cultivation.

In the former days, the Betta Kuruba people extensively resorted to a kind of shifting cultivation known as *kumri*, though now it has become rare. For such cultivation they selected a patch of forest land with less growth of forest species. Small trees and shrubs were cleared with the help of an axe and were burnt when dry. The ash was then evenly spread. After one or two rains they broadcast various grains, especially *ragi* (*Eleusina coracana*). They never used a plough in *kumri* cultivation. All the work was done with axe, hoe and digging sticks. After the harvest of one crop, they left the stalk in the plot to be dried and burnt for the next crop. They rarely used the same plot more than twice in succession.

Among the Betta Kuruba, particularly the women, are specialists in basketry and mat-weaving. Though the Forest Department has restricted the collection of forest produce, the Betta Kuruba people bring bamboo poles from the forest and prepare baskets and mats. The baskets are utilized by the farmers and others as containers. Similarly, mats prepared by them are used by village farmers, and winnowing fans by the rural people.

It is reported that a few of the Betta Kuruba people were engaged in blacksmithy (*Census of India*, 1961). Some of the families practicing blacksmithy have the necessary tools and equipment like hammers, anvil, tongs, chisels and a hand-operated leather blower. They serve both the tribal population and the village farmers by making crude implements, sharpening them, and mending agricultural implements.

When the Jenu Kuruba and Betta Kuruba people were resettled, they were given land on the fringes of forest. Elephants and wild boars sometimes attack the fields and cause heavy loss to them. However, wherever electric fence has been provided, life is slightly more secure. Even then there are complaints that elephants sometimes breach the electric fence.

Another common activity among the Jenu Kuruba is the collection *pachi* (tree moss) from the forest. Usually able men in a group of 10 to 15 go into the forest along with provisions (some small utensils, rice, salt, chilly, *sambar* powder, etc.) required for about 8 to 10 days. They camp at an appropriate place but always away from water sources (since wild animal visit these sources in the night). While all engage in the collection of *pachi* from the trees, one among them stays at the camp and keeps a vigil and guards their collection. In a span of 8 to 10 days normally they are able to collect a gunny bag full of tree moss *pachi* weighing about 20 kg and in 2005, they could sell this for over a litre or Rs. 50 per kg. Some Jenu Kuruba work in plantation areas making a few trips in a year to their settlement (*hadi*). Some of them have been hired by the forest department as forest watchers, fire watchers, and so on. A few of them have been given permanent appointment; some continue on temporary roll. Another economic activity is cow herding and

goat rearing for the owners of livestock in the neighbouring villages at a fixed remuneration.

The Jenu Kuruba men also collect medicinal plants to cure ailments. Private contractors nowadays employ the Jenu Kuruba men for collection of timber and bamboo. The Jenu Kuruba people are experts in catching wild elephants. The Mysore kingdom used their services in catching elephants; an operation which was called *hebda*. Nowadays, the forest department employs them as elephant trainers and mahouts in all elephant training camps in the Nagarhole National Park. A few Jenu Kuruba people are employed as teachers and clerks in the government and in private sector firms.

Religion and Social Organization

In the Kerala part of the tri-junction, two or three settlements will be under the headship of a religious leader called *madali* (clan chief), whose position is hereditary. He performs duties and roles in the daily life of the Kattunayakan. He officiates as a leader at all the rituals related to birth, marriage and death. He also acts as a religious expert, diviner and a medicine man.

The Jenu Kuruba people in Karnataka worship many deities like Belli Maramma, Bettada Chikkamma, Bhairava, as well as the Sun and the Moon. The Hindu deities they worship are Venkataramana, Madheswara, Basavanna, etc. They consider Belli Maramma as the consort of Venkataramana and she is identified as a tribal deity in the Hindu pantheon. The *Census of India* report (1961) recorded that in *kalana hadi* of Heggadadevanakote taluk, there is a colony of 24 households of Jenu Kurubas, which has constructed a separate hut for their deity, i.e. Belli Maramma, on the outskirts of the *hadi*. The Betta Kurubas are particularly known for the propitiation of spirits (*bhuta*). Among the spirits (*bhuta*) some are dreaded ones like Kula, Ajja, etc., while others are benevolent ones, like Adara Galappa, Maramma, Kuttalamma, Bettada Chikkamma, Mastamma, etc. In Coorg district, the goddess Karimkali (black stone effigy of goddess Kali) is quite popular. Offerings of fowl, coconut, plantain and cooked food are made to these spirits. The *Census of India* report (1961) recorded that the Adara Galappa is an important deity of the Betta Kuruba of Maddur colony in Gundlupet taluk of Mysore district. A priest who stays at Berambadi about 8 miles away from Maddur colony, officiates in all the religious ceremonies. Nadavamma, Inoor Maramma and Sheegnapura or Shiganamutti Maramma are some of their traditional deities. Inoor Maramma is located inside the forest near a place called Moole Hole in the border of Kerala-Karnataka states. Once seer Ravi Shankar Swami from Cochin came to Maddur Colony and held a function.

Even after displacement and rehabilitation, the Kuruba remember their deities in the forest in places like Moole Hole, etc. Worship of these deities is especially performed whenever they are attacked by diseases. The Jenu

Kuruba worship deities like Chikkamma, Soddamma and Handhigrayamma as their family deities and Patal Daramma, Periyapattanalamma and Kammbadamma as their village deities. They worship Patal Daramma for rain and Kammbadamma for good yield of forest produce. They sacrifice sheep, goats and chicken to appease these deities.

The Jenu Kuruba people believe in divination. *Bunde kareyuvuru* is a diviner who identifies and treats illnesses among the Jenu Kuruba. The device used for this purpose is called *bunde* made of bottle gourd, *gulgundi* and wax of the honey bee. The diviner reveals the cause of disease while in trance and also suggests the remedy for sickness. In Kerala they observe Daiva festival (*abba*) which is almost like a harvest festival as the celebration is centred on doll making and assigning a supernatural power to the dolls made of *ragi* flour.

Political Organization

Yajmana is the head among the Jenu Kuruba who settles disputes of land, adultery and other matters. Defaulters are to pay fine in cash to the aggrieved party.

Development Activities

Conservation-cum-Development scheme was started as late as in the year 2008 for the socio-economic development of the Jenu Kuruba. In the year 2009-10, 73 per cent of the funds were utilized in Mysore district out of the total amount of Rs. 201.85 lakhs sanctioned by the Social Welfare Department. Most of the funds were spent on construction of roads, (Rs. 72.94 lakhs) drainages (Rs. 27.74 lakhs) and community halls (Rs. 28.25 lakhs). In H.D. Kote taluk, 44 per cent funds were utilized for construction of roads followed by 20 per cent funds for construction of community halls and 18 per cent funds for construction of drainages and culverts. Much less funds were spent on minor irrigation (Rs. 13.32 lakhs), water facility (Rs. 10.57 lakhs) and electricity (Rs. 2.00 lakhs). One family was given Rs. 2.50 lakhs for purchasing a piece of land. Rupees 201.85 lakhs were sanctioned during the year 2009-10 in H.D. Kote taluk. In Periyapatna taluk, Rs. 122 lakhs was sanctioned, out of which 67 per cent of the fund was utilized for the construction of roads and another 18 per cent for construction of culverts and bridges. Rupees 17.92 lakhs were utilized for the construction of drainages. Although most of the Jenu Kuruba are settled outside the forest, a major part of the sanctioned amount was utilized for infrastructure development, rather than community development.

During the year 2010-11, Rs. 172 lakhs was sanctioned in Periyapatna

taluk for construction of roads (Rs. 135 lakhs), drainage (Rs. 20 lakhs), minor irrigation (Rs. 15 lakhs) and for water facility (Rs. 2 lakhs), however, the work was yet to start. In the same year, Rs. 198 lakhs was sanctioned for construction of roads, but this amount was yet to be utilized. In Nanjangud taluk, Rs. 6.50 lakhs each was sanctioned for construction of road and minor irrigation which was not necessary since the Jenu Kuruba are not present there. In H.D. Kote taluk, Rs. 201 lakhs was sanctioned for the construction of roads, Rs. 138 lakhs for drainage, Rs. 43 lakhs and 10 lakhs each for minor irrigation and water facility. Besides road construction, etc., it was proposed to construct 1,702 houses for the Jenu Kuruba in 46 settlements. The work was yet to start. The highest number of houses were proposed to be built at Metikuppe *hadis* (134) and Nettalhundi *hadis* (109) in H.D. Kote taluk. In Hunsur taluk, 480 houses were proposed to be built in 18 settlements, but work was yet to be initiated.

Rehabilitation Programmes

There were about 1,550 Jenu Kuruba families comprising 6,145 individuals in 54 settlements (*hadis*) living in Nagarhole habitat, which was declared as a National Park. In Kodagu district, 950 Jenu Kuruba families comprising 3,720 individuals live in 29 settlements (*hadis*) and another 600 families comprising 2,425 individuals live in 25 settlements (*hadis*) in Mysore district. Unfortunately, the area where they were living in the forest habitat came under Project Tiger and was targeted for resettlement.

Under the Beneficiary Oriented Tribal Development Scheme (BOTD) for relocation of the people of this tribe, each rehabilitated family would get three acres of agriculture land and Rs. 1 lakh as relocation package which includes construction cost of 20 sq. m. house, land development, community facilities, transport of household goods, etc. Under this scheme, 250 Jenu Kuruba families were rehabilitated to Nagapura in different phases from 1999 to 2002. During the 10th Five Year Plan of the Government of India (2002-3 to 2006-7), the BOTD scheme was merged with the Project Tiger scheme. Under this scheme, 30 Jenu Kuruba families were rehabilitated to Nagapura in 2006-7, 60 families to Sollepura in 2007-8 and 256 families to Shettyhally in the year 2010-12. Altogether, 487 families comprising 1,322 Jenu Kuruba individuals were rehabilitated under both BOTD and Project Tiger schemes and the detail are given in Table 33.7.

Development Initiatives by the Non-Governmental Organizations

Three NGOs, viz. (1) Development Through Education (DEED), (2) Living Inspiration for Tribals (LIFT), both based at Hunsur and (3) Swami

Vivekananda Youth Movement (SVYM) at Saragur, H.D. Kote taluk, are actively working for the welfare of the Jenu Kuruba.

TABLE 13.7: DETAILS OF THE RELOCATED BLOCKS UNDER THE BOTD SCHEME

Sl. No.	Name of the Relocated Block	No. of Family	No. of Population	Year of Relocation	Budget Head
1.	Nagapura Block I	50	199	1999-2000	BOTD
2.	Nagapura Block II	45	185	2001-2	BOTD
3.	Nagapura Block III	45	200	2000-1	BOTD
4.	Nagapura Block IV	55	220	2000-1	BOTD
5.	Nagapura Block V	55	220	2000-1	BOTD
6.	Nagapura Block VI	30	95	2006-7	CSS Project Tiger
7.	Sollepura Block I	60	203	2007-8	CSS Project Tiger
8.	Shetyhally Block I (under Option II)	143		2010-11	CSS Project Tiger
9.	Shetyhally Block II (under Option II)	4		2011-12	CSS Project Tiger
	Total	487	1,322		
10.	Under Option I	8		2009-10	CSS Project Tiger
11.	Under Option I	1		2011-12	CSS Project Tiger
	Grand Total	496	1,322		

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EDUCATION (DEED)

Since the last 30 years DEED is working for the welfare of all groups in Mysore district. Its main activities are to impart education, bring awareness of Forest Rights Act and Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act. Imparting education to women and children is another major activity of the DEED. It has established five crèche units in each *hadu* in H.D. Kote and Hunsur taluks and about 79 tribal children are admitted in class I. This organization has also established a child labour rehabilitation school. In collaboration with APF Bangalore, it has organized the Namma Shaale programme in 20 government schools. In order to develop leadership qualities among the tribal children, DEED organizes programmes in schools in collaboration with NCRI Hyderabad.

LIVING INSPIRATION FOR TRIBALS (LIPT)

This NGO helps the tribals to pursue their education and promotes health education. With the assistance of LIPT, two individuals completed Diploma in Education (D.Ed) and Girl Health Assistant Course, respectively. About 27 individuals adopted family planning following persuasion by LIPT, though this is not advisable for the PYFGs at this stage. The LIPT supported

20 children to join high school and another six children join graduation. LIPT also supported six individuals in taking up agriculture.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA YOUTH MOVEMENT (SVYM)

SVYM's main objective is to enhance community awareness on developmental issues with special emphasis on women's empowerment among all people and people belonging to tribes. In the year 1988, SVYM started Vivekananda Tribal Centre for Learning to impart education in Kannada medium. As of now 234 children have successfully completed SSLC and some of them are now employed in various sectors. Under the Community Development Service (CDS), SVYM trained the Jenu Kuruba women in Kebbepura *hadu* to make cloth folders. In 2007, Rs. 45,760 were earned by the women by selling 732 cloth folders.

The SVYM has formed 33 SHGs among the Jenu Kuruba mainly to take up income generating activities. The Jenu Kuruba women were trained in file making and ASTRA stoves (low-cost, eco-friendly, energy-efficient kilns/*chulabs*) and incense-stick making. The Jenu Kuruba men were trained as masons for constructing toilets, and brick making. The Jenu Kuruba persons numbering 28 in Hosahalli, Kebbepura and Golar *hadu* were trained in sustainable and scientific honey harvesting.

That apart, 85 local SHG members attended free vocational training programmes in electronics, motor rewinding, *agarhatti* making, screen printing, basic computers and a variety of other marketable skills organized by the RUDSET Institute, Mysore. One Jenu Kuruba woman received a sewing machine from RUDSET. About 20 tribal women were trained in *coir* foot-mar production at the Karnataka State Coir Development Corporation. The SHGs of Kebbepura *hadu* raised bank loan of Rs. 50,000 for agriculture and home maintenance. In order to mobilize the tribal youth, the SVYM has formed a Vivekananda Seva Dal for solving own village problems and act as a bridge between the government and one's community. Many Seva Dal units are working with local schools to improve attendance among students and three Seva Dals are involved in micro lending activities among their community members. One Seva Dal unit organized a traditional healer's workshop. Some 10 tribal youth were employed with the Orange County Resort in Coorg as housekeeping staff.

Health Status

Almost always the Jenu Kuruba resort to indigenous herbal medicines than to allopathic medicines. They first consult their medicine men for any ailment. Major diseases that the Jenu Kuruba people suffer are water-borne diseases like diarrhoea and dysentery and airborne diseases such as chicken pox

and measles. Wild animals and snakes also attack them as they work quite often in interior forests. Skin diseases are common among them. Owing to their deep-rooted faith in traditional medicine, both the government and the NGOs find it hard to motivate them to try allopathic medicines. The SVYM established a hospital at Saragur in H.D. Kote taluk and the mobile medical units attached to this hospital pay regular visits to the Jenu Kuruba settlements in the Taluk. The mobile unit could reach 28 of the 47 Jenu Kuruba settlements in H.D. Kote taluk. The hospital staff periodically visit the Jenu Kuruba settlements and identify pregnant and lactating women and provide support to them. Emergency cases of pregnancy are treated at Saragur hospital. Tuberculosis and other major diseases among the Jenu Kuruba, are treated and managed by providing medicines regularly. BCG vaccinations to children are given periodically. Health camps for cataract and eye infections are conducted often. During the year 2008-9, the mobile unit treated as many as 2,380 men and 3,535 women, a total of 5,915 patients which increased gradually to 2,458 men and 4,111 women, a total of 6,569 patients during the year 2011-12.

The crude birth and death rates are 36.8 and 22.5 per 1,000 persons, respectively. A number of deaths are mainly due to conflicts with the wild animals in the forest. Infant mortality, viz., 105 per 1,000 live births is found to be high among the Jenu Kuruba compared to that of the state of Karnataka (74 per 1,000 live births).

Development Initiative in Tamil Nadu

A vast majority (95.28 per cent) of the people among the Jenu Kuruba, called here by the term Kattunayakan in Tamil Nadu part of the tri-junction, make a living as daily wage labourers. Only a meagre percentage (0.16 per cent) are employed in government services, that too in temporary jobs like forest watcher, attendant in government tribal residential school, etc.

More than half of the Kattunayakan households seems to have been benefited by the housing schemes of the government, although the quality of the houses constructed are poor. About 51.85 per cent of them live in tiled houses and 14.01 per cent have concrete roof for their houses. About 34.14 per cent of them continue to live in unsafe thatched huts. Even after the tireless efforts of the local government authorities, 360 of the 621 households are devoid of electricity and only 261 houses are provided with electricity connection. It is reported that the main reason for not providing electricity is that the settlements are located within the protection zone for the wild animals in the Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary. The Forest Department is ever eager to relocate them to the fringes of the forest areas, enticing them with the promise that electricity and other facilities could be provided to them once they are outside the reserve forest. The logic of the Forest Department appears

to be self-defeating as accommodations of the forest personnel, tourists and visitor's facilities are located very much inside the sanctuary with all the basic amenities including electricity.

As far as drinking water is concerned, more than half of them, i.e. 62.64 per cent still depend on wells and streams for drinking water. Only 31.56 per cent of the population have tap water facility in their hamlets. The health and sanitation programme is not a story of success in Kattunayakan settlements as barely 0.96 per cent of their households have toilets.

A vast majority – 93.40 per cent – do not possess the title deed (*qatta*) for their homestead land and only 6.60 per cent of them hold title deeds. About half of them, i.e. 51.37 per cent have obtained community certificates and the remaining 48.83 per cent are yet to get them. Nearly, 79.55 per cent have received their ration cards and 76.65 per cent their voter identity cards but a vast majority, i.e. 95.65 per cent of them do not own the tribal identity card issued by the Tribal Welfare Directorate.

As far as the location of the schools is concerned, 46 of the total 59 settlements have schools situated at a distance of 1 to 5 km. Three of the settlements have schools within the *hadi*. For 38 of the 59 settlements, a health centre is located at a distance of 1-5 km and 13 settlements have a health centre at a distance of 6-10 km. One of the 59 settlements has a Primary Health Centre situated within it.

It may be noted here that even after hundred years of the descriptions of the Kattunayakan by Gopalan Nair in 1911, the living standards of these people have hardly improved. A noticeable change is that while their settlements were previously surrounded by paddy fields, now there are banana, areca nut and other cash crop plantations. Almost all the Kattunayakan people have become labourers in these plantations in their same living areas which are now 'owned' by others. The migrants from Calicut and Travancore have taken over most of the lands from the local communities. On the other hand restrictions have also been imposed on Kattunayakan and other forest dwelling tribal communities in accessing the traditionally available forest resources, resulting in total dependence of all these tribal communities on plantation labour. Spending by the government and developmental activities of the NGOs has hardly brought any qualitative change in the life of the Kattunayakan people as well as the other tribes of this area.

Development Initiatives in Kerala

In the Kerala part of the tri-junction, the literacy rate of this tribe in 1996-7 as per the Socio-Economic Survey was 20.77 per cent. Ashram schools were functioning at Noolputha, Wayanad district, and Manjeri, Mallapuram district, for the Kattunayakan children, including the Cholamickan.

TABLE 33.8: SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD (INCOME-GENERATING SOURCES):

Source of Income	Wayanad	Malappuram	Palakkad	Kozhikode	Total
Collection of MFP	101	37	6	-	144
Agriculture	64	10	3	-	77
Agricultural labour	5,733	200	201	23	6,157
Hunting	1	-	-	-	1
Animal husbandry	8	-	1	-	9
Petty trade	3	1	-	-	4
Medicinal plant collection	4	5	-	-	9
Forest labour	116	131	-	-	247
Estate labour	35	9	-	-	44
NREGS	109	-	-	-	109
Other than agricultural labour	44	65	-	2	111
Govt. job	37	6	3	-	46
Jobs in private sector	10	1	-	-	11
Jobs in Forest Dept.	10	1	-	-	11
Jobs in estate and other jobs	17	30	-	4	51
Family having income	4,292	496	214	29	5,031
Family without income	77	21	4	3	105

Source: As per Survey Report of KILA, 2008.

TABLE 33.9: LANDHOLDING PATTERNS AMONG THE KATTUNAYAKAN IN KERALA

Landholding	Wayanad	Malappuram	Palakkad	Kozhikode	Total
Upto 5 cents	959	159	61	02	1,181
5-9 cents	1,051	82	29	01	1,163
10-24 cents	808	85	36	22	951
25-49 cents	419	40	14	04	477
50-99 cents	420	36	15	02	473
More than 1 acre	558	60	23	02	643

Source: As per Survey Report of KILA, 2008.

The Socio-Economic Survey of 2006-7 reported the prevalence of anaemia, fever with cough, skin diseases, rheumatism, tuberculosis, etc., among the Kattunayakan of Kerala. The Socio-Economic Survey of 1996-7 had identified 38 cases of tuberculosis and 4 leprosy patients. Nearly, 52 per cent of the Kattunayakan people do not have health care facilities within 3 km.

TABLE 33.10: HEALTH PROBLEMS AMONG THE KATTUNAYAKAN OF KERALA (1007)

Disease	Wayanad	Kozhikode	Malappuram	Palakkad	Total
Anaemia	839	8	77	88	1,012
Fever with cough	3,650	22	413	97	4,182
Skin disease	387	5	29	26	447
Rheumatism	832	4	57	25	918
Heart disease	378	1	45	15	439
Stomach ache	722	2	29	12	765
TB	185	-	17	4	206
Others	208	-	102	19	329
	7,001	42	769	286	8,098

Source: As per Base Line Survey report of KIRTADS, 2006-7.

Field Visit and Observation

The Chokkulikuni settlement of Noolpuzha Gram Panchayat is a tribal hamlet inhabited by the Kattunayakan people. There are a total of 48 households who have been given *pucca* houses by the ITDP office. This settlement is situated inside the forest, 5 km away from Naikutti town where the Tribal Extension Office (TEO) is situated and about 18 km from Sultan Bathery, i.e. the ITDP office. A girl student who passed 12th standard from the Rajiv Gandhi Ashram School, Kallur, situated 4 km away from Naikutti, TEO, mainly established for the Kattunayakan tribal community, became the Scheduled Tribe promoter of this village.

The school (1st-12th standard) has a website, i.e. www.rgnrhssnoolpuzha.arividam.org. The total strength of teaching staff is 12 and non-teaching staff is 17 including the principal. All the 446 students of Kattunayakan community are accommodated in a free hostel funded by the central and state governments. The hostel is now under renovation and it is observed that it is overcrowded and the drinking water facility is inadequate. Recently the PHC doctor sent a sample of the water for analysis to the Regional Analytical Laboratory, Kozhikode and the reports were not up to the mark. A new hostel building was constructed but it is not properly equipped with facilities and has remained un-utilized by the school authorities. The AnSI researcher who visited Kerala came across many complaints against the school authority.

The main health problem faced by these people are on account of chewing tobacco and drinking liquor which has made their life miserable. According to the doctor of PHC, Naikutti, the tribal people are attending the medical camps, conducted by the PHC. Another serious problem is that they are reluctant to look after or care for their elderly people. As it is noticed, the ill

persons are admitted to the hospital, but there is no one to attend to them. Whenever the PHC chlorinates the water, the tribal people refuse to drink due to the smell of chlorine.

A project officer/leader is appointed for the development of the PVTGs. Under the PVTG project, a PVTG Cell was established in March 2012 by Department of Scheduled Tribe Development, Ministry of SC & ST, Government of Kerala, in the KIRTADS Campus, Kozhikode.

The sectoral officers were appointed in each Block headquarter recently in the year 2012. They are yet to establish a full-fledged office in this block. The PVTG cell is attached normally to the Tribal Development Officer (TDO) office of every block. The TDO informed that separate schemes for PVTG groups would be implemented only from this year.

While discussing with the TDO, Mananthavady, it was learnt that the Scheduled Tribe Promoters are employed in the Panchayat ward level to help the ST groups, get access to developmental programmes. The promoters are being paid a remuneration of Rs. 4,000 per month. Their appointments are temporary for a period of one year. There are 134 such ST promoters in Mananthavady taluk and 300 in Wayanad district. Selection of Scheduled Tribe promoters is made by the Directorate of Scheduled Tribe Development, Thiruvananthapuram, on the criteria of having passed 10th standard.

The TDO of Mananthavady, Sulthan Bathery and Kalpetta blocks of Wayanad district are the various centres responsible for the development of the Kattunayakan tribe as these three blocks in Wayanad district are dominated by this tribal community. Education, housing and health care, programmes for rehabilitation of tribal families, and income generating and poverty alleviation programmes are the areas of focus. Besides these the department has a nodal role in monitoring the tribal development projects and programmes implemented by other departments, local governments and voluntary organizations.

A few Kattunayakan families have benefited from various housing schemes and it is observed that houses constructed for them are of low quality and without considering their need and ecological conditions. Every constructed house has been modified by the tribal people by extending the kitchen to the back and leaving the latrine unused in order to adhere to their norms. A few families have made use of the financial support of the development schemes and started rearing domestic animals.

Since 1980 KIRTADS (Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of SC & ST), which was earlier known as the Tribal Research and Training Centre (TR & TC) was an institute working among the ST and SC of Kerala state and organizing training programmes for the tribal people, especially the youth, in order to promote tribal development. A large number of medicine men were encouraged by strengthening their traditional practice of ethno-medicine by this institute.

Conclusion

The Jenu Kuruba and Kattunayakan are one and the same tribe living in the tri-junction area of three states, viz., Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. These states came into existence in 1956 but the Jenu Kuruba/Kattunayakan were living in their ethnic boundary for hundreds of years and state boundaries have no relevance for them. Their identity is apparently misused by other communities having title 'Nayakan', etc. There is a need to check this.

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