

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF TRIBES: A STUDY ON  
PANIYA TRIBES OF WAYANAD IN KERALA**

*Thesis Submitted to the University of Madras in*

*Partial Fulfillment of*

**THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

*In*

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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**DECEMBER 2020**

## CERTIFICATE

I certify that the thesis entitled “**Political Participation: A Study on Paniya Tribes of Wayanad in Kerala**” submitted for THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PH.D) by **Timi Thomas** is the record of research work carried out by her during the period from August 2017 to December 2020, under my guidance and supervision, and that this work has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other titles in this university or any other university or institution of Higher Learning.

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## DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled "**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF TRIBES: A STUDY ON PANIYA TRIBES OF WAYANAD IN KERALA**" submitted by me for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) is the record of work carried out by me during the period from August 2017 to December 2020 under the guidance of **Dr.Christopher Chandran** and has not formed the basis for the award of any degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship, Titles in this University or any other similar institution of higher Learning.

Place: Chennai

Signature of the Candidate

Date: 29.12.2020



**Timi Thomas**

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AGMS	-	Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha
ARMS	-	Adivasi Rashtriya Maha Sabha
DDUGJY	-	Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyothi Yojana
DRDA	-	District Rural Development Agencies
IRDP	-	Integrated Rural Development Programme
ITD	-	Intensive Tribal Development
ITDA	-	Integrated Tribal Development Area
ITDP	-	Integrated Tribal Development Programmers
LAMPS	-	Large scale Multipurpose Cooperative Societies
MGNREGS	-	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organization
NREP	-	National Rural Employment Programme
PMAY	-	Prime Minister Awas Yojana
PMRY	-	Prime Minister Roger Yojana
PTGs	-	Primitive Tribal Groups
SHG	-	Self Help Groups
TEO	-	Tribal Extension Offices
TSP	-	Tribal Sub Plan
WSSM	-	Wayanad Sarva Seva Mandalam
WSSS	-	Wayanad Social Service Society
WWA	-	Wayanad Welfare Association

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## **Acknowledgement**

At the very outset I would like to thank God Almighty for graciously vouchsafing to me the great opportunity to execute and complete this work in time.

I am immensely indebted to my supervisor Dr.Christopher Chandran, Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Madras Christian College, Tambaram, Chennai who has guided me with unstinted dedication all through my research. He has supported throughout my thesis with his guidance, encouragement and patience.

My gratitude goes to the incumbent principal Rev.Dr.P.Wilson as well as the former Head of the Department of Political Science Dr.Palani.K, the faculty in the department of Political Science there, and the librarian and the supporting staff of the library, Madras Christian College Chennai, for their help in providing me with the materials for writing up the thesis.

I wish to extend my gratitude to Dr.Marceline Pushpa, Dr.Anusman Rabboni and Dr.Stany Thomas, the external experts who gave me the necessary guide lines during the entire course of the study and Prof. George Cherian and Miss Reely who corrected the thesis. My thanks also go to Dr.Sunish.T.Varghese and Dr.Rahul for their support in doing the statistical analysis.

The research could not have been carried out as effectively as it has been but for the co-operation extended from the part of the respondents in providing answers to the questionnaire they were provided with. They also actively cooperated with the researcher in the interview too. My thanks to every one of them and also special thanks to Sr.Rose Francy FCC & Santi Bhavan community sisters of Wayanad and Mr.M.G.Baby (Retired Block Development Officer).

I record my gratitude to the librarian and the following institutions such as Madras University, Connemara Public Library, Anna Centaury Public Library, Calicut University, Pondicherry University, Kerala Institute of Local Administration(KILA), Kerala Institute of Research Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes(KIRTADS), as allowing me to collect the relevant materials.

I wish to express my gratitude to Rev.Sr.Little Mary the present provincial superior, Rev.Dr.Sr. Rose Anitha the former Provincial Superior and the provincial team as well as Rev. Dr. Sr.Jeesma Therese Principal of Little Flower College and Rev. Dr.Sr.Treesa Dominc, Rev. Dr.Sr. Moly Clare, Rev. Dr.Sr.Philo Jees former Principles of Little Flower College Guruvayoor, Kerala.

I express my sincere thanks to Rev.Dr.Sr.Ushus, the Superior and Sr.Jenny Therese, the former superior and all the community members of Lisieux convent Guruvayoor for their constant encouragement, prayers and support.

I also wish to thank Rev.Sr.Emily John FMM and Rev.Sr.Anna David CHF, Superior and community sisters of Holy Family Convent Gowrivakkam, Chennai, for their constant support and sincere love.

Last but not the least, I would like to express my gratitude to my loving parents Thomas and Margreate, my sister Nisha and her family whose constant encouragement, support and prayers were ever a blessing. I also remember with gratitude my friends especially Nisha John, Greeshma, Sohini Chakraborty and Sneha who have always stood with me, instilling in me strength and confidence.

Once again thank you all.

Timi Thomas

## INTRODUCTION

Politics is an activity, which includes the study of government, governmental agencies, administration, development and role of internal and external agencies which have acquired power. Politics affects every aspect of human life and is especially concerned with the rights and duties of an individual. Government and individuals play a complementary role in the process of political development. In this context, a person's active participation in the political process is of paramount importance.

Political participation is a process wherein the masses get involved in the political domain at the decision making level. People's participation in politics promotes social development. At times, protesting against the dictatorial attitudes and actions of a ruler, the ruler can be forced to change his/her policies. Therefore, political participation is considered as an essential component of development. Political involvement of people is a sine qua non of a democratic polity. It provides people an opportunity to articulate their views on important issues and influence governmental policies positively.

As already been noted, people's political participation means an individual involving himself in the socio-political activities of a political system. Participation specifically refers to the same in socio-economic and political fields. Huntington and Nelson (1970) argue that political participation is "knowledge about politics, interest in politics, feelings of political competence and efficiency, perceptions of the relevance of politics, all these may often be closely related to political action". International encyclopedia of social science prefers the term "Political participation to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policies"(Mc Closky,1968)

The concept of political participation has undergone changes over the years, as the idea of different modes of participation has been increasingly used in a broader perspective. Political participation, in its broadest sense, refers to those activities that include voting, seeking information, discussing and politicizing, attending meetings and communicating with representatives. More active forms of political participation include formal enrollment in a party, canvassing votes for a particular political party,

getting registered as a voter, speech writing and speech making, working in campaigns and competing for the position as a member of a legislative body.

In the contemporary era, tribal political participation is of vital importance especially because there is provision for reserved seats for them. This goes a long way in empowering these marginalized sections of society by providing them with the opportunity to air their views in the public fora to get their grievances redressed. Political participation triggers the growth of an individual's personality through exchange of thoughts, discussions, ideologies and actions at the practical level.

In order to get a deeper insight into the question of political participation, a theoretical study of themes such as political culture, political socialization, political cohesion and rational choice theory have been incorporated in this research work. The phenomenon of tribe and tribalism with special reference to Wayanad district in Kerala has also been examined thoroughly, as it constitutes an inevitable part of political participation. The study seeks to dwell on the development of tribal political culture through the political socialization agencies and also on how these agencies influence their political behaviour. The cerebral processes of educated tribes differ entirely from those of the uneducated ones. The concept of political cohesion is interlinked to the political participation of tribal people. The beneficial choices that the tribal people make in matters of politics are rationally determined. Contextually, tribal people actively involve themselves in Milbrath's four level model of political participation.

The thesis on 'Political Participation of Tribes: A Study on Paniya Tribes of Wayanad in Kerala' is an attempt to explore the level of political participation that has taken place among the Paniya tribe and how this process has been operating in their lives. It is aimed at filling the gap of knowledge about the Paniya community in and outside Kerala.

Tribes are the ancient segments of Indian population. The tribes in India who inhabit mostly in the forest areas depend upon the forest and other natural resources for their sustenance. Their activities are mostly confined to the forest limits. The tribal people with more than 50 groups constitute 8.61% of the total population of India. There are 705 tribes in different states and union territories of the country as per

notified schedule under Article 342 of the constitution of India. In the British period they were autotomous and had an isolated existence. But in the post independence era, the governmenttook initiatives to uplift the tribal people through implementing constitutional provisions and launching welfare policies.

Kerala has only 1.45 per cent of tribal population out of the total population. According to the 2011 census, there are 36 different tribal communities in Kerala (Census 2011). The Paniya tribal community has the highest tribal population in Kerala. Most of them are in Wayanad district. Various tribal groups especially the primitive tribes are also found in Wayanad. As per the decadal census, the Paniya population stands at 69116. They speak a primitive Malayalam language. The political system of each tribe is as old as the tribe itself. The tribal people are the original inhabitants of the particular district they are found in.

Each tribal sect has its own particular political structure or political organization. The head of the sect has full control over the community and he is empowered to make suitable laws and impose discipline. The polity of the Paniya tribe in Wayanad district had evolved from time immemorial. The Paniya tribes experienced a period of participation and socialization for the first time when the land struggles against the Forest Rights Act of the government was launched. The movements under the banner of various political parties and organizations gave the Paniyas the opportunity to involve themselves in a political agitation.

Most Paniya tribes had been slaves of the land lords for centuries. The government of Kerala freed them from their slavery and rehabilitated them, finding them jobs in different government projects. Right to Education and Right to Employment helped them to have a higher standard of living. On account of these rights, they developed and changed their attitudes and actively participated in politics. In the development process, the government, political parties and organizations played a crucial role in the political arena. The central and state governments have been initiating various welfare programmes for the upliftment of each tribal group, especially the Paniya community.

This study seeks to focus on the current situation the Paniyas find themselves in. Today the tribes themselves have changed their political views and their political

participation has also undergone great changes. In the matter of their political participation, political parties as well as the government have been playing a crucial role. The state has increasingly endeavored to promote tribal welfare. Programmes aiming at the political participation of tribes have recently attained a new dimension.

This study also probes into the factors which urge them to involve themselves in the political arena and critically looks at the reality of this notion to assess the extent of its successful reach the tribes have arrived at. It examines the political participation of Paniya tribes of Wayanad. It also inquires whether the benefits of political participation reach everyone among them irrespective of their vulnerabilities. The study aims to know the nature, mode and factors influencing political of tribal people. Effective political participation helps them to escape from marginalization by bringing them into the social and political main stream.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The study has as its central theme the political participation and political consciousness of the Paniya tribe of wayanad district in Kerala. The main focus of the study is the political participation of Paniya tribes. It looks at various important aspects of political participation such as its agencies, the activities of political parties, impediments being faced in the process despite of the persistent efforts made for its success, the changing attitude of the Paniya tribes in Wayanad towards the main stream political parties and the role of government policies and legislations to quicken the process in Wayanad, especially among the Paniyas. Hence the study is titled 'Political Participation of Tribes: A Study on Paniya Tribes of Wayanad in Kerala'.

### **Significance of the Study**

The study of the political participation of the Paniya tribe is highly relevant as it is a part of the tribal life and it influences the needs and development of their community. The Paniya tribe is unique in many aspects like geography, culture, economy, polity, language and religion. They have a distinctive existence. The present study is designed to find various dimensions of political participation of the Paniya tribe. Of late, political participation has become a desirable part of political consciousness and development. Though political participation has taken place to a

great extent in Wayanad, there are also obstacles in the process of political participation and political development.

The researcher has decided to choose the topic of the study 'Political Participation of Tribes: A Study on Paniyatribes of Wayanad in Kerala' because there has been no work worth the name on the theme. Another reason is that the people of Kerala and other Indian states do not know much about the Paniya's. The researcher surveys the major aspects of the Paniya's political participation, agencies of political socialization, political activities, economic and developmental aspects, Oorukoottam and Grama sabha meetings of Wayanad district.

It may be noted that the involvement of Paniyas in the political process escalated with increase in education, awareness programmes of governmental and non governmental agencies. Agencies of political socialization such as the family, peer groups, and mass media have been instrumental in boosting the political participation. Political parties have been the causative factors in promoting their political participation. With the coming of NGOs and SHGs and the spread of modern education, the Paniya tribes began to get politicized on a largescale.

## **The Conceptual Structure**

### **Political Participation**

According to Verba and Nie (1972) "Political participation refers to those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and or the actions they take".

According to the International Encyclopedia of Government and Politics, "Political participation concerns the manner in which citizens interact with the government and through active participation in government; citizens attempt to convey their needs to public officials in the hope of having these needs met" (Macgil,2002).

Norman D Palmer (1975) opines "political participation is the involvement of citizens in such political activities which directly or indirectly influence the behavior and actions of the decision maker".

## **Political Culture**

Lucian W. Pye (1968) defines political culture as: “Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. Political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of that system and thus it is rooted equally in public events and private experiences”.

Mukhopadhyaya (1977) says that, “Political culture is composed of attitudes and orientations which people in a given society develop towards objects with their political system. India's traditional rural society is likely to come across people who, much as they are unaware of the Indian political system, develop their orientations only in relation to the local actors like a village priest who fulfils a combination of several types of roles at time”.

## **Political Socialization**

“Political socialization is the institutionalization and development of attitudes to and beliefs about, a political system. The process may encourage loyalty to the nation and the fostering of particular values, and it may increase either support for, or alienation from the system. It is particularly important in influencing the degree of participation in political life that is expected of groups and individuals. Political socialization is not a process confined to childhood, but one that often continues throughout adult life” (R.Ball,2005).

“Political socialization is a process by which political culture is maintained, changed and shaped at the individual level and also at the community level. It is passed across generations. Through political socialization, individuals are inducted into political culture and their orientations are formed. It is a continuous process involving the psychological aspects of political development” (S.A.Palekar,2010).

## **Political Cohesion**

“Social identities based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender and other characteristics can generate political cohesion through a shared outlook and

conformity to norms of political activity”(Huddy & Khatib, 2007). “The political cohesion of certain racial, ethnic and religious groups within specific polities such as African Americans in the United States or religious Jews in Israel is also apparent”(Shamir & Arian ,1999).

As Campbell (1960) says, “a political identity can emerge in a formal political group, when group members develop a similar set of political beliefs and adhere to group norms in support of a specific political party, candidate, policy issue or course of political action”.

### **Rational Choice**

James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock (1962) opine, “The basis for the theory of collective choice assumes that the individual, as he participates in collective decisions, is guided by the desire to maximize his own utility and that different individuals have different utility functions. We propose to analyze the results of various choice-making rules on the basis of this behavioral assumption, and we do so independently of the moral censure that might or might not be placed on such individual’s self-seeking action”.

William H. Riker (1962) says “Politically rational man is the man who would rather win than lose, regardless of the particular stakes”. Mancur Olson (1965) describes political culture thus; “the number of individuals in a group is quite small, or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest, rational self- interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests”.

### **Tribe**

“A tribe is a human social system existing before the emergence of nation-states, and in some cases continuing to exist independent of the state structure. Historically, tribal societies consisted only of a relatively small, local population. The internal social structure of a tribe can vary greatly from case to case, but is often a relatively simple structure, with few significant social distinctions among individuals” (Rajan & Biswajit, 2013).

In the constitution of India “Article 342 provides for specification of tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which are deemed to be for the purposes of the constitution the scheduled tribes in relation to that State and Union Territory” (Basu,1960).

Morgan (1877) defines tribe as “a completely organized society where all forms of social relations are dominated by kinship. Tribal society is completely organized in such a way that their form of social organization is capable of reproducing itself. A tribe is a collection of number of clans who have a distinct nomenclature, a spate language, a distinct political organization and a territory under their own possession”.

The concept of tribe has been defined as “a social group with territorial affiliations, endogamous with no specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes without any social obloquy attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, belief and customs, illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration”(Majumdar,1973).

### **The Paniya Tribes**

Paniya tribes constitute one of the major tribes of Kerala, and it has the highest population in Wayanad district. Their settlements are concentrated in the Western Ghats of beautiful forest area of Wayanad district in Kerala. Wayanad district consists of four blocks and panchayaths. The four blocks are divided into three municipalities and 23 panchayaths. The three municipalities are Kalpetta, SulthanBathery, and Manthavady. The total population of Paniya tribe is 69116, they have particular settlement. They have separate social organizations and cultural and religious customs. The term ‘Paniya’ is derived from the word ‘Pani’ meaning ‘labour’. They were traditionally bonded labourers and hence thye were associated with their landlords.

## **Objectives**

1. To understand the awareness and attitudes of Paniya Tribes regarding political participation.
2. To assess the socio-economic status and political situation of Paniya tribes in Kerala.
3. To analyse how far the cultural agencies of socialization and the basis of cohesion helped in promoting political participation.
4. To examine the factors influencing the process of political participation of Paniya tribes in Kerala.
5. To identify the impediments of effective participation of tribes in general and Paniya tribes in particular.
6. To analyze the findings and make suggestions.

## **Hypotheses**

1. There is a direct relationship between socio - economic conditions of Paniya tribes and political participation.
2. Educated Paniya tribe's political participation is higher than that of non educatedPaniya tribes.
3. Political socializing agencies (interest aggregating and articulating agencies) play a greater role in the political participation process.
4. The developmental programmes and policies initiated by the government accelerate the process of political participation.
5. There is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction of paniya's political participation with respect to economic conditions.
6. In accelerating the process of political participation of the Paniya tribe, political parties have a crucial role.

## **Research Design**

A research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. It is an arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to reach purpose with economy and procedure. It constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. Descriptive research design has been used in this study to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena and to describe 'what exists' with respect to variables and conditions in a situation.

The study is mainly based on the primary data collected from the Paniya community. The primary data have been collected from the respondents by contacting them personally using the semi-structured interview schedule. In addition to the quantitative data, the researcher has also done a few case studies. Data on certain general aspects of this study have been collected from available secondary sources like census reports, printed books, published articles and the web.

## **Methodology**

### **(a) The Universe of the Study**

The present study is intended to analyze the culture, problems and political awareness of the Paniya tribe of the Wayanad district in Kerala. The impact of political participation leads to the welfare of Paniya community in particular and the overall development of Wayanad in general.

### **(b) Methodology**

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative research methods. For this purpose, in the present study the descriptive method has been employed. Most of the aspects are explained through historical analytical and explanatory method.

### **(c) Sample Method**

In the study, the required data have been collected randomly with the help of simple random sampling technique. The research area covers Wayanad district in Kerala, which includes the four blocks, namely, Kalpatta, Manathavady,

Panamaramand SulthanBathery. 650 respondents were selected from four blocks and from defferent scheduled tribal settlements. Of the 650 respondents, 357 were men and 293 were women. They have been selected from 23 panchayats and 3 municipalities.

#### **(d) Source of Data Collection**

The present study has been executed on the basis of both primary and secondary sources. The macro aspect of the study has been based on the published and unpublished works on the scheduled tribe's historical and political-cultural background. The former one includes observation, interviews, field study and questionnaire and the latter includes books, articles and journals. Besides these sources, primary information has also been collected through interview with the help of a questionnaire.

#### **(e) Pilot Study**

The aim of the pilot study is to check the feasibility of the study. It is carried out so that sufficient information about the topic is come by. The researcher has conducted a pilot study to examine it in general. She has visited various governmental organizations like ITDP District office, Wayanad, Tribal Extension Center, Tudi and Shreays etc NGOs etc. to collect the base line information which is preliminary to the designing of the sampling and the sample size. The researcher finalized the topic after carrying out a pilot study among 65 Paniya respondents to ensure the effectiveness and reliability of the questionnaire. After the pilot study and pre-texting, certain modifications were made in the questionnaire.

#### **(f) Period of Primary Data Collection**

The primary data were collected from August to December 2019. The secondary data which are related to various aspects of the study were collected as the study proceeded.

#### **(g) Tools Used in the Study**

For collecting data, different methods of social enquiry were adopted. Statistical tools have been used by the investigator for the scientific process,

particularly a questionnaire and an interview. The questionnaire consisted of items in/ of all spheres over behaviour areas and also to collect personal data such as name, sex, age, and social, economical, political, educational and cultural backgrounds. The interview was conducted among Paniya tribes, political parties and tribal promoters.

#### **(h) Method of Data Analysis**

Data were screened, and issues related to the missing responses were minimized before entering data into the SPSS spreadsheet. Further, preliminary analysis was performed to identify the probable error occurring during data entry and rectified. The resultant data base was used for the final analysis. SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) 22.0 version was used to analyse the data.

Descriptive statistical tools such as mean, per cent frequency and inferential tests of variables that are chi-square test, T-test, F-test have been used for data analysis and the researcher employed exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, convergent validity and one way ANOVA in the process.

#### **Chapter Scheme**

The structure of the research project is presented in six chapters along with the introductory chapter.

**The introductory** part includes the objectives, hypotheses, methodology and second part is the review of Literature.

**The First chapter** deals with the theoretical analysis of political participation and related theories such as political culture, socialization, cohesive, rational choice theory and Milbrath's model affecting the Paniya tribes.

**The Second chapter** presents the history and development of Indian Tribes which includes defining tribe, their situation in the pre-independence and post-independence period and also includes the constitutional safeguards and development programmes of tribes initiated by the government.

**The Third chapter** gives a demographic picture of Paniya tribe of Wayanad which includes the socio-economic and political aspects and especially their political participation in the present situation.

**The Fourth chapter** gives the survey, data analysis and interpretation of the primary data collected from the respondents. The analysis has been conducted with the help of quantitative and qualitative methods.

**The Fifth chapter** presents the second part of data analysis and interpretation of the relationship of the primary data of the respondents. This part includes the degree of satisfaction the Paniyas enjoy in the matter of their political participation.

**The Sixth chapter** deals with the major findings of the study and offers suggestions for the betterment of the targeted group that the government, society and political parties may adopt and ends with a conclusion to the whole study.

### **Limitations of the Study**

Although the researcher has taken meticulous care to complete the study without mistakes, the study suffers from limitations, many of which are often intrinsic to studies on tribes. This study focuses only on Wayanad district, despite the presence of tribes in other districts like Palakkad, Kannur, and Idukki. It is given that tribal studies based on primary data have many shortcomings. This is because of the special features of the tribal population. Getting tribes involved in the survey has been an enormous task. Establishing chemistry with the tribes also takes much time.

The communication barrier and the limitations of the geographical terrain posed problems for the conduct of the survey. The help received from the ST promoters, ST officials, and local tribal heads in carrying out the primary survey using the interview technique has been a solace to the researcher in many ways. The problem with any primary data collection is the 'under reporting' and 'over reporting' of data. In the case of tribes, the chances of under reporting are high indeed. They never want to show themselves in poor light.

## PART -II

### Review of Literature

In the literature review, an evaluation of each work of the available writings germane to the present study is carried out. It describes the relationship of each work of the study in a critical manner. It will help to study the research from a broader perspective and provides fresh insights into the theme. This part contains three dimensions of literature areas. Those are (i) studies on political participation, (ii) studies on Indian Tribes and (iii) studies on Kerala and Paniya Tribes.

#### (I) Studies on Political Participation

In the book, '*Political Man*', which is a Psychological study, S.M. Lipset (1959) tells about the factors influencing voter's turnout. "A higher per cent of voting is possible depending on following conditions. (a) The interests of voters are strongly advanced by government programmes, (b) voters are well informed about the political scene by the media, (c) persistent social pressure compelling voting".

In '*Modern Political Analysis*', Robert A Dahl (1965) classifies political participators into power seekers and power stratum. The author attributes many factors to the political apathy of the masses. If political parties make less attractive promises, the less will be their involvement in politics. The voters will be apathetic, if the rewards offered by the political parties have nothing novel about it. Another reason for popular apathy in elections is their ignorance about the stance each party takes vis a vis reforms.

Samuel P. Huntington, (1968) states in his book '*Political Order in Changing Societies*' that a modern polity is different from a traditional one depending on the extent of popular participation and involvement in the political process. Huntington stresses the fact that democracy is promoted only by popular involvement in the process right from the grassroots level. In a true democracy an entire country is fully involved.

Carole Pateman (1970) in his book '*Participation and Democratic Theory*' says that only in the latter half of the 1960s of the last century the term

'participation' became part of popular political lexicon. In the book, Pateman deals with the philosophy of Rousseau, and John Stuart Mill who are the two famous classical democratic theorists. Their theories set forth the fundamental postulates of participatory democracy. GDH Cole is a modern theorist, according to whom *Guild Socialism* is the hallmark of participatory democracy/ society. Pateman says that active political participation of people is a manifestation of their political efficiency. He emphasizes that democracy is promoted and strengthened only through people's active participation.

In his book '*Apathy and Participation, Mass Politics in Western Societies*', Giuseppe Di Palma (1970) observes that people choose to involve themselves in politics only if they are not disenchanted with politics. Disenchantment suggests absence of close ties with the political system, a feeling of estrangement, and rejection. These feelings are antithetical to political participation. Exercising the franchise, political information and political discussion, membership in a political organization are all forms of political activity. Politics becomes meaningful to a person if it helps him to change things, solve his problems or improve his lot in life. Participation involves a positive orientation towards the political dispensation. Prospects of attaining a privileged social position and high status encourage political participation.

In '*Introduction to Political Sociology*', co-authored by Michel Rush and Philips Althoff (1971), provides "a political scale in which political participation is placed hierarchically in the descending order- (i) holding of administrative and political office (ii) seeking political and administrative office (iii) active membership of a political organization (iv) passive membership of a political organization (v) active membership of a quasi-political organization (vi) passive membership of a quasi-political organization (vii) participation in public meetings, demonstrations(viii) participation in informal political discussions, (ix) general interest and (x) voting" .

In his book '*Participation in Politics*', Geraint Parry (1972) says that participation suggests sharing an action with others or taking part in an action. As far as political participation is concerned, it makes one take part in the formulation and implementation of public policies. When policy outcomes are those intended by participants, political participation is at its most effective best. Defense of individual

or group interests is the main purpose of political participation. It is an important part of holistic human development. It is the participation of the masses in the political process that makes democracy work creatively and positively.

Ergun Ozbudun (1976) in his book '*Social Change and Political Participation in Jurkev*' observes that modernization affects four dimensions of political participation. These are the nature, motives, bases and the amount of political participation in a society. Civic motives for participation seem to be connected with different levels of modernization. Economic modernization influences political participation mainly through the changes it causes in social stratification and organizational structure of a society. Ozbudun's book he highlights mostly on voting, since voting participation is co-related with other forms of political participation but also on the assumption that voting participation with all its shortcomings may still be particularly effective means of securing responsiveness of political leaders to the citizenry.

In the book '*Political Participation, How and why do people Get involved in Politics*', Leswer W. Milbrath and M.L. Goel (1977) summarize the idea of political participation. They follow an inductive approach to establish their theory. According to the authors, political actions help private citizens to influence government and politics. A political action entails to decisions; firstly, one must act or one must not act, and secondly, one must be conscious of the direction one's action takes. They divide people into: (a) Gladiators (b) Spectators (c) Transitators (d) Apathetic. They generalize the citizens of higher social and economic status participating more in politics. A sense of obligation to participate in politics is an important political attitude relating to participation. Party identification and group identification are correlated with political activity. Persons with a sense of confidence are more likely to assume a politically activist role.

Norman Nie and Sidney Verba (1978) in their work '*Participation and Political Equality: A Seven Nation Comparison*', concentrates their study on the way the citizens participate in politics and the processes that lead them to it in seven nations. The study deals with the citizens as participants in the political process. The social sources and values associated with the role of citizens are also examined. They are concerned with the participatory behaviour in a wide range of ways.

Samuel J. Eldersveld and Bashiruddin Ahmed (1978), in their work titled '*Citizens and Politics- Mass Political Behaviour*' - says that "at least eight levels and contexts of involvement in the political realm can be understood by an ordinary citizen .They are (1) Acts or expressions of allegiance or non-allegiance for the system or regimes and its political institutions. (2) Voting participating in the selection of political leaders (3) Information seeking and knowledge acquiring behaviour (4) Leadership contacts for a variety of purposes, help on a personal problem, maintenance of a personal social relationship or a desire to influence a governmental action (5) Mass protest and demonstration by opposing or supporting governmental leadership or decisions (6) act of associating with others in a social and political context (7) campaign participation (8) political participation or an indication of a willingness or readiness to be involved under certain conditions in the future". The authors point out that in the study of political involvement in a developing democracy like India, one cannot ignore any of these forms of participation.

Prakash Chandra Lohari (1980), in the book '*People's Participation in Development*' says that the essential element of people's participation revolves around the qualitative as well as quantitative involvement of the masses in deciding societal as well as regional and national level goals. Participation in decision making could be immediate or intermediate. An immediate decision making means an involvement of people in social and economic issues within their immediate environment where they may directly and actively participate. Intermediate decision making is a process of indirect participation whereby authority is delegated upward to regional and national level institutions for setting rational policies. Mass participation on the implementation of decisions can be effective only when there is mass participation in decision making.

Herbert B. Asher and Bradley M. Richardson (1984) in their work titled '*Political Participation*' opine that government in some way is responsive to the desires of its citizenry as those desires are expressed actively in various forms of participation. Citizen participation can be viewed as a communication process: citizens communicate their desires to their leaders. This work deals with the analysis of comparative political participation - a cross - national analysis Data have been collected from eight nations where surveys of political participation were conducted.

Throughout the work, discovery of cross national similarities and differences constitutes the main theme of the analysis. Comparative method is applied to the study of mass participation in public life.

In *'The Constitution of India (Ministry of Law Justice and Company Affairs)Government of India'*(2001),the authors define political participation as those legal activities by private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental or personal actions they take. Political participation seeks to influence governmental decisions. The authors in their work define modes of political participation. They make the point that parties and voluntary associations have an important effect on citizen participation rates. The authors show relationship between socio-economic background and political activity. The authors have focused on different dimensions of participation. The citizen's activities can affect the behaviour of governmental leaders in two ways. They can communicate information about the preferences of citizens or they can apply pressure on political leaders to confirm their preference. The conflict refers to the extent to which the individuals' are opposed by counter participants. The co-operative dimensions refer to the extent to which they work along with others.

In his work titled *'Political Governance'*Chatturvedi, J.C (2005) provides a comprehensive introduction to the field. He defines the term political governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. It seeks to study various factors influencing voting behaviour. The role of good governance is essential for determining human society's ability to equip itself with system of representation, institution, rules and procedures, measuring tools, processes and social agents that are capable of managing interdependencies in a peaceful manner.

## **(II) Studies on Tribal Areas**

GobindaSadasivGharye (1963), his work *'The Scheduled tribes'* describes the scheduled tribes as backward classes of Hindu society. He says the so called aborigines form the bulk of scheduled tribes who have been designated as animists. He divides aboriginal tribes into three classes as Raj Gonds a large mass of Hinduized sections and the hill sections. Many of the so-called aboriginal people have been

pronounced as simple, truthful, honest, usually jovial and happy. They have their tribal social organizations. More or less patriarchal in type, some of them had maintained it till their contact with the British.

Verrier Elwin (1963) in the book '*A new deal for Tribal India*' points out that India has the largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world, except Africa. The isolation and conservative outlook of most of the hill tribes have helped to retain the shape and strength of their social organization. Elwin speaks about the condition of tribes before Independence. Referring to the tribal problem, Elwin stresses the need for an empathetic understanding of their condition. Elwin is against imposing anything alien. He calls upon outsiders to work for their integration as members of the larger Indian family. He points out that the British had adopted a policy of isolationism in the case of tribes. But with the attainment of Independence India became fully conscious of her responsibilities towards them.

Prof. D.N. Majumdar (1973) prominent scholar, in his book titled '*Races and Cultures in India*' says that concurs with the definition of tribe which is given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*: "A tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so". The writer upholds the common features of the tribal community through this work.

The relations between the tribals and the British are dwelt upon by Venkata Rao (1976) in his book '*A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India*' (1874 - 1974). He deals with the constitutional position of hill tribes and their political systems. He divides their political organizations under two categories- authoritarian and republican. The former exists among the Garos, the Mizos, the Singphos, Khamptis and Nactes. The later exists among the Monpas, the Akas, the Changs, the Adis, and the Nagas of Manipur. North East India is strategically critical for India. The author stresses the immense diversity of indigenous political institutions there. He discusses the working of the District Councils, formation of states, election to legislatures and all regional political parties. Lastly, the author observes that the political developments are not similar in all places and political consciousness is also not similar at different stages in different places.

*'Political Transition in the Grassroots in Tribal India'* is a scholarly work of Atul Chandra Talukdar (1987). He seeks to analyze the political changes effected at the grassroots level in the tribal community in Arunachal Pradesh through Panchayat Raj. He points out that the Panchayath Raj institution has had a profound impact on the tribal communities, their leaders, their attitudes and their political outlook.

In the text *'Tribal India: Past and Present'*, Prof. Sachidananda (1992) dwells on the question of the integration of tribes in Indian society. He opines that it is of critical importance for reasons of national security. During colonial regime, the Government maintained a policy of isolationism in the case of tribal people. There occurred a substantial transformation of tribal society in the wake of independence. The author notes that the government took effective steps for steps for raising their standard of living and promoting their integration with the national polity.

In his book *'Indigenous and Tribal People: Gathering Mist and Horizon'*, B.K.Roy Burman, dwells on the undemocratic composition of working groups, their populist action, and their support of political syndicalism at the level of individual states. According to the author, the tribal communities have a unique culture, life style, beliefs and traditions. He points out that the tribal people in the rural areas are languishing away in penury and misery. "The important issues concerning them in general include resource alienation, environment and forest related problems, illiteracy, health and malnutrition potential threat to their identity and culture and in particular self governance" (Burman,1994).

Devendra Thakur and D.N.Thakur's (1994) book titled *'Tribal Law and Administration'*, deals mainly with the backward socio-economic condition of the tribal communities. They say that the fathers of the Indian Constitution were insistent that there shall be provisions in the constitution for their development in a democratic and republican regime. In this context, the authors draw the reader's attention to the fact that their exploitation by the civilized society has been a major factor in their underdevelopment.

Dr. G.S. Deogaonkar's (1995) book *'Tribal Panorama in India'* is a collection of erudite articles by various scholars. In his article *'Planned Development and Tribal Deprivation'*, Dr. Walter Fernandes speaks about the deprivation of tribal

population consequent upon planned development. He survives the tribal situation against the backdrop of industrialization, forest land and agriculture. In the anthology, Dr. Deogaonkar emphasizes the role of voluntary agencies and tribal institutions in the social and ecological development of tribal areas. Contextually, he extols Nehru's concern for the welfare of tribal communities all across India.

A.K.Pandey in his book '*Tribal Society in India*' says that tribal people are neither a corporate entity nor are they differentiated in the manner the non tribal people are differentiated in other parts of India. They do not have an organic solidarity or a segmental uniformity. "Tribal society is characterized by tradition and modernity, harmony and contradictions, 'primitive' and 'capitalist' and 'semi-capitalist' modes of production, ignorance and awareness" (Pandey,1997).

'*Tribal Situation in India*' is a collection of forty papers presented at a seminar by K.S.Singh (2002) at the Indian institute of Advanced Studies. The papers deal with six items. The first one dwells on the problems faced by tribal population in different states. The second focuses on the theme of social and cultural communication which accelerates mobility and change. The problems of North-Eastern India vis a vis policy, politics and administration there are dealt with in the next item. In another section, the issues and problems concerning land, hunger and famine among the tribal communities are taken up for study. In the last section, Singh takes up the problems of tribalism, pluralism, nationalism and integration. The papers throw light for the readers to understand the tribal situation in various states.

In his book titled *Political Culture of the Tribal Political Leaders*,Xaxa Johani (2003) describes political culture inherent in the psychology of the tribal individual which forms his political mind-set that tends to determine and shape his political roles and behaviour. It helps one understand the political attitude of the tribal community. The over-all pattern of political culture of the people of a society manifests itself in their political behaviour and activities. It is likely to influence the working of the political system. The social and political systems require legitimacy and supportive behaviour of the people for its stability, viability and effectiveness.

In his book *Tribal Development: Issues and Policy Options* S.N.Tripathy, notes that the Panchayath Extension on Scheduled Areas (PESA) is a progressive

peace of legislations aimed at tribal welfare. It provides for self-governance and recognition of the traditional rights of tribal communities over the natural resources around them. “This Act made it mandatory for the states having scheduled areas to make specific provisions for providing wide-range of powers to the tribes for their development. The Act recognizes traditional customary rights over local natural resources. It accepts the validity of customary laws and social and religious practices. It emphasizes the role of Gramasabha. The protective aspects under PESA, aim at the preservation of their unique cultural traits, their rights on land and forests and safeguarding against the inhuman exploitation” (Tripathy, 2007).

In ‘*Primitive Tribal Groups in India*’, R.M.Sarkar (2008) points out that the primitive tribal groups include such tribal people as are benighted in the different dimensions of their way of life. They still follow the pattern of their primitive way of living. They live in the lap of Mother Nature who lavishly blesses them with plentiful resources. This book helps to know about the primitive tribal areas, their socio-economic condition and their administration.

Virginis Xaxa (2008) in her book ‘*State and Society and Tribes: Issues in Post Colonial India*’ revisits the idea of ‘Tribes’ and ‘Tribal Society’ in post colonial India in the context of state policies and their praxis. She goes on to explain the state agenda for the tribal people inasmuch as the constitution confers fundamental rights on all citizens irrespective of their caste, class, language and creed.

In his scholarly book ‘*Tribal Development in India*’, Awadhesh Kumar Singh (2008) sheds light on the multitudinous dimensions of tribal development and social change in India against the background of new policies and the new milieu. The issues of religious faith, cultural identity, and alienation of land, demography, acculturation and tribal development programmes are also analyzed by the author in the book.

Nivedita Sarangi (2012) in her book ‘*Social Change and Development*’ points out that the tribal communities in India have substantial degree of cultural and ethnic diversity. This is manifested in their socio-cultural levels and behaviour patterns. Peculiar problems of development pose themselves before us due to the geographical, demographic, socio-cultural and exploitative factors. Tribal traditions, practices and

customs have had an inalienable relationship with Indian civilization and culture. The work helps to understand the tribal cultural identity related to social change and development.

*'An Encyclopedic Profile of World Tribes'*, edited by Soubhagya Ranjan Padhi and Biswajit Padhy gives a panoramic view of the tribal situation around the world. Coming to the Indian scene, he refers to the definition the Constitution of India Article 366(25) gives-they are "such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be scheduled tribes for the purposes of the Constitution" (Soubhagya & Biswajit, 2013).

### **(iii) Studies on Kerala Tribes and Paniya Tribes**

*Madras District Gazetteer* reports about the customs and lifestyle of the Paniya tribe attached some Chetti households and working on their fields. In times past they were little better than agrarian slaves. The advent of the coffee planters did much to liberate them, but they are still usually poor, unkempt and unclean. They are clever at netting animals, poisoning fish, and daring and spearing tigers. They had hereditary caste headmen called *Kuttans* or *Janmis* at all the larger centers, whose consent was necessary to solemnize a marriage (W.Francis,1908).

*'Castes and Tribes of Southern India'* is a famous book authored by Thurston Edgar (1909). It is an etymological study of Southern Indian castes and tribal communities. The author points out that most of the rice cultivation in Wayanad are done by Paniyans who are attached to their *edomas* (houses or places) or *devasoms* (temple property) of the great *Nayar*landlords. *Chettis* and *Mappilas* also frequently have a few paniyans, whom they have bought or hired from a Janmi (landlord) paying four to eight rupees. The book gives an idea about the historical background of the Paniya tribe, their attitudes and social beliefs, their physical appearance and their early inhabitation of South India.

According to *'The Imperial Gazetteer'*, "the Paniyas are the most characteristic representatives of the Dravidian type, and admixture of the Aryan, Scythian and Mongoloid elements in it. Their distinct language is known as '*paniyabhasha*'. It is only a spoken language without a script. Their original

occupation is believed to have been agriculture. They were also experts in hunting also using the spear and nets” (Wilson,1911).

Luiz A.A.D. (1963) is one of the pioneers of the Tribal studies in India. He refers in his book, '*Tribes of Mysore*', to the origin and some of the basic features of the Paniya tribe. The term 'Paniyas' literally means "one who works". The name has originated from the Malayalam word 'Panikkar' (laborers). Paniyas or Paniyan or Paniyar is believed to be a Dravidian tribe. In his book he writes that, Paniyas are a dark- skinned tribe, short in stature, with broad noses and curly or wavy hair inhabiting several parts of North Kerala, South Karnataka and Northwest Tamil Nadu. They are a homogenous community having distinct social and cultural traditions. They speak Panyabhasha, an unintelligible dialect of Malayalam with a mixture of Tamil and Tulu words. The Paniyas are educationally and economically a backward people.

Aiyappan (1965) has to his credit many studies carried out on different types of tribes in Kerala who inhabit various regions. His book '*Social Revolution in Kerala Village*', deals with the socio-economic changes that have been occurring in the Irula Community in Kerala. The developmental schemes initiated by the state government for their advancement have brought about a sea change in all the arenas of life, social, economic, political and cultural.

In his book '*Tribal Situation in Kerala*' Mathur (1977) seeks to present a descriptive picture of the transfer and alienation of tribal land in Kerala. This study primarily focuses its attention first of all on identification of the social network of the tribal land and then a detailed view of the tribal identity. The book covers only the important groups belonging to the tribal areas, namely Wayanad and Attapady.

In his book titled *The Tribes and Castes of Cochin (vol 1)* L.K. Ananth Krishna Iyer (1981) who was entrusted with the ethnographical survey of the Cochin state in 1902 deals with all the animistic castes, the members of which pollute the high caste-men at various distances and cannot approach the outer walls of the temples of the higher castes. In India there is no fundamental racial unity, the superficial uniformity of physical characters being far less than is commonly supposed? It helps to know the ethnographical background of the Paniya tribe

*'The Tribal Economy of Kerala-An Intra Regional Analysis'* authored by Kunhaman (1985) seeks to examine the economic condition of tribal communities in Kerala from a dialectical perspective. His main focus is on the inter-regional variations in social and economic advancement that tribes in Kerala have achieved. He investigates the various factors that have contributed to these differences that are tangible across the states among different tribal communities. He points out that the rulers of Kochi, Travancore, and Malabar have played a pivotal role in this regard. It may be noted that the progressive of Travancore were much forward in this respect to compared those of Cochin and Malabar.

Aiyappan(1992) is one of the famous anthropologists of South India, who published a book titled *'The Paniyas: An Ex-slave Tribes of South India'* It is an exclusive book on Paniyas. This book is written by a renowned anthropologist, who tried to study about the Paniyas from 1934, but had very limited and only third party information about them. He tried to study again in 1972-73, and this time he was successful for collecting Paniya informanions and shared that treasures in his book. Here he describes their activites, religious functionaries and settlements etc. The important religious functionary is the *attali*, a combined hymnist, ritualistic and medium-dancer, engaged in rituals in honor of the gods, the spirits of the dead, and for exorcising evil spirits who possess people. Aiyappan, while studying the lineage system of the Paniyas of the Wayanad region of Kerala state, found totally 48 *illams* among the Paniyas of Kerala. Aiyappan in his book also writes about how their settlement was administered. Each *naduor* traditional group of villages, are still memorialized in their liturgical songs. They had a patrilineal hereditary headman called *Koyma*. Under him, there were *chemmis*, the actual heads of each settlement they were assisted by messengers called *karayma*. Their succession to the offices was patrilineal, but occasionally matrilineal also. The office of *koyma* is now virtually extinct. His traditional role was to preside over all social activities and meetings of elders to settle disputes.

Singh K.S in his book, *'The People of India'*, speaks about how the Paniya society is divided into different groups and the myth behind it. "The Paniyas are divided into various lineages known as *illams*.Members of an *illam*trace their lineage from a common ancestor. They believe that they are the descendants of

*Ippimalamuttappe* and *Ippimalamuttasi*. Later they were given ten *kulam* names (*kulam* is equivalent to *gotra* or clan). They were collectively referred to as *pantirappanmare*. There are innumerable *illams* among the Paniyas, but four *illams* are associated with a special status. These are *Koyimutan*, *Mutettan*, *Nattilapadan* and *Padikan*” (Singh, 1994).

In ‘*The Encyclopedia of Dravidian Tribes*’, the author points out that, the Paniyas constitute the largest single Scheduled Tribe in Kerala. As per the 1981 decadal census, their number stood at 56,952. They mainly live in the Wayanad district and the contiguous areas of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. According to the author, their origin is lost in the mist of time. “According to their legends the Paniya came from Ippimala, a mountain near the Banasuram peak. When a Paniya brother and sister came near a Wayanadan Chetty /Goundan house hold, the Goundan caught them to live as ‘brother and sister above the waist and as husband and wife below it. It is their progeny who are presumed to constitute the Paniyas. With the passage of time, they split into various clans and moved to other regions” (Menon, 1996).

Sachchidanda and R.P. Prasad (1996) describes in their book *Encyclopedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, of the sartorial code of Paniyas as follows: “The dress of Paniyanis simple and easily distinguishable from other tribal communities. The males wear along cloth (‘*mundu*’) which is wrapped around the waist and a small ‘*mundu*’ is worn on the shoulders covering the body. The Paniya women (‘*Panichis*’) wear along cloth on the loins and a smaller one above the bosom through the armpits. A coloured scarf either red or black which they call ‘*aratti*’ is tied around the waist of women”.

In ‘*Encyclopedia of South Asian Tribes*’ (Vol ix) edited by Kumar Satinder (2000) it is stated that the people of South Asia includes a very large number of primitive tribes who sustain themselves on hunting, fishing and agriculture. They are commonly known as aboriginal tribes. It is believed that the tribal groups are the most ancient ethnological section of South-Asian population. This book deals with tribal demography, their way of life, customs, mores and traditions, cultural characteristics and artistic heritage. The work dwells on the important aspects of tribal ethnography and an exhaustive research on South Asian tribes, especially Paniya tribes.

Tandon.V.K (2002) in his book '*People of India-Kerala*' written at the initiative of the Anthropological Survey of India Project launched on Oct 2, 1985, to gives a profile of all communities of India, their development process, the impact of the changes that have occurred in their attitudes and the links that connect them together. It gives a picture of 225 communities spread across distinct regions, consisting of several tribes, including some of the primitive groups, peasant group and fisher folk. The book promotes the knowledge about the traditional culture, administration and socio-economic status of the Paniya tribe.

Jekka Parthasarathy (2003) is a cultural anthropologist whose small book, '*The Paniyas of Nilgiris*', gives vivid details of Paniyas of Nilgiri districts of Tamil Nadu. This book is one of the best documentations on Paniyas of these times. He spent many years in studying the tribes of Nilgiris and published several articles in the contemporary journals. He says that the Paniyas are found in southern parts of India in the states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka. In Tamil Nadu they are found in Gudalur and Pandalur taluk of Nilgiris districts.

Mohanthy's (2004) '*Encyclopedia of Primitive Tribes in India*'-(Vol ii) is primarily an anthropological study of tribal transformation in modern India. It specifically is about the directed changes that have occurred among several tribal communities. The book discusses the statutory positions and privileges accorded to the various tribal groups in the constitution of the decolonized new state of India. It also focuses on the policies and programmes that the various governments have adopted from time to time for their development and integration with the national mainstream of India's polity.

Mathew Aerthayil (2008), in the book '*Impact of Globalization on Tribes*' Says that portray that Kerala tribes are the most backward and marginalized sections in Kerala as far as employment and availability of essential commodities are concerned. The book also throws light on the tribal situation in the globalized era. The book contains an exhaustive survey of the socio-economic and cultural situation of tribal populace in Kerala. He also focuses his attention on the problem of land alienation and their demand for land.

In his book '*Towards Political Empowerment*' R. Rajeevan (2010) dwells on the process of political socialization and political empowerment of Kerala tribes. He opines that the Kerala tribal communities are passing through the transitional period. They are changing from a stage of economic and political marginalization to a stage of economic and political empowerment. This book analyzes the Kerala tribal situation and their involvement in politics. It highlights the issues of land alienation, and of transformation of tribal movements into political movements.

Suma Scaria (2010) in her article '*Changes in Land Relations: The Political Economy of Land Reforms in Kerala Villages*' says that land reforms have played an important role in accomplishing a positive development in every field, especially literacy and family planning. The Land Reforms Act of 1969 entitled tenant farmers and hutment dwellers to the land and huts. These reforms have gone a long way in instilling self confidence and self respect in vulnerable section of society including the tribal populace.

## **Conclusion**

The introduction part is divided into two. The first part consists of objective, hypotheses, methodology and chapter scheme. In the second part researcher has had to rely on many writings dealing with the tribal communities in several of part of India. A thorough knowledge of their history, socio-economic and political status, customs and usages, culture, religious systems, geographical milieu and attitude of Paniya people in Wayanad is indispensable to the academic pursuit of a researcher. They have helped the researcher immensely in writing up the thesis and these works have been reviewed in brief in this introduction part.

## CHAPTER 1

### POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

#### 1.1. Introduction

A theory is a reflective and rational type of concept in which a phenomenon is studied in depth. A scientifically acceptable general principle or body of principles is offered to explain the phenomena. It is a body of facts, principles or circumstances often used in different subjects. It is also part of any subject that seeks to expound its laws and methods in distinction to its praxis. The word theory refers to a set of rules, laws or principles. This chapter describes the theoretical principles behind political participation in an effective manner.

“Etymologically the term ‘Participation’, in its democratic context, refers to the act of taking part in person in the decision making process in a polity” (Sartori,1987). This is also the meaning assigned to the word by adherents of the so-called ‘Participating model of democracy’ (Pateman,1970). Political participation refers to the active participation of an individual in the political activities as well as the decision making process of governmental programmes. It simply means engagement in any form of organized activities that seeks to affect power relationship which includes influencing the attitudes and behaviour of those who have the decision-making power. In other words, political participation is any activity of a person which has an influence on political system of a country either directly or indirectly.

This chapter contains mainly three parts. The first part pertains to the concept of political participation and the second part deals with the theoretical views on participation in the tribal areas. The last part concerns about the Paniya’s political participation.

#### 1.2. Concept of Political Participation

Political participation is a broad term. The prominent thinkers, Verba and Nie, Sartori, G.Parry, Milbrath and Rush and Althoff conceptualize the term political

participation in their own way. The beginning of the concept of political participation can be traced to antiquity. The City-states of ancient Greece and Rome operated on direct democratic principles. The small population size of these states had cleared the way for the working of direct democracies. Plato, the Greek philosopher emphasized the significance of direct democracy and the active participation of people in political process. He opined that, people express their views directly and select the rulers. Aristotle favored people's participation in the decision making process. When the ruler took the decision cynically, the masses militated against the government which lead to revolution. Robert Dahl's strategy to resolve the crisis confronting a political system was through a positive response to the demands of the citizens.

Different thinkers define political participation in different ways. According to Norman D Palmer (1975) "Political participation is the involvement of citizens in such political activities which directly or indirectly influence the behavior and actions of the decision maker". According to the International Encyclopedia of Government and Politics, "Political participation concerns the manner in which citizens interact with the government and through active participation in government; citizens attempt to convey their needs to public officials in the hope of having these needs met" (Macgil,2002). Thus political participation is the interrelation between the citizen and government.

Verba and Nie have given a classic definition of political participation. They state that "Political participation is those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and of the actions they take" (NormanH.Nie & Sidney Verba, 1972). "Participation is an instrumental act through which citizens attempt to make the political system respond to their will. Participation is a mechanism for representation" writes by Verba(1996). Political participation of individuals directly and indirectly influences the government and their actions.

Huntington and Nelson (1970) considers "political participation as a voluntary action successful or unsuccessful, organized or unorganized, sporadic or continuous and any action employing legitimate or illegitimate methods intended to influence the choice of political leaders at any level of government, local or national". Several political thinkers, such as Myron Weiner, stress on the significance of both

organized and unorganized events, arising from the voluntary actions of the citizens actively involved in political participation.

Depending on the nature and purpose of political participation, it may be termed as negative or positive. Constructive participation considerably impacts the state of the society by enhancing the political awareness of an individual. This kind of a political participation can be viewed as an indispensable strategy to bring about a balance between the policy makers and the common masses. With enhanced political participation and more involvement of common people, the political ambience can be improved and their concerns and discontentment can be addressed effectively.

In order to understand the scope and sweep of political participation, it is essential to examine the level of individual participation in the governmental institutions. Power is vested at both the state and the national levels in a federal polity. In order to increase the political participation at the local levels, the government of India has entrusted the power to the block, district and village levels through the enactment of the Panchayat Raj Act. As the active participation of people in local governmental setups such as the Grama Sabha increases, the government is obliged to make decisions more responsibly and righteously. With respect to this, an observation made by the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences can be quoted here; “Political participation is the involvement of individuals and groups in the political process of a political system at various levels” (M.C.Closky, 1968).

Political participation can be perceived as a multidimensional aspect which refers to the contesting of elections, voluntary actions by citizens which influence political decisions, exercising the franchise, interactions with legislators, attracting the support of political parties and vocalizing contradictory opinions and distinguished views. Thus, to sum it up, political participation aims at involving every individual in the functioning of the political system which in turn greatly impacts the power equations.

Active political participation and involvement of people in the functioning of a political system, impacts the behavior of people who are empowered with the responsibility of making decisions. It includes a range of political activities and movements such as protests and support meetings on varied political issues. Neera

highlights that the concept thus: “Political participation encompasses all voluntary actions intended to influence the making of public policies, the administration of public affairs and the choice of political leaders at all levels of government” (Neera Desai & Usha Thakar, 2001). She says people’s political participation relates to three aspects of the democratic process. They are the formulation of public policies, administration of public affairs and choice of political leaders.

Rush and Althoff note the different forms of political participation. “The first category is the people taking in part in informal political discussions particularly at the time of election campaigns, or during grave political crises. But some people, who, despite being least interested in the informal political discussions, find at least some interest in political matters and keep themselves abreast of the political situation mainly through the mass media. In this manner they also form their own opinions about the course of events. Their activities are limited up to this level only” (Michel Rush & Alhuff Philips, 1971). Rush and Althoff say that, the act of voting is the last form of participation.

H. Norman Nie and S. Verba categorize two forms of participation - professional and nonprofessional. “A professional participant is a party activist like a party candidate. A professional participant also holds political and administrative powers and involves himself through a routine job regarding his act of political participation. The non professional participant does not participate in the administrative and political sphere. They have indirectly involved themselves in politics by means of media, within the family forming their own opinion and making their own decision” (Norman H. Nie & Sidney Verba, 1978).

Marcia (1976) defines “political participant as a person who is a member of an organized group whose primary objective is to elect people to the office and influence the policies of government. He is a person who holds public office by election or appointment”. The idea of political participation refers to a person’s political involvement irrespective of the modes of political participation. Author attempts to effect decision making directly or indirectly. Participation changes with time, situation and persons. Such changes occur due to many factors, both internal and external.

The concept of political participation has evolved gradually. Different modes of participation were increasingly used in a larger perspective. The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences identifies “political participation as those activities that include voting, seeking information, discussing and politicizing, attending meetings, contributing financially, and communicating with representatives. The more active forms of political participation include formal enrollment in a party, canvassing and registering voters, speech writing and speech making, working in campaigns and competing for public and party office” (L.Sills,1968).

Political participation involves the participant’s motives, attitudes, values and political opinion. Gregory S. Mahler argues that there are two characteristics affecting political participation. They are micro level and macro level characteristics. “Micro level characteristics are those centered around a political individual and his or her beliefs, attitudes and values. Such characteristics are resources including income, education and perhaps employment or transportation and psychological characteristics-including political attitudes and orientation are clearly of great significance in explaining why individuals behave as they do. Macro level characteristics affecting political participation include many of those factors suggested above, including electoral rules, opportunities and costs in time, money and effort” (Gregory. S.Mahler,2008).

Political participation, in the conventional sense, means merely participation in the process in which a citizen exercises his or her franchise to select the rulers. “Early empirical studies, mainly by American political scientists, tended to focus only on conventional political actions; voting, discussing politics with friends, party and interest group campaigning, contacting politicians or officials” (Michie, 2001).

In the Indian democratic context, conventional political participation, taking part in voting as well as protest movement are pivotal elements of politics. In India people get emotionally worked up when elections are announced. The political activism of citizens serves as a check on policy makers making them accountable to the people. Letha Kumari (2006), opines that “political participation is generally seen as a citizen’s conscious understanding of political issues and feeling of personal influence over the outcomes. Such feelings can be expressed through voting at the most basic level, organized protests, campaign works, or seeking office”.

Sidney Verba (2000), says that “Political participation includes voting, volunteering to work on a campaign, contacting a public official or organization, contributing to a campaign or cause, taking part in a protest, engaging in informal community work, serving as a member of a local board, or affiliating with a political organization. Among these activities, voting is considered to be the least intensive an individual’s demanding activity”.

Political participation involves a comprehensive and inclusive definition which takes into account all the political actions of an individual or a group and also influences the decisions of policy makers which in turn affects the political system. Political awareness can be exhibited through protests and agitations at the aftermath of a public policy. David Easton’s ‘systems analysis’ states the significance of the input and output courses of action in a political system in a given situation.

According to Jan Teorell (2006), there are the three models of participation. “The first one is the responsive model. It calls for system responsiveness. The next model is participating model; it calls for the self development of the individual. It ensures the protection of an individual’s personal interests. The third model is the deliberative model. It concerns the legitimacy of the democratic system itself. Participation in politics must include both the means to participate in the opinion forming mechanisms of debate and deliberation as well as participating in the decision making process”.

Parry G. and Moyser G point out that in the British context, “political participation involves taking part in the process of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies. It is concerned with action by citizens which is aimed at influencing decisions which are, in most cases, taken by public representatives and officials. This may be an action which seeks to shape the attitudes of decision makers yet to be decided, or it may be action in protest at the outcome of some decision” (Parry G.& Moyser G, 1992).

In his work ‘Voice and Equality’, Sidney Verba waxes eloquent on the theme of popular participation in the USA “Americans who wish to take part in politics can be active in many ways. Although voting is an important mode of citizen involvement in political life, it is but one of many political acts. There is quite a wide list of

activities undertaken by American public. It includes the different types of political participation that are, voting, working in and contributing to electoral campaigns and organizations, contacting government officials attending protests, marches, or demonstrations working informally with the others to solve some community problem, serving without pay on local elected and appointed boards, being active politically through the intermediation of voluntary associations, contributing money to political causes in response to mail solicitations” (Verba, 1995).

What distinguishes a democratic polity from other dispensations is that every citizen in a democracy gets ample opportunities to involve in the political process. “He/she can take part in elections, work in political parties, sign petitions, boycott certain products for political reasons, participate in demonstrations, donate money to political organizations, take part in civil disobedience or run for public office. Civic engagement conventionally refers to actions by ordinary citizens that are intended to influence wider society, that is, those outside their own family and circle of close friends” (Amna & Ekman, 2014).

According to Ellora Puri (2004), “Participation, irrespective of its goals is in itself a fuzzy concept having acquired varied meanings over a period of time, at one end of the spectrum it could mean just a nominal membership in a group and at the other end it could imply of having an effective voice in the decision making process”. The author says that participation could be direct or indirect, full or partial, nominal or real.

The participation may cover the entire life of the individual and the community as a whole. A person can raise their voice in the decision making programmes. Political participation is a process in which a close relationship is established between authorities and the people. To ensure people’s participation, democratic institutions must start it from the lowest pragmatic level. The Panchayat Raj System of India is a model in this respect.

### **1.3. The Theoretical Angle**

There are three methodologies which can be used to conceptualize the tribal phenomenon in India. They are Verrier Elwin’s Isolationsit approach, G.S.Ghurye’s Assimilationist approach and Jawaharlal Nehru’s Integrationist approach. These

approaches were modified by a number of thinkers in the tribal sphere. B.S Guha, Roy Burman, VirginiusXaxa etc. are some of the important scholars of tribal theories. B.S Guha suggested that the organizational capacity of tribal people should be constructed and their inner strength should be amplified for their overall development.

Roy Burman's proposition is that the concept of planning from below should be given concrete shape in tribal areas. This can be done through reformulating the integrated tribal development schemes. VirginiusXaxa in his book 'State, Society and Tribe Issues in Post-Colonial India', focuses on the constitutional provisions for tribal development in India and it has influenced the progress of modern tribal society. It is overwhelming to observe that tribal people can now take part in parliamentary proceedings, state legislatures, government services and private sector undertakings. The reservation policy in education and employment has given a boost to the tribal progress by bringing them to the national mainstream. Individuals are defined by their preferences over outcomes and the set of possible actions available to each.

The central and state government have initiated many schemes and programmes to remove their backwardness and improve their savage situation. Consequently, their overall situation is now comparatively satisfactory in the social, economic, cultural and political fields. In the present time tribal development programmes, political participation, political socialization of tribes and role of NGOs are very relevant and crucial. The political attitude, political perspective, political culture and also their political thinking have substantially changed in the recent decades. In this context, the researcher suggests three theories that would strengthen the political participation concept. In the political participation field of tribal studies, the appropriate theories are socialization, cohesion and rational choice. These theories are relevant and closely related to the tribal culture. From the theoretical point of view, these three concepts are most suitable for the advancement of tribal communities. These theories are based on political culture. Political environment or political culture is the foundation upon which a person's political participation is grounded.

The participation of people in the political process also promotes their psychological involvement in politics. Both are positively related. Huntington and Nelson (1970)emphasize that "knowledge about politics, interest in politics, feelings

of political competence and efficiency, perceptions of the relevance of politics, all these may often be closely related to political action, but at other times they are not. Their study and measurement also require techniques that differ significantly from those needed to study behaviour alone". Huntington explains with a person's psychological feelings connected to their political attitudes and political interests. Tribal psychology is closely related to their social, economic and political culture, and the depth of their political participation is interlinked to their political culture.

### **1.3.1. Political Participation and Political Culture**

Political participation is a gradually evolving process. Political culture refers to the overall model of inclination, attitudes, beliefs and values grasped by members of a political community. Aspects of political culture include the agents of political socialization. In another view, the political culture embodies the relationship between political values and the procedures of the political system. It also includes people's attitudes towards leadership and authority and the political identity of individuals and groups. The political aspects of culture play a crucial role in the process of political participation. The culture of the masses is closely interlinked with the political milieu around them and the political processes acquire political character and acts as an accomplice to the total political life of the system.

The varying degrees of political culture are an important variable in understanding the specific social group's political consciousness and belief systems. The alternative political process of policies is visualized at different points of their political behaviour. The appraisal of the scheduled tribes' political participation requires the specific cultural forms which largely determine their political behaviour. Hence, the focus on the theoretical aspects of political culture is pertinent in the context of the debate on the theoretical perspectives of citizen's participation and involvement in politics.

Lucian W. Pye (1968) defines political culture as "a set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. Political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of that system and thus it is rooted equally in public

events and private experiences”. He distinguishes the differences among national political systems and analyzes these in behavioral terms. Culture is the product of histories of political systems and the life of the members of the system.

Almond observes that “national political culture consists of both an elite subculture and a mass sub-culture which are homogeneous, in some cases the mass political culture is highly heterogeneous and sharp differences exist according to the region and the social and economic class of ethnic community” (Almond and Verba, 1963). Homogenous tribal groups have different political and cultural attitudes that are the subjective, parochial and participant. In the tribal settlement people tend to have subjective thinking on political issues. But some groups which are parochial follow conventional thinking of the events. But among the educated classes with access to the social media, participation in the political programmes is substantially high. These people belong to the subject participant group.

Mukhopadhyaya (1977) says that, “Political culture is composed of attitudes and orientations which people in a given society develop towards objects with their political system. India's traditional rural society is likely to come across people who, much as they are unaware of the Indian political system, develop their orientations only in relation to the local actors like a village priest who fulfils a combination of several types of roles at time”.

All political cultures tend to examine the effectiveness and competence of performing specialized roles in the political system. Each political culture must provide some basis of faith in the forecasting powers of acceptable leaders. The concept of political culture is to be effectively utilized; it needs to be supplemented with structural analysis. Culture is greatly variable. It is manifested in human institutions. E.B. Taylor (1874) describes culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society on the same extended analogy”.

The importance of the study of political culture lies in knowing whether a political system can arrive at a consensus ensuring its stability. “When members of political systems mostly share certain political beliefs and values in common, that is when the political culture of a society assumes a coherent and a fairly homogeneous

shape, all it means is that the members of the systems have arrived at certain agreements which may be either on procedures or on goals” (Mukhopadhyaya, 1977).

In the tribal society, political culture emerged in the traditional period and each settlement has a head man who controls the settlement. His command is the law and he settles the tribal disputes and maintains peace. But at present, this system has weakened and has changed its political culture and political attitudes. They are active in the present political party meetings and raise their demands. They follow participant political culture. The researcher has observed during the field visit that each tribal settlement has particular party quota. This particular party plays an active role in their upliftment programmes and find solution for all the problems confronting them.

Marilee (1995) describes the term participation “as the involvement of people in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives. The kinds of participation may be complete and direct, partial or indirect. It has been suggested that people should have constant access to decision- making and power”. Participation simply means people’s involvement at socio-economic, cultural and political level of all their activities. Participation implies the constant involvement in decision-making and power.

Political participation of tribes in the electoral and administrative process is comparatively minimal. In the electoral and administrative fields certain seats are reserved for them. It includes the whole extent of voluntary activities including support of political parties, articulating of political views, motivating to take part in any form of organized activities which affect power relationships. It not only refers to the activities concerning decision making, but also activities that influence the attitudes and behavior of those who have the power to make decisions.

### **1.3.2. Political Participation and Political Socialization**

Political culture is transmitted from generation to generation. The political socialization process is very relevant in the political participation field because political participation depends on socialization. “Political socialization is the process through which on the one hand, an individual acquires information, attitude and orientations concerning political phenomena, and, on the other hand, society transmits

political norms and beliefs both from one generation to the next and to immigrant newcomers. These two aspects may be in contradiction where an individual apparently acquires deviant attitudes and orientations” (Neena, 1985). Socialization is understood as “the process by means of which an individual is integrated into his society. It involves the adoption of the individual to the fellow members of his group, which, in turn gives him status and assigns to him the role he plays in the life of the community” (Melville & Herskovits, 1964).

Dawson defines as political socialization as “The process through which citizens acquire political views that become aggregated in ways that have consequences for the political life of the nation. It is through socialization process that an individual acquires his particular political orientations, his knowledge, feelings and evaluations regarding his political world” (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969). An individual acquires the political knowledge from the different ways of the political life around him.

Almond sees political socialization as “the process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes, cognitions, value standards and feelings towards the political system, and its various roles”(Almond & Coleman, 1960). While Almond and Verba define political socialization in their work ‘Civic Culture’, what they implies that it “refers to the specifically politically oriented attitudes towards the political system and its various parts. It is the internalization of these attitudes which constitutes the political socialization process”(Almond & Verba, 1963).

Rush and Althoff’s (1971) definition political socialization is this: “It is the process by which is determined his perceptions of politics and his reactions to the political phenomena. It involves the examination of the socio-economic and cultural environment of society upon the individual and his political attitudes and values. Politics is the most important link between the political and social systems, but may vary considerably from one system to another”. He says that the perceptions of politics are interconnected with the political and social systems.

Political socialization is a slow learning process. An individual political attitudes and behaviour is influenced by the agencies of political socialization.

Political socialization serves to stimulate a psychological process. This process is a combination of the factors that influence him in a social environment. It combines attitudes, behaviors and the intention to participate in the political process. For example, all the tribal communities in India are agitated over the question of land alienation and the agitation for land. Their life is closely related to their land because they cannot be severed their attachment to nature.

Political socialization and political participation are interconnected phenomena. Political socialization encourages an individual to engage in political deliberations and Political activities. Political and social involvement in the system is indispensable to the existence of a liberal democratic society. Participation includes a variety of different processes. It refers to an individual's involvement in political activities as well as their stimulation for engagement, their reliance in the efficacy of participation and the satisfaction they acquire from their own capability. At present many socialization processes are carried out through various agencies.

Among various kinds of political socialization, intentional or non-intentional, direct or indirect exerts the maximum influence. "Some types of political orientation may be acquired through direct political learning and others through indirect forms of socialization. For example, identification with a particular political party is most often transmitted directly to an individual by his family, his close associates, or groups to which he belongs. Political pre dispositions such as political trust, political competence, and political assertiveness may result from indirect forms of political learning. More general self concepts may be acquired first and only later transferred to political objects" (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969). Urmila points out that "Karl Marx and his followers, political participation meant the active action of the people at various levels in accordance with the importance of any issue. As the process of transformation of society and the production relations intensity, a larger number of people are drawn into various participatory actions"(Urmila Sharma & S.K.Sharma,2000).

In addition to the impact of socialization, family acts as causational factor for social mobility in the process of political participation. Social mobility which is largely an effect of the changes in the environmental condition a system which promotes, the process of participation through new avenues where people can join in

the ranks of status-oriented elite. The environmental inspired mobility accelerates the process of political socialization.

The effected changes are eventually mirrored in the framework of participation. The Kerala tribes like every other tribe in course of time integrate with the rest of the society through political participation in elections and sharing of political offices and positions. By means of such participation a new class of political elites emerge, who engage in active political socialization. The other groups take part only in secondary, tertiary or least political socialization which differ both in the level and nature of participation.

The process of political socialization can be either manifested or latent. The former is a direct process. Here the essence of transmitted information, values or feelings, is manifestly political. “If it continues indirectly through some other person it may be called latent political socialization, taking place through interpersonal transference, apprenticeship and generalization. The latter one is more visible among the tribals who are surrounded by various agencies of political socialization” (Almond & Coleman,1960). In the tribal areas, process of socialization is more dynamic influenced by vote bank politics. In the direct process, political parties try to fulfill their needs by attracting them to party activities in the settlement areas. Then political party activists seek to instill in the tribal hearts positive the political attitudes and political beliefs. For example, the struggles for land lead to the tribes involving themselves in the political field.

### **1.3.3. Agencies of Socialization and Political Participation**

The family, peer groups, educational institutions, political and non political organizations are the agencies of political socialization both political and non-political. In course of time the attitudes and values of these agencies change substantially changing direction and turning dissimilar to one another. “The concept political socialization describes how individuals find their place in the political community and how they develop their individual norms and attitudes towards political objects, actors, symbols and processes. Radio, newspapers, internet and most importantly television may also have an impact on the political development of adolescents. Some authors claim that political attitudes are already formed in the pre-

adolescent years” (Hyman,1985). Individual political attitudes and political objectives develop through agencies of socialization. The political socialization process leads to encourage the political participation. In the tribal areas, the political socialization process is a continuum. Herbert Hyman in his discussion on agencies of socialization mentions about the sources of political learning.

In a tribal society, agencies of political socialization are categorized under two heads- internal and external. Internal agencies of the process comprise family, the tribal organizations and their own cultural groups. Political parties, NGOs and social media constitute the external agency the involvement of outsiders in the tribal settlements can also be considered as an external agency. It is the family which directly and indirectly, consciously and unconsciously shapes the orientation of a child in every social phenomenon, whether the process is role-modeling or overt transmission, whether the values are political or non-political, and whether what passes on lies in the cognitive or affective realm.

A tribal is likely to follow a particular party ideology, which is transmitted across generations promoting self confidence or providing children with some behavioral roles in the public arena. The family is the most influential and prominent agency of political socialization in the case of a tribal community. However, as far as they are concerned, family’s role in socialization is not very significant. It has no much role in developing their political knowledge and consciousness because it is beyond their cognitive range.

The tribal groups of Wayanad have never shared political power. Their leadership never evolved into a power structure at the macro level. Resultantly, the family could instill only a feeling of kinship in them. Tribal organizations are potent internal agencies of socialization for them. An example is the *Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha*. It has a major role in organizing the tribal people to agitate for their land. This organization’s activities increased their thinking capacity and socialization process. Many tribal people are actively participating in the meetings, processions and raising their voice for their needs. Another important one is their own cultural group meetings that are coordinated in the settlement where they discuss their social and political problems.

Education is an outside agency promoting political socialization. Literacy campaigns are conducted at the primary level but the students drop out after completing their primary or secondary level education. Many of the primary schools are only single teacher schools. Neither the teachers nor the pupils regularly attend classes. The fate of Amba, a school started for the rehabilitation of bonded tribal labourers of Sugandhagiri, is a case in point. Having joined the school, majority of the children dropped out, although all educational facilities were provided by the Government. It may be noted that there are very brilliant and intelligent pupil among them. They have managed to study outside Kerala and get government jobs due to the intervention of the NGOs. 'Tudi' one of the NGOs working in the Mananthavady block under the auspices of the Jesuit order has been dedicated for tribal education and the protection of the tribal culture.

Concerning the question of political socialization, Almond opines that "all political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures and structures through time, and that they do this mainly by means of the socializing influences of the primary and secondary structures through which the young of the society pass in the process of maturation. Broadly speaking, political socialization can be considered as constituting the fore-ground of political culture. Political socialization is the process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes-cognitions, value standards and feelings towards the political system, its various roles and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of values affecting and feelings towards the inputs of demands and claims into the system" (Almond & Coleman, 1960). Political socialization aids in moulding and disseminating the political culture of a nation. It conserves, modifies and sometimes shapes the political culture of a nation. It conserves political culture by transforming it from old generation to new generation successfully. Nevertheless, the culture is immortal not only among the public but also among government agencies.

Political information, opinions and attitudes are deliberated in various types of youth groups. In some of these groups, political action often serves as an important goal. Indirect political socialization falls into this category when certain opinions and attitudes are stimulated in the scouting movement, sports clubs or disco groups. Intentional direct political socialization is considered to take place by means of

television and radio programmes providing political information and propaganda. In the present period, as a result of the influence of the social media many young tribes are participating in political discussions. They are active in different political party's web page and raise their voice and write comments through social media.

Many Paniya tribes are educated in the technical field and work in the private sector. These outside growing processes create friendship among various groups and change their political attitude. Then Political socialization process increases in the present field. Main political parties start their own political wing in the tribal society for their development. These political parties conduct party meetings and processions highlighting the tribal issues and encourage the political socialization process resulting in their political participation.

#### **1.3.4. Political Participation and Political Cohesion**

Hubby defines "political cohesion as the existence of shared political attitudes, beliefs, and behavior among group members that can be directly attributed to group membership. A subjective group identity lies at the core of this cohesion and helps empirically to distinguish group-based cohesion from cohesion derived from a simple aggregation of members' individual political beliefs and attitudes" (Huddy L& Khatib N, 2007). Cohesiveness forms when emotional bonds connect members of a social group to one another and ultimately to the groups as a whole. The Indians are comparatively a less cohesive people because of its geographical area of continental proportions, its huge ethnic and cultural diversity and its widespread economic and social inequality. But the tribal people are comparatively more cohesive because they live in a community in a particular territory following their own unique culture.

Cohesion is often defined as the tendency of a group of people to be uniform in their attitude and outlook even as they work for a common goal and the satisfaction of their emotional needs. Cohesion also implies uniqueness. The hallmark of Indian tribalism is that there is a unique uniformity in their customs, cultures, beliefs and attitudes. Another specialty is that all the Indian tribes live in harmony with nature. Their social organizations languages, rituals, festivals, sartorial mores, arts and crafts mirror their unique cultural identity and distinctiveness.

“Social identities based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and other characteristics can generate political cohesion through a shared outlook and conformity to norms of political activity” (Simon B & Klandermans, 2001). “In a democratic polity, national identities boost support for civic norms, drive democratic engagement, and increase support for a muscular response to national threat” (Huddy L& Khatib N, 2007). Contextually is worth recalling that Kurichya tribal groups in Kerala battled against the British policies under the Pazhassi Raja.

Political identity is a part and parcel of cohesion, and political identity and social identity are often synonymous. “An identity as part of a group with norms relates to shared political beliefs and the correct group position on a political candidate, political party, policy issue, or course of political action” (Campbell, 1960). There is increasing unanimity that political cohesion centers on social identity which involves the incorporation of group membership into the self concept. According to Tajfel, “a social identity involves an individual’s knowledge of his membership in a social group or groups together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership” (Tajfel, 1981). The tribal settlements are groups with their own uniqueness united together with a special set of rituals and customary practices centered on the land and environment.

The tribal people are an ethno-social group living together in a particular geographical environment, and their emotional feelings and attitudes are same. The concept of “political identity lays the groundwork for the development of group-based political cohesion” (Brewer & Caporael, 2006). Regarding group-based political cohesion, Brown dwells on five broad classes of theory that explain its emergence and development. Each theory emphasizes a different set of active ingredients in the development of political cohesion.

(a) Firstly, the Self-Categorization Theory (SCT), a cognitive approach, “attributes group cohesion to cognitive factors such as the situational salience of a group identity which generates a collective sense of self. The shift from personal to collective identity is accompanied by increased adherence to group norms and heightened self-stereotyping, factors that are logical precursors to political cohesion” (Turner J.C, et.al, 1987).

(b) Realistic interest approaches “include realistic group conflict, relative deprivation, social dominance theory, and Bulmer’s sense of group position”. It is suggested that “group membership is politically consequential to the extent that tangible group gains and losses drive group member’s political decisions. Realistic interest theories include the protection of self and group-interests which might indicate long term or future interests that are objective or subjective, direct or indirect” (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996).

(c) Social identity theory emphasizes “the importance of symbolic concerns such as a group’s social standing as central to the development of group cohesion. There are two distinct branches of social identity theory (SIT); social identity theory and self-categorization theory, a cognitive elaboration of SIT referred to earlier. Both theories acknowledge the origins of social identity in cognitive and motivational factors, although they place differing emphasis on them” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

(d) Social constructivism is about the notion that “concepts derive their meaning through social processes and underlies a good deal of thinking across the contemporary social sciences and humanities. The notion that groups are social constructions that need to be imbued with meaning is implicit within social identity. Self-categorization theory stresses the ease with which social groups and social identities can be created among members of arbitrarily designated groups. As a number of critics have noted, however, social identity theorists have explored the socially fluid nature of identities but have not closely examined or analyzed their meaning” (Huddy L& Khatib N, 2007).

(e) Evolutionary psychologists emphasis the functional underpinnings of collective identity. They stress “the necessity of group coordination for human existence, including basic activities such as child rearing, food collection, tool development, food production, and group defense” (Sidanius, 2001). Viewed from this perspective, it can be seen that an internalized attachment to a small group has evolved as a functional necessity for survival.

Cohesive theory deals with the tribal people’s political participation. A common culture, common customs, and common language lead to a common way of decision, common way of thought, discussion and opinion in the political field. Their

common way of political thinking leads to a uniform and active level of political participation. Their social identity and their own psychological feelings are related to their political ideas. Even their backward culture is exploited by many rich people and *Janmmies*(land lords).

### **1.3.5. Rational Choice Theory**

Rational choice theory is pivotal to all political theories. It has had an impact on all aspects of Politics. The basic premise of rational choice theory lies in the fact that an individual engaged in political activities seek to achieve certain aims in a creative and efficient way. Antony Downs (1957) is of the view that “the self interest axiom springs our view of what motivates the political actions of party members. They act solely in order to attain the income, prestige and power which comes from being in office”.

Rational choice theory helps in understanding the behavioral pattern of a society as explained through rationality, in which alternatives are reliable because they are made according to individual preferences. It is the preference hierarchy that regulates their decisions. The fundamental element of game theory is rational theory. Individuals are referred by their favorites over results and the set of potential actions accessible to each. Individualistic approaches hold the individual exclusively responsible for their preferences, values and goals. People supposed that performing their selected actions had more reimbursement than costs. People make preferences based on their goals, and those preferences oversee their behavior and seek to maximum profit and minimum loss.

According to Lina Eriksson (2011) in the rational choice theory, “the interpretation of preference is more like what we have so far called a desire: wants goals and wishes sometimes with costs and constraints taken into account. On this view, a preference is based entirely on an evaluation of the goodness of an alternative, not taking into account of beliefs about whether the good outcomes are likely or not. Rational choice theorists have traditionally assumed that voters policy preferences are determined by their economic interests, that is, that the voters are determined by their wallets. Different motives determine behaviour in different contexts; the resulting behaviour will be very different. When people are decisive they are inclined to act so as to

further their own interests. But if an agent's actions have very little influence on the outcome- as in the case of voting, where the resulting outcome is determined not by his or her vote but by how everyone else voted-there is no point in trying to further one's interests".

Rational choice theory states that individuals rely on rational calculations to achieve the outcomes that are in line with their personal objectives. These decisions provide people with the greatest benefit or satisfaction –given the choices available – and are also in their highest self-interest. The rational choice theorist like Olson and Downs believed that “lack of willingness on the part of the majority to participate is because of their rationality and participation is rational because it gives them power and prestige. The literature on incentives for political action usually takes as its starting point the provocative claim. Rational actors should not engage in activities oriented towards a common good. Since one could reap the benefits of these general incentives even if others provide them, each individual has a rational motive to abstain. The fact that people do engage in collective endeavors must instead be explained with reference to selective incentives – that is, benefits that only accrue from the act of actually contributing to the outcome oneself” (Olson.M., 1965).

The rational actor theory of political participation emphasizes on fundamental issues such as motivation of an individual towards participation and the circumstances of participation. This model accounts for the motivation of political actions but is incompetent while dealing with the observed behavior of an individual. The model assumes that an individual acts on the basis of their preferences and then comprehend on the results of their actions. For example, in case of voting, it can be said that individuals vote when they expect the utility of abstention.

Rational choice approach to politics assumes “that individual behaviour is motivated by self-interest, utility maximization, or more simply put, goal fulfillment. Rational choice theory contends that political behaviour is best explained through the application of its supposedly value neutral assumptions which posit man as a self-interested, purposeful, maximizing being. Self interest is an empirically established component of human nature; rational choice theory supports and perpetuates a political life which is antithetical to important tenets of normative democratic theory. Rational choice theory offers an inherent account of democratic citizenship and

produces a political system which shows a constant biased against political change and pursuit of the public interest” (Mark.P.Petracca,1991).

In the past scenario Paniya people were not thinking politically, but nowadays Paniya people are rational thinkers. Education, Occupation in different private sectors, peer group relations, social media usage etc. increases the level of rational and political thinking. Many people use television and young people use smart phones and social media. Then they see news and to get know about the current political issues. They are aware of the various political ideologies and they discuss the various political issues with their friends. Paniya tribal people chose their own view points and evaluations in order o fix the candidature of the candidate during the election time.

### **1.3.6. Milbrath’s Hierarchal Model**

Lester Milbrath’s categorizes the level of political participation in a hierarchical manner. “Involvement in politics is conceptualized in terms of different levels allowing for a more plausible and intensive involvement. Political participation is an individual affair which can be nurtured by individual communications and is also largely dependent on external political stimuli. Each person is distinct and this implies that the impact of stimuli and interaction varies from person to person Political participation is two personality’s individual affairs and the importance of external stimuli to such individual activity” (Milbrath & Goel,1977). Political participation is a very relevant concept as it defines the means by which each individual can represent their affairs effectively.

Lester Milbrath classifies political activity into four parts, namely, gladational activities, transitional activities, spectator activities and apathetic. “A gladational activity refers to the holding of a public and party office, being a candidate for office, soliciting political funds, attending a caucus or a strategy meeting, becoming an active member in a political party and contributing time in a political campaign. Transitional Activity refers to attending a political meeting or a rally, making a monetary contribution to a party candidate, contacting a public official or a political leader. Spectator Activities refers to wearing button or putting a sticker on the car, attempting to talk to another about voting in a certain way, initiating a political decision, voting,

exposing one-self to political stimuli and apathetic activities are those which do not belong to any of the above categories. Those who take part in spectator activities can also perform other activities that are transitional or gladiator. Voters are members or office bearers of political parties who involve themselves in political campaigns or contact public officials and political leaders and contribute money to political parties. This can be classified as the characteristics of gladational and transitional activity. Those who engage in gladational activity and transitional activity are generally expected to involve in voting activity. As such participation in one activity may be the cause of effect of other political activities or vice versa” ( Milbrath & Goel, 1977).

Milbrath’s hierarchical model of participation is related to the Paniyatribes’s political life. Middle age people follow hereditary political party ideology but the young generation understands and evaluates the various political party ideologies and thinks rationally as per the gladational activity of Milbrath. They have good political knowledge and they actively participate for the political party. In the transitional level, they are actively involved in party meetings and party processions. They inspire many people of their own party and the participation increases which can be termed as the spectator activity.

#### **1.4. Political Participation of Paniya Tribes**

“Democracy is based on the premise that the ultimate power belongs to people and the association of all people in the political process is totally indispensable for securing legitimacy and stability of a political system. For the success of democracy, the continuous and effective participation of all in the decision making process is most essential” (Panda, 2010). Broadly, speaking, there are two factors influencing the political participation of an individual citizen. There are external and internal factors. “The external factors may be in the form of educational, social, cultural, and economic or even the ideological factors. The internal factors are those involving the political will of an individual as well as the psychological factors that led a person to involve in political activity” ( Lester Milbrath & M.Goel,1977).

The external and internal factors influence the backward class, especially the tribal people. Many theories of political participation emerged in the political arena. They contribute an inclusive idea of political participation, that is, the democratic

outlook and the standpoint of the backward class people elucidates the significance of tribal political participation. Socio- economic, culture and psychological factors affects the tribal political participation. Educated youth among the tribal people participate in the political meetings and procession. They are members of the youth wing of the political party through the party web pages or groups.

The concept of political participation as far as the present study is concerned refers to the wilful participation of the tribal citizens as a group or individual in political matters directly or indirectly. Direct actions consist of contesting elections, seeking offices in party for taking part in the election process as voters. The process of election campaigning, communication with the political leaders and political party members, protest and demonstrations are included in the indirect actions. Participation in protest movements and demonstrations is also a part of it. As long as it is restricted within the constitutional framework, it is considered 'genuine political participation'. The tribal citizens of Kerala are actively involved in the political meetings and demonstrations demanding the fulfillments of their needs. In the political participation of the direct and indirect field, Paniya tribes are actively involved. The current issues of tribal exploitation are taken up seriously by the political parties and the tribal people involved in the party procession.

Political participation can be measured from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. Quantitative point of view evaluates the number of tribes who participate in different types of political activity. There are many tribal defenders of the tribe's descriptive or numerical representation which produces changes in their substantive representation and also their living conditions. So, the Tribes are no longer an indication of alternative groups. It discusses the means of political actions in the form of external behaviour and it also ranks participation of tribal people in decision making process. Qualitative viewpoint indicates the value-effect of participants' involvement in political meetings. People's effective talks, deliberate debates and decision making through political progression is related to the quality measure. It evaluates the behavior of political participation and its impact on the political system. Thus, political participation is precise in requisites of passive or active, purposive or non purposive actions of the respondents. Qualitative and

quantitative view point of Paniya tribe participation has been comparatively increased in the present era.

Participation appears to be a multifaceted phenomenon that depends on a great many variables originating themselves from the socio-political settings and environment of the system. Broadly, these socio-political settings and the environment of three sets of variables are closely linked with each other. In Kerala, in the present scenario, these three factors influence each individual, especially the Paniya tribes. In the past, they were at the fore front of land struggles and development policies. Education received by one generation is not only relevant to its immediate generational participation but also influence the extent of political participation of the next generation.

“Education, occupation and income jointly comprise a person’s status. People belonging to the higher strata are more likely to participate in politics than the people of the lower strata. But, the relationship between status and participation may be affected by the variables of sex and age. As this study reveals, this fact appears to be accurate in the case of the political participation of the Scheduled tribe’s. Their low status in the hierarchical caste system and lesser educational opportunities which offers merely negligible economic opportunities and scanty income, the political participation of these tribes is greatly affected”(R.Rajeevan,2010). The researcher has found that although tribes in Kerala especially some Paniya tribes in Wayanad are higher in status, income, occupation or education; they actively participate in politics for the sake of their development.

“Personality traits which are again particularly influenced by social learning, such as dominance, social responsibility and self-confidence, are positively associated with political participation” (J.M.Foskett, 1955). Charismatic leadership and their activities fascinated the people for the election time. Religion and race also have perceptible impact on political participation. “The ethnic aspect is vital as well. The more a society is marked by ethnic rivalry or conflict the greater will be the rate of participation of the conflicting ethnic groups. Ethnic participation in politics is increased by the presence of ethnically relevant issues in the State level. Added to the issue of ethnic, which evokes the level of participation to a considerable extent, the initiation of voluntary associations also increases a person’s political interest and

activity which brings an individual from isolation into a group and makes him politically active. A group's activity influences the political activity of an individual in various ways. It gives him a standard to judge what is right and what is wrong and thereby enables him to evolve a criterion of his political activism" (Mukhopadhyaya,1977).

One of the ethnic issues is the land problem which many voluntary associations enter in to the various parts of the tribal areas of Wayanad. The tribal people participated in various groups and NGOs and protested for their own land. The Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha (AGM) was the first tribal organization in Kerala, which came forward with the burning issues of land alienation and presented it on the social and political dais of Kerala in a grand manner. In the rural areas many NGOs worked on various grounds for the development of rural society especially in the tribal areas. Integrated Rural Development Society in 1983 focuses on the holistic development of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, promotion of education and health in rural areas, etc. The other important NGOs in Wayanad are Wayanad SarvaSevaMandalam (WSSM), Wayanad Social Service Society (WSSS), Women Welfare Association (WWA), etc. In these NGOs, many tribal people have actively participated.

Political participation indirectly influences the citizens in the decision making process. "Civic participation aims to improve conditions of each person and helps to shape the community's development. In other ways, civic participation aimed at problem-solving and helping rather than influencing political decision-making. This aims led to a change of political participation to civic participation" (Ellen, 2008). In another view point, it seems that citizens play a very essential role in political and civic participation.

Moreover the study of scheduled tribe's political participation by the researcher has depicted diverse perspectives, predominantly in a society like Kerala which has not so far practiced conventional hierarchical and social stratification based on caste. This nature of the study can be carried out by taking into consideration the participation as primordially imperative and erratic. The rural tribal societies have been provided a position in the Panchayath Raj Institutions under the Act. The most precious area of contribution of NGOs to engendering the Panchayath Raj Institutions

has been in the organizing of tribes like, health, Self Help Groups (SHG), housing, water and sanitation, education and watershed etc.

Waygle suggested that “political participation encompasses a variety of activities carried out in the political process. Electoral participation can be used to gauge people’s attitudes toward particular candidates, parties or government action” (Waygle, 2006). “Political Participation denotes the actions by which individual’s takes part in the political process. Political participation is the voluntary actions through which people seek to influence the making of public policy in the developing countries” (Barrie Axford,et.al., 2002).

Political participation essentially implies any actions or circumstances of an individual having an impact directly or indirectly on the political system of a country. It involves those activities like voting, demonstration, election campaign, propaganda, and putting candidature for an election and so on, protest, strikes etc. Tribal people actively engaged in Wayanad area. Social media has also taken a crucial role among the activities considered to be political participation, especially the strategies for attracting young people to politics.

## **1.5. Conclusion**

Political participation of tribal people should be beneficial to other tribal people and their localities. One’s involvement should be a boon to the whole community and not a bane. Their increasing participation has brought great changes in their lives and communities. This chapter expresses the political participation of tribes along with the theoretical background. In the tribal areas political socialization has increased and it has changed their political attitude wherein they can select better political choices for their development. The political processes in tribal areas have resulted in increased tribal participation in politics. The politicization of the tribals is an extension of the democratic process of the country. Now, the tribals are growing a concern for both the Indian political system’s output and input process. They are taking active interest in the political issues at local level and are trying to develop a participant culture. Even the level of political consciousness of an average tribal is on the increase. With increasing political consciousness, tribals are becoming more conscious about the development process and its impact on their socio-economic status. That has also affected their lifestyle and attitudes.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE INDIAN TRIBAL SCENE

Tribes constitute major part of the world's population. They are spread across the world. Tribe is a group of people mainly living in forest areas away from the madding crowd of towns and villages. Tribe is a group or collection of families with a common name. They are comprised of homogeneous individuals who live in a life of self-contained contentment. They live out their lives in the very lap of nature, and they may be described as nature's children. They are hardworking people, pursuing farming, hunting and fisheries. The common appellations that are employed to describe them are Primitive, Indigenous, Aboriginal, Adivasi, Native and Tribal.

The original inhabitants of almost all the ancient Asian countries were tribal people. They mostly dwelt in the forests bounded by hills and mountains for a very long period of time. Every tribe can be proud of its rich and unique cultural heritage. A tribe is traditionally a social group at an inchoative phase of social evolution. Equality of men and women prevailed among them, a condition which is far from reality in the modern world in spite of all feminist movements.

Dictionary of Anthropology defines "a tribe as a social group usually within a social area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organization. It includes several sub-groups such as sibs or villages" (Charles Winick, 1956). A tribe usually has a leader, a common ancestor, and also a common divine patron. Economic, social, religious, family or blood ties link families and communities making up a tribe. Many anthropologists use the term tribal society to refer to "societies organized largely on the basis of kinship, especially corporate descent groups. It means that a tribe as a group has common blood relations" (B.M.Bhatia,1977).

In this chapter, an attempt is made to present the historical background of tribes in the pre-independence and post-independence era in India. Some efforts are also made to mention the constitutional provisions and numerous developmental programmes initiated by various governments for their integral upliftment.

## 2.1. Defining Tribes

Diverse western and eastern anthropologists and sociologists define the term tribe differently but the different definitions may not reflect the true essence of the people that they represent. The different definitions serve different purposes. Thus there are administrative definitions for surveillance and control, anthropological definitions for classification and analytical purposes and also definitions for emphasizing diversity and asserting identity.

“The term ‘tribe’ had its provenance in the Greek city–states and the early Roman Empire. Etymologically the term is related to the Latin root of a word meaning three which was used to refer to the three divisions of the people representing Latin, Sabine and Etruscan settlements or any of the later political divisions of the Roman people. With the Romans, the tribe was a political division, while the Greeks appear to have equated it with their fraternities at times, with geographical divisions at others” (Roy Burman,1994).

Different thinkers express their views on tribes at various levels. The term ‘Tribe’ has a cultural and historical dimension about it. “The word ‘Tribe’ is generally used for a socially interconnected unit associated with a territory of the members of which regard them as politically autonomous” (Mitchell,1979). According to Mitchell’s concept, tribes are geographically connected to the territory they live in and are socially, culturally and politically autonomous.

Tribal people live in a unified group at a particular area. They are relatively free people with their own unique cultural identity. As already stated, they are described by different epithets such as ‘Primitive’, ‘Indigenous’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Adivasi’, ‘Native’ and ‘Tribal’. The term ‘Primitive tribes’ was often used by western anthropologists to denote “a primary aggregate of peoples living in primitive or barbarous condition under a headman or chief” (Joshi,1998).They are the earlier settlers in a particular area and they are called Adivasi. The people and their groups are described indigenous, by world bodies like the UN when they stick on to traditions of an earlier culture connected with a particular region. The tribes described as aboriginal usually follow traditional occupations like agriculture, hunting and fishing.

Andre Beteilie (1986) in his attempt at defining the tribe starts with a purely theoretical position. According to him “A tribe is an ideal state, a self contained unit. It constitutes a society in itself. A tribe is best described as a segmentary system where it has a particular type of clan and lineage structure most fully developed among the Arabs but also found in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere”. The members of tribal society share a common culture. Sahlins (1968) describes a tribe as “a segmental organization. It is composed of a number of equivalent, unspecialized multifamily groups, each the structural duplicate of the other: a tribe is a congeries of equal kin group blocs. The category of tribe was expanded to include tribal chiefdoms in addition to the segmentary tribes which had earlier made up the whole category”.

Generally speaking the word ‘Tribe’ means a group of people living in a particular place from time immemorial. Rigorous and extensive anthropological studies about the tribal observable fact in every continent have been proposed by scholars such as L.H.Morgan, Mayer Forets, E.E.Evans Pritchard, Bronislaw Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown. They studied the concept of family, kinship, marriage, religion, magic, economy, political institution, law and social relation of primitive tribes from an ethnographic angle. Many definitions of tribe are based on an evolutionary perspective.

Morgan (1877) defines tribe as a completely organized society where all forms of social relations are dominated by kinship relation. For him, “tribal society is completely organized in such a way that their form of social organization is capable of reproducing itself. A tribe is a collection of number of clans who have distinct nomenclature, separate languages, distinct political organization and a territory under their own possession” (Morgan, 1877). According to Maurice Godelier (1977) “the tribe is at one and the same time a type of society and a stage of evolution. At each phase, evolution is marked by a special kind of social organization”. He rejects Sahlin’s concept of band, tribe and chiefdom. As he has put it, “the link between the two uses of the term tribe, seen as a type of society and as a stage of evolution, is very clear since; each stage of evolution is characterized by a specific mode of social organization”(Godelier,1977).

After Indian independence, Western European thinkers motivated Indian scholars such as S.C Roy, D.N.Majumdar, P.K.Chattapadyay, B.K.RoyBurman, P.N.Mishra, L.K.A.Iyer, G.S.Ghurye, S.C.Dube, L.P.Vidyarthi, Aiyappan, M.N.Srinivas and A.R.Desai to take up the study of tribal phenomenon. They approached Indian tribal systems against the backdrop of the concepts, methods, and approaches of Western European thinkers. “Risely, Elwin and Grigson considered tribal people in India as ‘*Aboriginals*’. Hutton describes them as ‘*Primitive tribes*’; Sir Bains called the tribal community ‘*Hill tribes*’, TakkarBapa called the tribal ‘*Adi Praja*’; Gandhi popularized the word as ‘*Harijan*’ and G.S.Ghurye designates them as *Backward Hindus*” (Rao, 2009). There are also scholars who describe them as Adivasis. In the post independence era, they were included in the Scheduled tribe category.

D. N. Majumdar (1973) says “A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obloquy attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure, following distance with other tribes or castes, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration”. Tribe lives in a group or community and they are very much attached to each other. They are also attached to their own environmental ambience. They are emotionally very close to nature. They maintain abiding territorial affiliations. They are hard working people. They are really a conservative people and they give great importance to their customs and traditional laws. Bardhan (1973) defines the tribe as a “course of socio-cultural entity at a definite historical stage of development. It is a single endogamous community, with a cultural and psychological makeup going back into a distinct historical past”.

According to Verma (1990), the tribes are “the autochthonous people of the land who are believed to be the earliest settlers in the Indian Peninsula”. They were the earlier settlers in the mountainous terrain of India, and they are described as autochthonous. The tribal geographical identity is closely related to their Permanent settlement. Hence some tribal groups are named after the area. Mizo

tribes in Mizoram, Naga tribes in Nagaland and Tripuri tribes in Tripura etc. are examples of these permanent settlement territorial tribes.

Prof. D.N.Majumdar (1973) was in agreement with the definition proffered by the Imperial Gazetteer. It states that “a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so. Tribes are groups of people speaking a common language and dwelling in a particular territory”. Vidyarathi (1981) defines tribes as “a social group with definite territory, common name, common dialect, common culture and behaviour of an endogamous group, common taboos and existence of distinctive social and political system, full faith in leaders and self-sufficiency in their distinct economy”. Tribal people lived in groups or community and they had a common culture, social and political structure.

India is home to a large number of tribes. As per the decennial census of 2011, there are 705 tribal communities in India (Census 2011). International organizations and increasing number of governments are now moving forward giving greater recognition of the rights of indigenous and tribal people so that their specific identities are retained and their welfare is ensured. According to the United Nations Organization “indigenous people’ are those tribal and semi tribal population that are regarded as having their descent from the population which inhabited the country had at the time of the conquest or colonization by Europe. The semi-tribal populations are defined as those who are in the process of losing their identity but not yet integrated in the national community” (Xaxa, 1999).

## **2.2 Historical Background of Indian Tribes**

The tribal people of India are the indigenous autochthonous people of the land. They had long settled in different parts of the country before the Aryan-speaking people penetrated India. They are fanned out across large parts of the country along the plains and river valleys. India has the second largest tribal population in the world, the first being Africa and tribal communities is the integral segment of Indian society (Verma, 1990). In India tribal population is 8.61% of total population of the country.

They number 104.28million and they spread over about 15% of the country's area (Census 2011).

“The tribes in India broadly belong to three stocks- the Negritos, the Mongoloids, and the Mediterranean. Negritos are believed to be the earliest inhabitants of the Indian peninsula. They are still found in the Andaman archipelago. The second group today is known as Dravidians and the third is called Aryans, who came from North-West and fought with Dravidians. Dravidians were reduced to the position of the Sudras. This is the origin of the Sudra Varna. A section of the Dravidians who did not surrender to the Aryans continued to maintain their independent existence in the remote hills and forests of the land. They are believed to be the forerunners of the various tribes in India. The Aryans were followed by the Persians, the Greeks, the Sakas, the Huns and other hordes of nomadic tribes from central Asia” (Verma, 1990).

A large number of indigenous people have India as their homeland. They are still unaffected by the lifestyle of the modern world. They are forerunners of the ancient settlers in the jungles. Some of the major tribal groups in India are Gonds, Santhals, Khasis, Angamis, Bhils, Bhutias, and Great Andamaneses. Like most other tribal people, they follow their own culture, tradition, language and lifestyle. India has historically been the house of various cultures and peoples. Unity in diversity is one of the most prominent hallmarks of India. A substantial population of India is composed of the tribal people. The tribal culture of India and their traditions and practices have had a profound influence on Indian thinking.

The many names various tribes have denote their relationship with the forest or certain other characteristics. They are: “*Vanyajati* (castes of the forest), *Vanvasi* (inhabitants of the forest), *Pahari* (hill-dwellers), *Adimjati* (original communities), *Adivasi* (firstsettlers), *Janjati* (folk people), *AnusuchitJanjati*(scheduled tribe) and so on. Among all these terms Adivasis are known most extensively as AnusuchitJanjati or Scheduled Tribe” (Chaturvedi,2008).

Each tribe has a unique dialect and follows the unique rituals and practices. They have their own political structure. Each tribal group has a headman of their own. It is he who ensures discipline among the members of the group, implements the tribal

laws and metes out punishments to the transgressors of the law. These people follow different political ideologies and political leaders. The tribes in general are heterogeneous and dynamic. Their dwelling places have well defined boundaries, but they are not parochial.

According to Guha, “the tribal people of India fall under three major categories. The Pro-Australoids group is characterized by dark skin colour, nose and a lower forehead. They are the Mundas, the Oraons, the Hos, the Gonds, and the Khonds. The second group is comprised of the Monoloids. They dwell mainly in the Himalayan Region. Negritos constitute the last the group. They are *Kadarsof* Kerala and the Andamanese of the Andaman archipelago” (B.S.Guha, 1951)

The areas where by the tribal people inhabit cover mostly the underdeveloped areas of the country. Barring some regional variations, the tribes share many common features, including their living in relative geographical isolation. They have been relatively more homogeneous and more self-contained than the non-tribal social groups. The tribal groups are different language groups. The various linguistic groups are “Austic Language, Tibeto-Chinese language, Dravidian Language and Indo-European language. The Austric language speaking tribal groups are the Kols, Mundas, Khasis, Nikobaris, Korkus, Santals and Gadabas. The Tibeto-Chinese language speaking people are the Nagas, Khasis, Kukis, Mismis, and Mizos. The Gonds, Todas, Koyas, Pradhans, and Uraons speak Dravidian language. The Indo-European Language speaking groups are the Bhils, Warlis, Thakus, and Kolis” (Degaonkar,1994).

### **2.3 Geographical Overview**

India’s population includes nearly one hundred million tribal people of varied diversity. The country’s northeastern states bordering China and Burma, and the highlands and plains of its central and southern regions are the main habitations of the tribal people. More than 80 percent of the tribes differ from the northeastern tribes in ethnicity having experienced greater intrusion of the Indian mainstream. They are usually isolated communities; the tribes in peninsular India may at times coexist with non-tribal people as well (Verma, 1990).

The main tribal groups are “concentrated in a belt along the Himalayas stretching through Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland. Another group of tribes lives in the hilly areas of central India Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and, to a lesser extent, Andhra Pradesh; this belt is bounded by the Narmada river to the north and the Godavari river to the southeast. Tribal peoples occupy the slopes of the region’s mountains. Other tribals, the Santals, live in Bihar and West Bengal. There are small numbers of tribal people in South area of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala, in Gujarat and Rajasthan in western India, and in the union territories of Lakshadweep and Andman and Nicobar Islands” (Mello, 2018).

The population of one state is different from another state considerably. “In the northeastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland, above 90 percent of the population are tribal people. The remaining tribes dwell in the northeastern states of Assam, Manipur, Sikkim, and Tripura where tribal people form between 20 and 30 percent of the population. The largest tribes are found in central India, although the tribal population accounts for only around 10 percent of the region’s total population. Major tribal belt area people live in Maharashtra, Orissa, and West Bengal. In the south only about 1 percent of the population of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are tribal, whereas about 6 percent in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are members of tribes” (Nishi.K.Dixit, 2006). “India is home to a large number of tribes with a population of about 70 million. In terms of geographical distribution, about 55% of tribal people live in central India, 28% in west, 12% in North East India, 4% in South India and 1% elsewhere. Each tribal community is rich in their culture, folklore, folk songs and folk stories” (Verma,1990).

State/ Union Territories wise ranking of scheduled Tribe population and the size, proportion of scheduled Tribe population in the total population of the various states and union territories as per the 2011 census are given in below.

**Table 2.1****Scheduled Tribe Population-2011**

SL.NO	State/Union Territory	Scheduled Tribe Population	% of Scheduled tribes to total state Population 2011
1.	Andaman and Nicobar Island	28,530	7.61
2.	Andhra Pradesh	5,918,073	7.00
3.	Arunachal Pradesh	951,821	68.79
4.	Assam	3,884,371	12.45
5	Bihar	1,336,573	1.28
6	Chhattisgarh	7,822,902	30.62
7	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	178,564	52.03
8	Daman& Diu	15,563	6.17
9	Goa	149,275	10.21
10	Gujarat	8,917,174	14.75
11	Himachal Pradesh	392,126	5.71
12	Jammu & Kashmir	1,493,299	11.90
13	Jharkhand	8,645,042	26.21
14	Karnataka	4,248,987	6.95
15	Kerala	484,839	1.45
16	Lakshadweep	61,120	95.31
17	Madhya Pradesh	15,316,784	21.09
18	Maharashtra	10,510,213	9.35
19	Manipur	902,740	35.14
20	Meghalaya	2,555,861	86.15
21	Mizoram	1,036,115	94.44
22	Nagaland	1,710,973	86.46
23	Orissa	9,590,756	22.85
24	Rajasthan	9,238,534	13.48
25	Sikkim	206,360	33.72
26	Tamil Nadu	794,697	1.10
26	Tripura	1,166,813	31.76
28	Uttar Pradesh	1,134,273	0.57
29	Uttarakhand	291,903	2.90
30	West Bengal	5,296,953	5.80

(Source: census of India 2011)

The Census of India 2011 shows that the proportion of the scheduled tribes to the total population of the state/union territory is highest in Lakshadweep (95.31 per cent), followed by Mizoram (94.44 per cent), Nagaland (86.46 per cent), Meghalaya (86.15 per cent), Dadra and Nagar Haveli (52.03 per cent), Arunachal Pradesh (68.79 per cent) and Tripura (31.76 per cent). The lowest proportions are in Uttar Pradesh (0.57 per cent), Kerala (1.45 per cent) and Tamil Nadu (1.10 per cent).

The size of the tribal communities is also an important factor to be considered in this context. A study conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India highlights the fact that “there are communities with very large populations of 3 to 7 million, the largest tribes being the Gonds (7,449,193), the Bhils (7,367,973), the Santals (4,260,842), the Minas (2,087,075) and the Oraons (1,865,995). A few tribes, such as the Haisas, the Tangsas, the HotangsTangsas, the Katin and Tangs a have only a single member. Tribes such as the Bomdo, the JamboKarka and the Kongbo, have only between two to ten members. The Andarnanese including all subgroups have only 42 members. Other small groups include the Jarawas (31), the Chaimal (18), the Onges (97). the Aranadans (236) and the Kochuvelans (53). The study also has recorded five tribes with a single membership. 17 tribes have only a population of 2-10 members, and 17 tribes have 101-500 members. Thus, a total of 64 tribes have been recorded with a population of less than 500. To sum up, the number of tribes with a population below 5000 is 22 percent; between 5000 and 10,000, is 9 percent ; between 10,000 and 20,000, is 7 percent; between 20,000 and 1,00,000, is 17 percent; between 1,00,000 and 5,00,000, is 9 percent, and the number of those with a population of 5,00,000 and above stands at 4 percent. As many as 294 tribes (46.2%) were found within the boundaries of existing state/union territories. 326 tribal communities (51.3%) are spread over two states, and 89 of them (14%) are distributed across three states. This is significant as it shows that the tribes inhabit; well-defined territories that cut across the administrative boundaries of adjoining states. Only 30 tribes or 7 per cent of the tribes are found in four to six states. The tribal people in India inhabit all climatic zones. However, about 52.4 per cent of them live in areas of moderate climate. They also live in extreme/warm climates. About 63.4 per cent of the tribal communities live in hilly terrains. They also inhabit the deserts 0.2 %, the semi-arid zones 1.6% and on the island 2.2 %” (Singh, 1994). The different

climatic conditions do not affect the tribal people because they are very close to nature. They are satisfied with the living conditions they are in.

#### **2.4. Tribal Situation in the Pre-Independence Era**

The people from Hindu religion did not usually consider the primitive tribes around them as uncivilized and intrinsically impure. The aboriginals had evolved as a group of people pursuing agriculture, hunting and fishing. They had control over their lands as an entitled patrimony. In some tribal settlements, the native kings sought approval and support from tribal people. Large tribal groups succeeded in sustaining their own kingdoms in central India. During pre-independence period, the condition of tribal people was pathetic. With the destruction of the forest, their condition deteriorated.

During the colonial era, there was no deliberate attempt to strengthen the economic base of these downtrodden communities. “A few missionary and voluntary organizations were doing some welfare works among them with their vested interests and limited resources at that time. Later on, the British administrators, however, became increasingly involved in the welfare of the tribal communities in the inter-war period” (Kumar, 1997). “Senior officers were deputed in most of the provinces to go deep into the problem faced by them and to suggest remedial measures. These were, however, interrupted by the Second World War and consequent economic changes. Thus the practice of tribal development or the modern principle of administration whether for colonial or other ends, were first brought to the tribals by the British” (Menon, 1996).

“The colonial Government dealt with the tribals keeping their own vested interests in mind. Their approach was basically law and order oriented and primarily meant to keep the tribals isolated from the mainstream of national life. Their legal system was complicated and their language was alien to the tribals. It was thus the colonial period which brought most of the tribals under a common political organization. It might be the first deliberate attempt towards the tribals all over India” (Gopalakrishnan, 1985). “In pursuance laws of the colonial rulers maintained a stern posture throughout their rule in India, and even in tribal areas they enforced them with an iron hand” (Dube, 2002).

A tribe is a socially uniform unit who mainly reside in a forest territory which is isolated from all external influences. They suffer from poverty, diseases, exploitation and ignorance, malnutrition and social backwardness, Due to their stringent religious beliefs, traditions and social customs, they also had a lot of differences with the non-tribals during the pre-British era.

During the British rule, the tribesmen militated against the British trespassers into the tribal system. The native Rajas welcomed the innovations of the colonial regime. “Beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, British added to the consolidation of feudalism in India, first under the Jagirdari system and then under the Zamindari system. Adivasi lands were often bought by the zamindars to better exploit local land, forest and labour. Deprived of the forests and resources, they traditionally depended on and sometimes coerced to pay taxes, many adivasis were forced to borrow at usurious rates from moneylenders, often the zamindars themselves. When they were unable to pay, the zamindars forced them to become bonded labourers. Land dispossession and suppression by British and Zamindars resulted in a number of adivasi revolts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although the Adivasi rebellions were suppressed ruthlessly by the governing British authority, partial restoration of privileges to adivasi elites and some relaxation in tax burdens resulted in relative calm. From the late nineteenth century onwards there was a widespread dispossession of tribal lands. The profound interest of the colonial power in the commercial exploitation of the expansive forest products lead to a clash with the aboriginal interests during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when India had been declared as a British Colony. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the forests were transferred to the ownership of the colonial state and their use strictly regulated. The inhabitants of tribal areas lost their collective rights in the loose use of their forest environment literally overnight. A consequence of the virtual expropriation was a growing root of the affected tribals, a new dependence on officials of the Forestry Departments as well as of the land with the expansion of infrastructural development. Since, Indian tribal policy has been closely connected to forestry legislation” (Pandey, 2015).

The idea of tribal backwardness emanates from the idea of cultural backwardness. The colonial British regime sought to separate tribals from the non tribals. Because of the uprisings the British came across in the tribal areas. The

administration of these areas was separated from civil administration. This policy was termed 'non-regulation system'. Sinha observes that with its "simple methods of administration and avoidance of complicated rules and procedure, it was peculiarly suited to the aboriginal race" (Sinha, 1970).

Before 1854 the land was abounded by forests. It was a time when the tribal people enjoyed their forest rights traditionally. It was also a time when the British began destroying the forest for the timber to build battleships and railway lines. This led to encounters between the whites and the aboriginals. It was against this backdrop that the Forest Act of 1864 was enacted taking away the forest rights of the tribal populace. They were allowed only to cultivate the forest land for which they had to pay a certain amount of money.

In almost all tribal areas, the British rule prevailed. There were areas where tribal chieftains turned tax-collectors and the agents of the Raj. The British attempted to civilize the savage tribal people. The British policies adversely affected the tribal mode of production. The British system of administration alienated them from their relationship with the forests. Even in areas of non-interference some areas were open to moneylenders, traders and land-hungry peasants. The Indian nationalists, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, were against the British policy of isolationism. They had no doubt about the umbilical relationship of the aboriginals with the Indian society. Gandhi advised his followers to go to tribal areas, to set up ashrams and prepare themselves for the national struggle against the British policy of isolating the tribes thereby bringing them to the national main stream.

Land and tribals, and land acquisition for development purpose cannot be neglected. Most of the dams have been located in the tribal areas so as to provide access to water to the tribal people for irrigation. This location is important because irrigation helps non-tribals in plains, while tribals get alienated from their land. "The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 provides for cash compensation. It is assumed that with the compensation in the form of cash they receive, the tribals would purchase land elsewhere and get resettled. The special situation of the tribals was not taken into consideration and policy for their rehabilitation was not formulated. As a result, several thousand tribal areas were deprived of such development projects. Thus tribal backwardness is neither cultural nor social (caste-based) at root. They had relations

with people in plains. But, in these relations, they have always remained losers and suffered in one way or the other. This has happened in many other countries where native tribals have lost to invaders. But the context of tribal society with the non-tribal society is different in India and hence the nature of the problem is different. The tribals and non-tribals have been living side by side for centuries. They were not completely cut off from the national main stream” (Joshi, 1998). Tribal backwardness was exploited by the non tribal people robbing the former for the benefits of the welfare programmes and the policies aimed at their rehabilitation.

“There were tribal reforms and rebellion movements during the colonial rule, some tribes also participated in the Indian independence movement or attacked mission posts. Several adivasis have taken part in the Indian Independence movement, namely, LaxmanNaik, ReshmaVasave, JantyaBhill, DharindharBhyuan and Bangaru Devi” (Manav, 2013). In the national movement social workers penetrated deep into the tribal areas and got an encouraging response. “Bhil Seva Mandal and Thakkar Bapa were pioneers in this respect. The tribal people placed their confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders. They also took part in the national freedom movement. Ethnographers, anthropologists and historians are among the first to study the tribal people with an objective to help the colonial rule” (William, 1911). As they are very much emotionally attached to their homeland, which is the forests, they fought tooth and nail against the marauding colonialists.

With the passage of the Government of India Act 1919, the tribal backwardness got a formal recognition serving as a basis for special treatment of the tribal population. In the 1930s, there was an attempt at revisiting the provisions of the Act. The desirability of continuing the benefits provided for in the Act was now questioned. However Gandhi was against it. The demands for more radical assimilation policies have been put forth by the nationalists in the Constituent Assembly (Joshi, 1998).

## **2.5. Tribal Situation in the Post- Independence Era**

During the post independence period, a number of changes have occurred in the tribal areas. Thanks to the strenuous efforts made by the government for their economic and social upliftment. Funds, which according to pre-Independence

standards would seem abound, have been set apart for various projects to help the tribes reach the level of the rest of our people. However, most of these efforts have been in vain, and the aboriginals still remain poor, illiterate and isolated from the main stream.

Scheduled tribe includes relatively isolated and backward people. This term is of recent origin, “coming into being with the birth of the republican constitution of India on January 26, 1950. Prior to that, the colonial administration identified tribal people with a variety of different names, such as ‘Animist’ (Census Report of 1901), ‘Tribal Animists’ or ‘people following tribal religion’ (Census Report of 1911), ‘Hill and Forest Tribes’ (Census Report of 1921), ‘Primitive Tribes’ (Census Report of 1931), ‘Backward Tribes’ (Government of India Act, 1935) and ‘Tribes’ (Census Report of 1941)” (Verma, 1990).

“The term Scheduled tribes was a very controversial one which has also paved way for heated discussions and debates in the Constituent Assembly. Jaipal Singh, the tribal representative in the Constituent Assembly, suggested the term ‘Adivasis’ instead of Scheduled tribes, but the term, ‘Scheduled tribes’ was unanimously adopted. Dr Ambedkar was of opinion that ‘Adivasi’ was a generic term without legal connotation”(Verma, 1990). “The term was used mainly as a mark of identification and differentiation, that is, to mark out a group of people different in physical features, language, religion, custom, social organization and so on” (Jagannath, 2010).

In the wake of the dawn of independence, planned development was the policy followed by the government. It had three approaches. They were (1) Isolation (2) Assimilation (3) Integration. It was vestige of the British policy which aimed at leaving the tribal people ‘intact’. The policy was to insulate them from the majority. So the British deliberately chose not to develop communication facilities in the tribal belts. Verrier Elwin supported “the establishment of a sort of ‘National park’ or ‘specimens in a human zoo’ of the tribes and advised that their contact with the outside should be reduced to the minimum” (Verrier, 1939).

The ‘Assimilation’ policy enabled the tribal people to mix with the non-tribes in the neighborhood. As result of assimilation, the tribes gradually adopted the Hindu

culture, customs and rituals. G.S. Ghurye in his Assimilation Theory places Indian tribes under three categories. “The first category comprised of the Rajgonds and other tribes. They were an organized people with a high position in the Hindu society. A large number of tribes who adopted Hinduism belong to the second category. The hill people who resisted foreign culture belong to the third category. Tribal people in India are backward Hindus, differing only in degree from other segments of Hindu society. Their backwardness is due to their imperfect integration into Hindu society. Tribes of India slowly absorbed certain Hindu values and life style through continuous and regular contact with Hindus. Owing to Hindu influence, many tribal people have given up liquor, received education, and have changed certain malpractices and habits and adopted Hinduism as their religion” (G.S.Ghurye, 1963).

“The past experience of the policies of isolation and assimilation forced the planners to take the middle way between the two, which is called the integrationist approach. This approach was mainly the brain child of Jawaharlal Nehru. The policy of integration consists of two types of measures for tribal development. (1) Protective (2) Promotional measures. The former consists of land policies, forest policies and the policies to protect tribal culture and traditions, while the latter is the same as development and welfare programmes undertaken by the government through the plans and other voluntary agencies to make the tribal life better through the integrationist approach”( Mhaiske.M. Vinod.et.al,2016).

After independence, the governments at the centre and various states launched several programmes for the holistic development of welfare and development of the tribal communities. This enabled them to take part in nation building. “Nehru’s ‘Tribal Panchsheel Strategy’ sought to strike a balance between integrationism and isolationism. The five principles spelt out in 1952 are;

1. Tribals should be allowed to develop according to their own genius.
2. Tribals’ rights in land and forest should be respected.
3. Tribal teams should be trained to undertake administration and development without too many outsiders being inducted.

4. Tribal development should be undertaken without disturbing tribal social and cultural institutions.
5. The index of tribal development should be the quality of their life and not the money spent.

Nehru wanted to give respect to tribal life and culture. He said that the tribals may be allowed to develop on their own genius and we should not impose anything on them that distinguishes them in many ways” (Deogaonkar, 1994). He was particular that they retained their arts and culture enjoying life to the full and dreaming their great dreams. He also respected the tribal unique culture, traditions, customs, social structure and their own institutions. Tribal upliftment in every arena of life was the main aim of the Panchsheel policy. The tribal people were to be allowed to follow the practice of natural medicine and medications. Their integration with the rest of the masses is to be considered central to their progress.

## **2.6. Constitutional Safeguards for Scheduled Tribes**

The tribal people in India constitute a large chunk of the population of India (8.61%), and their protection, progress and welfare are of paramount importance. Being aware of the problems that beset them, the founding fathers of the constitution made special provisions for the advancement and protection of the scheduled tribes. Thus, the protection of the rights of tribals in land and forests along with the safeguards against usurious or abusive elements were especially provided for in the statute book. The main safeguards included promotion of educational and economic interests and their protection from social injustices and all forms of exploitation.

Another provision pertained to welfare measures. The framers of the Indian constitution insisted that the tribes were part of the national mainstream. But they wanted the retention of the tribal way of living. They see to it that there were special provisions in the constitution for their social and economic development. There was also a provision which empowered the state governments to make reservation for the scheduled tribes which would ensure sufficient representation in public services. “After independence with the adoption of Indian constitution in 1950 special attention was given for the upliftment of the tribal people under the ‘Article 48’, it was

mandatory on the part of the state government to make all the efforts to improve the economic, social, and educational standards of the tribal people” (Manav, 2013)

Considering the tribal situation, Dr.Ambedkar made many provisions in the constitution for tribal upliftment. With their advancement in view, he launched an association called ‘*BahishkritHitakarini Sabha*’. He also composed books and articles in journals to articulate his radical views on tribes. It was at this instance that article 17(1) and article 15(2) was introduced in the constitution that provided for the abolition of untouchability, an inhuman and savage custom that prevailed in India for centuries. Article 16 provided for the reservation of seats in the Public services for the tribal candidates.

“Article 366 (25) of the constitution of India refers to scheduled tribes on those communities, who are scheduled in accordance with the Article 342(1) of the Constitution, the President may with respect to any State or Union Territory and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled tribes in relation to State or Union Territory as the case may be” (Basu, 1960).

On the recommendation of the state cabinet, the governor notifies specifying which group of people is a tribe or tribal community. Then it is sent to the president. Then president after the recommendation of central government declares which group is a scheduled tribe. As per the decennial census of 2011, there are 705 scheduled tribes in India. With the dawn of independence and adoption of the constitution of free India, the responsibility of promoting the progress and welfare of scheduled tribes was placed on the elected state governments through the President and Governors.

The constitution provides for educational, cultural, social, political and economic safeguards of tribes. “Article 15(4) provides for the special provisions for advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and from being challenged in the law courts on the ground of discrimination. Article 46 states that the state shall promote with special

care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. These are the educational and cultural safeguards for tribal people” (Naveenchandrea, 2015).

The social and human right protection of tribes by the government, in Article 23 is ensured by the prohibition of trafficking on human beings and article 24 forbids child labour. Nevertheless, the living condition of the tribals lives much to be desired. Even today forced by poverty, children go to work. The constitution also provides for the economic safeguards of tribes. “Article 244 and fifth schedule, apply to the administration and control of the scheduled areas and scheduled tribes in many states other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura which are covered under the Sixth Schedule. Article 275 provides for Grants-in-Aid to specific states covered under the fifth and sixth schedule of the constitution” (Manav, 2013). Most of these states allowed tribal people to follow their own traditions. The government provides these benefits for their development and pushes up their standard of living.

“Article 164(1) provides for the political rights of the tribal people. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa states have substantial tribal population. Special provision for a minister looking after tribal welfare is there in the constitution. Article 325 provides there shall be one general electoral roll for every territorial constituency for election to either House of Parliament or to the House or either House of the Legislature of a state and no person shall be ineligible for inclusion in any such roll or claim to be included in any special electoral roll for any such constituency on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them. Article 330 is the reservation of seats for STs in Lok sabha, article 337 pertains to reservation in state assemblies. Article 334 provided for a 10 years period for reservation but this has been amended several times to extend the period. Article 243 concerns the reservation of seats in Panchayat. Article 371 has special provisions in respect of North East states and Sikkim” (Deogaonkar,1995).

“Constitutionally a tribe refers to a group of people who are mentioned in the scheduled list of Indian constitution under Article 342(i) and 342(ii) tribal people are found in almost all the states of the country. Currently, there are 705 scheduled tribal communities numbering from 31 people of Jarwa tribe to over 7 million Gonds. Thus

the Gonds are a big tribal community. Whereas the small communities comprising less than 1000 people include the Andamanese, Onge, Oraon, Munda, Mina, Khond, Saora, Gond, Baiga, Halba, Kamar, Bhunjia, and korwa” (Manav, 2013).

“According to Article 29 (1) Constitution of India, provides rights of citizens to preserve their language, script and culture. Every cultural or linguistic minority has the right to conserve its language or culture. This Article provides for the protection of Scheduled Tribe communities to preserve their languages, dialects and cultures. The State would not by law enforce upon it any other culture or language” (K.Danda, 1981). It is the responsibility of the government to promote the development and preservation of tribal culture. It is also the duty of the government to connect the isolated society culturally with the mainstream. Tribal people experience a low socio-economic status and still suffer from issues related to child mortality, inaccessibility to electricity, scarcity of drinking water and the possession of agricultural holdings. Therefore, plenty of progressive measures need to be taken to bring them at par with the general population.

It is gratifying that government has made provisions for their adequate representation in the services. “To facilitate their adequate representation certain concessions have been provided, such as:

- (i) Exemption in age limits.
- (ii) Relaxation in the standard of suitability
- (iii) Inclusion at least in the lower category for purpose of promotion through qualifying examinations” (Pandey, 2015).

“Reservation of seats for members of backward classes in educational institutions, relaxation of qualifications required for admission into such institutions, providing housing accommodation to members of such classes, and concessional treatment for them in the matter of settlement of Government lands are all provided for constitutionally. The test of backwardness under Article 15 (4) is social and educational” (Negi,1986). These programmes and opportunities provided for the participation and development of the tribal people in various parts of the Indian country.

## **2.7. Administrative and Welfare Programmes for Scheduled Tribes**

“Scheduled areas have been earmarked in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. The scheme of administration of scheduled areas under the fifth schedule envisages a division of responsibility between the state and union governments. The state Governments have been given the responsibility of screening the legislations which are unsuitable for extension to the tribal areas. They are also responsible for framing rules for the prevention of exploitation of the tribals by the money lenders. They implement schemes for the welfare of the tribals living within its boundary. The union government sets guidelines in regard to the administration of scheduled areas. It also provides necessary funds that are required to raise the standard of administration and for the improvement in the quality of life of the tribal communities. The union government also has the power to give directions to the state government about matters relating to the welfare of scheduled tribes. Under Article 164 (1) of the constitution, there is a provision for setting up a welfare department in certain states of the Indian union. Welfare Departments supervised by minister have been set up in the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, west Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura” (Pandey, 2015).

“The Fifth schedule of the constitution provides that a Tribes Advisory Council in each of the states having scheduled areas be set up. As per this provision, Tribes Advisory Councils have been formed so far in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and West Bengal. These councils are to advise the government on such matters concerning the welfare of scheduled tribes and development of scheduled areas. Advisory Boards for the scheduled tribes have also been set up in Assam, Kerala and Karnataka, which advise the state Governments. Tribes Advisory Committees have also been formed in the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura”(Vidyarthi, 1981). The administrative measures aim for the development of uplift of tribal people; they are essential citizens of Indian country.

“Article 338 of Indian Constitution provides for a national commission for scheduled tribes and a commissioner is appointed by the President of India. The main

duty of the commissioner is to investigate all matters concerning the safeguards for Scheduled tribes under the constitution and report to the president regarding the operation of these safeguards” (Vyasa, 1995). It seeks to ensure the welfare programmes for the socio-economic development of scheduled tribes.

Measures to provide educational facilities to tribal people have been taken by central and state Governments, with emphasis on vocational and technical training. Accordingly, concessions, stipends, scholarships, books, stationary and other equipments are provided. Residential houses have been set up for them. The central government provides scholarships to students to pursue higher studies in foreign countries. These welfare programmes have gone a long way to enlighten tribal communities on their social, economic, political and educational uplift. Now tribals are struggling for survival. They are after attaining identity, autonomy, equality and empowerment. They are coming out of their ancestral lands to involve themselves in all institution of state.

The different five year plans have provided different tribal development programmes implemented through different agencies. During the third plan small multipurpose tribal blocks were set up, later christened as Tribal Development Blocks. The number of such blocks existed in the various tribal areas of the Indian country. During the fourth five year plan they transformed into Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP). After a quarter century of independence, the policy makers realized that the scheduled tribes were still lagging behind the mainstream development process.

“Tribal Sub-Plan was initiated during Fifth Five Year Plan. Its strategy was the speedy socio-economic development of tribal people. It is sought to channelize the flow of outlays and benefits from the general sectors in the central ministries/departments for the development of scheduled castes and schedules tribes at least in proportion to their population, both in physical and financial terms. The tribal sub plan envisaged integrated development of the tribal areas, in which all programmes, irrespective of their sources of funding operated in unison to achieve the common goal of bringing the area at par with the rest of the state and to improve the quality of life of the tribes. The main objectives of the tribal sub plan were two fold,

i.e. (i) socio-economic development of the Scheduled tribes and their habitats, and (ii) protection of tribal from exploitation” (Satish Nijhavan&Ashok Ranjan, 1994).

“The creation of separate Tribal Development Blocks in the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) and of a Tribal Sub-plan (TSP) within the State plan in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79), and Formation of the Large-scale Multipurpose Cooperative Societies (LAMPS), Tribal Development Agencies, Integrated Tribal development Area Projects (ITDA), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), Micro Projects for Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) reflected the course of tribal development administration in the country” (Rao, 2009). “A variety of approaches and strategies aimed at integrated development and participatory development, joint Forest Management, watershed Management, and poverty alleviation programmes have formed part of the development approach. In the seventh plan, another program called cluster approach was implemented in areas where tribals were found in a scattered manner. At present tribal sub plan is implemented in 21 states and two union territories where 194 ITDPs, 259 MADAs, 75 PTGs and 82 clusters are under operation” (Govt. of India, 2002).

“There are 75 Scheduled tribes which have been identified and placed in the list of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). These tribes were identified in 15 States and Union Territories on the basis of stagnant or diminishing population, very low level of literacy, i.e. below two per cent and practicing shifting cultivation, collecting of minor forest products for livelihood, etc. In the Ninth Plan period a separate plan of action for the development of PTGs has been formulated and a sum of Rs.2cores has been sanctioned under the scheme in the last two years” (Govt. of India,2008).

A lot of employment schemes and developmental programs have been initiated by the Government of India for the welfare of the tribal population. “The major programmes are Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Prime Minister Roger Yojana (PMRY) and Training for self Employment for Rural Youth Programme. IRDP scheme is absolutely for rural people belong to the ‘below poverty line’ category and others are for both rural as well as urban youth. All these schemes are implemented in the state by District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA’s) in collaboration with commercial and cooperative Banks. PMRY was initiated in October 1993 to tackle the burning problem of educated unemployment. PMRY

relates to setting up self-employment ventures through industries and services. The scheme envisages 22.5% reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and 27% for OBC” (Thakur, 2011).

It is the Scheduled tribes Development Department, Local Self Government Institutions (LSGIs) and Oorukoottam which implements programmes for the scheduled tribes in the Kerala state. “The Scheduled tribes Development Department came into existence in 1980. It has seven Intensive Tribal Development (ITD) project offices, Nine Tribal Development offices and 48 Tribal Extension Offices (TEO) at field level. The Scheduled tribes Development Department implements various schemes (about 47 projects/schemes/ programmes/initiatives). They fall under five categories- educational, health care, social uplift, cultural development and other development schemes. They function with the help of funds doled out by central and state governments” (Baiju,2011).

“For improving the economic status of tribals, special programmes were launched, during the 1980’s. They were mainly (a) Asset Programme and (b) Employment Programme. The Asset Programme aimed at the integrated development of rural life through the removal of poverty and unemployment in rural areas. In this programme productive assets were directly given to the poor. It is believed that the income generated from these productive assets would not only be sufficient to repay the bank loans but would help the assisted families to cross the poverty line. This programme is popularly known as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). The Employment Programme on the other hand aimed at providing employment through public works during the adverse agricultural season. The employment programme asserts that Poverty persists because of the lack of employment opportunities” (Pandey, 2015).

“The Panchayat Extension Act popularly known as PESA was enacted by the Indian Parliament on Dec 24, 1996. The PESA Act has been eulogized by many social activists as the epitome of grass root level democracy; it is a revolutionary step towards tribal administration and development. The fifth schedule of the Indian Constitution provides guidelines for the administration of scheduled areas, flows of grant-in-aids out of the consolidated fund of India for the scheduled areas for promoting the welfare of the scheduled tribes. The PESA Act is assumed to offer

immense possibility of self rule to the tribal people through the institutions like Panchayat and Grama Sabha” (Baiju, 2011). “Participation of the team of indigenous tribes in the process of development has materialized through the Joint Forest Management or PESA. It concentrates more on inclusion of the tribes in education systems, main stream social systems and other developmental schemes as indispensable. In fact adoption of this strategy has actually driven the development goals in the desired directions and most possibly this shall work in the coming decades for tribal development in various part of India” (Mohapatra, 2015).

The difficulties faced during the implementation of tribal development schemes have been many. They were to be related to the special needs of the tribal communities. It was imperative that tribal development and rural development for alleviation of poverty should operate in tandem. It is clear that tribal development can be achieved only through a holistic and pragmatic approach. Against this background, the Government of India seriously considered the formulation of a National Policy on Scheduled tribes; which sought to bring them into the social main stream keeping their unique culture intact. For this purpose, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs was set up in October 1999. Cognizant of the fact that a plurality of scheduled tribes were languishing in poverty, poor literacy, malnutrition and all kinds of diseases, the new ministry sought to address these problems in a practical fashion bearing in mind the central importance of preserving and promoting the tribal cultural heritage.

The central and state governments launched many development programmes for the upliftment of tribal people. But the problem is that they are not enlightened by the governmental programmes. These people are conservative and orthodox in their outlook and refused to change their attitudes. As times change, their attitudes also change. They are now enlightened on governmental programmes and policies aimed at their progress and welfare through tribal promoters, political parties, various NGOs and the social media. In each settlement, the Oorukoottam meetings are conducted by the local self government for their awareness on developmental programmes

## **2.8. Conclusion**

The notion of tribe differs in diverse socio-economic, political and cultural situations. It indicates that tribal study or studies have to take into consideration this aspect also. The phenomena of tribes, Adivasis, aboriginals and indigenous groups are viewed by thinkers and scholars from different perspectives. In this chapter the researcher has analyzed the tribal situation in India historically as well as contemporaneously. The languages spoken by various tribes are conditioned by geographical factors. During the pre independence, the tribal people had an isolated existence and after independence, the government has initiated many policies and plans for their upliftment thereby bringing them into the national main stream. Realizing their gravity of their backwardness, the framers of the Indian constitution introduced many positive provisions which would improve the tribal situation. Both central and state governments have been liberally contributing funds for their advancement. It will not have hopefully gone in vain.

## CHAPTER 3

### DEMOGRAPHIC LIFE OF THE PANIYA TRIBES IN KERALA

South Asia abounds in a variety of tribes who constitute a large chunk of the population. They form the most ancient ethnological section of the population of South Asia. Their cultural differences and traditional practices set them apart as a unique group of people. Despite the fact that they are born and brought up in an environment of diversity, a strain of unity manifests itself in their way of living and thinking. Although demographically the presence of the tribal people in South India is considerably low, they are, marked ethnically identifiable.

The majority of tribal people are engaged in agriculture and related works, while others eke out a living by pursuing hunting, gathering of forest produces, tending sheep and goats and at present doing government jobs. In contrast to the tribal communities in North and North East India, those in the South are economically poorer, more primitive and lead a more isolated life in remote sylvan regions. However, they are of late getting integrated into the social mainstream. This chapter attempts to deal with the tribal situation in Kerala especially the Paniya tribes and their social, cultural, economic and political organizations.

#### 3.1. Tribes of Kerala

Kerala is one of the smallest states in the Indian union, with 1.45 per cent of the total land area of India with a population of 3.33 crore, which is 3 % of the total population of India as per the decadal census of 2011 (Census 2011). Kerala is famous for its vibrant history covering the ancient times, the medieval times and the present times. The state of Kerala came into being on 1st November 1956, with the erstwhile states of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, then part of the Madras state, joining together on the basis of the State Re-organization Act 1953.

As per the 1961 census, the tribal population of Kerala stood at 2,12,762, which constituted 1.26% of the total population. According to the census of 1991 the population of scheduled tribes in Kerala distributed among thirty five communities was 320,967. As per the latest 2011 census the tribal people in Kerala numbered 484,839, constituting 1.45 per cent of the whole population (Census 2011). This

census report seems that the tribal population is increasing every year. They are increasing their strength and are also moving forward in nature and mingling with other non tribal people. In each place of Kerala, they are known by different names. “They were earlier known in Travancore-Cochin state as ‘*KattuJathi*’ and in Malabar as ‘*Kattukurumman*’, both meaning people of the jungles. Today, they are known by the names ‘*Girijanam*’ or ‘*Girivargam*’, meaning people of the hills. But they are generally called ‘*Adivasis*’ in Kerala as in other parts of India. They mostly inhabit the Western Ghats and the hilly tracts bordering Karnataka and Tamil Nadu” (Aerthayil,2008). In southern and northern part of Kerala, tribes are mostly found in high altitudes and they stay in the border areas of the states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. These places are mostly hilly and forest areas.

They constitute only a miniscule per cent of the population of the state of Kerala and are divided into 36 different communities in the governmental schedule. The numerically dominant groups among them are Pulayans, Paniyans, Adiyans, Marratis, Malayarayas, Kurumas, Kuruchians, and Irulas. There are tribal communities in almost all the districts of Kerala. But they are mostly found in the districts of Wayanad, Idukki, Palakkad, and Kasargod. Among them Wayanad has the highest per cent of tribal people, constituting 17.43 percent of the total tribal population in Kerala (Census2011).

**Table 3.1**  
**District-Wise Distribution of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala**  
**(in Lakh)**

Districts	1971	1981	1991	2001	Per cent of District ST Population to total State population
Trivandrum	0.11	0.14	0.16	0.65	0.55
Kollam	0.14	0.07	0.04	0.20	0.16
Pathanamthitta	-	-	0.07	0.53	0.58
Alappuzha	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.15	0.14
Kottayam	-	0.15	0.18	0.94	0.98
Idukki	0.11	0.39	0.50	4.51	4.66
Eranakulam	0.23	0.03	0.05	0.32	0.18
Thrissur	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.16	0.15
Palakkad	0.25	0.29	0.35	1.52	1.49
Malappuram	0.09	0.08	0.11	0.34	0.34
Kozhokode	0.85	0.08	0.04	0.21	0.21
Wayanad	-	0.96	1.15	7.43	17.11
Kannur	0.90	0.40	0.18	0.83	0.81
Kasargod	-	-	0.29	2.52	2.73
Total	2.69	2.61	3.20	1.14	1.10

(Source: Census Report 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001)

The table 3.1 indicates that more than 17.11 per cent of the scheduled tribes are concentrated in Wayanad district and Idukki accounts for 4.66 per cent. The lowest proportion of tribal population is in the Alappuzha district (0.14 per cent). Concentration of the tribal population varies from 1.49 percent in palakkad district to 2.73 percent in Kasargod district. The population of scheduled tribes has slightly increased in 2001 compared to 1991. According to the 1991 census, the Kasargod district tribal population was 0.29 and in 2001, the census tribal population was 2.52. In Wayanad, the 1991 census population was 1.15 but in 2001, it increased to 7.43.

The list of scheduled tribes in Kerala was revised as per the scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes orders (Amendment) Act, 1976. The revised list was adopted in 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 Census. In the State, 35 communities were included in the list of Scheduled tribes. Adiyar, Arandan, Eravallan, Hill Pulaya, Irular or Irulan, Kadar, Kammara, Kanikkaran or Kanikkar, Kattunayakan, Kochuvelan, Konda Kapur, Kondareddis, Koraga, Kota, Kudiya, Melakudi, Kurichiyar, Kurumans, Kurumbas, MahaMalasar, MalaiArayan, MalaiPandaram, MalaiVedan, Malakkuravan, Malasar, Malayan, Malayarayar, Mannan, Marati, Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan, Pallayan, Palliyar, Palliyar, Paniyan, Ulladan, Urala. However, in 2003 as per the government order, the Maraties were deleted from this list and two other tribes Mavilan, Karimpalan were added. At present there are 36 tribal communities in Kerala (Census 2011).

**Table 3.2**  
**Scheduled Tribe Population in Kerala- 2011**

District	Tribal population in 2011 (As per Census population)	ST Population	% ST Population Total Population in 2011
Thiruvananthapuram	3307284	26759	0.8
Kollam	2629703	10761	0.4
Pathanamthitta	1195537	8108	0.7
Alappuzha	2121943	6574	0.3
Kottayam	1979384	21972	1.1
Idukki	1107453	55815	5.0
Ernakulam	3279860	16559	0.5
Thrissur	3110327	9430	0.3
Palakkad	2810892	48972	1.7
Malappuram	4110956	22990	0.6
Kozhikode	3089543	15228	0.5
Wayanad	816558	151443	18.5
Kannur	2525637	41371	1.6
Kasargod	1302600	48857	3.8

*Source: State Planning Board, Kerala (2017), 'Report of the Working Group on Scheduled Tribes Development'.*

Table 3.2 shows that according to the census of 2011, more than 18.5 % of the scheduled tribes were concentrated in the Wayanad district and Idukki accounted for 5%. The lowest proportion of tribal population was in the Alappuzha district (0.3 per cent). Kasargod and Palakkad constitute 3.8% and 1.7% respectively of the population of scheduled tribes in the districts. The census report of 2011 indicates that the highest population of tribes are found in Wayanad Western Ghats areas.

“As the Scheduled tribes are the first settlers of this country, their physical feature, technology, art, religious lore and concepts seem to point to a real historical relationship between the tribes of Kerala and Negritos of Malaysia”(Iyer,1961). Krishna Iyer says that the tribal people of Kerala’s physical structure share some of the features of the Negritos of Malaysia. Almost all tribes are dark in colour and short; they are the first settlers in the state, especially in the dark forest areas of the nature.

Historians and anthropologists describe various areas of tribal settlement of the country, especially the forest, hilly and various uninhabited areas. Different authors classified tribal settlement on various levels. One of the famous writers, Mathur describes the Kerala tribal people living in different parts of the state and classifies them into seven main territorial groups considering their historical, ethnic and socio-cultural relations. The main territorial groups have their habitats in Kasargod, Wayanad, Attapady, Idukki, Kozhikode, Parambikulam, and Trivandram districts (Mathur, 1977).

“Kasargod is one of the regions with primitive tribes. These tribes are very closely bound to the environment, especially to the remote areas of the district. The Koragas and Maratis are the most important communities living in this area. Wayanad is a scenic area of Kerala comprising the Western Ghats, with mountain areas and coffee cultivations. This area shares its border with Karnataka, which enables many tribal people to migrate to this region for settling and cultivation. The whole of the present Wayanad and Kannur districts has the highest per cent of tribals in Kerala. The communities which live in this region are Paniyans, Kurichians, Mullukurumans, UraliKurumans, Kattunayakans, Kaders, Adiyans, Pulayans and Kalandis” (Mathur,1977).

“Attapady is known for its tribal richness. The three main tribal communities inhabiting this region are Irulas, Mudugars, and Kurmbas. Attappady is the only Tribal Development Block in the state. In Malappuram district, Nilamburhouses prominent groups of the tribal population which include Cholanaikkans, Aranadans, Allars, Paniyans and Kurummans. Cholanaikkans are considered the most primitive of all the tribal communities in Kerala. They are food gatherers and collectors of minor forest products. Parambikulam is another tribal settlement area. The most important tribes found here are the Kadars of Cochin, who are less in number. Their occupation is food gathering and collection of forest products. Idukki is in the high range area of Kerala. Uralies, Muthuvans, Hill Pulayans, Mannans, Malaulladans, Mala Arayans and Palliyans are the major tribal groups of the area. Thiruvananthapuram, the capital of Kerala state, with its vast area touching coastal regions has some tribal people attached to the sea whose main occupation is fishing. The district of Pathanamthitta has *Kannikar* and *Malavedars* who are very poor and indigent and are attached to the forest. Many of them have now taken up settled cultivation” (Aerthayil,2008).

“Most of the tribes of Kerala belong to the ethnic group of Dravidians who share many common characteristics. The tribal people in Kerala are commonly called “Adivasis”, who are the indigenous people found in forests and mountain ranges of the Western Ghats. They dwell close to the states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu” (Rajeevan,2010). They are the earliest settlers of the land. They are generally called the Adivasis because they were original inhabitants of the land. They had been physically and mentally isolated and geographically segregated, for centuries. Isolated as they were from the national main stream, they preserved jealously their indigenous identities, customs, traditions, faith and beliefs to a great extent.

The tribal people have always enjoyed the monopoly of collecting forest products. Hunting, fishing and food gathering, supplemented their income. They cultivated various crops for their own consumption. “Their day starts and ends with the battle for food and they seldom find time to meet their essential needs” (A.A.D.Luiz,1962). The tribal agricultural labourers, especially in the southern districts of Kerala were victims of land alienation through deception.

The tribal communities speak their own ethnic languages. But they do not have marked identities. The spoken languages of Muthuvans and Mannans of Idukki

show their distinct identities. Their languages are variations of Malayalam. 75 percent of the languages of Paniyas have their provenance in Malayalam. But the fact is that most tribal communities speak a language which is a mixture of Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada. Tribal populations are scattered across all the districts in Kerala. There are regional and racial differences among the different tribal groups in Kerala.

“Tribal groups such as Kadar, Urali, Paniyan, Kanikar, Malamandaram, Malavedan and Vishawar exhibit characteristics of the Negroid race while the Kurichiar of Wayanad and the Malai-Arayans of Kottayam are believed to belong to the Proto Austroloid race. Anthropological studies reveal striking similarities between the tribes of Kerala and the original inhabitants of Australia and Sri Lanka. There are not only racial differences among the various tribes in Kerala but also striking dissimilarities in their customs, beliefs, practices, diet, dress and habitation. At the same time one can easily identify certain common features in the culture and characteristics of the tribes in Kerala” (K.Velappan,1994).In Kerala each tribal community follows different customs, beliefs, practices and rituals. Since the tribal communities consist of higher groups and lower groups there is a significant difference in their standard of living and thinking capacity.

### **3.2 Tribes of Wayanad**

Wayanad located in the Western Ghats in the North Eastern part of Kerala state is famed for its scenic hill stations. “It is bounded in the North by Coorg and Mysore in Karnataka; in the South by Malappuram District; in the East by Nilgiri (Tamil Nadu) and in the West by Kannur and Kozhikode districts. Wayanad was traditionally known as the land of forests” (Nair,1911). In Kerala, Wayanad is a very beautiful natural place and an important tourist attraction. There are different stories about the origin of the name Wayanad. “It is believed to have been derived from the word *Vayalnadu* meaning the land of paddy fields or *Vananadu* meaning the land of forests. It was the land of both forests as well as paddy fields” (P. Nair, 1981). Wayanad people are also hardworking and they are committed to their own work. Many people have their own lands. Wayanad consists of many historical places and famous battles of the colonial era were fought here. Affluent in spices and other cash crops; it is the major base of foreign exchange of the state.

“During the colonial times, Wayanad was part of the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency, ruled directly by the British rule. The present district of Wayanad was formed by uniting parts of Kozhikode and Kannur districts on November 1, 1980 as the 12<sup>th</sup> district of Kerala. Large parts of Wayanad are abounding in forests and plantations. Wayanad is situated in a beautiful pictureque mountainous plateau in the Western Ghats. It lies between north latitude 11 degree 26`28” and east longitude 75 degree 46`38” and 76 degree 26`11. Located at a distance of about 76 kms from the sea shores of Kozhikode, this station is full of plantations, forests and wildlife” (Jacob, 2006). “Wayanad hills are contiguous to Mundumala in Tamil Nadu and Bandhipur in Karnataka, thus forming a vast land mass for the wild life to move about in its natural habitat. Based on the rock inscriptions in the Edackal caves in Wayanad, it has been presumed that Astroloid groups lived in the region prior to the arrival of the Dravidians and the Aryans” (Rajan & Raghava, 1999).

**Table 3.3**  
**Wayanad District at a Glance**

<b>Features</b>	<b>Wayanad District</b>	<b>Features</b>	<b>Wayanad District</b>
Population(2011 Census)	817420	Scheduled tribes	151443(18.5%)
Male	401684	Total Area	2130 sq.km
Female	415736	Head Quarters	Kalpetta
Sex Ratio	1035	Number of Block	4
Urban Population	31580	Number of Thaluk	3
Rural Population	785840	Number of Villages	49
Density of Population	384sq.KM	Municipalities	3
Literacy Rate (%)	89.03	Panchayaths	23

(Source: Census Report 2011)

The district has been segmented into three block panchayats namely; Kalpetta, Mananthavady and SulthanBathery. On 1st July 2010 a new block panchayat, Panamaram was constituted. Thus at present Wayanad is divided into four block

panchayats (Gazette Notification). Wayanad is the largest Adivasi populated district in the state. As per the 2011 census, the total population of the district is 8, 17,420. Among them, the Adivasis constitute 1, 51,443 which is 18.5% of the total population. It was 17.3 percent in 2001 with 1,36,062 Adivasis. According to a survey conducted by the Department of Tribal Development in the year 2002, there were 26466 tribal households in Wayanad. Wayanad district has the highest proportion (37.4%) of the Adivasi population in the state, but they constitute only 17.4 per cent of the district's population (Census 2011). Adivasis who had been in the majority in Wayanad a century ago became a minority over a period of time.

“Tribal people constituted the majority in the Wayanad district. It is roughly estimated that about five lakh people from central Travancore belonging to about 80,000 families immigrated and settled in the hill tracks of Malabar. After independence, land that had been under cultivation by tribes for centuries was handed over to settlers from south Kerala especially to Wayanad as part of the ‘Grow More Food’ Campaign after the Second World War. The process of opening up Wayanad plateau to outsiders increased with the expansion of plantations in Wayanad” (Sarkar, 1954). Majority of the people of Wayanad migrated from various parts of Kerala and came here to purchase land and cultivate it for a pittance.

From ancient era the real land owners were tribal people. They were the original inhabitants of the land and forest areas. “In ancient times, this land was ruled over by the Raja of the Veda tribe. Some of the 20 different groups of tribes of Adivasis were expert rice cultivators. These Adivasi groups applied indigenous methods of eco-friendly cultivation of naturally evolved exotic varieties of paddy. Even now, a few of these varieties are cultivated in small isolated fields mainly by the Adivasis and the Jains. Another interpretation of the place's name comes from the fact that during the military campaigns of Tipu Sultan, Wayanad was considered as the most important trade route linking the thriving spices area to seaports on the western coast and plain land routes in the peninsular hinterland. On this basis, it was called ‘Vazhi Nadu’, which means route land” (Wayanad Initiative, 2006).

In Wayanad, numerous tribal groups existed. Each tribal community is very important in their own particular identity and culture heritage. “The important Adivasi

groups of the region are the Paniya, Adiya, Kurichia, Mullukuruma, Uralikuruma or VettuKururma, Kattunaickan or Kuruma, Karimpalan and Wayanadan Kadar. Most of the tribes in Wayanad used to practice shifting cultivation, gathered food and were hunters. During the British rule, there was great improvement in transport and communications in Wayanad” (Wayanad District Report, 2008).

The tribal groups identify their own particular work. “The tribal communities of Wayanad represent different cultural stages and economic categories. The Kurichyans are mainly agriculturists. The Betakurumans or the Uralikurumans are an artisan group who are efficient in carpentry, blacksmithy and handmade pottery. The Adiyans and Paniyans are agricultural serfs. The Mullukurumbas are agricultural groups who practice shifting cultivation and hunting. The Kattunaikans are food gatherers and labourers of the Forest Department. Each of these communities has their own culture and tradition even though they are distributed in the same ecological terrain” (Menon, 1996).

“Some of the most interesting tribes of South India such as Kurichans, Kurumbas, Paniyans and Pulayans inhabit the Wayanad district of Kerala. When the Wayanad-Nilagiri plateau began to be opened up by European planters, the land was in the possession of a few local landlords but the actual cultivators were the tribal people. They lost their holdings to the planters practically getting little or no compensation for the transfer. With the cultivation of pepper, cardamom and coffee on a large scale, there was an influx of labourers from the plains into Wayanad. This resulted in large scale displacement of local tribal peasants like Kurichians who were practicing shifting cultivation, locally called ‘*Punam*’. Many of the Kurichians who were independent farmers, owning substantial acreage of lands, gradually became landless labourers, due to heavy indebtedness and dependence on money lenders for their credit and consumer requirements” (C.P. Yadav, 2000). Mostly tribal people are labourers of the landlords in the coffee and tea estates.

The district is divided into 23 panchayats and 3 municipalities. Mananthavady, Vellamunda, Thirunelly, Thondernad, Edavaka, and Thavinjal spread in Mananthavady block Panchayat and Meenangadi, Nenmeni, Ambalavayal, Poothadi, SulthanBathery, Noolpuzha, spread in SulthanBathery block Panchayat and KottatharaVengapally,

Vythiri, Muttill, Pozhuthana, Thariyodu, Padinjarathara, Meppady and Muppainadspread in Kalpetta block Panchayat and Panamaram, Poothadi, Mullankolli, Pulpally and Kaniyampatta spread in Panamaram block.

The block wise distribution of Adivasi population and per cent of each community in the district is shown in table 3.4.

**Table 3.4**  
**Block Wise Distribution of Adivasi Population**

Community	Mananthavady	Sulthan Bathery	Kalpetta	Panamaram	Kalpetta Municipality	%
<b>Paniya</b>	15876	17473	17208	16293	2266	45.12
<b>Kurichia</b>	14985	153	6143	3864	121	16.49
<b>Adiya</b>	8447	0	14	2735	0	7.31
<b>Kattunaickan</b>	3663	5123	1896	6298	71	11.13
<b>Vettakuruma</b>	1559	2066	326	2204	317	4.23
<b>Wayanadan Kadar</b>	327	0	319	0	0	0.42
<b>Mala Araya</b>	1337	26	0	0	0	.11
<b>Mullukuruma / Kuruma</b>	110	13194	1956	5580	143	13.70
<b>Ulladan</b>	18	4	0	72	0	0.61
<b>T.Moopan</b>	0	41	120	0	27	0.12
<b>Karimpalan</b>	4	0	1	0	13	0.01
<b>Others</b>	0	50	0	0	0	0.32

*Source: Wayanad District Report 2008*

Table 3.4 given above shows that Paniya is the largest Adivasi community in Wayanad with a total population of 69116, constituting 45.12 % of the total Adivasi population in the district in all four blocks and a municipality. They dominate other communities. Kurichia is the second largest community with a population of 16.49 % and Kuruma holds third position with 13.70 percent. According to the Wayanad district report, the total Adivasi population in the district is 1, 52,808, of which 77466 are females and 75342 are males.

In Wayanad, with a historical and political consciousness, the tribal communities called themselves Adivasis which is in distinction to non-Adivasi fellow human beings who migrated into tribal homelands. At the same time, each Adivasi group considers its '*gothram*' (clan) special and tries to maintain the purity of the clan by purifying the *gothram* through customary practices integral to their clan. Paniyas have their own ritual practices different from those of Kurichias. Janu, the Adivasi leader in Wayanad formed '*Adivasi GothraMahasabha*' an organisation engaged in fighting for land rights. Janu recognized this diversity as a distinct *gothram* alongside their assertive unity to fight against the forces that marginalize them. Each group has its own customs and rituals.

In the beginning of the colonial era, some tribal groups were slaves of the landlords in Wayanad. "In olden times some of the tribal communities in Wayanad district were bought and sold as slaves for paddy cultivation" (Panoor,1963). "The Paniyans who constituted a substantial population in Wayanad were agrestic slaves, bought and sold along with the land holdings, to which they were attached as labourers. Although forced labour has been banned, it is still practiced because of their dependence on the landlords for their livelihood. Paniyas are very hard working agricultural labourers. Irulas, along with their cousins, Yenadis of Andhra, are mostly engaged in agricultural labours in the plantations. They are also employed in forest operations. The Forest Department granted them some land on a temporary basis for cultivation, but the return is hardly sufficient for their livelihood" (Aiyappan,1992).

### **3.3. Socio-Political Tribal Situation in Wayanad**

Most historians unanimously say that Wayanad was formally inhabited by wild hunters and ruled over by Vedar Rajas. Aiyapan notes that in the Wayanad region "The eastern half of Wayanad contiguous with the Nilgiris and Coorg was inhabited by Kannada speaking tribes and the Western half by Malayalam speaking tribes. When Wayanad Plateau began to be opened up for European landlords, they found the region in the possession of a few local landlords, chiefly Malayalees. The whole of the Wayanad area, until its cession to the East India Company by TipuSulthan was part of the dominions of the Raja of Kottayam. The actual cultivators were the tribes such as the Kurichiyas, Mullukurumbar and Chettis" (A.Aiyappan, 1948).

“Till the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Wayanad was inhabited exclusively by the hill tribes. Kurumans and Kurichiyas were the numerically predominant tribes of the region living in separate geographical divisions and ruled by tribal chieftains. The tribes had at this stage, a social organization similar to primitive communism in which social stratification and clans contradictions were non-existent. During the closing decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Raja of Kottayam brought Wayanad under his thumb. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of the rivalry between the local chieftains, the plainsmen from Kottayam immigrated to Wayanad and there arose a number of agricultural settlements in the region. The new comers confiscated the fertile regions and enslaved the tribes”(Logan, 1951).

The condition of tribal people was entirely different in the former kingdoms of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, a district in the erstwhile Madras Presidency, which constitutes the current state of Kerala. The traditional landlords reduced the tribal citizens of Malabar especially in Wayanad who were cultivators of paddy, to slavery and serfdom. In Wayanad, “Historically, Paniyans and Adiyans who constituted a major part of the population of the state were agrestic slaves and subjected to the highest degree of inhuman treatment in the hands of the traditional *Jenmis*” (kunhaman, 1989)

The political power of the tribal communities in Kerala decreased during colonial regime. “The tribal people were one of the first to take on the British colonialists for their atrocities. They fought against the British even at the risk of their own survival. Being defenders of their soil, the tribal people proved their love and affection to their state a number of times. In the struggle that Pazhassi Raja fought against the British, the powerful tribal sect in Wayanad, the Kurichias, with all their might, fought against the British with bows and arrows. The Kurichia revolt that took place in Northern Kerala was a popular revolt. The British who suppressed the Pazassi revolt tried to establish their supremacy in Wayanad thereby making the tribal life troublesome. A lot of tribal people were captured by the British officials, who made them their slaves” (Rajeevan,2010). These people were very much emotionally attached to the environment. These simple folks were very honest and loyal to their landlord and rulers.

“After the death of Pazhassi Raja, the British imposed punitive land taxes on people who had supported him. The tax had to be paid to the British authority directly in cash” (Nair,1911). “This taxing invited the wrath of Kurichians and Kurumans who rose in revolt against the British in 1812, which is known as the Kurichia rebellion. This tribal revolt is considered as the first peasant insurrection against the British rule in India” (Ravindran, 1976).The British confiscated tribal land and converted it to large scale estates. They cultivated tea, coffee, cardamom and other cash crops by using tribal labourers. Besides the earnings from agriculture, the gold the British mined from Wayanad using tribal labour added to their riches. Roads were constructed to facilitate the movement of goods, timber and agricultural products. The infrastructural facilities lured large number of non-tribal people to Wayanad.

“The tribal communities everywhere were egalitarian with common ownership of land and they cultivated the land only for what was needed for their sustenance. But the British introduced the ‘settlement’ of land based on private ownership recognized through legal deeds, records and complicated measurement processes. They implemented these laws in Malabar which was then a part of the Madras Presidency. The new regulations were totally alien to the tribal people, who were not able to understand and assimilate the new system with its elaborate legal processes and ownership titles. Therefore, they did not bother to get ownership deeds for their land. Exploiting this situation, the traditional landlords and the later settlers dispossessed the Adivasi of their land in Malabar area as it had happened in most parts of India” (Aerthayil, 2008). The non- tribal people exploited the tribal people by borrowing the land at cheap rates.

“The British government which adopted certain policies for the first time resulted in the alienation of tribal land and forest rights. The land and the forest which the tribal communities enjoyed for ages were privatized by the British for growing plantations. Later the outsiders were allowed to come and settle in the tribal land using force and forced consent. Consequently, the Adivasi population was uprooted and alienated from their land. This resulted not only in the loss of their livelihood but also their cultural heritage. The tribal people were the first victims of colonization in the political history of Kerala” (Rajeevan, 2010). In course of time, this situation led to the exploitation of other tribes also. There were atrocities and exploitations of tribes

during the British colonial regime. In this situation they fought against the British laws. Despite the pathetic situation, they followed their own social and political organization. In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the number of tribal slaves exceeded that of cultivators and the two groups differed widely in terms of socio-economic status. The right of land was vested with high caste Brahmins and local chieftains, who obtained the ownership right from the Brahmins in exchange of their services to them.

One of the important chapters in the history of the political agitations of tribes in Kerala is their participation in the Naxalite movement of Kerala. “The naxalite movement entailed severe anti-extremist measures undertaken by the government. The movement was chiefly political and to some extent ideological. Naxalism thrived only for a very short period among the tribal people of Wayanad, particularly among the Adiyans and Paniyans of Tirunelli. Although a large number of Adiyans and Paniyans were drawn into the Naxalite Movement, it was as a whole a tribal movement or uprising. The intellectual content of the movement was contributed by activists like Varghese, Philip M Prasad and Ajita. The programmes were executed by the activists drawn from among the bonded tribal labourers. It was essentially a political movement comprising the leaders of the Naxalite movement in Kerala and the tribal people” (Mathur, 1977).

Tribes have their own system at socio-economic, political and cultural levels. In the case of political structure, tribal communities follow their own pattern. The tribal people have been politically organized and economically powerful in their own way. Each tribal sect has been politically controlled by the traditional modes of leadership. In other words, it is the chiefs and headmen of the community who control their social, political and cultural behaviour. According to P.J.Thomas, “traditionally, the center as well as the territory, of the political system is the hamlet. Each hamlet has its own political identity and independence. In other words, all hamlets are sovereign systems and except for sharing the customs of the tribe, as a whole, hamlets have nothing to do with one another for the purpose of administration. There is no formal link, except the commonality of the tribal systems, between these hamlets. Under the traditional political system, a particular hamlet has four functionaries” (Thomas, 2000).

- The Moopan (Head)
- The Kuruthala (Peon)
- The Bandari (Cashier)
- The Mannukaran ('Knower' of the soil)

As Thomas says, "Moopan enjoys the supreme position. Along with the other functionaries and the hamlet Panchayath, he rules over the hamlet. Kuruthala is the executive officer of the Moopan and the hamlet. The Bandari also assists the Moopan in the discharge of his duties and functions. This post is also hereditary. Mannukaran is another important functionary of a hamlet who is responsible for the agricultural practices in the Ooru. During the agricultural seasons, Mannukaran is the first to sow the seeds, and he performs certain offerings to the *Karai, Daivam*, for a successful crop yield. The very important feature of the tribal political system is the '*Hamlet Panchayath*'. It consists of all the adult members of the hamlet or at least one adult member from each family. All important decisions of the hamlet are taken by the Panchayath. The Panchayath is summoned on occasions like festivals or death in the hamlet. It is responsible for the amicable settlement of disputes and quarrels. Although the hamlet Panchayath reflects the spirit of democracy, it seems that the tribes are unaware of the majority principle and the hamlet panchayath never takes decisions according to the majority principle" (Thomas, 2000). But in the present scenario, the tribal political structure is disintegrating. The stability and solidarity of hamlets have recently begun to disappear and the power and position of Moopan has changed. The regular function or meetings of the hamlet panchayath has been reduced to occasions like death and festivals.

The tribal sub plan reports show that the power of the chief head has decreased. To quote, "But now due to the influence of outsiders, with whom the tribal people have come into contact, their chief has lost his special power and privileges and he acts as their guide only in religious and social matters" (Tribal Sub Plan of Kerala State,1999). The Moopan presides over all the socio-cultural and religious ceremonies. He is expected to tackle all the common problems related to adultery, divorce, and dispute over property and theft. The main reason for the disintegration of the tribal political system is mainly the disintegration of the tribal economy.

“According to the Survey of Tribal Communities in Kerala, the darker side of their socio-economic condition is that the rate of land alienation was at its highest during the 1950s in the district of Malabar, which was also the peak period of immigration into the tribal areas. During the decade ending, 1976, 3546 tribal families lost almost 9859 acres of land”(Government of Kerala,1979). “A study by the Kerala Agricultural University made in 1992 reveals that two-thirds of tribal people under study in Wayanad district lost their land due to immigration by non-tribal people. The tribal population also decreased drastically after they started occupying the Adivasi areas” (Aerthayil, 2008).

A tribal person is a habitual borrower. His simplicity and ignorance is exploited by the sharks that come into contact with him. Even though hardworking and honest, their society is dominated by myths and taboos which makes them vulnerable and extremely backward. The non tribal people exploit their physical power for cultivation by giving them only low wages and alcoholic beverages. The occupational pattern of the scheduled tribes and the low earnings they get reveal their economic backwardness. Although agriculture is their main pursuit, most of them languish in poverty due to seasonal fluctuations.

In the post- independence era, the Kerala government has been showing a deep concern for the welfare of the tribal people. The governments have launched several policy initiatives and developmental programmes for their upliftment. About one percent of the total state plan outlay has been year marked for the development of scheduled tribes. Kerala Electricity Board, Kerala Water Authority, Education, Health, Fisheries and Animal Husbandry departments have been allotted funds for their development. The educational projects comprise construction, renovation and management of nursery schools, medical residential schools, hostels for boys and girls, vocational training institutions, and tutorial schemes for school going students and failed students. The system of peripatetic education launched by the governments facilitates the education of tribal children, in which a teacher goes about visiting tribal colonies and teaching them.

The government also provides health packages to meet the medical needs of tribal people affected by various ailments. With a view to ameliorating the social and economic condition of tribal communities, the government has launched various

developmental schemes. Special packages for the development of Paniyas and other socially and economically marginalized primitive tribal groups are also available. There are also governmental schemes precisely aimed at meeting the needs of the houseless tribal people. All these projects, would hopefully, lead to comprehensive improvement in all the aspects of tribal life. Wayanad is noted for cash crops such as coffee, cardamom, pepper, ginger, turmeric honey and herbs. The Adivasi resettlement projects in Wayanad are Cheengeri (Ambalavayal Grama Panchayath), Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project (Pozhuthana Grama Panchayath) and the Pookkodu Diary Project. The last among them was started as a part of Western Ghats development programmes. Tribal offices like Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) and Tribal Extension Office try to cater to their welfare.

It is an irony that irrigation and hydroelectric projects like dams affect the tribal people adversely leading to their displacement. The aboriginals do not have valid and reliable documents to prove their entitlement to the land in their possession. The central and state forest laws have negatively affected the tribals. While turning primordial forests into reserved forest and wildlife sanctuaries as in Muthanga and leasing out forests to big factories to plant and cut trees like eucalyptus, it is the hapless adivasis who get displaced from the land they have been occupying for millennia. When they are denied access to the forest products, they are essentially being robbed off their life sustaining systems. It is a tragedy that as a result, their children are pulled apart from their primeval roots.

“The hallmark of Kerala politics is the presence of two political alliances that dominate the scene- the LDF and the UDF, who invariably come to power alternately. It is a pity that the two coalitions do not show much enthusiasm in implementing and enforcing the laws that seek to protect the tribal community. *The Adivasi Sangam* organized by the Jan Sang, *Kerala Girivarga Sangam* by the communist party of India, *Karshaka Sangam* by CPI(M) Kerala and *Adivasi Samajan* of Indian National Congress are some examples of the tribal wings of major political parties in Kerala. *The Wayanadu Adivasi Swayam Sevak Sangam*(WASSS) was a pioneering venture in this regard. It was launched by the Jansangh in 1963. A number of political programmes including dharana, picketing, and sathyagraha were organized by this Sangam with a view to restore their lost land” (Rajeevan, 2010).

It is a tragedy that Kerala was partly responsible for the perpetuation of injustice against the tribal people. This paved the way for the emergence of identity politics among the tribal communities. It was used effectively for their political mobilization. The discontent among tribal people has been discernible since the early 1990s. Disappointed with the attitude of the mainstream political parties and coalitions, a section of the tribal community started an organization named *Adivasi GothraMaha Sabha* (AGMS) under the dynamic leadership of a charismatic lady, C.K. Janu. It functioned very effectively among the tribal communities in Kerala for their upliftment. AGMS has succeeded in bringing the plight of tribal people to the limelight by unleashing a wave of agitations in an unconventional manner.

Muthanga struggle in the Wayanad district of Kerala is a manifestation of the adivasi frustration over the failure of successive governments in the state to give them back their alienated land. Having erected heads and shelters in the area, they declared that they would start cultivating the occupied land. All through the course of the agitation, the government authorities chose to remain mute spectators. At last, the police was forced to act, considering the aggressive mood of the agitating adivasis. The operation resulted in large scale destruction. For about 1000 Adivasis who had gathered there, it was a nightmarish experience. The Muthanga agitation was a watershed event in the adivasi struggle for their rights.

“During the movement, the adivasis employed novel tactics to highlight their marginalization. They were also successful in eliciting the support of the mass media. A year after the Muthanga agitation, the *Adivasi GothraMaha Sabha* morphed into *Adivasi RashrtiyaMaha Sabha* (ARMS). Later the agitation met with success when they were given rights to the lands under the Scheduled tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006. The agitation intensified in Wayanad, with support of major political parties in 2012, in which thousands of landless Paniya tribal people took part. They put up huts in the forest land, buoyed up by the hope that they would begin to own the land at the end of the agitation. There were 53 agitation points in two forest divisions at the time” (Rajeevan, 2010). Tribal revolts and these protest movements play a crucial role in every tribal life, especially for the Paniya tribes. In an alternate view, that is an essential part of the political participation process.

### **3.4 Paniya Tribes**

The district of Wayanad was constituted by chiseling out two regions from the districts of Kozhikode and Kannur Districts in Kerala and also by accumulating some segments from the borders of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka states. Wayanad has the highest dimensions of tribal populations in entire Kerala. About 10% of the tribal people reside in the forest settlements.

The Paniyans are the most populous among the scheduled tribes of Kerala. The 1981 decennial census reveals that their population stood at 56922 constituting 24.72 percent of the tribal population of Kerala. According to the latest census of 2011, their number was 69117 (Census 1981, 2011). “Paniya Tribe is closely related to the section of the Yerawa of Coorge (Karnataka) and is also identified as a member of the South Dravidian family” (P. Nair, 1981).

#### **3.4.1. Meaning of the Word Paniya**

Names have indigenous and archetypal relevance. Among the tribes, selection and assigning names encompass great importance since it carries the essence of tradition and heredity. Names reflect historical and literary significance. “The term ‘Paniyas’ literally means ‘a worker, it is assumed to be originated from the Malayalam words ‘*Panikkar*’ (labourer) or from the word ‘*Pani*’ (work). It indicates the abject state of their servitude and servility. Paniyas or Paniyan or Paniyar is presumed to have been a Dravidian tribe. They have inhabited in several parts of North Kerala, South Karnataka and Northwest Tamil Nadu. As a homogenous community, they have unique social and cultural traditions. Their vernacular language is known as *Painyabhasha*, which reflects a merge of Malayalam, Tamil and Tulu words” (Aiyappan,1992). Each tribal group owns a different form of language and dialect. The *Paniyabhasha* is defined to have only the vocal form and they use the language only for verbal communication.

#### **3.4.2. Myth about the Origin of the Paniya**

The historical origin of Paniyas is exceptionally idiosyncratic. There is a universal belief based on their physiognomy. There are numerous speculations about the origin of the community. Luiz A D. one of the pioneers of the ‘Tribal studies in

Kerala' refers to the origin and the basic features of Paniyas. One of the speculations of their origin comes from African ancestors. "Paniyans of this state (Mysore) are immigrants from Kerala. There are various speculations regarding their origin. One such opinion indicates that they are an African tribe that came to India after a shipwreck on the west coast. Anthropologists claim that their cephalic and nasal indices have resemblance to the long armed *Negroes* and *Kapiris* of *Africa*" (A.A.D.Luiz, 1962). The Paniyas' physical attributions resemble that of the African Negroes in complexion and the texture of their hair.

Further studies speak about a meticulous legend which reveals that Paniya "originated from *Ippimala* Mountain near Banasuram peak or Thamaracherry Ghats, and their early home considered to be the *Ippi* hills. The Paniya community had their origin in the Ippi hills as the members of the community. *Ippimala*, a hill which no one in Wayanad could locate and which is said to be somewhere near the Thamarassery Ghats was the home of the *Paniyasii*. The identity of *Ippimala* is also attributed to the Banasura hills in western Wayanad" (Francis, 1984,). "Their origin is from the Ippimala and they remember all their ancestors beginning from *Uthappan* and *Uthammawho* negotiated with God in the creation process" (Aiyappan, 1992). The Paniya local songs popularized the legend among the clans traditionally reverberating during various ceremonial occasions.

Next important myth regarding the Paniyas' was that, they were brought to Wayanad in the ancient past by a ruler of Malabar. Another assumption tries to describe them as "primitives discovered and trained by *Gowdalus* to be agricultural labors" (A.A.D.Luiz, 1963). "*Ippimalamuthappe* and *Ippimalamuthassi* (Grandfather and Grandmother of Ippimala) were caught by the *Goudar*. The Goudan landowners finding their crops always destroyed by these 'black beasts' managed to secure them by means of nets known as '*Thandati*'. These domesticated Paniyas induced their friends of the forests to join them and gradually they spread from place to place" (Nair, 1911). Ayyappan explains in this speculation that "Paniya brother and sister came near a *Wayanad Chetty* "*Goundan*" household, the Goundan caught them in a net and enslaved them. The descendants comprising the Paniyas formed themselves into various clans and migrated to other regions also. They had no rights to property, but were cleared out to be the slaves of others" (A.Aiyappan, 1992). The Paniya

community is determined to be one of the earliest inhabitants in the Wayanad region. They established co-existence and linked themselves in economic and social symbiosis for a long time. The historical realizations prove that they were the slaves of the landlords and were committed to the landlords or the jammies.

### **3.4.3. Historical Accounts**

Numerous historians describe about the paniya tribes in diverse ways. There are multiple stories about the source of the Paniyas spread conventionally. The Paniyas are “found in large numbers in the adjoining areas of Malabar, i.e. Palakkad, Kozhikode and Kannur districts of Kerala. It is surprising that the Paniyas found in Gudalur Taluk were brought long time ago from Wayanad in Malabar by the MandatanChetties as agricultural labors. Even now the Paniyas are attached more to the MandatanChettis than to other newly aroused land owners, like *Moplas*, *Chetans* (Syrian Christians) *Gounders* etc” (Nambiar,1961). Paniya tribes extended their service to innumerable owners but they remained content in their lifestyles.

“The Paniyas are very primitive ethnic strains who are likely to have been autochthones of the area, who sought shelter in the wilds of Wayanad when enslavement of their kinsmen was going on in the plains. They could not sustain their freedom, for the master class followed them into Wayanad to exploit the land with the enslaved Paniya labour. With the establishment of the feudal order under the Rajas, the Nair chieftains and their retainers parceled the available land among themselves and the Paniyas lost (all vestiges) of freedom” (A.Aiyappan,1992). Their unpretentious nature was exploited by the non-tribal people, especially by the Rajas and the migrated people belonging to the Nair and Christian communities. They purchased the land at low costs and discarded the Paniya tribes as landless.

Thurston reported that “Paniyas were alleged to have the power of changing themselves into animals, and could entice any woman of the higher castes to submit to their pleasure. Paniyas were employed by a Mappilla (Muslim) to murder his mistress. They were notorious as petty thieves of farm produce, and as perpetrators of mischief. In the fifties of the last century when planters first began to settle in Wayanad, they purchased the land with the Paniyans living on it, who was practically slaves of the land-owners. Paniyas had actually been employed by rich receivers of stolen coffee,

to go out in the night to strip the bushes of their berries, which were delivered to the receiver before morning” (Thurston,1975). Paniyas worked ceaselessly in the landlord’s coffee estates.

“Paniyas were the worst victims of two centuries of slavery under feudal landlords. The number of slaves among tribal people increased due to the interest in land and cultivation of the migrant population and the division of land among them through the multi tier tenure such as *kanam*, (mortgaged by the owner for a certain amount of cash which is repayable and an annual payment of a certain measure of paddy) and *verumpattam* (the owner rented out his *JanmamPaniyar* for a short term, i.e., an agricultural season)” (A.Aiyyappan,1992). “Logan was long sighted enough to comment that the slaves as a caste will never understand what real freedom means until measures are adopted to give them inalienable rights on the small orchards occupied by them as houses”(Menon,1996). Paniya labour fee was not received in cash but in other forms of food items. The feudal lords often gave them part of the produced rice as wages.

Mathur indicates that the “tribes of Wayanad were attached to one landlord and were traditionally known as *kundalpanikkar* that means bonded labourers. The bonded labour system existed mainly among the four tribal communities of Wayanad – Paniyas, Adiyas, Wayanad Pulayas, and Kattunayakas. It is a system of slavery under which the Paniyas were compelled to work for a particular Nair or Gowdan or any other Hindu higher caste employer for a fixed term. The bonded labourers built huts in the properties of the tenant cultivators. They were supplied with some clothing and food requirements annually” (Mathur,1977).

“The Paniya community had the traditional custom of affirming the bonding contracts at the prominent temple of the regional Mother Goddess of the ValliyoorKavu shrine, near Manantavady. The traditional manner of recruiting them for the purpose was by advancing loans (*nippupanam*) at the annual festival which falls in the last week of March, in return for which a Paniyan would pledge himself as well as the members of his family to work for the creditor for a year until the next festival. They would be accommodated at the premises of the lender’s farm and would be paid reduced wages for work –all the members of the Paniya family were under this obligation; the young boys would have to look after the master’s cattle and the

little girls to attend as domestic help in his household, while the adults had to work in his fields. They would be given mandatory benefits like clothes during the festivals like Onam. A crop on a small patch of the paddy field would be apportioned as *kundal* for the benefit of the Paniya families, but later on, a fixed measure of paddy was substituted” (Mathur,1977).

“The Bonded Labour system was abolished by a central enactment and the immediate impact was misery for the Paniya families, as several landlords denied them work and wages. The provisions of Kerala Land Reforms prevented them from being evicted from their homesteads. Moreover, there was a heavy influx of Christians from the Travancore area who sought work, and it decreased the agricultural wage rates which proved miserable. Among the Christian employers a good number of the Travancore Christians were engaged in unlawful production of liquor. The Paniyas were forced to take liquor for half of their wages. Thus, in two ways, the Travancore immigrant groups have been a source of trouble for us” (A.Aiyyappan,1992). In reality, their historical background was very painful, but the innocent people had little scope to react to these adverse situations. Therefore they accepted the harsh situations to be a part of their intricate lives.

#### **3.4.4. Physical Appearance**

Thurston in his book *Caste and Tribes of South India*, describes about their physical appearance and also about their early inhabitation of South India. The Paniyans are a “dark-skinned tribe, short in structure, with broadnoses, and curly or wavy hair, habituating Wayanad, and some portions of the Ernad, Calicut, Kurumbanad and Kottayam Taluks of Malabar, which skirt the base of the ghats, and the Mudanad, Cheramgod, and Nambhkodamshams of the Nilgiri district” (Thurston,1909). Broadly, “their hair is sparse but baldness of the head is rare. They have muscular bodies, and can sustain hard physical labour. Physical anthropological data show that they have the highest frequency of blood group A found among Indian populations. They also showed a high incidence of the sickle cell trait” (Singh,1994).

#### **3.4.5. Dress**

“The dress of Paniyan is simple and easily distinguishable from other tribal communities. The males wear a *long* cloth –‘mundu’which is wrapped around the

waist and a small 'mundu' is worn on the shoulders covering the body. The Paniya women ('*Panichis*') wear a long cloth on the loins and a smaller one above the bosom through the armpits. A coloured scarf either red or black which they call '*aratti*' is tied around the waist of women" (A.Aiyappan, 1992). "They wear a mundu and Kuppungi which is upper garment. Men and women are tattooed on several parts of their bodies. The women wear ornaments of palm leaves for the ears and dried leaves filled with bee wax on one side and small red seeds on the other" (P.K.Mohanty, 2004). Now the younger generations has given up most of these distinctive styles and adopt modern attire, hairstyles and ornaments.

#### **3.4.6. Food**

The life of the tribal people directly depends upon the whims and fancies of nature. Their food pattern is fixed to the abundant of leaves and roots available in the forest. Paniyas were savage tribes living in caves and thick forests, coming out only during nights and feeding on paddy and other crops. They consume vegetables, pulses, roots, tubers and fruits. Whereas men drink liquor very frequently, women drink occasionally. "They drink fresh palm juice and consume milk and milk products. They are non-vegetarian but they do not consume beef. They use pork, rice, millet and ragi as their staple food and they smoke cigarettes, chew tobacco and inhale snuff" (P.K.Mohanty, 2002). The labourers usually supplemented their food requirements by gathering leaves, roots, catching crabs, fishes etc., from the agricultural fields and nearby bushes.

"In the past, before the implementation of the protection of wild life was enforced in the forests, they used to trap and eat small animals, including monkeys and mongooses. They also used to catch fish from the rivers and streams, but the fish population has also suffered grievously of Wayanad to the hordes. A major source of animal protein is the land crab from the flesh of which they make a paste (chutney) baked over embers. when coffee and tea became too costly for them to afford the luxury, they invented a drink by making a brew by boiling green coffee leaves, a pot of this brew is kept at home for children when the parents are away at work; it kills hunger and satisfies thirst" (A.Aiyappan,1992).

“On a noon working day they may not have anything to cook. But, households within a hamlet share with each other whatever food is available to them. This is reciprocated in times of needs. If one misses a meal, one drinks hot water to kill hunger pangs. Scarcities of food are severely felt twice a year that is from May to June and September to November. These months are the non agriculture season with minimum labour opportunities. The food intake of Paniya varies from one day to another; one season to another and is far below their actual requirements. The newly opened Anganwadies provide in a limited way remedial food to cope with the nutritional demands of preschool children, pregnant and lactating mothers” (Nair,2008). Researchers observed their real life situations, Paniya families were found to be below the poverty level and were understood to have dearth of sufficient food. In some other areas, the people did not consume sufficient food. Their time of consuming food was in the morning at around 11 am and 11 pm. Both the male and female population is found to be addicted towards tobacco.

#### **3.4.7. Occupation**

Paniyans original occupation was agriculture as it is for the most part, in the present scenario. They were totally dependent on wage labour in the paddy fields and dry land cultivation of the land owners. When the British opened up the possibility of farming in tea and coffee estates, Paniya were employed at very low wages; the prosperity of Wayanad as an exporter of coffee, cardamom, pepper, etc., has been founded on the profuse sweat of many and the occasional blood of some martyred Paniya families.

Their traditional occupations are hunting, fishing, horticulture, trapping of birds and animals and cultivation. “They normally sell the forest products in the nearby market and to the middle man. They are equipped and skilled in handicraft production especially of bamboo baskets. In the Paniya community each family is attached to some Chetti household and work in their fields, in ancient times they were little better than acrostic slaves. They are clever at netting animals, poisoning fish, and daring at spearing tigers” (Mohanty,2004). The Non tribals settled in the Paniya settlement offer them job in their lands and in the industries erected in the surroundings of the settlement. Paniyas are hard working so the affluent people appoint them and provide low wages and food. Therefore the middle aged people

worked in their landlord's estates and depended on them and lived at their mercy. Some young Paniya of Edakamala colony also work in the other districts of Kerala, their standard of living is better and their thinking capacity is enhanced. Certain tribals secure government jobs in police, as anganwadi teachers and in the excise departments under the Government of Kerala.

#### **3.4.8. Social Organization**

Thurston reported that “a headman called Kuttan used to be appointed at every settlement by the Nair landlord; his major responsibility was to account for the actions of everyone in the settlement” (E.Thurston,1909). “Each nadu or traditional group of villages still remembered in their liturgical songs had a patrilineal hereditary headman called *Koyma*. Under him, there were *chemmi*'s, the actual heads of each settlement; they were assisted by messengers called *Karayma*. The succession to the offices was patrilineal but occasionally matrilineal also. The office of *koymais* virtually extinct; his traditional role was to preside over all social activities and meetings of elders to settle disputes. As the *chemmi*-s had parallel powers in their respective settlements, his role was more of an appellate authority. He was entitled to various payments for approving and validating functions. The *chemmi* had the right to permit the digging of the grave for burials, and was entitled to a payment called *vizhntavari*(death tax). The *chemmi* could punish persons guilty of violating norms with fines, of which a share goes to himself and another to the *Koyma*. In smaller settlements, a muppan used to be appointed by the landlord, by investing a Paniya with one *amulet* (vala)” (Menon,1996). The Muppan's role is now insignificant; their only role is during marriages and Oorukoottam meetings.

Mathur was the first to point out “that they adopted a dual descent system. Every individual belonged to a clan, and gen. The double exogamy extended to the forbidding of marriage in the fathers clan as well as in the mother's. The patrilineal clan was called the *Kulam*, and the matrilineal, *Kudumbam* The sib identification is now being beyond and the patrilineal combined family (*tarwad*) name is adopted”(Mathur, 1977)..

“They have dispersed, non-corporate, matrilineal descent groups called illam or kulam; some typical names were munnillam, anchaillam, arillam, etc., in which the

first component is numerical. He added that the Paniya did not club clans into moieties; they did not want to limit their circle of exogamy to narrow groups-when a sib grows too large and splits on account of its size, or wide dispersal, the Paniyas are not able to keep track of the segments and the relation between the split segments of the sibs. They also tended to identity; each with the lineage name of their masters, example, and the serfs of 'Ettil Nambiar' would describe themselves as 'EttilPaniyar'. Sib identification is now being forgotten and the house or taravad name is being adopted. The Paniyataravad is not a segment of a sib, and is practically equivalent to a patrilineal extended joint family of three generations depth the only rule or valid prohibition seems to be the one against marrying close blood relatives of both the father and the mother" (A.Aiyyappan,1992).

The Paniyas have largely forgotten these classifications now. However, Singh K.S reported "exogamous lineages such as *Koyimouten, Mutettan, Nattilapadam, Padikan, Anjili, Parrier, Kakkatte, Vallatte, Manyankonden and Pappali*" (K.S.Singh,1994). "The Paniyar society is sub divided into numerous clans like *manjankodan, Pattiampan, Narikkodan, Chathankodan, Punangodan, Vazhawatoom, erumadan, nalliavampadan, cholappuram, manatodiyen, adumpattan, eranatan and choyimoolan*. These clans are generally named after a place. Children are born in their mother's clan. Clan exogamy is observed strictly and violation of this is tantamount to incest. They are bi local. If a women moves astray with a non Paniyan she is considered an offender involved in a serious crime. She is expelled for some years, after which she can submit a plea for pardon in front of an assembly of the hamlet people by touching the feet of the chemmi. She also has to pay a fine of Rs.10. The payment of the fine is known as *thettupaisekettal*. The Chemmi spends this amount for religious purposes" (Nair,2008). In the present situation these social organization structures have been diminished. Their organization patterns have changed and they follow some non tribal organization patterns. The young Paniya people do not familiarize with the old patterns.

"Nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit of the Paniya society. Both husband and wife share the burden of running the family. The husband is the head and the decision maker. Most of the families have dependents in their houses. In 20 percent of the huts, more than one conjugal family is housed. This results in

overcrowding. Each conjugal family maintains a separate hearth. There is no social stratification among the families of a hamlet. They share with one another their sorrows and happiness and even food during the lean period. Generally, the hamlet members are patrilineally related i.e. the men folk mostly belong to the same clan and the womenfolk belong to different clans of distant hamlets” ( Nair,2008).

### **3.4.9. Settlement**

“The Paniya settlement was known as *Padi*(settlement) and it consisted of many *Chalas*(huts) where individual families lived. Now nobody is using these terms and their settlements are commonly known as the Paniya colony, a term given by the state. During the feudal period and the early independent period, Paniyans huts were built on the fringes of their employer’s dry land or paddy fields and thus a settled way of life began” (E.Thurston,1909).

“The Paniyans, who dwell in settlements at the base of the Ghats, make fire by what is known as the Malay or sawing method. A piece of bamboo, about a foot in length, in which two nodes are included, is split longitudinal slit is made through about two-thirds of its length, which is stuffed with a piece of cotton cloth. It is then held firmly on the ground with its convex surface upwards and the cutting edge drawn, with gradually quickening sawing motion, rapidly to and from across it by two mebs, until the cloth is signed by the incandescent particles of wood in the groove cut by the sharp edge. The cloth is then blown into a blaze, and the tobacco or cooking fire can be lighted” (Menon,1996).

“The Paniyans settle down happily on estates, living in a settlement consisting of rows of huts and detached huts, single or double storied, built of bamboo and thatched. During the hot weather, in the unhealthy months which precede the advent of the south-west monsoon, they shift their quarters to live near streams, or in other cool, shady spots, returning to their head quarters when the rains set in” (Thurston, 1909). In the present situation, central government and state development programmes made many houses in their Tribal lives. At present, they are settled in the same area or in a different location in government built Paniya tribal colonies, in tiled houses with two or three rooms and a kitchen in the part of *LIFE Mission (Livelihood*

*Inclusion and Financial Empowerment*) of state Government and *Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY)* scheme of central Government.

### **3.4.10. Religion**

Paniya tribal people have only a crude idea about religion. They believe in devils of all sorts and sizes and profess to worshipping Hindu divinities. They had “only borrowed and adapted from their masters scraps of religious rites and a very superficial knowledge of the attributes of the Gods and Goddesses of folk Hinduism. They conceived of a great Creator God, *Patachavan*; the Sun was *Pakal Bhagavan* (god of the day) and the Moon *iravu Bhagavan* (God of the night). After these, there are thousands of Gods and Goddesses and millions of evil spirits, distributed among 17 worlds above ours and 7 below” (A.Aiyyappan,1992).

Paniyas’ traditional religion mainly comes under the category of animism and totemism. Even today there are people practicing this religion. “Many of them have adopted other religions of the surroundings namely Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. This is mainly because of the influence of their masters or '*Yasman*'. In the traditional religion of some places, their supreme God is known as '*IppimalaTeyya*'. In some other places they worship '*KattuBagavathi*' (God of the jungle) and their family deity is '*Guliyar*' or '*illateyya*'. No image of the god is erected in the shrine. They have a worship place in every settlement, every house has a small platform '*tina*' or '*kulithar*' believed to be the dwelling place of spirits. Besides this they also believe in a number of good and evil spirits. In order to please God and spirits, they practice various rites and rituals, hectic dances and festivals. Some trees are considered to be possessed by evil spirits. These trees are not to be touched or cut. They have priests appointed in every settlement shrines. He is called '*Nolambukaran*'” (Menon,1996).

The Paniyans worship animistic deities, of which the chief is kuli, whom they worship on a raised platform called *Kulitara*, by offering coconuts, but no blood. They further worship *KattuBhagavati*, or *Bhagavati* of the woods. “Shrines in her honour are found at most centres of the caste, and contain no image, but a box in which are kept the clothing and jewels presented to her by the devout and an annual ceremony lasting a week is held in her honour, at which the *komaran* and a kind of priest, called '*Nolambukaran*', take the chief parts. The former dress in the goddess’ clothing and the

divine afflatus descends upon him, and he prophesies both good and evil” (Nambiar,1961). The present time pentecosts have influenced their colonies and some tribes convert into pentecostal Christian groups.

#### **3.4.11. Marriage Customs**

“Monogamy appears to be the general rule among the Paniyans, no man is allowed to take unto himself as many wives as he can afford to support. The marriage ceremony is of a very simple nature. The ceremony is conducted by a PaniyanChemmi (a corruption of Janmi). A present of sixteen fanams (coins) and some new clothes is given by the bridegroom to the chemmi, who hands them over to the parents of the bride. A feast is prepared, at which the Paniyan women dance to the music of drum and pipe. Girls get married between the ages of 16 and 18 years and boys between 18 and 25 years. Mode of acquiring a mate is by negotiation. Marriage symbols among the Paniya are the *thali* and nose-ring. Bride-price (kanam) is payable both in cash and kind. It is known as *arupattinaalu*. The tali is tied around the neck of the bride by the female relations of the bridegroom, who also invest the bride with such crude jewelry as they may be able to afford. The bride prize has to be paid to her father by bridegroom. Widow marriage is allowed. It is customary among the Paniyas community that the husband has to give an annual subscription known as '*Thalapattom*' to his wife's parents on the '*Uchal*' (annual festival) day, failure of this can cause the bride's parents to call back their daughter” (Aiyappan,1992). “The chemmi seals the contract by pouring water over the head and feet of the young couple. Remarriage of widows is permitted. Adultery and other forms of vice are adjudicated on by a Panchayat (or council) of headmen, who settle disputes and decide on the fine or punishment to be inflicted on the guilty” (Thurston,1909).

“Divorce is permitted for either sex with social approval. Adultery, nonpayment of kanam after a specific period, non-payment of anjai, one pothi (bag) of paddy or Rs.20/- every year, incompatibilities of husband and wife, are some of the reasons for divorce. If the demand for divorce is from the husband's side, he has to give a new pair of clothes and half of the bride price to the wife and this is known as *silaikal* and the money paid is *silvana*. If the wife opts for divorce, then her parents are expected to pay back half the bride-price received. When the wife dies, the husband has to pay compensation to her father or her elder brother. After divorce, the

liability of the children is on the mother. Widow/ widower and divorcee remarriages are permissible” (Singh, 1994).

“At nearly every considerable Paniyan village there is a headman called Kuttan, who has been appointed by NayarJanmi to look after his interests, and he is responsible for the other inhabitants of the village. The investiture of the Kuttan with the powers of office is celebrated with a feast and dance, at which a bangle is presented to the kuttanas a badge of authority. Next in rank to the kuttan is the Mudali or head of the family, and they usually constitute the Panchayat. Both kuttan and Mudali are called Muppanmar or elders. The whole caste is sometimes loosely spoken of as Muppan. In case of proved adultery, a fine of sixteen fanams (the amount of the marriage fee), and a sum equal to the expenses of the wedding, including the present to the parents of the bribe, is the usual form of punishment” (Thurston,1909). In the present time, there are significant changes in the marriage customs and they do not follow the traditional patterns. However, marriages occur at a very young age.

#### **3.4.12. Health and Sanitation**

The important determinant of a community’s living status is the health of its members. Health determines the mortality rate of a group. The tribal people are not much concerned about their health in the initial stage of the disease. They seek medical treatment only in the last stage. Researchers observed that some of the Paniya houses appeared to be unclean. But many Paniya families give much care for neatness and cleanliness.

“They do not give any importance to their daily bath. They do not apply oil to their hair or comb it properly. Due to constant chewing, their teeth appear pink. It is ascertained that small-pox had taken a heavy toll on the Paniyans. They try to run away when the vaccinators visit their colonies. The attention they pay to persons laid up with small-pox is not adequate. They do not also segregate the patients and prevent the spread of the disease. In environmental sanitation, they are far backward. They do not know any local treatment or cures for common ailments” (Nambiar,1961). Presently some have taken to visiting Government dispensaries and Hospitals for treatment of fever and other serious diseases.

Majority of them stated that due to the keen shortage of water, they could not keep themselves neat and clean. They are living in their unhygienic living conditions leading to allergies and other diseases. Major diseases common among the tribals are fever, T.B, heart diseases, body pain etc. According to medical practitioners, it is mainly due to the bad drinking water. Water scarcity is one of the major problems faced by the Paniyans. Some people depend on public taps for their water requirement while others use tube wells and some of them have their own well. But it is found that the public taps are very far from their habitats. As a result they have to walk quite a long distance to fetch water. It is also seen that some tribals take water from small pond, where the bathing of domestic animals and washing dresses are also carried out. Government is aware of their situation and is trying to spread awareness by giving health awareness classes for promoting a clean environment which is very much essential for the well-being of their society. Government also introduced water facilities in each colony to give them fresh water.

Health and life expectancy are closely related to each other. High life expectancy is an important pointer of development. As the tribals live in unhygienic conditions, their expectancy is very low. Tribal people who have attained higher education are not ignorant about AIDS, vaccination and nutrition. The government authorities and NGOs initiated development programmes for these tribal people. One of the tribal health initiative programmes is *Oorumithrath* that is in each colony, one tribal person is in charge of taking the patients to the hospital. Another programme is *Biomithraat* the panchayath level; doctors visit colonies and give free medicine to the tribal people.

#### **3.4.13. Education**

Paniyas give very little importance to education. Most of them are not yet cognizant of the benefits of education and subsequent economic gains. Moreover, they believe that the educated children are reluctant to take up their traditional occupations. It is found that the problem of illiteracy is acute among the Paniya community. Most of the tribal people are illiterate. But rarely, their children are sent to school for higher education. A few Paniyas who had entered the government service are doing lower grade jobs. Though they show interest in mainstream politics to some extent, few of them rise up to responsible positions in political parties and

public offices. This low literacy is considered to be the root cause of their socio-economic backwardness. Adult literacy rate vary among the tribals. It is observed that they get beneficiaries of the literacy mission but now-a-days, the drop-out-rate is also high among them.

Research reveals that the main cause for this dropout is that when children come to school they are barely well-read in their own mother tongue. They struggle in school in the early stages itself and finally end up leaving the school. In order to rectify this issue, the government and NGOs have come up with a new method for tribal children's education. In Wayanad, Jesuit fathers run educational institutions where many tribal students study and for further studies they go abroad and get good jobs. The government has set up tribal schools and reservation seats in each school for tribal students, college and institutions for them and gives scholarship and free hostel facilities to promote tribal education. Most of the Paniya children utilized this situation to lead better lives. Researcher found in the field study that some children studied MBA, TTC and graduate courses and these students are very happy and their political conscious level is different. They react to the injustice of the political parties and the government and they use political participation on their own will.

#### **3.4.14. Leadership**

Good leadership is very essential for every society's advancement. Tribal development programmes are conducted by the tribal extension office and NGOs which are the two institutions to promote better living for the whole community. They are encouraging active and enthusiastic participation from all. Their role in the Panchayath Raj is very essential for tribal development and they also get greater chance for participation in the government activities. Tribal extension programmes are conducted with the help of the tribal promoters. The tribal promoters are the tribal representatives of the tribal colonies. Here, many of the times, the tribal representatives elected are women who by this election itself become tribal promoters. They are actually the link between the officers and the tribal people.

Panchayath community development programmes are successful through the full participation of the people and the encouragement of the tribal leadership. Panchayath Raj is considered as an agency which stands for soico-economic, political

development and the discovery of new tribal leaders. This opportunity is used by many tribal people. Now, there is more Paniya participation in the municipality as councilors and members. The political socialization process among the tribals since independence has led to the emergence of new leaders. Of late, a number of important tribal political leaders like C. K. Janu, P. Mathavan, K. Narayan, Chandran, Balan and Mini have come to the limelight

### **3.5. Development Experience of Paniya Tribes**

Tribal development projects introduced by various governments have aimed at providing infrastructural facilities and housing for the tribal populace. Educationally they are backward, compared to other tribal communities. The subsequent mass literacy campaigns in Kerala have succeeded in making many of them literate. Many educational facilities have been provided for Paniyas, especially hostel facilities, study materials, food products and scholarships. The researcher has observed in the field study that the youth pursuing their education in higher professional courses manage to get government and private sector jobs thereby raising their standard of living.

“The Social Welfare Department of the Government of Kerala has sanctioned a project to initiate collectives of Paniya Adivasi girls to empower, educate and support them to find sustainable livelihoods, develop individuality (identity), self respect and social capital. This program has been uniquely named as “Mottathikkootta” (which in their language means gathering of girls).The program was named by the tribal girls themselves” (Sathis Chandran).

In the housing area, central and state governments provide various schemes for building houses and health facilities. Pradhana Mantri Awas Yojana and Life Mission programmes initiated with the funds set apart for building houses and providing electricity facilities build houses with titled floors and beautiful terraces. Widows and old aged and disabled people get the funds through the development programmes of the government. Wayanad district initiative for the supply of bed for the scheduled tribes is part of the welfare programmes. Government provides a common well in each tribal colony. The new policy of the central government named *Angikaar*, helps

tribal people below the poverty line to get a gas connection and other necessary housing facilities for their upliftment.

*Ooru Mitra* and *Bio Mitra* facilities aim at addressing the health problems faced by the Paniya people in their settlements. As per *Ooru Mitra*, a certain person is selected to care for the patients in a colony and take them to the hospital. *Bio Mitra* programme ensures that a doctor regularly visits a colony and treats patients; especially the elder people and small children and they distribute free medicine for the protection of their health. The doctor conducts classes on hygiene for the tribal people. One of the schemes is *Jnani Janma Raksha programme* which provides cash for buying nutritious food for pregnant women.

The role of NGOs in the Paniya development initiative is very central to their development and welfare. The researcher visited the *Shreyas* and *Tudi* social service institutions run by Christian priests. These institutions conduct various programmes such as self awareness programmes, cultural programmes and provide employment and educational facilities. The main activities *Shreyas* has taken up relate to SHG formation and strengthening, formation and strengthening youth clubs, women empowerment programmes promotion of local leadership and creation of critical consciousness among tribes.

In the world of social media, Paniyas are using the smart phones and they know all the news about social and political events and development. At present there is a whats-app groups exclusively created by and for the Paniyas. It speeds up the flow of information on any issue, cementing their friendship and team spirit. The launch of the tribal channel 4.5 at the initiative of Radio Mattoli enables the Paniyas to hear the broadcast in their own language. It is also to be noted that Radio Mattoli has been successful in providing every tribal home with a radio.

### **3.6. Political Participation**

Paniyas in Wayanad belong to different political parties like the Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India and Bharatiya Janata Party. Indian National Congress and Communist Part of India are the dominant party among them. Paniyas do vote regularly and majority of them are aware that it is their right to vote.

In recent times, Paniya youths are becoming more interested in party politics and they come forward even to contest in elections. But only limited seats are reserved for the tribals to contest elections while the non-tribals do contest in larger number of seats. Though the Paniyas generally show less interest in contesting elections, a large number of them regularly attend Grama Sabha meetings. Paniya women are attracted to politics in all respects. It is observed that even the non-tribal women in these areas are reluctant to enter politics or take up leadership owing to their conservative outlook. But tribal women participated in local level administrative bodies like the Panchayat council, and the village council. In the SulthanBathery municipality, three Paniya people are the municipality members, they actively involved in politics and in the development of their community also.

Owing to the economic and social backwardness of tribals, the tribal leaders are not in a position to play an equal role in party politics with the non-tribal leaders who are politically more active. Moreover, with the breakdown of tribal solidarity, tribal leaders are forced to depend upon the non-tribal people and leaders for their political survival. The Adivasi communities in Kerala especially in Wayanad have been deprived, displaced and dispossessed of their cultural and traditional rights under the cover of development of the regions originally inhabited by them.

The detribalization and deprivation in respect of their right to life and livelihood constitute the violation of their human rights. To talk about rights of the tribal people, they are not aware of it much and didn't reach their goal. They are not bothered about the so called issue of human rights violation. The laws are there but the implementing authority has grossly failed to harvest any result. The services of the Non Governmental Organisations like Shreyas, Solidarity, Kanavu, and Thudi are laudable. The Government may effectively utilize their services simultaneously by giving adequate encouragement and assistance to boost them up. These organizations motivate the Paniya people in the political field and encourage their participation in the welfare meetings.

Tribals should be mentally trained first in order to accept all the changes for their advancement. The changes that have taken place among these tribals are a matter

of pride for our state. Even though, the economic programmes that we have introduced so far have failed to bring about major changes in the tribal scenario. But the tribals believe that these programmes have contributed much in achieving their goals. The Indian constitution too provided several provisions for the empowerment of the tribal masses of the country. The constitution aimed at uplifting and bringing to the fore, the hither to backward sections of the society including the tribals. The Kerala government, following their footsteps, took initiatives in launching several pro-tribal policies administration to bring about radical changes in the life of the tribal community in the state. Panchayat Raj bodies, which are genuine and effective democratic decentralized institutions, provide ample opportunities for a large number of rural people to take genuine and effective participation in the development and democratic decision making process under the control of the Tribal Extension Office conducted in each Paniya settlements of Oorukoottam. In these political meetings, all participate and raise their concerns and opinions.

Almost all the political parties in Kerala have their units in tribal areas. Though the tribals were not given high posts in party offices, to some extent they are recruited as party office holders. The parties give training and orientations to the tribal party members as well as the tribal masses. The main political parties have played a major role in the political socialization process of the tribal community in Kerala.

### **3.7. Conclusion**

An important fact to be pointed out is that, though the Paniya community is the largest adivasi community of the state and the district of Wayanad, they do not have proportionate representation in the local bodies, in political parties and in the government service. Moreover, the projects launched by the government for tribal rehabilitation have not provided many benefits to the Paniya community. This community almost entirely depends on agriculture labour for their livelihood. They are one of the most vulnerable sections among the tribal communities of Wayanad. They consider their culture as sacrosanct and they never compromise on its preservation. The tribal youth is quite ready now to absorb and interiorize the changes happening around them.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

The study on the political participation of the Paniya tribe is highly relevant as it is a dynamic process and different factors influence their participation. The Paniya tribe is unique in many aspects like geography, culture, polity, economy, language and religion. The current study is designed to investigate various dimensions of political participation of Paniya tribe. Political participation has emerged as a desired concomitant of development of their political knowledge and rational thinking capacity. Though political participation has taken place to a great extent in Kerala especially at Wayanad, there are also impediments in the process of political participation and political development.

The study widely looks into the vital aspects related to the factors influencing political participation, socio-economic factors, and agencies of political socialization, political activities and developmental aspects of the Paniya community in Wayanad district. The interest articulating and aggregating agencies of the political parties, various organizations and tribal promoters play crucial role in the political participation of Paniya segments. The family, peer groups, mass media, friends and non tribal people are the most effective factors of political participation.

#### **4.2 The Importance of the Study**

The rationale behind choosing Wayanad from 14 districts in Kerala is that the district itself is considered as home for Paniya tribes. The Paniya tribes in Wayanad is 69116 in number, with the highest population of these particular tribal community living in the hilly and forest areas of Western Ghats of Wayanad. History shows that they were the original inhabitants of the Wayanad region.

**Table 4.1**  
**Wayanad Paniya Population**

<b>Panchayaths/Municipalities</b>	<b>Paniya population</b>	<b>Families</b>
Manthavady Municipality	2294	508
Vellamunda	3938	844
Thirunelli	1784	382
Thodarnad	2217	500
Edvaka	2995	627
Thavinjal	2648	597
Kottathara	2424	554
Vengappalli	2233	480
Vythiri	568	132
Muttill	3756	919
Pozuthane	2383	542
Thariyodu	1331	323
Padinjarathara	2259	466
Meppadi	1323	301
Moopinadu	931	234
Kalpetta Municipality	2266	543
SulthanBathery Municipality	3397	902
Meenangadi	2529	587
Nenmeni	4130	1020
Amblavayal	2859	702
Noolpuza	4558	1058
Panamaram	5492	1221
Poothadi	3453	838
Mullenkolli	849	174
Pulppalli	3429	748
Kaniyambatta	3070	674
<b>Total</b>	<b>69116</b>	<b>15876</b>

(Source: The basic information of scheduled tribes-KILA-2008)

### 4.3. Methodology and Sample Design

This chapter deals with the analysis of the data collected from the survey and resultant findings. Political participation of the Paniya tribe is influenced by several factors such as political, socio-economic, cultural and developmental. In order to obtain maximum information and to include all typical cases the respondents were selected on the basis of simple random sampling method. Maximum care has been taken in selecting the respondents impartially so that they form a true representative sample of entire population. The Paniya population in Wayanad district constituted 69116 members, as per the decadal census 2011. The sample population selected for the study stands at 650. The Paniya respondents numbered 357 males and 293 females residing in 23 panchayaths and 3 municipalities. From these areas 650 respondents from the age group of 18 and above were selected and the necessary information was collected through a scheduled interview and questionnaire method.

### 4.4. Sample Size Determination

Based on the data investigation, it is found that, in Kerala, there are total of 69116 paniya tribes. By applying the formula below (Krejcie and Morgan- in an article titled ‘Determining sample size for research activities’), sample size of the study derived was 382 respondents.

$$n = \frac{X^2 * N * P * (1-P)}{(ME^2 * (N-1)) + (X^2 * P * (1-P))}$$

Where, n= Required sample size

$X^2$ = Chi-square for the desired confidence level at 5 degree of freedom

N= Population Size

P= Population Proportion (0.50)

ME= Desired Margin of Error (Expressed as proportion)

The researcher fixed 650 respondents as sample size, which is higher than the required sample size. The higher sample size provides more accurate data.

#### **4.5. Tools Used**

The researcher finalized the topic after carrying out a pilot study among 65 Paniya respondents to ensure the effectiveness and reliability of the questionnaire. After the pilot study and pre-texting, certain modifications were made in the questionnaire.

For the present study, the researcher developed a questionnaire consisting of 47 questions spread across five sections. It was validated by few experts in the field. The questions were closed end type. The data were collected through interviews and from the answers furnished by the respondents to the questionnaire distributed among them. The researcher has used the descriptive- survey method for the present study. The collected primary data have been analyzed and tabulated by using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) to rationalize its credibility and objectivity. Statistical tests were employed to analyze the data.

#### **4.6. Data Analysis Sections**

In this chapter the results of the data analysis are presented. The data were collected and then processed in response to the problems posed in chapter one of this thesis. To evaluate the study, the researcher classified the data analysis of the study into five sections.

Section I deals with demographic profile of the respondents. For this, frequency, mean and standard deviations were used. Section II deals with the educational and social aspects of the respondents. For this, the researcher employed frequency, mean, standard deviations, per cent and one sample t test. Section III of the study deals with political aspects of the respondents. In order to do this, the researcher used frequency, mean, standard deviations, per cent and one sample t test.

Section IV of the study deals with developmental aspects. For this, the researcher used frequency, mean, standard deviations, per cents and one sample t test. The relationship of the hypotheses is tested through chi-square test in this analysis. Finally, section V deals with degree of satisfaction. For this, the researcher employed exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, convergent validity and one way ANOVA.

#### 4.6.1. Section I: Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Section I of the study deals with demographic profile of the respondents. The researcher mainly used six demographic details, i.e., block, panchayath, age, gender, monthly income and educational qualification.

##### 4.6.1.1. Block of the Respondents

Wayanad district consists of four main blocks. The study includes four blocks for study.

**Table - 4. 2**  
**Block of the Respondents**

<b>Block of the respondents</b>	<b>Count</b>
<b>Block 1 (Manathavady)</b>	145
<b>Block 2 (Kalpetta)</b>	185
<b>Block 3 (SulthanBathery)</b>	170
<b>Block 4 (Panamaram)</b>	150
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen from the table 4.2, majority of the respondents (n=185) were from block 2 Kalpetta followed by block 3 SulthanBathery (n=170) and block 4 Panamaram (n=150). Kalpetta has the highest number because it includes the 9 panchayaths and one municipality. Whereas, block 1 Manathavady (n=145) has the least number of respondents and block contains only five panchayaths.

##### 4.6.1.2. Panchayath of the Respondents

Table 4.3 shown below presents the panchayath wise representation of respondents. The researcher chooses twenty three panchayaths and three municipalities which constitute the whole district of Wayanad for study. Kalpetta, SulthanBathery and Manthavady are the three municipalities of Wayanad district.

**Table 4.3**  
**Panchayath of the Respondents**

<b>Panchayath of the respondents</b>	<b>Count</b>
Municipality 1 (Kalpetta)	20
Municipality 2 (SulthanBathery)	35
Municipality 3(Manthavady)	25
Panchayat 1( Vellamunda)	30
Panchayat 2(Thirunelli)	20
Panchayat 3(Thodrnad)	25
Panchayat 4(Edvka)	25
Panchayat 5(Thavinjal)	25
Panchayat 6(Kottathara)	25
Panchayat 7(Vengapalli)	20
Panchayat 8(Vythiri)	10
Panchayat 9(Muttill)	25
Panchayat 10(Puzthana)	20
Panchayat 11( Thariyodu)	15
Panchayat 12(Padinjarathara)	20
Panchayat 13(Meppadi)	15
Panchayat 14(Moopendu)	10
Panchayat 15(Meenangadi)	30
Panchayat 16(Nenmeni)	40
Panchayat 17(Ambalvayal)	30
Panchayat 18(Noolpuza)	35
Panchayat 19(Panamaram)	40
Panchayat 20(Poothadi)	30
Panchayat 21(Mullenkolli)	20
Panchayat 22(Pulppalli)	30
Panchayat 23(Kanyambatta)	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.3, it is identified that the majority of respondents are from Nenmeni panchayath (n=40) and Panamaram panchayath (n=40). While the least number of respondents are from Moopendu (n=10) and Vythiri Panchayaths.

#### 4.6.1.3. Age and Gender of the Respondents

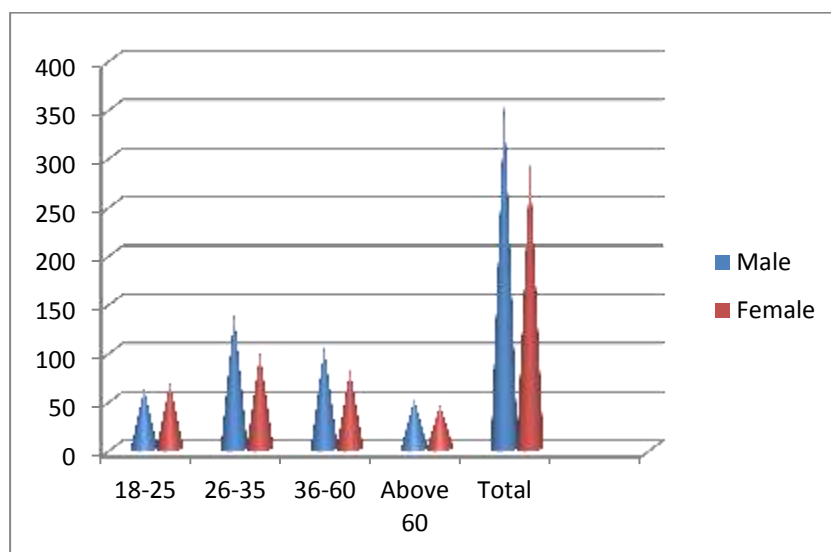
The researcher used two gender groups and four age groups. Age included four classes, i.e, '18-25 years', '26-35 years', '36-60 years' and 'above 60 years'.

**Table-4.4**

**Age and Gender of the Respondents**

Age of the respondents	Gender of the respondents	
	Male	Female
<b>18-25</b>	62	68
<b>26-35</b>	139	99
<b>36-60</b>	105	81
<b>Above 60</b>	51	45
<b>Total</b>	357	293

(Source: primary data)



**Figure 4.1. Age and Gender of the Respondents**

As seen from the table 4.4, majority of the respondents (139 male and 99 female) are from '26-35' age group followed by '36-60' (105 male and 81 female). 'Above 60' age group (51 male and 45 female) has the least number of respondents. As far as the genders are concerned, majority of the respondents are male (n=357) followed by female (n=293). The young category (18-25 age groups) consists of 62 male and 68 female.

#### 4.6.1.4. Own Property

As observed from table 4.5, among the respondents 124 male and 110 female have own property.

**Table 4.5**

#### **Own Property**

		Gender of the respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
<b>Have any property</b>	<b>No</b>	233	183	416
	<b>Yes</b>	124	110	234
	<b>Total</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>650</b>
<b>If yes,</b>	<b>Below 10cent</b>	65	71	136
	<b>20-50 cent</b>	36	24	60
	<b>50cent - 1 acre</b>	23	15	38
	<b>Above 1 acre</b>	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>234</b>

(Source-Primary data)

Among the total respondents 65 male and 71 female respondents have property ranges below 10 cent. 36 male and 24 female respondents have property '20-50 cents'. 23 male and 15 female respondents have property ranges '50 cents -1 acre'. No respondents own property above 1 acre. 416 respondents do not have their own property.

#### 4.6.1.5. Monthly Income

The study classified the monthly income of the respondents into four categories, i.e, below Rupees 1000, 1000-2000, 2001-5000 and above 5000. Table 4.6 given below shows the details of monthly income of the respondents.

**Table 4.6**

#### Monthly Income

Monthly Income	Gender of the respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
<b>Below 1000</b>	12	15	27
<b>1000-2000</b>	92	107	199
<b>2001-5000</b>	229	157	386
<b>Above 5000</b>	24	14	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>650</b>

(Source: Primary Data)

As inferred from table 4.6, majority of the respondents i.e., 386 respondents (male 229 and female 157) have monthly income between 2001 and 5000. 199 respondents (92 male and 107 female) have monthly income between 1000 and 2000. Respondents of 24 male and 14 female have monthly income above 5000.

#### 4.6.2. Section II: Educational and Social Aspects

Section II of the analysis deals with educational and social aspects of the respondents. It includes educational qualification, marital status, occupation, news paper reading, watching television, program type, usage of mobile phone and sound media.

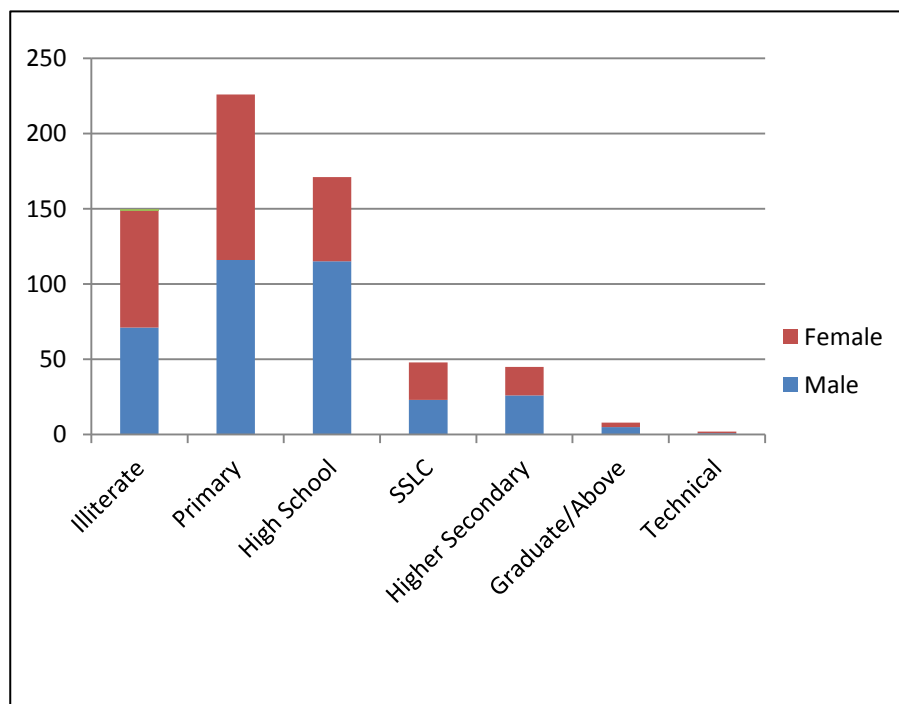
##### 4.6.2.1. Educational Qualification:

The study categorizes the educational qualification of the respondents into seven groups, i.e, illiterate, primary school, high school, SSLC, higher secondary, graduate/ above, technical.

**Table 4.7**  
**Educational Qualification**

Educational Qualification	Gender of the respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	71	79	150
Primary school	116	110	226
High School	115	56	171
SSLC	23	25	48
Higher Secondary	26	19	45
Graduate/Above	5	3	8
Technical	1	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>650</b>

(Source: Primary Data)



**Figure 4.2 Educational Qualification**

From the table 4.7, it is inferred that majority of the respondents, 116 male and 110 female have primary education (n=226). 171 respondents (male 115 and 56 female) have high school education, 48 respondents (male 23 and female 25) have completed SSLC education, 45 respondents (male 26 and female 19) have higher secondary education, 8 respondents (male 5 and female 3) have graduation or above and 2 have technical education. 150 respondents (71 male and 79 female) designated themselves as illiterate.

#### 4.6.2.2. Marital Status

The study identifies four marital statuses of the respondents, i.e, married, unmarried, widow and widower.

**Table 4.8**  
**Marital Status**

<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Respondents</b>
<b>Married</b>	540
<b>Unmarried</b>	63
<b>Widow</b>	30
<b>Widower</b>	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>

(Source –Primary Data)

From the table 4.8, majority of the respondents are married (n=540). There are 63 unmarried respondents and 30 widows. 17 respondents are widowers.

#### 4.6.2.3 Occupation

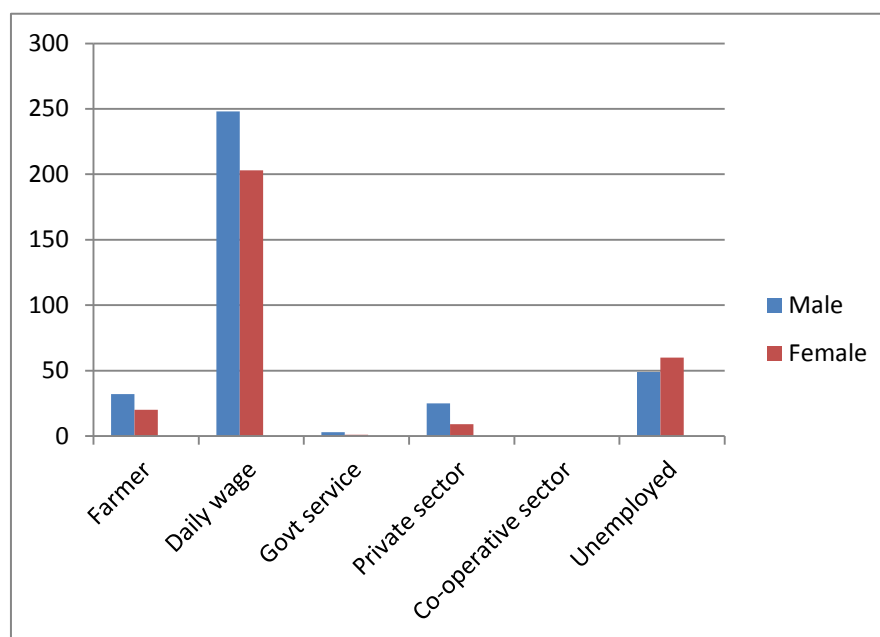
The table shown below shows the details of occupation and gender of the respondents. The researcher classified six occupation groups, i.e, farmer, daily wages, government service, private sector, cooperative sector and unemployed.

**Table 4.9**

**Occupation**

Occupation	Gender of the respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
Farmer	32	20	52
Daily wage	248	203	451
Govt service	3	1	4
Private sector	25	9	34
Co-operative sector	0	0	0
Unemployed	49	60	109
Total	357	293	650

(Source: Primary Data)



**Figure 4.3 -Occupation**

As inferred from the table 4.9, majority of the respondents are daily wage workers (n=451) which is followed by farming (n=52), private sector (n=34), and government service (n=4). 109 respondents designated themselves as unemployed.

#### 4.6.2.4 Newspaper Reading Daily

The researcher surveyed if they they read news paper daily or not. The table provided below shows the details whether the respondents read news paper daily or not.

**Table 4.10**

#### **Newspaper Reading Daily**

<b>Newspaper Reading Daily</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	164	25.2
<b>No</b>	486	74.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source- primary data)

From the table 4.10, it is found that 164 respondents read newspaper daily (25.2%) while, 486 respondents do not read newspaper daily (74.8%).

#### 4.6.2.5-Watching Television

The respondents were enquired if they watch television programme or not. The table 4.11 show below provides the details of the same.

**Table 4.11**

#### **Watching Television**

<b>Watching television</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	530	81.5
<b>No</b>	120	18.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.11, it observed that vast majority of respondents watch television programmes frequently (n=530, 81.5%). 18.5 per cent of the respondents have no facility to watch television (n=120).

#### 4.6.2.6-Programme Type

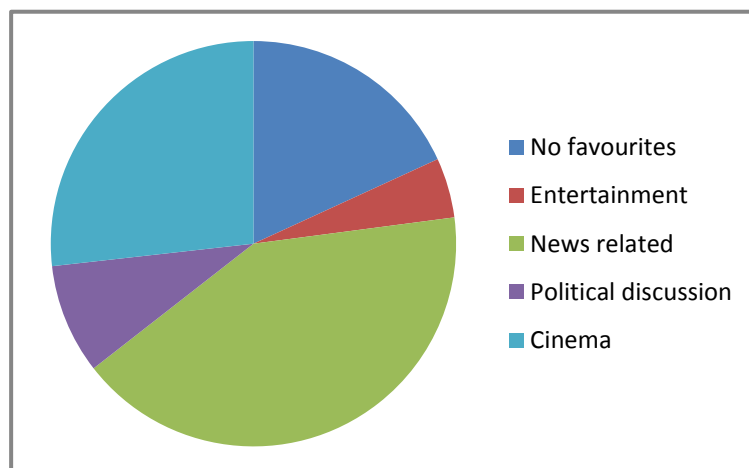
In this study, the researcher investigated about the type of program followed by the respondents. The table 4.12 shown below explains the details of the same.

**Table 4.12**

**Programme Type**

<b>Programme type</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>No favourite</b>	118	18.1
<b>Entertainment</b>	31	4.8
<b>News related</b>	270	41.5
<b>Political discussion</b>	57	8.8
<b>Cinema</b>	174	26.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source Primary Data)



**Figure 4.4 -Programme Type**

From the table 4.12, it is inferred that the majority of the respondents (41.5%) watch news related programs which is followed by cinema (26.8%), political discussions (8.8%) and entertainment (4.8%). 118 respondents (18.2%) have no favorite programmes.

#### 4.6.2.7-Mobile Phone

The table provided below explains the details on the usage of mobile phones. The respondents were asked whether they use mobile phone or not.

**Table 4.13**  
**Mobile Phone**

<b>Mobile phone</b>		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Yes</b>	545	83.8
	<b>No</b>	105	16.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

As seen from the table 4.13, 83.8 per cent (n=545) of the respondents have mobile phones whereas, 16.2 per cent (n= 105) of the respondents do not have mobile phones.

#### 4.6.2.8- Social Media

The table 4.14 shown below provides the details on the usage of social media by the respondents.

**Table 4.14**  
**Social Media**

<b>Social media</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	361	55.54
<b>No</b>	289	44.46
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

As seen from the table 4.14, 361 respondents (55.54%) use social media applications and 289 respondents (44.46%) do not use such applications.

### **4.6.3. Section III: Political Aspects**

Section III of the analysis deals with political aspects of the respondents. It includes political party membership, sources of political information, political ideology, voting etc...

#### **4.6.3.1. Member of Political Party**

The researcher asked the respondents whether they have membership in any political party or not. The table provided below gives the details of their party membership.

**Table 4.15**  
**Member of Political Party**

<b>Member of political party</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	420	64.6
<b>No</b>	230	35.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.15, it is observed that the vast majority of the 420 respondents are the members of political party (64.6%). 230 respondents (35.4%) do not have membership in any political party.

#### **4.6.3.2. Level of Party Affiliation**

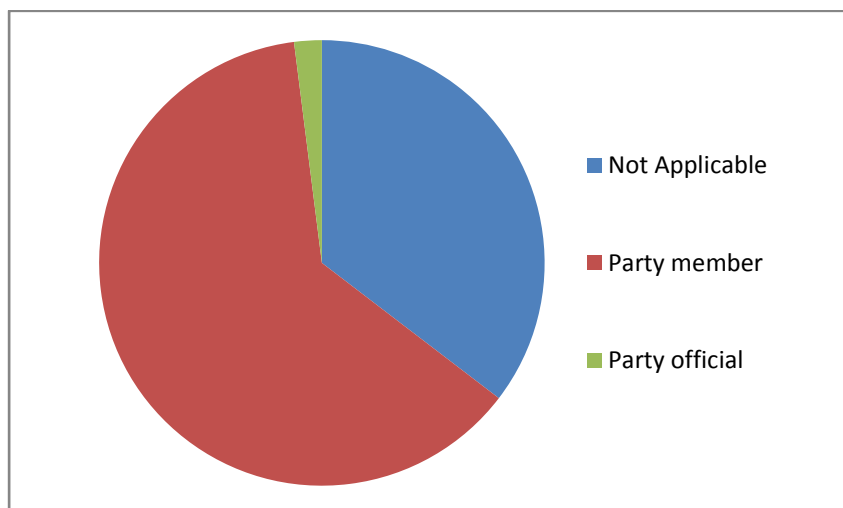
The table 4.16 shown provides the details of the respondent's level of party affiliation.

**Table 4.16**

**Level of Party Affiliation**

<b>Level of Party affiliation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Not Applicable</b>	230	35.4
<b>Party member</b>	407	62.6
<b>Party official</b>	13	2.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.5-Level of Party Affiliation**

As shown in the table above 4.16, 230 respondents (35.4%) do not have membership in political party, 407 respondents (62.6%) are just members and 13 respondents (2%) are party officials.

**4.6.3.3. Satisfaction of Actions of Political Party**

The respondents were asked whether they are satisfied with the actions of political party or not. For this, the researcher used 2 point scale, where 1 indicates yes and 2 indicate no.

**Table 4.17**  
**Satisfaction of Actions of Political Party**

<b>Satisfaction of actions of political party</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	572	88.0
<b>No</b>	78	12.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.17, 88 per cent of the respondents (n=572) are satisfied with the activities of political parties and 12 per cent of the respondents (n= 78) are not satisfied with the activities of political parties.

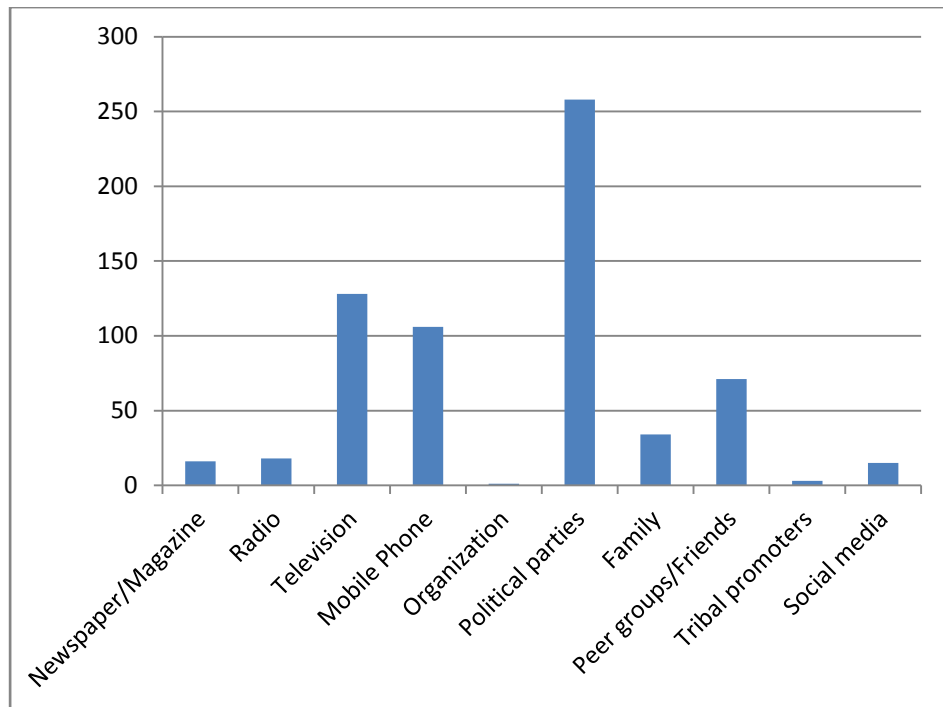
#### **4.6.3.4. Sources of Political Information**

Table 4.18 reveals the sources of political information of the respondents. The researcher identified ten major sources of information.

**Table 4.18**  
**Sources of Political Information**

<b>Sources of political information</b>		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Newspaper/Magazine</b>	16	2.5
	<b>Radio</b>	18	2.8
	<b>Television</b>	128	19.6
	<b>Mobile Phone</b>	106	16.3
	<b>Organization</b>	1	.2
	<b>Political parties</b>	258	39.7
	<b>Family</b>	34	5.2
	<b>Peer groups/Friends</b>	71	10.9
	<b>Tribal promoters</b>	3	.5
	<b>Social media</b>	15	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.6-Sources of Political Information**

The above table 4.18 shows the sources of information. As referred from the table, political parties (39.7%) itself is the major source of political information which is followed by television (19.6%), mobile phone (16.3%), peer groups/ friends (10.9%) and family (5.2%). Organization (.2%) becomes the least important source of information.

#### **4.6.3.5. Political Ideology Followed by the Family**

Table 4.19 shown below explains the political ideology followed by respondents' family.

**Table 4.19**  
**Family Follows any Political Ideology**

<b>Political ideology</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	577	88.8
<b>No</b>	73	11.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

As given in table 4.19, 88.8 per cent of the respondents' family have their own political ideology. While, 11.2 per cent of the respondents opined that they do not have any political ideology.

#### **4.6.3.6. Satisfaction of Paniya Tribes in their Community Representation**

Table 4.20 shown below explains the satisfaction of the Paniyas in their community representation.

**Table 4.20**  
**Satisfaction of Paniyas in their Community Representation**

<b>Satisfaction on community representation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>583</b>	<b>89.7</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>10.3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

As inferred from the table 4.20, 89.7 per cent of the respondents opined that the Paniya community is satisfied in their community representation. Whereas, 10.3 per cent of the respondents opined that Paniya community are not satisfied in their community representation.

#### **4.6.3.7. Cultural Taboos**

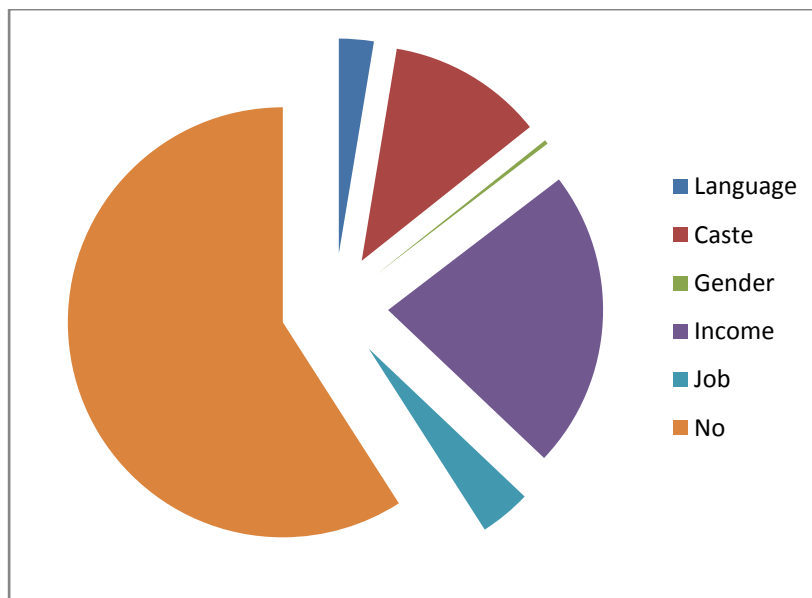
Table 4.21 reveals the cultural taboos restriction on political participation of the respondents. The researcher identified five main cultural taboos.

**Table 4.21**

**Cultural Taboos Restriction on Participation**

<b>Cultural Taboos</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Language</b>	17	2.6
<b>Caste</b>	76	11.7
<b>Gender</b>	2	.3
<b>Income</b>	146	22.5
<b>Job</b>	25	3.8
<b>No comment</b>	384	59.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.7-Cultural Taboos**

Among the 650 respondents, 384 respondents (59.1%) marked no comment. 17 respondents (2.6%) opined language, 76 respondents (11.7%) suggested caste, 2 respondents (.3%) opined gender, 146 respondents (22.5%) agreed income and 25 respondents (3.8%) suggested job.

**4.6.3.8. Member of any Organization**

The respondents were asked whether they are members of any organization or not. The table 4.22 shown below provides the details of the same.

**Table 4.22**  
**Member of any Organization**

<b>Member of Organization</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	359	55.2
<b>No</b>	291	44.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)

From the data collected from the respondents, it is identified that 359 respondents (55.2%) have membership in some organisations and 291 respondents (44.8%) have membership in no organisations.

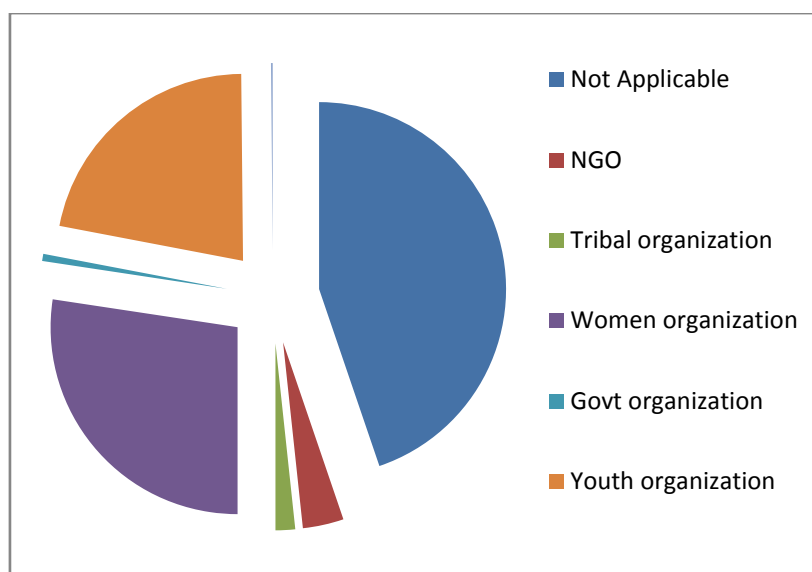
#### **4.6.3.9. Nature of the Organization**

The table below shows the details of the nature of organization of the respondents. The researcher classified six main organization groups, i.e, NGO, Tribal, women, Government, Youth and Religious organization. 291 respondents don't have membership in any organization.

**Table 4.23**  
**Nature of the Organization**

<b>Organizations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Not Applicable</b>	291	44.6
<b>NGO</b>	23	3.5
<b>Tribal organization</b>	11	1.7
<b>Women organization</b>	178	27.6
<b>Govt organization</b>	4	.6
<b>Youth organization</b>	142	21.8
<b>Religious organization</b>	1	.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.8-Nature of the Organization**

Among the aforesaid 359 respondents, 23 respondents(3.5%) are the members of NGO, 11 respondents(1.7%) are the members of tribal organization, 178 respondents (27.6%) joined woman organizations, 4 respondents (.6%) work with government organizations, 142 with youth organizations (21.8%) and 1 respondent (.2%) joined religious organization.

#### **4.6.3.10. Benefit Received from Various Organizations**

Table 4.6.3.10 provided below explains the details of benefits from various organisations received by the respondents.

**Table 4.24**

#### **Benefits from Political Organization**

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Tribal Organization</b>	10	1.5
<b>NGO</b>	10	1.5
<b>Women organization</b>	28	4.4
<b>Political organization</b>	602	92.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source: Primary Data)

From the table 4.24, 602 respondents received benefits from political organization. It constitutes 602 respondents received benefits from political organization, 28 respondents received benefits from women organization, 10 from NGO and the remaining 10 respondents from tribal organizations.

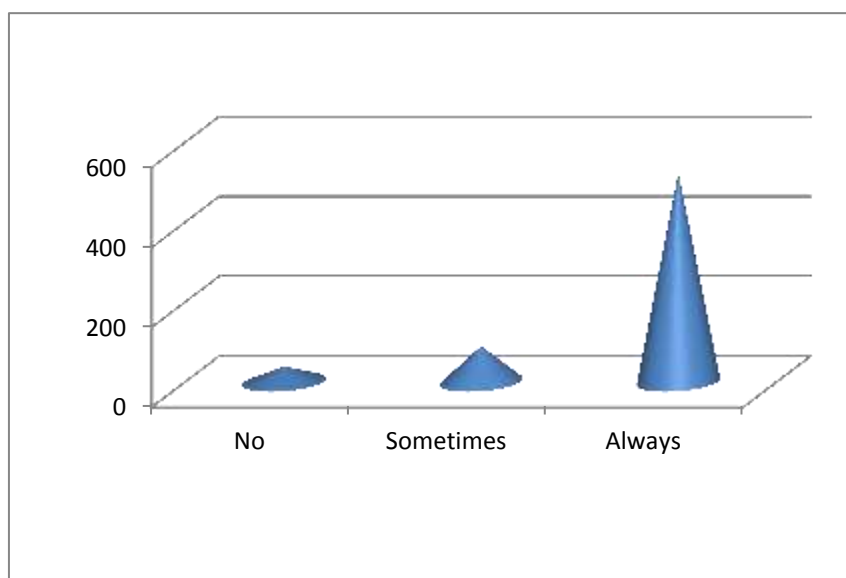
#### 4.6.3.11- Participation in Oorukoottam

In order to assess the participation of respondents in Oorukoottam, the study used three point Likert's scale, where 1 indicates no, 2 indicates sometimes and 3 indicates always.

**Table 4.25**  
**Participation in Oorukoottam**

Frequency	Frequency	Percent
No	38	5.8
Sometimes	89	13.7
Always	523	80.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.9-Participation in Oorukoottam**

From the table 4.24, 38 respondents (5.8%) marked no and 89 respondents (13.7%) marked sometimes. Vast majority of respondents (80.5 per cents) opined always option.

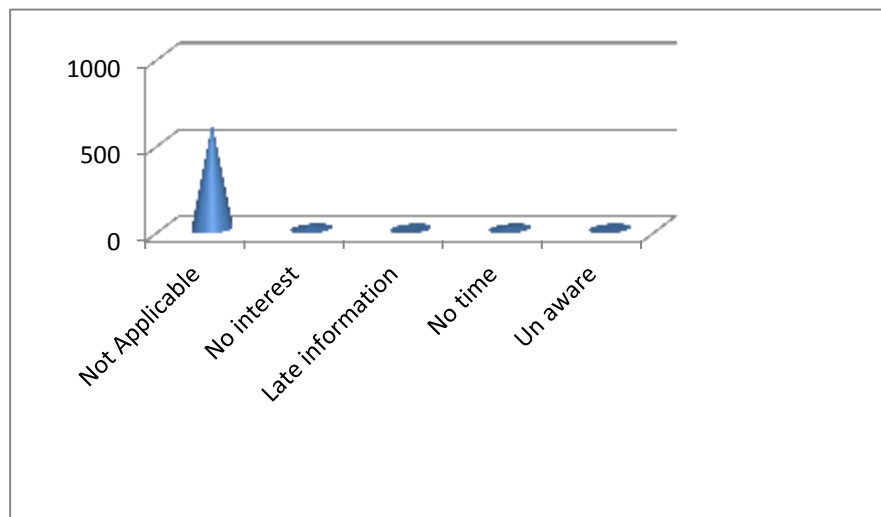
#### 4.6.3.12. Reasons for Non Participation in Oorukoottam

The table 4.26 shown below is the gives the respondent's reasons for not participating in the Oorukoottam.

**Table 4.26**  
**Reasons for Non Participation in Oorukoottam**

If not, State reasons for Non Participation?		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Applicable	612	94.2	94.2	94.2
	No interest	18	2.8	2.7	96.8
	Late information	1	.2	.2	97.1
	No time	15	2.3	2.3	99.4
	Unaware	4	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	650	100.0	100.0	

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.10- Reasons for Non Participation in Oorukoottam**

Among the 650 respondents, 612 respondents (94.2%) made no comments on why they do not attend Oorukoottam. 18 respondents (2.7%) opined that they are not attending Oorukoottam just because they are not interested. 15 respondents (2.3 %) of the respondents opined that they have no time to attend Oorukoottam. 4 respondents (.6%) designated themselves as unaware. One respondent opined that he does not attending Oorukoottam because of late information.

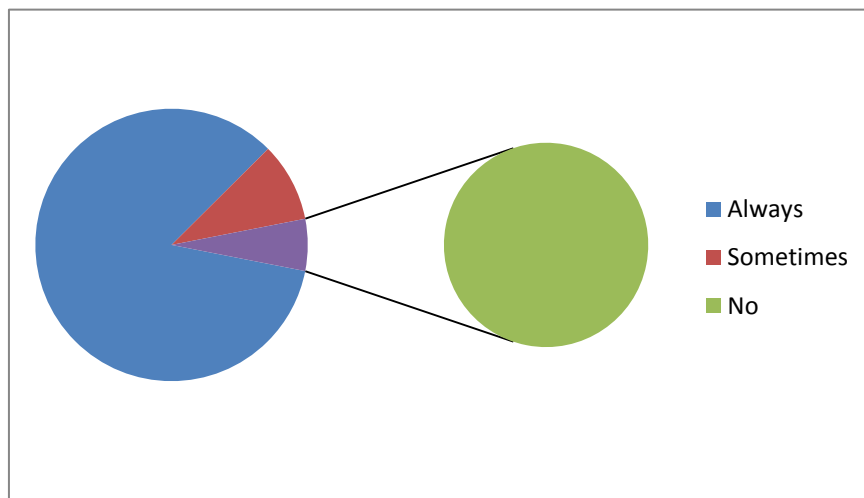
#### 4.6.3.13. Participation in Grama Sabha Meeting

In order to assess the participation of respondents in Grama sabha meeting, the study used three point Likert's scale, where 1 indicates no, 2 indicates sometimes and 3 indicates always.

**Table 4.27**  
**Participation in Grama Sabha Meeting**

Participation in Grama Sabha Meeting		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Always	549	84.4
	Sometimes	61	9.4
	No comment	40	6.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.11. Participation in Grama Sabha Meeting**

From the table 4.27, 40 respondents (6.2%) marked no comment and 61 respondents (9.4%) marked sometimes. Vast majority of 549 respondents (84.4%) opined always option.

#### 4.6.3.14- Reasons for Non Participation in Grama Sabha

Table 4.28 presented below discusses the respondents reasons for not participating in the Grama sabha meeting. Researcher classified the main reasons as no interest, late information, no time and unaware.

**Table 4.28**  
**Reasons for Non Participation in Grama Sabha**

Reasons for non participation in Grama Sabha		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Not Applicable</b>	610	93.8	93.8	93.8
	<b>No interest</b>	16	2.5	2.5	96.3
	<b>Late information</b>	5	.8	.8	97.1
	<b>No time</b>	15	2.3	2.3	99.4
	<b>Un aware</b>	4	.6	.6	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source: Primary Data)

From the table 4.28, it is inferred that the lack of interest is the main reason for the respondents (2.5%) not to attend gramasabha meeting which is followed by no time (2.3%), late information (.8%) and unawareness (.6%).

#### 4.6.3.15. Voting Rights

The table 4.29 shows whether the respondents are aware of their voting right or not.

**Table 4.29**

**Voting Rights**

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>yes</b>	634	97.5	97.5	97.5
	<b>no</b>	16	2.5	2.5	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source: Primary Data)

From the data collected from the respondents, it is observed that only 2.5 per cents of the respondents do not cast their votes. A vast majority of respondents (97.5%) opined that they do vote.

**4.6.3.16. Polling Booth Station**

The table below analyse the respondent’s knowledge about the polling booth station, whether it is nearby or not.

**Table 4.30**

**Polling Booth Station**

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>yes</b>	645	99.2	99.2	99.2
	<b>no</b>	5	.8	.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source: Primary Data)

As inferred from the table 4.30, 99.2 per cent of the respondents have nearby polling booth station. Whereas, only 0.8 per cent of the respondents lack nearby polling booth stations.

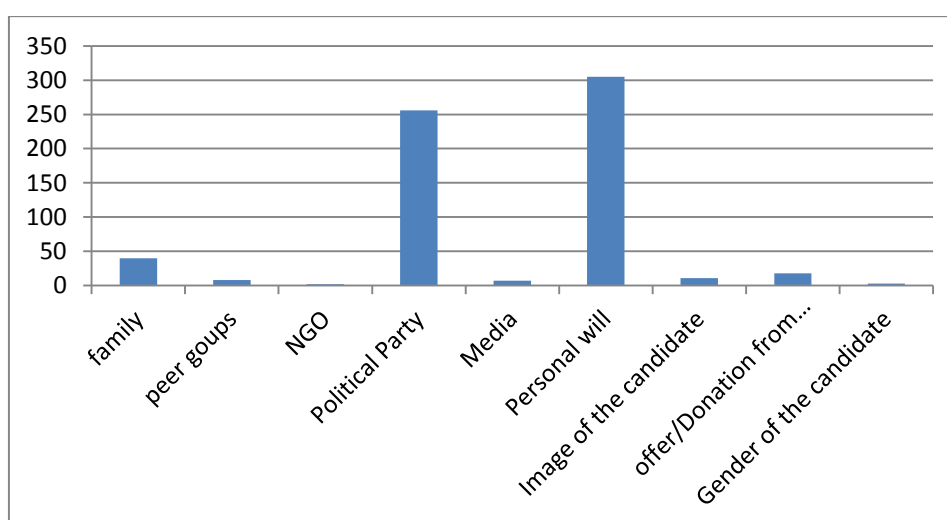
#### 4.6.3.17. Main Factors Which Influence Voting

The table 4.31 shown below provides the details of main factors that influence the respondents' voting power. The researcher classified it into nine groups, i.e., family, peer groups, NGOs, political party, media, personal will, image of the candidate, offer/ donation from political party and gender of the candidate.

**Table 4.31**  
**Main Factors Which Influence Voting**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Family	40	6.2	6.2	6.2
	peer groups	8	1.2	1.2	7.4
	NGO	2	.3	.3	7.7
	Political Party	256	39.4	39.4	47.1
	Media	7	1.1	1.1	48.2
	Personal will	305	46.8	46.8	95.1
	Image of the candidate	11	1.7	1.7	96.8
	offer/Donation from political party	18	2.8	2.8	99.5
	Gender of the candidate	3	.5	.5	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.12-Main Factors Which Influence Voting**

From the information provided in table 4.31, it is identified that personal will (46.8%) is the most influential factor for voting. Political party (39.4%) placed second, family (6.2%) placed third and offer placed (2.8%) fourth. NGO (.3%) positioned as the least influential factor for voting.

#### 4.6.3.18.Loksabha Election

The respondents were asked whether they used their voting power in the last Loksabha election or not. The table 4.32 shown below provides the details of the same.

**Table 4.32**  
**Loksabha Election**

<b>Last Loksabha election</b>		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Yes</b>	641	98.6	98.6	98.6
	<b>No</b>	9	1.4	1.4	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source: Primary Data)

The table 4.32 shows that in the latest Loksabha election, 98.6 per cent of the respondents casted their votes and 1.4 per cent of the respondents did not cast their votes.

#### 4.6.3.19. Criteria for the Selection of Candidate

Table 4.33 conveys the respondents' criteria for the selection of candidate. Researcher identified that the main criteria are the candidate's charisma, educational qualifications, party activities and tribal activities. The details are given below.

**Table 4.33**

**Criteria for the Selection of Candidate**

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Charisma</b>	112	17.2	17.2	17.2
	<b>Qualification</b>	10	1.5	1.5	18.8
	<b>Party activities</b>	294	45.3	45.2	64.0
	<b>Tribal activities</b>	234	36.0	36.0	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source: Primary Data)

From the information provided in the table 4.33, majority of the respondents (45.3%) select their candidates on the basis of political party. It accounts 294 counts. Tribal activities (36%) placed second position, charisma (17.2%) at the third and qualification (1.5%) positioned at the fourth.

**4.6.4. Section IV: Developmental Aspects**

Section IV of the analysis deals with developmental aspects of the respondents. It includes details of bank accounts, information regarding developmental programs, financial aid from the government, agency support developmental schemes etc.

**4.6.4.1. Mention the ID Proof They Have**

The respondents were asked whether they have the following ID proof or not. The table shown below explains the details of various ID proofs acquired by the respondents.

**Table 4.34**

**Mention the ID Proofs They Have**

<b>ID Proof</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
Ration Card	649	1	<b>650</b>
Aadhar Card	650	0	<b>650</b>
Voter ID	650	0	<b>650</b>
Driving License	18	632	<b>650</b>
Pan Card	17	633	<b>650</b>

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen in the information provided by the table 4.34, all the respondents have both Aadhar card and voters ID card. 649 respondents have ration card. Majority of the respondents have no driving license or pan card. 18 and 17 respondents respectively have driving license and pan card.

**4.6.4.2 Bank Account Holders**

The respondents were asked whether they have bank account or not. The table shown below explains the details of bank accounts by the respondents.

**Table 4.35- Bank Account Holders**

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Yes</b>	631	97.1	97.1	97.1
	<b>no</b>	19	2.9	2.9	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source-Primary Data)

As seen from the table 4.35, 97.1 per cent of the respondents opined that they have bank accounts whereas, 2.9 percent of the respondents opined that they have no bank accounts.

#### 4.6.4.3. Information Regarding Developmental Programmes

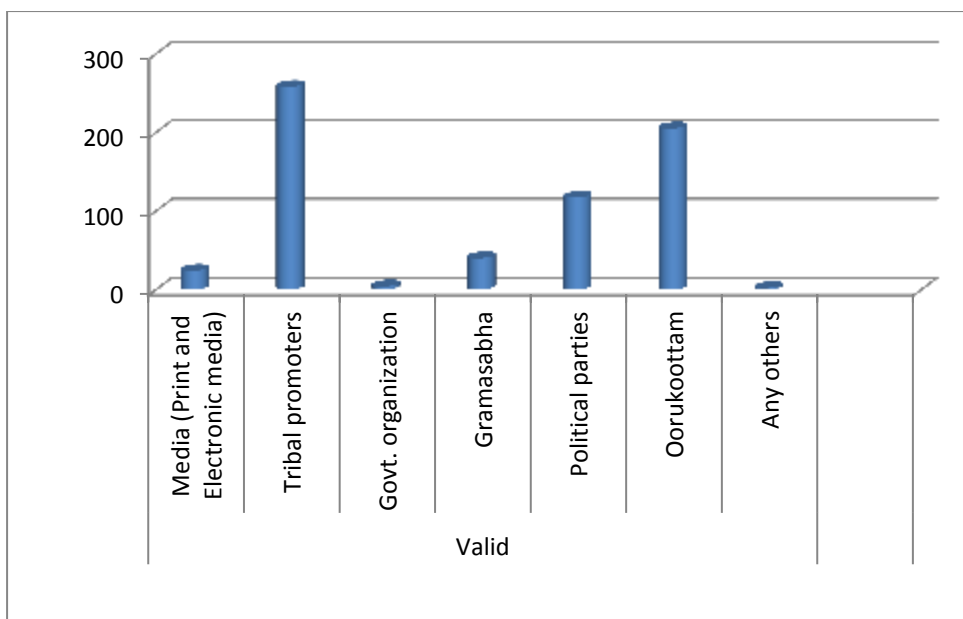
Table 4.36 reveals the sources of information regarding development programmes for the respondents. The researcher identified six major sources of information i.e. Media, tribal promoters, government organization, gramasabha, political parties and Oorukoottam. Some people are not included in these categories.

**Table 4.36**

#### **Information Regarding Developmental Programmes**

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Media (Print and Electronic media)</b>	24	3.7	3.7	3.7
	<b>Tribal promoters</b>	258	39.7	39.7	43.4
	<b>Govt. organization</b>	4	.6	.6	44.0
	<b>Gramasabha</b>	40	6.2	6.2	50.2
	<b>Political parties</b>	117	18.0	18.0	68.2
	<b>Oorukoottam</b>	205	31.5	31.5	99.7
	<b>Any others</b>	2	.3	.3	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.13 Information Regarding Developmental Programmes**

Table 4.36 provides various sources of information regarding development programmes. As seen from the table, tribal promoters (39.7%) are the major source of information regarding development programmes which is followed by Oorukoottam (31.5%), political parties (18%), gramasabha (6.2%), media (3.7%) and government organizations (.6%).

#### 4.6.4.4. Financial Aid from Government

The table 4.37 shows whether the respondents are getting any financial aid from the government or not.

**Table 4.37**

#### Financial Aid from Government

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	640	98.5	98.5	98.5
	No	10	1.5	1.5	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

From the information provided in table 4.37, it is observed that 98.5 per cent of the respondents get financial aid from the government. Only 1.5 per cent of the respondents opined that they haven't received any financial aid from the government.

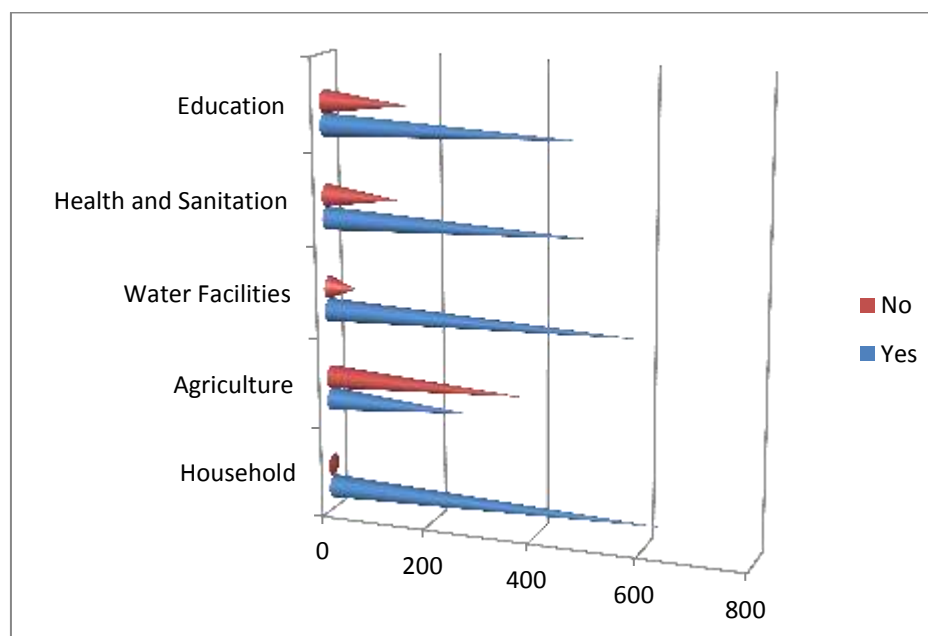
#### 4.6.4.5. Mention the Nature of the Financial Aid

The table 4.38 below explains the details of 640 respondents who received financial aid for various field. Researcher identified five major categories of financial aid received by the respondents i.e. household, agriculture, water facilities, health and sanitation and education.

**Table 4.38**  
**Nature of the Financial Aid**

<b>Financial Aid</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
Household	634	6	640
Agriculture	267	373	640
Water Facilities	587	53	640
Health and Sanitation	503	137	640
Education	480	160	640

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.14- Nature of the Financial Aid**

As shown in the table 4.38, 634 respondents received financial aid for household needs, 267 for agricultural needs, 587 for water facilities, 503 for health and sanitation and 480 for education.

#### 4.6.4.6. Satisfaction on Developmental Programmes of Government

The respondents were asked whether they are satisfied with the developmental programs of the government or not. The table shown below explains the details of the same.

**Table 4.39**  
**Satisfaction on Developmental Programmes of Government**

Satisfied development programs		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	642	98.8	98.8	98.8
	no	8	1.2	1.2	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source: Primary Data)

As extracted from table 4.39, 98.8 per cent of the respondents are satisfied with the development programs of the government. Only 1.2 per cent of the respondents felt dissatisfaction regarding the development programmes of the government.

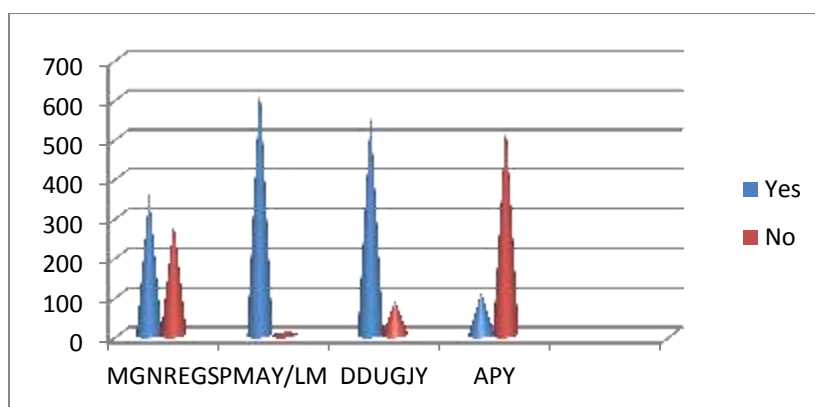
#### 4.6.4.7. Mention about the Kinds of Benefits from the Development Programmes

The respondents were asked if they get any kinds of benefits from the developmental programmes given below.

**Table 4.40**  
**Kinds of Benefits from the Development Programmes**

Development Programmes	Yes	No	Total
MGNREGS	361	289	<b>650</b>
PMAY/LM	642	8	<b>650</b>
DDUGJY	562	88	<b>650</b>
APY	109	541	<b>650</b>

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.15- Kinds of Benefits from the Development Programmes**

As seen from the table, the highest number of respondents (n=642) get benefits from Pradhan Mantri AwasYojana(PMAY)/Life Mission(LM), which is followed by (DDUGJY)DeenDayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana(n=562) and (MGNREGS) Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (n=361). Only 109 respondents get benefits from Atal Pension Yojana(APY).

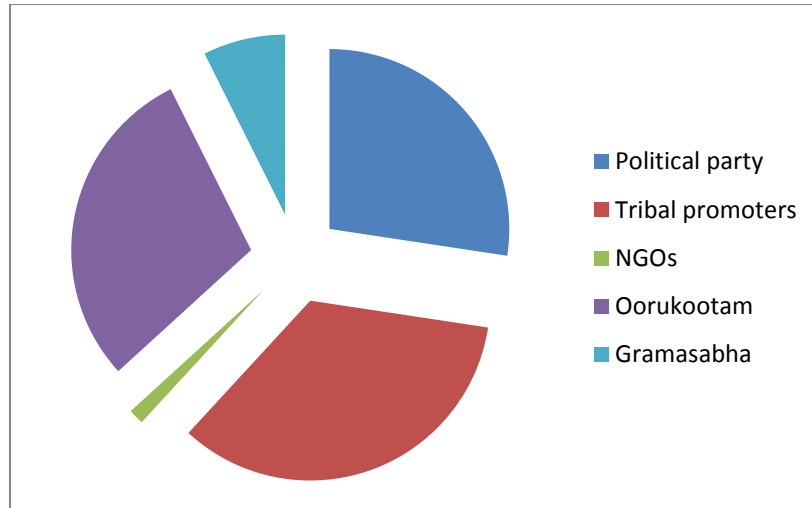
#### 4.6.4.8 Agencies Support Developmental Schemes

Table 4.41 provides the details of various agencies that support developmental schemes.

**Table 4.41**  
**Agencies that Support Developmental Schemes**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Political party</b>	178	27.4	27.4	27.4
	<b>Tribal promoters</b>	224	34.4	34.5	61.8
	<b>NGOs</b>	9	1.4	1.4	63.2
	<b>Oorukoottam</b>	191	29.4	29.4	92.6
	<b>Gramasabha</b>	48	7.4	7.4	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.16-Agencies that Support Developmental Schemes**

As seen from the table, tribal promoters (34.4%) placed the first position followed by oorukootam (29.4%) at the second, political party (27.4%) at the third and gramasabha (7.4%) at the fourth position. NGO's (1.4%) placed the last position

#### 4.6.4.9 Awareness on Tribal Reservation

The respondents were asked if they know about the tribal reservation or not. The table shown below explains the details of the same.

**Table 4.42**  
**Awareness on Tribal Reservation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Yes</b>	638	98.2	98.2	98.2
	<b>No</b>	12	1.8	1.8	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source-Primary Data)

From the information provided in table 4.42, it is inferred that 98.2 per cent of the respondents have knowledge about tribal reservation. 1.8 per cent of the respondents have no knowledge on tribal reservation.

#### 4.6.4.10- Support Regarding Land Agitation

As seen from the table 4.43 below shows the respondents support regarding land agitation.

**Table 4.43**  
**Support Regarding Land Agitation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	<b>Strongly support</b>	269	41.4	41.4	41.4
	<b>Support</b>	369	56.8	56.8	98.2
	<b>Do not support</b>	8	1.2	1.2	99.4
	<b>No opinion</b>	4	.6	.6	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

(Source-Primary Data)

From the information provided in table 4.43, it is found that 41.4 per cent of the respondents strongly support land agitation and 56.8 per cent of the respondents support land agitation. 1.2 per cent of the respondents do not support land agitation. 0.6 per cent of the respondents have no opinion on land agitation.

#### 4.6.4.11. Major Hindrances to Development

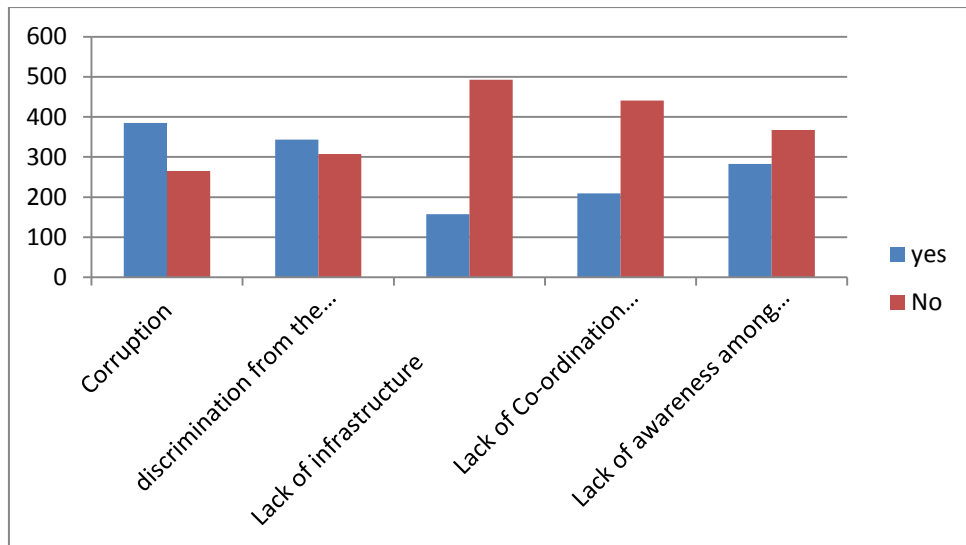
The researcher identified five major hindrances to development. The respondents were asked whether these hindrances are significant for them or not. The result of the same is presented in the table shown below.

**Table-4.44**

**Major Hindrances to Development**

<b>Hindrances</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
Corruption	385	265	<b>650</b>
discrimination from the part of the government	343	307	<b>650</b>
Lack of infrastructure	157	493	<b>650</b>
Lack of co-ordination among govt. agency	209	441	<b>650</b>
Lack of awareness among people	283	367	<b>650</b>

(Source- Primary Data)



**Figure 4.17-Major Hindrances to Development**

From the table, it is identified that the perception of respondents, corruption (n=385) is the most critical hindrance to the development of the respondents which is then followed by discrimination from the part of the government (n=343), Lack of awareness among people (n=283) and Lack of Co-ordination among Government agency (n=209). The lack of infrastructure (n=157) is turned out to be the least important hindrance to development for the respondents.

#### **4.6.5. Comparing the Average**

This section includes the comparison of average values of the variables with respect to different categories using one sample t test

##### **4.6.5.1. Participation in Political Meeting**

Table 4.45 shown below explains the respondent's participation in political meeting. In order to measure this, the researcher used three point Likert's scale where 1 indicate never, 2 for sometimes and 3 for always.

**Table 4.45**

**Participation in Political Meeting- T test**

<b>political meeting</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>T Value</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
<b>No comment</b>	2	.3	5.010	.000
<b>Never</b>	177	27.2		
<b>Sometimes</b>	183	28.2		
<b>Always</b>	288	44.3		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Test value 2				

(Source-Primary Data)

As seen from table 4.45, majority of the respondents (44.3%) always attend political meeting. 28.2 per cent of the respondents sometimes attend political meeting. 177 respondents (27.2%) never attend any political meeting.

In this section we test if the average number of political meetings of our sample data is significantly different than 2 inches using one sample t test. The null and alternative hypothesis of this test will be:

**H<sub>0</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{Political\_meeting}} = 2$  (“the average number of political meetings of the sample is equal to 2”)**

**H<sub>1</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{Political\_meeting}} \neq 2$  (“the average number of political meetings of the sample is not equal to 2”)**

**4.6.5.2 Participation in Political Procession**

The table 4.46 shown below provides the details of participation in political procession. The respondents were asked to rate the same on a three point Likert’s scale where 1 indicates never, 2 for sometimes and 3 for always.

**Table 4.46**

**Participation in Political Procession- T test**

<b>Participation of political procession</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>T value</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
<b>No comment</b>	1	.2	5.389	.000
<b>Never</b>	177	27.2		
<b>Sometimes</b>	178	27.4		
<b>Always</b>	294	45.2		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Test value 2				

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.46, it is observed that 27.2 per cent of the respondents (n= 177) marked never, 27.4 percent of the respondents (n= 178) marked sometimes and 45.2 per cent of the respondents (n= 294) marked always. One respondent marked no commend option for political procession.

In this section we test if the average of political procession of our sample data is significantly different than 2 inches using one sample t test. The null and alternative hypothesis of this test will be:

**$H_0: \mu_{\text{Political\_procession}} = 2$**  (“the average number of political procession of the sample is equal to 2”)

**$H_1: \mu_{\text{Political\_procession}} \neq 2$** (“the average number of political procession of the sample is not equal to 2”)

**4.6.5.3. Discussion of Political Matters at Home**

Table 4.47 presented below discusses whether the respondents discuss political matters at home or not. In order to measure this, the researcher used three point Likert’s scale where 1 indicates always, 2 indicate for sometimes and 3 indicates frequently.

**Table 4.47**

**Discussion of Political Matters at Home- T test**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>T Value</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
<b>No comment</b>	91	14.0	-17.29	.000
<b>Always</b>	194	29.8		
<b>Sometimes</b>	336	51.7		
<b>Frequently</b>	29	4.5		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Test Value= 2				

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.47, it is revealed that 336 respondents (51.7%) sometimes discuss political matters at home, 194 respondents (29.8%) always discuss political matters at home and 29 respondents (4.5%) frequently discuss political matters at home. 91 respondents (14%) made no comments on the same. From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test value (2) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores. The null and alternative hypothesis of this test will be:

**$H_0: \mu_{\text{Political discussion}} = 2$  (“the average number of political discussion of the sample is equal to 2”)**

**$H_1: \mu_{\text{Political discussion}} \neq 2$  (“the average number of political discussion of the sample is not equal to 2”)**

**4.6.5.4-Participation in Organization**

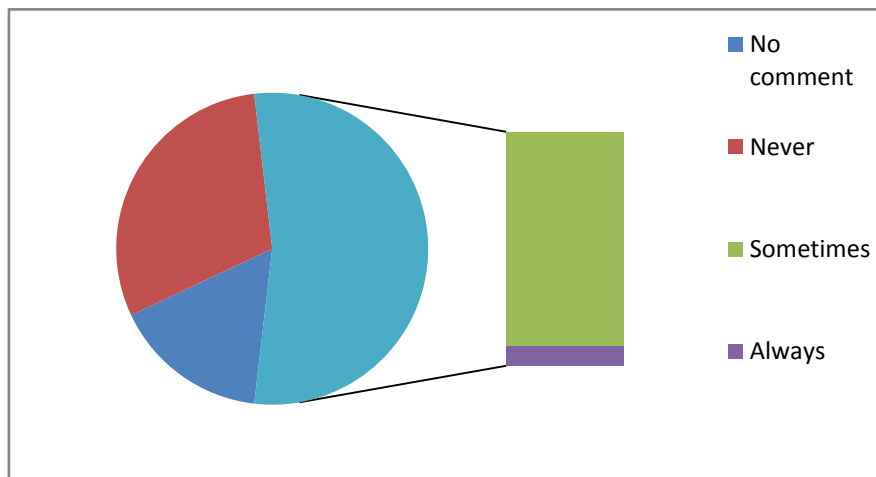
Table 4.48 presented below discusses whether the respondents participate in any political activities of organization or not. In order to measure this, the researcher used three point Likert’s scale where 1 indicates always, 2 for sometimes and 3 indicates never.

**Table 4. 48**

**Participation in Organization-T test**

	Frequency	Percent	T value	Sig.
No comment	105	16.2	-18.24	.000
Never	196	30.2		
Sometimes	320	49.2		
Always	29	4.4		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Test Value= 2				

(Source-Primary Data)



**Figure 4.18- Participation in Organization**

From the table 4.48, it is shows that 320 respondents (49.2%) opined sometimes, 196 respondents (30.2%) marked never and 29 respondents (4.4%) opined always. 105 respondents (16.2%) made no comments on the same.

From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test value (2) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores. The null and alternative hypothesis of this test will be:

**$H_0: \mu_{\text{Participation of organization}} = 2$  (“the average number of participation of organization of the sample is equal to 2”)**

**H<sub>1</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{Participation of organization}} \neq 2$  (“the average number of participation of organization of the sample is not equal to 2”)**

#### 4.6.5.5. Participation in Oorukoottam -T test

In order to assess the participation of respondents in Oorukoottam, the study used three point Likert’s scale, where 1 indicate no, 2 indicates sometimes and 3 indicates always.

**Table 4.49**  
**Participation in Oorukoottam-T test**

Participation in Oorukoottam	Frequency	Percent	T Value	Sig.
No	38	5.8	34.344	.000
Sometimes	89	13.7		
Always	523	80.5		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Test Value= 2				

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.49, it is inferred that 38 respondents (5.8%) marked no and 89 respondents (13.7%) marked sometimes. Vast majority of respondents (80.5 per cents) opined always option. From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test value (2) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores. The null and alternative hypothesis of this test will be:

**H<sub>0</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{Participation in Oorukoottam}} = 2$  (“the average number of participation of Oorukoottam of the sample is equal to 2”)**

**H<sub>1</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{Participation in Oorukoottam}} \neq 2$  (“the average number of participation of Oorukoottam of the sample is not equal to 2”)**

#### 4.6.5.6 Participation in Gramasabha Meeting- T test

In order to assess the participation of respondents in Grama sabha meeting, the study used three point Likert's scale, where 1 indicate no, 2 indicates sometimes and 3 indicates always.

**Table 4.50**  
**Participation in Gramasabha Meeting-T test**

Participation in Gramasabha meeting		Frequency	Percent	T Value	Sig.
Valid	Always	549	84.4	-36.858	.000
	Sometimes	61	9.4		
	No	40	6.2		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Test Value=2					

(Source –Primary Data)

From the table 4.50, it is identified that 40 respondents (6.2%) marked no commend and 61 respondents (9.4%) marked sometimes. Vast majority of 84.4 per cents of respondents marked always option (n=549). From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test value (2) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores.

The null and alternative hypothesis of this test will be:

**H<sub>0</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{Participation in Gramasabha}} = 2$  (“the average number of participation of Gramasabha of the sample is equal to 2”)**

**H<sub>1</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{Participation in Gramasabha}} \neq 2$  (“the average number of participation of Gramasabha of the sample is not equal to 2”)**

#### 4.6.5.7. Opinion about Tribal Leadership

In order to assess the opinion about tribal leadership, the study used five point Likert's scale, where 1 indicate no opinion, 2 indicates able leadership, 3 indicates somewhat able, 4 indicates not able and 5 indicates don't know.

**Table 4.51**  
**Opinion about Tribal Leadership-T test**

		Frequency	Percent	T Value	Sig.
Valid	No opinion	63	9.7	52.597	.000
	Able Leadership	525	80.7		
	Somewhat able	9	1.4		
	Not able	3	.5		
	Don't know	50	7.7		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Test Value= 3					

(Source-Primary Data)

From the table 4.51, it is seen that 63 respondents (9.7%) marked no opinion, 525 respondents (80.7%) marked able leadership, 9 respondents (1.4%) opined somewhat able, 3 respondents (.5%) opined not able and 50 respondents (7.7%) marked don't know. From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test value (3) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores.

The null and alternative hypothesis of this test will be:

**H<sub>0</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{opinion of tribal leadership}} = 3$  (“the average number of opinion of tribal leadership of the sample is equal to 3”)**

**H<sub>1</sub>:  $\mu_{\text{opinion of tribal leadership}} \neq 3$  (“the average number of opinion of tribal leadership of the sample is not equal to 3”)**

#### **4.7. Conclusion**

It is clear from the above analysis that most of the Paniya tribes are much interested in political activities. Some respondents do not actively get involved in party politics but they are to exercise their franchise at the time of the elections. Corruption is unfortunately rampant in every arena of the society. The other reasons are discrimination from the part of the government, lack of awareness, lack of co-ordination among Government agency and lack of infrastructure. Political parties, tribal promoters and oorukoottam meetings play a vital role in encouraging the political participation of the tribals among Paniya community. Majority of the respondents of Paniya are satisfied with Government development programmers and they have received financial aid from the government.

## CHAPTER-5

### DATA ANALYSIS –II

#### 5.1. Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the relationship between political participation and socio-economic factors of Paniya community. Every person's participation depends on education, gender, age, income and use of print media and social media. Another area of this chapter expresses the analysis of the fifth part of the questionnaire. It includes the degree of satisfaction of data analysis.

#### 5.2. Relationship between the Participation and Socio-Economic Factors.

The socio economic factors such as gender, age, education, occupation etc. related to the political participation. These factors directly or indirectly influence the political participation.

##### 5.2.1. Political Participation and Gender

The table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and gender. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and gender
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and gender
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and gender
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and gender

**Table - 5.1.****Political Participation and Gender**

		Gender of the respondents		Test Result	
		Male	Female	Chi Square Value	Sig.
Member of political party	Yes	281	139	70.040	.000
	No	76	154		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	2	0	19.141	.000
	Never	55	122		
	Sometimes	93	90		
	Always	207	81		
Participate political procession	No comment	1	0	80.284	.000
	Never	54	123		
	Sometimes	91	87		
	Always	211	83		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	325	247	7.149	.028
	No	32	46		

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen from the table 5.1, 281 male respondents and 139 female respondents have political party membership. 207 male respondents and 81 female respondents opined that they always attend political meeting. 211 male respondents and 83 female respondents marked 'always' regarding participation of political procession. 325 male respondents and 247 female respondents marked themselves satisfied with the actions of their respective political parties.

From testing the hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is observed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and gender. Majority of the members in the political party are men because women are busy with their household works.

### 5.2.2. Political Participation and Age

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and age. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and age
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and age
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and age
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and age

**Table - 5.2.**  
**Political Participation and Age**

		age of the respondents				Test Result	
		18-25	26-35	36-60	Above 60	Chi Square Value	Sig
Member of political party	Yes	87	173	120	40	28.025	.000
	No	43	65	66	55		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	0	1	1	0	32.715	.000
	Never	35	47	52	42		
	Sometimes	33	64	54	32		
	Always	62	126	79	21		
Participate political procession	No comment	0	1	0	0	25.411	.003
	Never	35	49	52	40		
	Sometimes	34	64	49	31		
	Always	61	124	85	24		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	109	212	170	81	19.297	.009
	No	21	26	16	14		

(Source: Primary Data)

From the table 5.2, it is revealed that '26-35' age group has the highest number of members. In this group 173 respondents have political party membership, 126 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting, 124 respondents participate the political procession and 212 respondents are satisfied with the actions of their respective political parties. It is followed by the age group '36-60', out of which 120 respondents are members of political party, 79 respondents answered 'always' to attending political meetings, 85 respondents marked 'always' attending participation procession and 170 respondents are satisfied with the actions of their respective political parties.

As seen in the Chi square test of hypothesis the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and age. Majority of the members are young people because they are vibrant and they access to information regarding political issues from various online platforms.

### **5.2.3. Political Participation and Education**

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and education. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and education
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and education
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and education
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and education

**Table 5.3**

**Political Participation and Education**

		Educational Qualification							Test Result	
		Illiterate	Primary	High School	SSLC	Higher Secondary	Graduate/ Above	Technical	Chi square Value	Significance
Member of political party	Yes	74	147	127	39	26	5	2	30.150	.00
	No	76	79	44	9	19	3	0		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	30.201	.04
	Never	55	59	36	7	18	2	0		
	Sometimes	49	62	46	11	11	3	1		
	Always	46	104	88	30	16	3	1		
Participate political procession	No comment	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	32.626	.02
	Never	52	60	36	7	19	3	0		
	Sometimes	50	60	43	11	10	3	1		
	Always	48	106	91	30	16	2	1		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	126	201	156	43	38	6	2	21.325	.03
	No	24	25	15	5	7	2	0		

(Source: Primary Data)

The above table 5.3, reveals that 420 respondents (illiterate 74, primary 147, high school 127, SSLC 39, higher secondary 26, graduate/ above 5 and technical 2) have political party membership. Among the 650 respondents, 288 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting ( illiterate 46, primary 104, high school 88, SSLC 30, higher secondary 16, graduate/ above and 3 and technical 1). In addition, 294 respondents marked ‘always’ with regard to the variable ‘participate political procession’ (illiterate 48, primary 106, high school-91, SSLC 30, higher secondary- 16, graduate/ above- 2 and technical 1). Finally, from the test

given above, it is observed that a vast majority of respondents marked themselves satisfied with regard to political parties.

From the testing of hypothesis (chi square test of association), it is seen that the p values of all the relations are lower than 0. 05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and education of the respondents.

#### **5.2.4. Political Participation and Property**

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and property owned. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and property
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and property
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and property
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and property

**Table 5.4**  
**Political Participation and Property**

		Have any property		Test Result	
		Yes	No	Chi square Value	Sig
Member of political party	Yes	224	196	10.18	.03
	No	10	220		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	1	1	19.24	.02
	Never	28	118		
	Sometimes	51	163		
	Always	154	134		
Participate political procession	No comment	1	0	15.19	.04
	Never	72	105		
	Sometimes	56	122		
	Always	105	189		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	213	359	3.17	.08
	No	21	57		

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen from the table 5.4 above, 420 respondents (224 respondents own property and 196 respondents do not own property) have political party membership. 288 respondents (154 respondents own property and 134 respondents do not own property) opined that they always attend political meeting. 294 respondents (105 respondents own property and 189 respondents do not own property) marked 'always' regarding participation of political procession. 572 respondents (213 respondents own property and 359 respondents do not own property) marked them satisfied with the actions of their respective political parties.

From the information about the Chi square test of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is observed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and property ownership.

### **5.2.5. Political Participation and Income**

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and income. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between membership in political party and income
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and income
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and income
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and income

**Table 5.5**  
**Political Participation and Income**

		Monthly Income				Test Result	
		Below 1000	1000-2000	2001-5000	Above 5000	Chi square Value	Sig
Member of political party	Yes	17	136	241	26	22.37	.000
	No	10	63	145	12		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	0	0	0	0	41.86	.000
	Never	7	56	90	4		
	Sometimes	10	63	122	10		
	Always	10	80	174	24		
Participate political procession	No comment	0	0	0	0	38.82	.000
	Never	9	58	79	0		
	Sometimes	8	68	124	10		
	Always	10	73	183	28		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	19	188	327	38	13.65	.04
	No	8	11	74	0		

(Source: Primary Data)

From the table 5.5, it is identified that the highest records of respondents have monthly income between 2001-5000. In this category 241 respondents opined that they are members of political party and 174 respondents always attend political meeting and 183 respondents marked 'always' regarding participation of political procession and 327 respondents marked themselves satisfied with the actions of their respective political parties.

From the testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is inferred that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and income. In other words, the economic factors significantly influence political participation.

#### **5.2.6. Political Participation and Occupation**

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and occupation. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and occupation
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and occupation
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and occupation
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and occupation

**Table 5.6**  
**Political Participation and Occupation**

		Occupation						Test Result	
		Farmer	Daily wage	Govt. Service	Private sector	Co-operative sector	Unemployed	Chi square Value	Sig
Member of political party	Yes	43	303	4	24	0	46	32.178	.00
	No	9	148	0	10	0	63		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	0	0	0	0	0	0	55.819	.00
	Never	1	100	0	2	0	49		
	Sometimes	15	143	2	8	0	42		
	Always	36	208	2	24	0	18		
Participate political procession	No comment	0	1	0	0	0	0	38.557	.00
	Never	1	91	0	2	0	47		
	Sometimes	11	157	1	7	0	38		
	Always	40	202	3	25	0	24		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	50	393	4	29	0	96	12.531	.01
	No	2	58	0	5	0	13		

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen from the table 5.6, 420 respondents (farmer 43, daily wage 303, government service 4, and private sector 24, unemployed 46) have political party membership. Among the 650 respondents, 288 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting (farmer 36, daily wage 208, government service 2, private sector 24, unemployed 18) In addition, 294 respondents marked 'always' with regard to the variable 'participate political procession' (farmer 40, daily wage 202, government service 3, private sector 25, unemployed 24) . Finally, from the test given above, it is observed that a vast majority of 572 respondents (farmer 50, daily wage 393, government service 4, private sector 29, unemployed 96) marked themselves satisfied with regard to political parties.

From the testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is revealed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and occupation.

#### **5.2.7. Political Participation and Television**

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and watching television. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and watching television
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and watching television
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and watching television
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and watching television

**Table 5.7**  
**Political Participation and Television**

		Watching television		Test Result	
		Yes	No	Chi square Value	Sig.
Member of political party	Yes	363	57	18.856	.000
	No	167	63		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	2	0	13.939	.003
	Never	132	45		
	Sometimes	144	39		
	Always	252	36		
Participate political procession	No comment	1	0	9.471	.024
	Never	134	43		
	Sometimes	141	37		
	Always	254	40		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	468	104	21.022	.018
	No	62	16		

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen from the table 5.7, 420 respondents (363 watching television and 57 not watching television) have political party membership. Among the 650 respondents, 288 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting (252 watching television and 36 not watching television). In addition, 294 respondents marked 'always' with regard to the variable 'participate political procession' (254 watching television and 40 not watching television respondents). Finally, from the test given above, it is observed that a vast majority of 572 respondents (468 watching television and 104 not watching television) marked themselves satisfied with regard to political parties.

From the testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is seen that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and watching television. The Paniya community watches the political news through television and they actively participate in politics.

### 5.2.8. Political Participation and News Paper

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and reading newspaper. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and reading news paper
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and reading newspaper
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and reading newspaper
- There is no significant association between satisfaction of actions of political party and reading newspaper

**Table 5.8**  
**Political Participation and News Paper**

		Newspaper reading daily		Test Result	
		Yes	No	Chi Square Value	Sig.
Member of political party	Yes	114	306	9.201	.000
	No	50	180		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	0	2	9.082	.000
	Never	41	136		
	Sometimes	52	131		
	Always	71	217		
Participate political procession	No comment	0	1	14.780	.002
	Never	37	140		
	Sometimes	51	127		
	Always	76	218		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	139	433	9.052	.027
	No	25	53		

(Source: Primary Data)

From the table 5.8, it is revealed that 420 respondents (114 news paper reading and 306 not reading news paper) have political party membership. Among the 650 respondents, 288 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting (71 news paper reading and 217 not reading news paper). In addition, 294 respondents marked 'always' with regard to the variable participate political procession (76 news paper reading and 218 not reading news paper respondents). Finally, from the test given above, it is observed that a vast majority of 572 respondents (139 news paper reading and 433 not reading news paper) marked themselves satisfied with regard to political parties.

From the Chi square test of hypothesis, it is observed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and reading news papers. Reading is very helpful in gaining an understanding of the current problems in the tribal communities and in understanding which policies are not being implemented by the government. Thus they raise their voice for their wants.

#### **5.2.9. Political Participation and Mobile Phone**

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and usage of mobile phone. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and usage of mobile phone
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and usage of mobile phone
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and usage of mobile phone
- There is no significant association between Satisfaction of actions of political party and usage of mobile phone

**Table 5.9**  
**Political Participation and Mobile Phone**

		Mobile phone use		Test Result	
		Yes	no	Chi Square Value	Sig.
Member of political party	Yes	385	35	53.598	.000
	No	160	70		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	0	2	27.295	.000
	Never	133	44		
	Sometimes	154	29		
	Always	258	30		
Participate political procession	No comment	0	1	23.890	.000
	Never	133	44		
	Sometimes	147	31		
	Always	265	29		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	490	82	11.634	.001
	No	55	23		

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen from the table, 5.9, 420 respondents (385 users of mobile phone and 35 not use of mobile phone) have political party membership. Among the 650 respondents, 288 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting (258 users of mobile phone and 30 not use of mobile phone). In addition, 294 respondents marked 'always' with regard to the variable 'participate political procession' (265 users of mobile phone and 29 not users of mobile phone respondents). Finally, from the test given above, it is observed that a vast majority of 572 respondents (490 users of mobile phone and 82 not users of mobile phone) marked themselves satisfied with regard to political parties.

From testing the hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is revealed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and usage of mobile phone. Use of mobile phones eases the communication and thereby increases the political participation.

### 5.2.10. Political Participation and Organization Membership

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and organization membership. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and organization membership
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and organization membership
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and organization membership
- There is no significant association between Satisfaction of actions of political party and organization membership

**Table 5.10**  
**Political Participation and Organization Membership**

		Are you member of any organization?		Test Result	
		Yes	No	Chi Square Value	Sig.
Member of political party	Yes	254	166	13.208	.000
	No	105	125		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	2	0	11.743	.008
	Never	80	97		
	Sometimes	104	79		
	Always	173	115		
Participate political procession	No comment	1	0	10.878	.012
	Never	80	97		
	Sometimes	102	76		
	Always	176	118		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	324	248	3.847	.048
	No	35	43		

(Source: Primary Data)

From the table 5.10, it is inferred that 420 respondents have political party membership in which 254 are member of organization and 166 are not member of organization. Among the 650 respondents, 288 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting in which 173 are member of organization and 115 are not member of organization. In addition, 294 respondents marked 'always' with regard to the variable participation in political procession in which 176 are members of organization and 118 are not members of organization respondents. Finally, from the test given above, it is observed that a vast majority of 572 respondents (324 member of organization and 248 not member of organization) marked themselves satisfied with regard to political parties.

As seen in the Chi square test of hypothesis the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists a significant association between political participation and membership in an organization.

#### **5.2.11. Political Participation and Financial Aid from Government**

The Table provided below explains the details of chi square test of association between political participation and financial aid from government. For this, the researcher formulated four hypotheses. Those are:

- There is no significant association between member of political party and financial aid from government
- There is no significant association between attending political meeting and financial aid from government
- There is no significant association between participating in political procession and financial aid from government
- There is no significant association between Satisfaction of actions of political party and financial aid from government

**Table 5.11**  
**Political Participation and Financial Aid from Government**

		Financial aid from Government		Test Value	
		Yes	No	Chi Square Value	Sig.
Member of political party	Yes	411	9	10.254	.005
	No	229	1		
Frequency of attend in political meeting	No comment	2	0	18.924	.016
	Never	177	0		
	Sometimes	178	5		
	Always	283	5		
Participate political procession	No comment	1	0	14.089	.002
	Never	176	1		
	Sometimes	173	5		
	Always	290	4		
Satisfaction of actions of political party	Yes	562	10	6.328	.042
	No	78	0		

(Source: Primary Data)

From the table, 5.11, it is revealed 420 respondents (411 get financial aid, 9 does not get financial aid) have political party membership. Among the 650 respondents, 288 respondents opined that they always attend political meeting (283 get financial aid, 5 does not get financial aid). In addition, 294 respondents marked 'always' with regard to the variable 'participation in political procession' (290 get financial aid, 4 does not get financial aid respondents). Finally, from the test given above, it is observed that a vast majority of 572 respondents (562 get financial aid, 10 does not get financial aid) marked themselves satisfied with regard to political parties.

From the testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is seen that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis is

rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and financial aid get from the government.

### **5.3. Section V: Degree of Satisfaction**

Analysis in section V of the study is arranged in two parts. Part I deals with validation of the measurement scale used for the study, i.e, degree of satisfaction. For this, the researcher employed exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, convergent validity and discriminant validity. Part II deals with comparison of mean values of the variable ‘degree of satisfaction’ among different demographic variables, i.e, age, gender, income etc..

#### **5.3.1 Part I: Scale Validation of ‘Degree of Satisfaction’**

The researcher used eighteen statements in order to measure the degree of satisfaction. All were measured on a five point Likert’s scale, where 1 indicates strongly disagree, 2 indicates disagree, 3 indicates neither agree nor disagree, 4 indicates agree and 5 indicates strongly agree.

##### **5.3.1. 1. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)**

A principal component analysis for the 18 statements related to degree of satisfaction was performed using SPSS 21.0 to reduce the larger set of variables into a smaller, conceptually more coherent set of variables, by identifying redundancy among variables. In the process of factor analysis, three factors were derived.

For factor analysis to be done, it is appropriate to first test that variables are sufficiently interconnected and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin statistic is the usual measure. The KMO statistic indicates the proportion of variance in the variables that might be caused by underlying factors. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was 0.843 (Table 5.12), a level described as ‘marvelous’ by (H.F.Kaiser, 1974). The Barlett’s test of Sphericity is a statistical test for the presence of correlations among the variables and tests the hypothesis that the correlation matrix is an identity matrix i.e., all diagonal elements are 1 and off diagonal elements 0, implying that all the variables are uncorrelated and therefore unsuitable for structure detection.

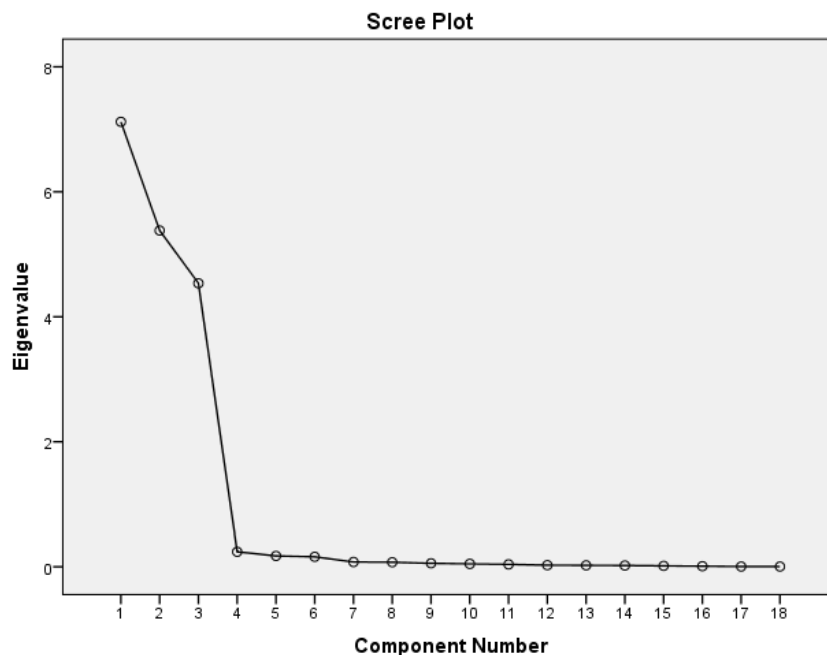
The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) and the test value was high at 29320.419 (Table 5.12) leading to the conclusion that there were correlations in the data set appropriate for factor analysis (Eappen, 2014).

**Table 5.12**  
**KMO and Bartlett's Test**

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.843
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	29320.419
	Df	153
	Sig.	.000

(Source: Primary Data)

The results of statistical assumption tests indicated that the data set is appropriate for factor analysis. Therefore principal component analysis was conducted. The results of latent root criterion revealed that the indicators captured four components with an Eigen value greater than 1, which together explained over 94.642 percent of the variance (See Table 5.12). Component loadings below 0.5 were suppressed in the principal component analysis.



**Fig 5.1: Scree Plot- Degree of Satisfaction**

The Scree test (Figure 5.1) indicated that by laying a straight edge across the bottom portion of the roots. There were three factors before the curve becomes approximately a straight line (Eappen, 2014).

**Table 5.13**  
**Total Variance Explained**

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	7.120	39.553	39.553	7.120	39.553	39.553	6.766	37.589	37.589
2	5.380	29.887	69.441	5.380	29.887	69.441	5.415	30.085	67.673
3	4.536	25.201	94.642	4.536	25.201	94.642	4.854	26.968	94.642
4	.240	1.334	95.975						
5	.174	.968	96.944						
6	.160	.887	97.831						
7	.077	.427	98.258						
8	.073	.404	98.662						
9	.055	.307	98.969						
10	.047	.259	99.228						
11	.039	.214	99.442						
12	.026	.144	99.586						
13	.023	.126	99.712						
14	.020	.114	99.826						
15	.014	.080	99.906						
16	.009	.051	99.957						
17	.005	.025	99.982						
18	.003	.018	100.000						

The items re-organized based on factor analysis were theoretically justified as correlations among reflective measures are expected and so there can be possibility of respondents having a different factor perception for certain indicators. A table with rotated component loadings and factor names are given below:

**Table 5.14**  
**Rotated Component Matrix**

Code		Component		
		Developmental Aspects of Political Participation	Political Awareness Level	Influencing Factors of Political Participation
<b>Devt1</b>	The land alienation is a landmark in the history of political participation.	<b>.995</b>	.052	.047
<b>Devt2</b>	In recent past, have you observed a surge in the political participation in your Panchayath?	<b>.986</b>	.048	.049
<b>Devt3</b>	Has media played a vital role in encouraging political participation?	<b>.986</b>	.049	.048
<b>Devt4</b>	In recent past, have you observed a surge in the political participation among young adults (youth)?	<b>.984</b>	.045	.046
<b>Devt5</b>	Has the Grama Sabha played a vital role in encouraging political participation?	<b>.979</b>	.049	.033

<b>Pol1</b>	Are the tribal promoters being an influential factor in the overall political participation in your area?	<b>.971</b>	.070	.065
<b>Pol2</b>	Have the organizations played a key role in encouraging political participation?	<b>.964</b>	.042	.042
<b>Pol3</b>	Is corruption hindering your political participation?	.057	<b>.985</b>	-.014
<b>Pol4</b>	Are you satisfied with the political activities initiated by the ruling political party/leaders?	.052	<b>.969</b>	-.018
<b>Pol5</b>	Does creating political awareness encourage political participation?	.062	<b>.953</b>	-.038
<b>Pol6</b>	Do you believe that political awareness encourages the political participation?	.061	<b>.938</b>	.008
<b>Prt1</b>	In your opinion, is political participation necessary?	.044	<b>.930</b>	-.021
<b>Prt2</b>	There is no direct relation between the people and the authorities of the power centre.	.030	<b>.912</b>	-.021
<b>Prt3</b>	Education is an important agent of political participation	.057	-.017	<b>.994</b>

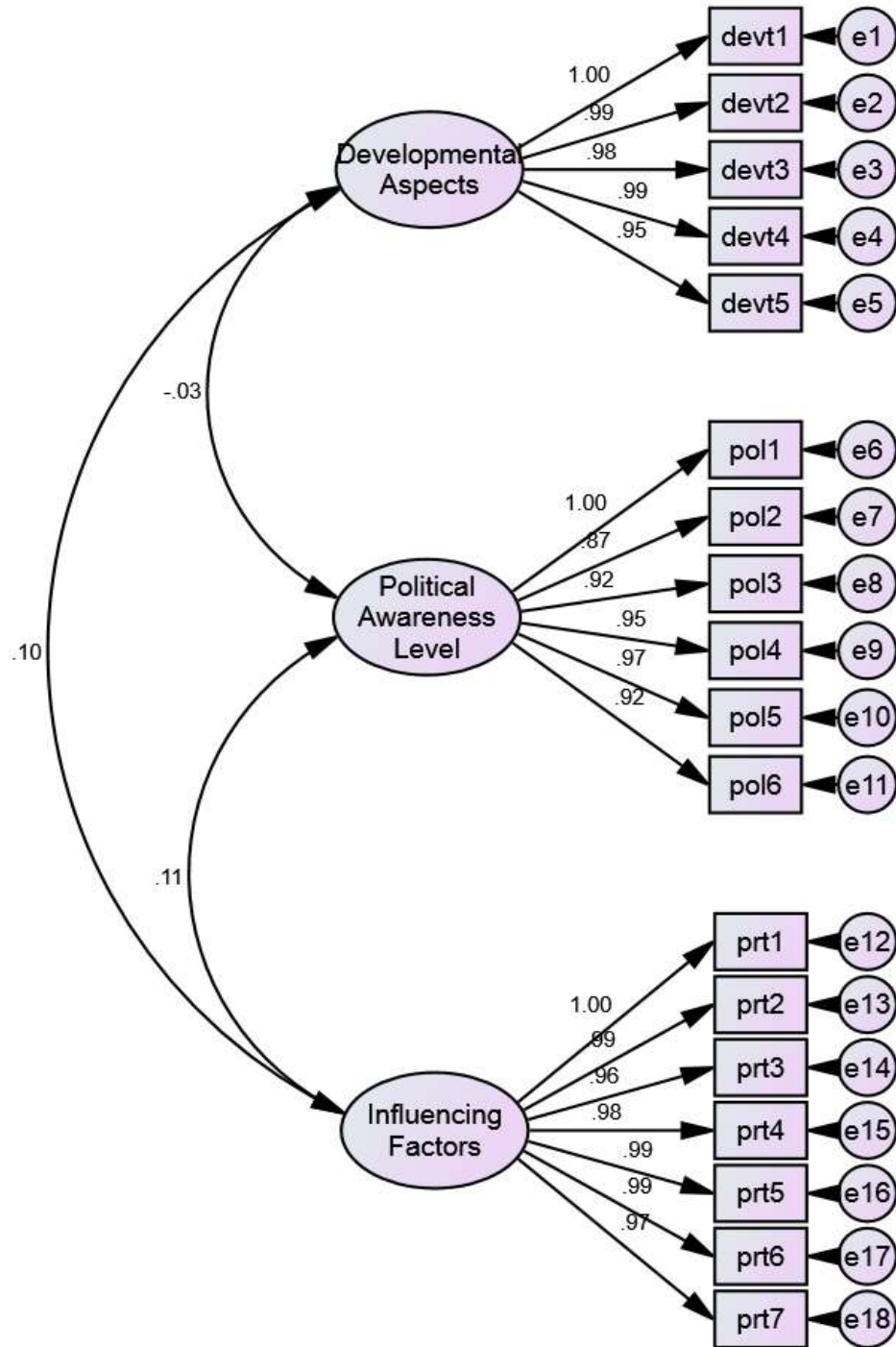
<b>Prt4</b>	Do you receive any benefits from 33% of reservation seats for women in Wayanad?	.058	-.020	<b>.989</b>
<b>Prt5</b>	The Policies and developmental programs of Government and NGOs, has helped to improve political awareness of your community	.065	-.014	<b>.987</b>
<b>Prt6</b>	Political Parties are effective in the social and political arenas in the tribal area.	.053	-.023	<b>.984</b>
<b>Prt7</b>	The developmental policies lead to the upliftment the Paniya community	.031	-.024	<b>.962</b>

Table 5.14 shown above provides names of the three factors along with items and factor loadings by each factor. Compared with the intended measurement scales, the factor analysis results met the theory very well. Five items are about developmental aspects of political participation, explaining over 37.589 per cent of variance, six items are about political awareness level, explaining over 30.085 per cent of variance and seven items are about influencing factors of political participation, explaining over 26.968 per cent of variance. In total, the four factors together explain over 94.642 per cent of variance (See Table 5.14).

The next step was to conduct a confirmatory factor analysis for the dimensions identified from the exploratory factor analysis to assess whether the factors generated from exploratory factor analysis have the same underlying structure as the intended measurement structure.

### **5.3.1.2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)**

The prime reason to adopt CFA was to measure the ability of a predefined factor model to fit an observed set of data. It provides estimates for each parameter of the measurement model. The Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) on the construct ‘degree of satisfaction’ consisted of three factors and eighteen variables.



**Fig 5.2: Measurement Model- Degree of Satisfaction**

The data were found free from missing values and outliers. The model with three constructs and thirteen variables was suggesting good fit in the first estimate as mentioned in the table 5.15 Compared with the generally accepted model fit standards, the test outcomes seemed to fit the measurement model. The RMSEA is 0.032 suggesting a close fit between the empirical data and the measurement model; it explains 93.7% of the data variance-covariance (GFI=0.937); it achieved a good

balance between theoretical simplicity and explanation power (NFI=0.918, CFI=0.924, TLI=0.921). In all the factors, the beta coefficients were larger than 0.5, which indicates strong loadings among the items in each factor.

**Table 5.15**  
**Model Fit Indices**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>CFI</b>	<b>GFI</b>	<b>TLI</b>	<b>NFI</b>	<b>RMSEA</b>
Measurement model	.924	.937	.921	.918	0.032
Standard	>0.9	>0.9	>0.9	>0.9	>0.05

The details of the construct ‘degree of satisfaction’ after conducting confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) are given in table 5.16 the overall reliability of the scale was 0.728.

**Table 5.16**  
**Factors and Reliability**

<b>Factors</b>	<b>No. of items</b>	<b>Cronbach’s alpha</b>	<b>Overall Cronbach’s alpha</b>
Developmental aspects	5	.992	.884
Political awareness level	6	.978	
Influencing factors	7	.994	

Measurement model validity highly depends on how well each item in the measurement model fits the data. It explains the extent to which data collection methods accurately measure what they were intended to measure (Saunders, M. Lewis & A. Thornhill, 2003). Validation of the measurement model in this study consists of exploratory convergent validity and discriminant validity.

### **5.3.1.3. Convergent Validity**

Convergent validity was established when the relationship between measurement items and the factor were significantly different from zero. Based on this criterion, critical ratios were used to evaluate the statistical significance.

**Table 5.17**

**Convergent Validity**

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Statements</b>	<b>Beta Coefficient</b>	<b>P value</b>
<b>Developmental aspects</b>	The land alienation is a landmark in the history of political participation.	0.99	<.05
	In recent past, have you observed a surge in the political participation in your Panchayath?	0.99	<.05
	Has media played a vital role in encouraging political participation?	0.98	<.05
	In recent past, have you observed a surge in the political participation among young adults (youth)?	0.99	<.05
	Has the Gramasabha played a vital role in encouraging political participation?	0.95	<.05
<b>Political awareness level</b>	Are the tribal promoters being an influential factor in the overall political participation in your area?	0.99	<.05
	Have the organizations played a key role in encouraging political participation?	0.87	<.05
	Is corruption hindering your political participation?	0.92	<.05
	Are you satisfied with the political activities initiated by the ruling political party/leaders?	0.95	<.05
	Does creating political awareness encourage political participation?	0.97	<.05

	Do you believe that political awareness encourages the political participation?	0.92	<.05
<b>Influencing factors</b>	In your opinion, is political participation necessary?	0.99	<.05
	There is no direct relation between the people and the authorities of the power centre.	0.89	<.05
	Education is an important agent of political participation	0.96	<.05
	Do you receive any benefits from 33% of reservation seats for women in Wayanad?	0.98	<.05
	The Policies and developmental programs of government and NGOs, has helped to improve political awareness of your community	0.99	<.05
	Political Parties are effective in the social and political arenas in the tribal area.	0.99	<.05
	The developmental policies lead to the upliftment of the Paniya community	0.97	<.05

In this study the factor loadings ranged from 0.50 to 0.99 and no loading was less than the recommended value of 0.50, hence, evidencing convergent validity.

#### **5.3.1.4. Discriminant Validity**

One construct must be truly distinct from other constructs, and then only it can be called a discriminantly valid measurement scale. It implies that an unobserved variable should explain better the variance of its own indicators than the variance of other unobserved variables. Or in other words, the loadings of variables coming under one latent variable should be higher than that of all other latent variables.

Testing of Discriminant validity is done by comparing the Average Variance Extracted (AVE) with the squared correlation for each of the constructs. The Average Variance Extracted of an unobserved variable should be greater than the squared correlations between the unobserved variable and all other unobserved variables (Hair Joseph.F.et al, 1984). Discriminant validity is achieved when each measurement item correlates weakly with all other constructs, except with the constructs which are theoretically associated (Randolph B.Cooper & Robert W.Zmud, 1990)

**Table 5.18**  
**Testing of Discriminant Validity**

<b>Relationship</b>	<b>Correlation</b>	<b>P value</b>
Developmental aspects ↔ Political awareness level	-0.03	<0.05
Developmental aspects ↔ Influencing factors	0.10	<0.05
Political awareness level ↔ Influencing factors	0.11	<0.05

For the construct ‘degree of satisfaction’, the proof of discriminant validity is shown in table 5.18. As a rule of thumb, a 0.85 correlation or higher indicates poor discriminant validity in structural equation modeling( Greg W. Marshall,et al., 1998). None of the correlations among variables were above 0.85. Thus, discriminant validity of the measurement model established

### **5.3.2. Part II: Comparison of Mean**

The researcher mainly used four main demographic variables; those are gender, age, educational qualification and occupation. This section deals with comparing the mean values with the aforesaid demographic variables.

#### **5.3.2.1. Degree of Satisfaction and Gender**

The researcher used one way analysis of variance to check whether there is any significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to gender. The result of one way analysis of variance is presented in table 5.19 given below

- **H0<sub>1</sub>: There is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to gender**

**Table 5.19**  
**Degree of Satisfaction and Gender- One Way Anova**

	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>F Value</b>	<b>Sig</b>
<b>Male</b>	357	61.29	5.997	.317	1.429	.240
<b>Female</b>	293	60.83	5.821	.341		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>61.07</b>	<b>5.922</b>	<b>.232</b>		

(Source: Primary Data)

As seen from the table 5.19, male respondents have the highest mean score. From the analysis, it is identified that the significant values of the variable is higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to gender.

### 5.3.2.2. Degree of Satisfaction and Age

The researcher used one way analysis of variance to check whether there is any significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to age. The result of one way analysis of variance is presented in table 5.20 given below

- **H0<sub>2</sub>: There is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to age**

**Table 5.20**  
**Degree of Satisfaction and Age- One Way Anova**

	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>F Value</b>	<b>Sig</b>
<b>18-25</b>	131	60.75	5.257	.459	1.124	.338
<b>26-35</b>	238	61.61	6.099	.395		
<b>36-60</b>	186	60.87	6.412	.470		
<b>Above 60</b>	95	60.54	5.287	.542		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>61.07</b>	<b>5.922</b>	<b>.232</b>		

From the table 5.20, it is observed that ‘26-35’ age group respondents have the highest mean score and ‘above 60’ age group respondents have the lowest mean score. From the analysis, it is identified that the significant values of the variable is higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to age

### 5.3.2.3. Degree of Satisfaction and Educational Qualification

The researcher used one way analysis of variance to check whether there is any significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to educational qualification. The result of one way analysis of variance is presented in table 5.21 given below

- **H0<sub>3</sub>: There is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to educational qualification**

**Table 5.21**  
**Degree of Satisfaction and Educational Qualification**

	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>F Value</b>	<b>Sig</b>
Illiterate	150	60.47	5.355	.437	.562	.761
Primary	226	61.47	6.325	.421		
High School	171	61.19	6.157	.471		
SSLC	48	61.02	6.093	.879		
Higher Secondary	45	60.96	4.819	.718		
Graduate/Above	8	59.63	4.689	1.658		
Technical	2	59.00	1.414	1.000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>61.07</b>	<b>5.922</b>	<b>.232</b>		

As seen from the table 5.21, ‘primary’ education group respondents have the highest mean score and ‘technical’ education group respondents have the lowest mean score. From the analysis, it is identified that the significant values of the variable is

higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to educational qualification

#### 5.3.2.4. Degree of Satisfaction and Occupation

The researcher used one way analysis of variance to check whether there is any significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to occupation. The result of one way analysis of variance is presented in table 5.22 given below

- **H0<sub>4</sub>: There is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to occupation**

**Table 5.22**

#### **Degree of Satisfaction and Occupation**

	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>F Value</b>	<b>Sig</b>
Farmer	28	61.79	5.814	1.099	1.131	.341
Daily wage	420	60.98	6.147	.300		
Govt service	8	65.00	5.155	1.822		
Private sector	85	61.32	5.484	.595		
Unemployed	109	60.73	5.397	.517		
Total	650	61.07	5.922	.232		

From the table 5.22, it is inferred that ‘farmers’ have the highest mean score and ‘daily wage’ workers have the lowest mean score. From the analysis, it is identified that the significant values of the variable is higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to educational qualification

#### 5.4. Conclusion

It is clear from the above analysis that most of the Paniya tribes are much interested in political activities. The study shows that the socio-economic factors related to the political participation, the analysis shows that these factors indirectly influence the Paniya tribes. All hypotheses rejected in the data analysis means that in

this part hypotheses are null hypotheses that means significant relationship between political participation and gender, age, education, property owners, income, occupation, users of mobile phone and get the financial aid. The second part expresses the degree of satisfaction of political participation. As seen from the analysis, it is found that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to gender, age, education and occupation. And these data analyzed on the exploratory factor, confirmatory factor analysis and validity and reliability tested on convergent and Discriminant validity basis.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### 6.1 Introduction

The study has its focus on political participation of the Paniya tribes of Wayanad in Kerala where they are found in a very large number. The district is celebrated for its rich diversity of culture, traditions, festivals and festivities. Several traditional and modern institutions have contributed to the process of political participation among the tribal people, especially the Paniyas. In Wayanad there are well entrenched socio-political institutions often linked to religious, cultural and economic functions in running the affairs of their society. The study on political participation of the tribes reveals that they cover almost all the aspects of a person's life because it determines the political participation of tribal society wherein the individuals reside and interact with one another. Political participation is a process of communication and participation in decision making at the governmental and administrative levels.

The study on the topic 'Political Participation of Tribes: A Study on Paniya Tribes of Wayanad in Kerala' investigates the phenomena of political participation among the Paniyas of Wayanad. Both primary and secondary data have helped the researcher to arrive at valuable findings and make her own conclusions. The primary data were collected from 650 Paniya respondents in 3 municipalities and 23 panchayaths in the district of Wayanad. The selection of the respondents was effected through Simple Random Method. The collected primary data have been processed, analyzed and tabulated by means of SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) and various statistical tools. This chapter gives a summary of the study, findings and recommendations based on it.

#### 6.2. Major Findings

The main findings emanating from the research have been summarized and conclusions based on them are discussed with empirical evidences from previous studies. The findings given in the following part of the chapter are based on the analysis of the answers; the respondents have given to a close ended questionnaire

and their responses at an open ended interview schedule being prepared by the researcher based on the objectives of the study and hypotheses. The answers elicited through the questionnaire have a quantitative nature and those obtained at the interview have a qualitative nature. Both the methods include the components of the participants' observations. The findings are given in four parts:

1. Findings regarding the educational and social aspects
2. Findings about political aspects
3. Findings on the developmental aspects
4. Findings on relationship between the participation and socio-economic factors.
5. Findings concerning on degree of satisfaction.

#### **6.2.1. Findings Regarding the Educational and Social Aspects**

The educational and economic situations of the Paniya tribe influence their political participation. Governments have set up *anganwadies*(kindergarten) in each tribal settlement and special tribal schools in Wayanad district. Schools and colleges serve as agents of modernization and political socialization in the tribal areas. Most of the tribal segments show a lack of concern for providing modern education to the young generation and it has affected in a negative manner their political socialization and participation. The addiction to alcoholic beverages among Paniya families is one of the obstacles in the path of their political awareness and development. The economic condition of the Paniyas of each settlement is different. Majority of them being landless, their economic condition is very pathetic which affects to some extent their participation and socialization. The involvement of the Paniyas in the political struggle is an important landmark in their history. The political system of each tribe is as old as the tribe itself.

- Education has played a major role in bolstering participation and modernization. From the analysis, it is identified that vast majority of the (n=500) respondents are educated and 150 respondents are illiterates. Eight respondents are graduates and only two respondents are technically qualified. It is revealed from the study carried out among the respondents belonging to

the Paniya tribe in Wayanad district of Kerala that the process of political participation and political socialization gained momentum with the founding of primary schools and colleges in and around the region.

- The monthly income of the 27 respondents is below 1000 and only 38 members are earning above 5000 rupees as monthly income. The monthly income of 199 respondents varies between 1000- 2000 rupees. The monthly income 386 respondents are in the range of 2001-5000.
- It can be identified from the analysis that majority of the respondents (n=451) are daily wage workers. 34 respondents are there in the private sector, 52 respondents in farming and 4 respondents in the government service. 109 respondents described themselves as unemployed. Majority of the tribal people are involved in the Oorukoottam and other gatherings. Many among the educated younger generation work in the private sector. This provides them ample opportunities to interact with non tribal people deepening their social and political awareness.
- It is evident from the analysis that 234 respondents have their own land. 38 respondents own land ranging between 50 cents and 1 acre. The economic condition of the Paniyas is very miserable. They do not have food during working hours. Most of the Paniya people take food only twice a day- breakfast and supper. At other times they just chew the tobacco. This habit negatively affects their health.
- The social organization of Paniya tribes is related to their culture. From the analysis, it is identified that majority of the respondents are married. There are 63 unmarried respondents and 30 widow respondents and 17 respondents are widowers. In the Paniya tribal settlement, most of them are married. They are also involved in political meetings and are enjoying their political rights.
- From the analysis, it is found that 164 respondents read news paper daily (25.2%), whereas 486 respondents are not reading any news papers at all (74.8%). In the Edyakamala colony in Mullenkolli panchayath, most Paniya families are subscribers of the Malayala Manorama newspaper. Reading news

papers influences their political attitudes and the people settled here have their own political views. This colony is much developed in the educational field and many youth work in other parts of Kerala.

- In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century most tribal people began to own and listen to the depend radio. At the initiative of Radio Mattoli group the Tribal FM channel was launched and they distributed a radio to each colony. At present, almost all the Paniya families boast having a television set. It is observed from the discussions with them that vast majority (81.5%) of respondents watch television frequently. 18.5 per cent of the respondents have no facility to watch television. In the tribal area, mass media serve as agents of disseminating information about the political events, programmes and news, cinema, political discussions and entertainment. Thus television greatly influences the political consciousness of tribal people. For example, having heard the news of the tragic murder of Madu, a tribal youth at Attapady allegedly by the police, the agitated people demonstrated their anger by participating in the protest processions.
- The tribes are not backward in the usage of the social media. As seen from the results shown in the analysis chapter, 83.8 per cent of the respondents have mobile phones whereas, 16.2 per cent of the respondents have no mobile phones. In the Paniya settlement most of the tribes are using the mobile phones.
- In inculcating political awareness in the Paniya tribal community, newspapers, peer groups, radio and television, as well as the social media are crucial agents.
- As seen from the analysis, 361 respondents use social media applications and 289 respondents are not using any of such applications. It is youth who are addicted to the social media, using whats app and face book account. Some of the youth belonging to the Paniya tribes are actively involved in the web page political parties.

### 6.2.2. Findings on Political Aspects

- The present study shows that most of the Paniya people have memberships in various political parties. From the analysis, it is observed that the vast majority of the respondents are the members of political party (n=420, 64.6%). 230 respondents have no membership in any political party. Some women and aged people are not members of any political party. Among 407 respondents are just members and 13 respondents are party officials of different parties.
- As seen from the data analysis results, majority of the respondents always attend political meetings. About thirty per cent of the respondents sometimes attend political meetings. 27.2 per cent of the respondents never attend any political meeting. It shows that most of the Paniya people attended the political meetings; these meetings influence the minds of tribes.
- It is evident from the analysis related to the participation in political procession that 27.2 per cent of the respondents marked never, 27.4 per cent of the respondents (n= 178) marked sometimes and 45.2 per cent of the respondents (n= 294) marked always. In the political procession most of the Paniya people participate and also raise their needs.
- Political parties actively participate in the tribal area for their needs. The political party engaged in each tribal settlement aims at votes in the election time. From the results, it is inferred that 88 per cent of the respondents (n=572) are satisfied with the activities of political parties and 12 per cent of the respondents (n= 78) are not satisfied with the activities of political parties. Among the tribes each settlement is for each particular political party quota, and they actively participates in each tribal area. And the important point is that a particular party influences the young generation here and maintains youth wing in these areas.
- As referred from the results, political parties itself are the major source of political information which is followed by television, mobile phone, peer groups/ friends and family. Organization becomes the least important source of information. In the present situation, youth use the mobile phone as an important source of the political information. Mass media, friends and political

parties are the most effective agents of political socialization process. Political socialization process here is gradually increasing along with political awareness and participation.

- From the analysis, it is identified that 336 respondents sometimes discuss political matters at home, 194 respondents always discuss political matters at home and 29 respondents frequently discuss political matters at home. From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test value (3) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores. It shows that family is the primary agent of socialization process and gives the basic political information to Paniya family members and children.
- As derived from the analysis, it is observed that families of 88.8 per cent of the respondents have their own political ideology. While, 11.2 per cent of the respondents opined that they have no political ideology. Most of the Paniya family follows particular political ideology and its members follow the party ideas. The unique culture paved the way to the common way of thinking. The tribal people traditionally follow a particular party ideology and they tend to vote that particular political party. This common feeling and uniqueness is the cohesive level of participation.
- As inferred from the data analysis, 89.7 per cent of the respondents opined that the Paniya community have a satisfied representation. The particular party followers believe and are satisfied in the party activities. Whereas, 10.3 per cent of the respondents opined that Paniya community does not have a satisfied representation. Some people remarked that the political party came only in the election time and their sole aim is vote bank.
- From the study it is clear that almost all the political parties in the district have their party units in tribal segments. They play a major role in socializing the tribals and ensure the political participation by the tribal people of Wayanad. Though the tribals are not proportionately given key posts and positions in the parties, they are recruited in party offices to some extent. During elections, the tribals mostly contest in the tickets of various political parties.

- Among the 650 respondents, 384 respondents marked no comment on cultural taboos that restrict participation. 17 respondents opined language, 76 respondents suggested caste, 2 respondents opined gender, and 146 respondents agreed income and 25 respondents suggested job. The cultural taboos are not obstacle for the political participation of Paniya people, but sometimes the lack of money and their daily job (cooli) leaves an inferior complex in these people.
- From the data collected from the respondents, it is identified that 359 respondents have membership in some organizations and 291 respondents have membership in no organizations. Among the aforesaid 359 respondents having membership in some organizations, 23 respondents are the members of NGO, 11 respondents are the members of tribal organization, 178 respondents are part of women organizations, 4 respondents worked with government organizations and 142 with youth organizations. Self Help Groups especially Kudumbasreeplayan active role in the Paniya settlement and Shreyas and Tudi are NGOs working in the tribal colonies.
- From the analysis, it is identified that 602 respondents received benefits from political organisations. It constitutes 92.6 per cent of the total sample. 28 respondents received benefits from women organisations, 10 from NGO and the remaining 10 respondents from tribal organisations. Most of the Paniya people received the benefit from political party.
- In each settlement, Oorukoottam meeting is held every month. In this meeting all matured tribal people participate and raise their needs in front of the tribal promoter and government representative. In case of participation in Oorukoottam, 38 respondents marked no and 89 respondents marked sometimes. Vast majority of respondents (n=523) opined 'always' as option. The few respondents opined that they have no time to attend Oorukoottam.
- In case of the question related with the participation in gramasabha meeting, 40 respondents marked no comment and 61 respondents marked sometimes. Vast majority of respondents opined always option (n=549). From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test

value (2) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores. From the analysis, it is inferred that the lack of interest is the main reason why the respondents do not attend gramasabha meeting which is followed by no time, late information and unawareness. The lack of interest and non tribal people participation are the main reasons for the tribal people do not involve in the gramasabha meetings.

- From the data collected from the respondents, it is observed that only 2.5 per cent of the respondents do not cast their votes. A vast majority of respondents (97.5%) opined that they do vote. The Paniya tribal people use their political right in the election time. As inferred from the data analysis results, 99.2 per cent of the respondents have a polling booth station nearby. Few people (.8%) have only the minimum political knowledge.
- From the information derived from the analysis, it is identified that personal will is the most influential factor for voting. Political party placed second, family placed third and offer placed fourth. NGO positioned as the least influential factor for voting. In the present days the Paniya people are aware of the different political ideology and they choose one as right and select the best one out of the choices for their development. Hence the researcher applied rational thinking theory which is most suitable for this condition.
- Regarding the latest Loksabha election, 98.6 per cent of the respondents casted their votes and 1.4 per cent of the respondents did not cast their votes. Regarding the selection of candidates by the respondents, majority of the respondents selected their candidates on the basis of political party activities. It accounts 294 counts. Tribal activities placed second position, charisma at the third and qualification positioned at the fourth position.
- Regarding the opinion of respondents about tribal leadership, 63 respondents marked no opinion, 525 respondents marked able leadership, 9 respondents opined somewhat able, 3 respondents opined not able and 50 respondents marked don't know. From the result of one sample t test, it is found that the calculated mean score is less than the test value (3) and the p value is less than 0.05. Hence, there is significant difference in mean scores. The Paniya tribes

have their own particular opinion in the selection of candidates and tribal leadership. It shows an increasing the rational thinking capacity of tribal people.

### **6.2.3. Findings on Developmental Aspects**

- As seen from the analysis, all the respondents have both Aadhar card and voters ID card. 649 respondents have ration card. Majority of the respondents have no driving license and PAN Card. 18 and 17 respondents respectively have driving license and PAN Card. It shows that they co-operate in the government development initiatives.
- From the analysis, it is identified that 97.1 per cent of the respondents opined that they have bank accounts whereas, 2.9 per cent of the respondents opined that they have no bank accounts.
- Related to the sources of information regarding development programmes it is identified that tribal promoters are the major source of information regarding development programmes which is followed by Oorukoottam, political parties, gramasabha, media and government organizations. The role of tribal promoter is very important in each tribal settlement. They are interconnected with government and tribal people. They inform them about various plans for the development programmes of the government.
- From the information derived from the analysis, it is observed that 98.5 per cent of the respondents get financial aid from the government. Only 1.5 per cent of the respondents opined that they have not got any financial aid from the government. Most of the Paniya people used the financial aid for their development. As shown from the analysis, it is observed that 634 respondents received financial aid for household needs, 267 for agricultural needs, 587 for water facilities, 503 for health and sanitation and 480 respondents for education.
- As extracted from the analysis, 98.8 per cent of the respondents are satisfied with the development programmes of the government. Only 1.2 per cent of the respondents feel dissatisfaction regarding the development programmes of the

government. Most of them are satisfied and others are dissatisfied with the development programmes because of the delay in the dispersal of the funds at the right time.

- As seen from the analysis, the highest number of respondents receive benefits from PradhanaManthriAwas Yojana/ Life Mission (housing for all), which is followed by DeenDayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana (electrification of all villages) and Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (guarantee the right to work). The 109 respondents get benefits from Atal Pension Yojana. The household programmes of the centre and state programmes are available to majority Paniya tribal families and also they receive electricity and employment programmes. But the real situation is that the people do not pay the minimum electricity fee and as a result connection gets break. Widows, disabled persons and old aged people get the pension fund.
- Regarding various agencies support on the developmental schemes; tribal promoters placed the first position followed by Oorukoottam in the second, political party in the third and gramasabha in the fourth position. NGO's are placed in the last position. Tribal promoters and Oorukoottam meetings are the most important agencies for the developmental schemes.
- From the information inferred from the analysis, it is noted that 98.2 per cent of the respondents are aware about tribal reservation. 1.8 per cent of the respondents have no awareness on tribal reservation. The Paniya tribe does not benefit much from the reservation policies of the state government for tribal people, since they come under the category of advanced tribes in Wayanad.
- From the information provided in analysis, it is found that 41.4 per cent of the respondents strongly support land agitation and 56.8 per cent of the respondents support land agitation. Most of them support the land agitation and it is a part of the political history of Paniya tribes.
- From the analysis, it is observed that corruption is the most critical hindrance to the development of the respondents which is then followed by

discrimination from the part of the government, lack of awareness among people and lack of co-ordination among government agency. Whereas, lack of infrastructure is turned out to be the least hindrance for development.

#### **6.2.4. Findings on Relationship between the Participation and Socio-Economic Factors.**

- From the testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is observed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and gender. Majority of the members in the political party are men because women are busy with their household work.
- From the Chi square test of hypothesis, it is inferred that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and age. Majority of the members are young people because they are vibrant and they access to information regarding political issues from various online sources.
- As seen in the chi square test of hypothesis, it is observed that the p values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and education of the respondents. Education helps the respondents to differentiate between the ideologies of various political parties. It also helps the people to deal with various political issues.
- From the testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is observed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and property owners. The tribal people had to struggle with the government to get their own land. It was the political parties that helped them.
- The testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is revealed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis

is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and income. In the political participation field, monthly income is related to the participation. People with higher income can afford the expenses that come across while joining the party.

- From the testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is seen that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and occupation. There are trade unions in every field of work to protect the needs of the workers. All these trade unions will be under one party. Lots of workers joined the party through these trade unions.
- As per the Chi square test of hypothesis, it is shows that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and watching television. The Paniya communities watch the political news through television and media boosts political participation by providing information about current political scenario.
- From testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is observed that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and reading news papers. Reading helps to know the present issues of the tribal area, current issues and about the unexecuted government policies. Then they can think rationally and choose the best one. And also they can raise their voice for their needs.
- From the Chi square test of hypothesis it is seen that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and usage of mobile phone. Use of mobile phones eases the communication and thereby increases the political participation.
- From the information about the Chi square test of hypothesis, it is inferred that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the

hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and organization influence. Organizations play a vital role in the development and upliftment of Paniya tribal settlements. Moreover, these organizations make them aware about their political rights.

- The testing of hypothesis (Chi square test of association), it is inferred that the significant values of all the relations are lower than 0.05, hence, the hypothesis is rejected. It is inferred that there exists significant association between political participation and financial aid to get from the government. They participate in political meetings because they receive various financial aids from the government. Politicians act as mediators in helping the tribal people to access these financial aids from the government.

#### **6.2.5. Findings on Degree of Satisfaction**

- As derived from the analysis, male respondents had the highest mean score and transgender respondents had the lowest mean score. From the analysis, it is identified that the significant values of the variable is higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to gender.
- From the analysis, it is inferred that '26-35' age group respondents had the highest mean score and 'above 60' age group respondents had the lowest mean score. From the analysis, it is observed that the significant values of the variable is higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to age.
- It is evident from the analysis, that 'primary' education group respondents had the highest mean score and 'technical' education group respondents had the lowest mean score. From the analysis, it is identified that the significant values of the variable is higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to educational qualification.
- As seen from the analysis, 'farmer' had the highest mean score and 'daily wage' workers had the lowest mean score. From the analysis, it is identified that the significant values of the variable is higher than 0.05 indicating that

there is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction with respect to occupation.

- The provision of 33% reservation of seats in the state assembly, parliament and local government bodies for women is yet to be implemented, although women have no role in the Paniya community. Paniya women are not satisfied with the reserved seats provided by the government initiatives but other tribal groups are engaged in the politics. But one Paniya tribal woman named Mini is the present district panchayath member of Wayanad.
- The study shows that middle aged people has more active participation in the politics. Younger generation of people are indirectly involved in the politics through social media group and communicate with the other non tribal people.

### **6.3. Suggestions**

One of the main aims of this research programme has been to make some valuable suggestions for the further political participation and development of the tribes especially the Paniyas. In the light of the study the following suggestions are offered. They are directed at five categorical sections. (1) Suggestions to the central and state governments (2) to the Local Self Government(3) to the Tribal Development Offices(4) to the political parties (5) to the Paniya community, and (6) suggestions to the non tribal people; society. The suggestions pertain not only to the Paniyas but to the entire Western Ghats as they constitute an integral part of the tribal community region.

#### **6.3.1. Suggestions to the Central and State Governments:**

- Steps may be taken to convert the Western tribal area of Kerala as a centre of education. The Wayanad tribal region will attract students to the high and academic institutions that will come up, thereby promoting the cultural amalgamation of different peoples.

- Educational activities in Wayanad should be at par with those of the prestigious and standard institutions within the district and other parts of Kerala and abroad.
- It is suggested that the governments at the centre and states should take the initiative to establish modern technical schools and tribal colleges to enhance the academic standard of the younger generation. Because of the absence of such institutions, a large number of students either drop out or go outside the district to pursue higher education which causes great financial burden. Educational facilities must be enhanced among the tribal students and tribal studies have to be introduced as a special subject in their curricula. Above all, 50% reservation of seats in the schools for the tribal students can also play a vital role to improve their educational standards. Ensuring maximum participation of these students in the college union activities by providing reservation posts in the college union can also accelerate their political inclusion. This can give them firsthand experience to voice their needs.
- The government may take urgent steps for the economic advancement of the tribes utilizing the allotted funds in a creative and positive fashion. It may also be ensured that the development funds for Wayanad are being utilized without lapses and corruption.
- Most of the Paniya tribal people are daily wages earners. So the government should try to provide more employment opportunities. As the younger generation is not attracted by daily wages, the government should provide more facilities for technical jobs.
- Measures should be taken to increase the bioregional consciousness of the tribal people and help them to up bring their indigenous art and artifacts. The government should take initiative to develop these bioregional artifacts. This could develop into an employment.
- Women's Self Help Groups (SHGs) and animation programmes may be launched in tribal areas to empower women and make their families self-sufficient.

- The absence of modern government hospitals within the district of Wayanad is a major drawback which raises the mortality rate disturbingly. Therefore, it is imperative that the government increases the medical facilities in towns and villages, especially in tribal areas.
- The Paniya women enjoy gender equality now compared to their counterparts rather than in any other non tribal society. However, women are yet to be active in the political sphere. Therefore it is advisable that the government provides equal opportunities to both men and women in policy formulation, reducing gender disparity.
- The particular Paniya tribal development package should be implemented by the central government and state government.
- The government may make use of the audio visual media to enlighten the people outside the Wayanad on their unique customs and culture, which will promote national integration and can bring the tribal people to the national mainstream.
- Government should apply low rate of interest on electricity and provide electricity to all families.
- Governments should utilize the correct amount of grants for development programmes and build strong and ideal buildings for the tribal people.
- Government can conduct classes on self awareness, political awareness and political development policies.

### **6.3.2 Suggestions to the Local Self Government.**

- Local self government should conduct regular grama sabha meetings and should encourage Paniya tribal people to participate in these meetings.
- The new plans and programmes of the central and state government regarding the welfare of the tribal people should be accurately informed and implemented by the local self government authorities.

- Red-tapism should be avoided. Local self government should extend immediate help to the needs of Paniya tribes.
- Local self government should make the people aware about the importance of political participation.
- Authorities should ensure that Paniya tribes are given opportunities for contesting in elections.

### **6.3.3. Suggestions to the Tribal Development Office**

- Tribal development office should select more tribal promoters from Paniya community and inform the tribal people about various developmental schemes implemented by the government accurately.
- It should visit the tribal settlement at regular intervals in order to understand their real situation.
- It should create awareness among the tribal people regarding the functions of Akshaya centre in their areas.
- Tribal extension officers should conduct Oorukoottam at least twice in a month.
- It should increase the number of social workers for each tribal settlement.

### **6.3.4. Suggestions to the Political Party**

- The leaders of various political parties should take initiatives to eradicate the rampant corruption in tribal area; otherwise people will lose their faith in them.
- The government and political parties should see to it that political awareness is inculcated in the people.
- The policy of 33% of reservation of seats in the state assembly and parliament may be implemented for Paniya women.

- Instability of governments is a deep rooted malaise in Wayanad which is mainly due to corruption and hunger for power. Therefore, all the party leaders should come together and devise strategies to put an end to this unwholesome situation. Political parties may take steps to ensure that Acts like Right to Information is implemented effectively. Political parties can also try to ensure accountability and transparency in administration.
- Political parties should enlighten the tribals on several rural development programmes of the government.
- Adopt measures to preserve the rich and unique customary laws, customs and culture of the people. The political parties may co-operate with the Self Help Groups and similar collectives.

#### **6.3.5. Suggestions to the Paniya Community**

- The Paniyas should enlighten their fellow citizens on the several privileges provided by the governments and other agencies with respect to loans, scholarships and reservations.
- The Paniya community may be made to realize that education is a powerful tool of empowerment and social mobility. Education is the most important factor that contributes to the promotion of upward social mobility leading to political empowerment and also participation.
- Educated Paniya people should help other people in the community to take advantage of opportunities in the field of nursing, banking, government and the private sector.
- A rapport among different tribes of Wayanad may be sought to be brought about which will go a long way in refurbishing their image outside of the Wayanad district.
- It is suggested that the Paniyas should involve themselves in the political process more actively becoming part of the power structure, which will strengthen their bargaining power.

- Take part enthusiastically in the celebrations of religious and ethnic festivals of other tribal communities of Kerala which gives them a feeling of oneness and strengthen good rapport with other tribal people.
- Tribal people should conduct family gathering which can improve their common feeling.
- Paniya people should communicate with other non tribal people and thus their political attitude will change.

#### **6.3.6. Suggestions to the Civil Society:**

- The elites should take the initiative to eradicate misunderstandings, prejudices and superstitions among various groups by their intervention.
- NGOs, social activists and other likeminded people may monitor whether the development funds and schemes which are meant for the tribal people are utilized properly and transparently.
- Promote tribal arts, cultural festivals, sports club, play grounds, library and other public places in which people can come together cutting across tribe, race and language. Voluntary organizations can play a central role in the matter.
- The society may whole heartedly welcome the tribal people and communicate with them can build good relationship.

#### **6.3.7. Suggestions for Further Research:**

- The researcher has made a study of only one of the major tribes of Wayanad. Future researchers may seek to pursue the study on the tribal phenomenon within and outside the Wayanad and Kerala and across the globe with special emphasis on political participation. A comparative examination of the history, traditions, heritages and the philosophy of the multifarious tribes inhabiting various regions of our planet will provide one with a holistic perception and vision of the tribal situation.

- An examination of the existing problems in Wayanad may be conducted especially with respect to tribal nationalism and peaceful solution to it.
- Wayanad is the most beautiful territory with rich culture and traditions. Further studies on the tribes of Kerala will go a long way in enlightening mainstream Indians on these peoples who consider themselves ignored, neglected and marginalized demands.
- In depth, studies on the lapses and limitations of the constitutional provisions and government agencies related to Kerala may also be carried out so that, if necessary, further changes may be effected.

#### **6.4. Conclusion**

The main focus of the study is to examine the nature and extent of political participation of the Paniya tribe of Kerala who mainly dwells in Wayanad district. It is found from the study that the tribes in Wayanad have achieved a high level of political participation and modernization. The political socialization agencies that boost political participation are chiefly the family, traditional and modern educational institutions, political parties, friends, mass media, organisations and Self Help Groups. The centre and state governments formulate various policies and programmes for the development of scheduled tribes, especially Paniya tribes. During the British regime the tribes had an isolated existence, but when after the independence Indian constitution provided many provisions for the protection and development of tribes, they began to get absorbed into the social mainstream. It may be also noted that both central and state governments have been striving to preserve intact with their glorious traditions and usages.

Wayanad district has the highest per cent of tribal population in Kerala and different tribal groups inhabit interiors as well as town areas. With the introduction and implementation of the Forest Rights Act the tribes lost their habitats where they have been living out their lives for generations reducing them to a very deplorable condition.

This was followed by aggressive demand for the restoration of their alienated land in which the tribal people, especially Paniyas involved themselves passionately.

Various political parties and their own organizations such as AGMS joined the movement as a result of which affect the political attitude and active participation in the political field. The land struggles conducted by various political parties and tribal NGOs and the tribal people involve in these struggles and raise their voice and demands. The introvert and conservative people are active in the politics for their land, and it leads to the political participation.

Political participation is a process wherein the role of political parties is pivotal. The elections that take place intermittently activate the political awareness of the tribal people and shape the orientations of the individual in the system. However, most of the Paniya tribes are interested in political activities and exercise their franchise at the time of elections. Only a few are not involved in party politics and these people have no faith in the political party.

During the elections, all political parties indulge in corrupt practices like distribution of money, liquor and drugs to canvass votes for their candidates. It is only natural that once a candidate gets elected, they will resort to all kinds of malpractices to make up the money spent in the election. They are not motivated by a desire to serve the citizens. Certain political factions even ingratiate themselves with the insurgents to pressurize and threaten the voters to their advantage. The participation of Paniya women is comparatively lower than the male participation. The presence in the state assembly and parliament has been nil till date. At present the local self government in Wayanad has five members from Paniya community.

In the Paniya settlements, political parties, Oorukoottam, gramasabha, mass media and NGOs have been promoting political socialization and participation. In the Oorukoottam meetings most of the Paniya tribes have participated and raised their demands and needs. In the political participation process tribal promoter has an essential role in the Paniya community. They inform them about the government meetings and programmes, and also about the government welfare programmes. Oorukoottam is an important channel that brought great progress in the rural regions of Wayanad tribal areas.

The findings of the study on political participation justifies the hypotheses that **(a)** There is a direct relationship between socio and economic conditions of Paniya

tribes and political participation, that **(b)** Educated Paniya tribe's political participation is higher than non educated Paniya tribes. Education and socio-economic condition has direct relation between the participation. **(c)** Political and socializing agencies (interest aggregating and articulating agencies) play a greater role in the political participation process. **(d)** The developmental programmes and policies initiated by the government accelerate the process of political participation. **(e)** There is no significant difference in degree of satisfaction of paniya's political participation with respect to economic conditions. **(f)** In accelerating the process of political participation of the Paniya tribe, political parties have a crucial role.

The researcher has explored the different theoretical approaches to the study of political participation. The findings of the study have led the researcher to the conclusion that political participation has taken place among the members of the Paniya tribe on a large scale. Several socio-economic, political, educational, cultural and religious factors have immensely contributed to the political field. Political participation has greatly helped in bringing much progress to the Paniya landscape in every sphere of human endeavor. Till about a century and a half ago, they had an isolated and alienated life and now a trace of fresh air began to blow across their territory bringing them to the national mainstream and exposing them to the wider world.

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**APPENDIX**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF TRIBES: A STUDY OF PANIYA TRIBES  
OF WAYANAD DISTRICT IN KERALA**

**I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION** (Tick (√) in the appropriate bracket)

1. Sl. No

2. Name of the Block:

3. Name of Panchayat:

4. Name of the Colony:

5. Gender : a) Male  b) Female  c) Transgender

6. Age: a) 18-25  b) 26-35  c) 36-60  d) 60 above

7. Do you have any land property of your own?

a) Yes  b) No

If yes, which of the following?

a) Below 10 cent  b) 20-50 cent  c) 50 cent-1 acre  d) Above 1 acre

8. Approximate the total monthly income of your family:

a) Below 1000  b) 1001-2000  c) 2001-5000  d) Above 5000

**II. EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS**

9. Education: a) Illiterate  b) primary  c) High School  d) SSLC

e) Higher Secondary  f) Graduate/Above  g) Technical

10. Marital status: a) Married  b) Unmarried  c) Widow  d) Widower

11. Occupation: a) Farmer  b) Daily wage  c) Govt. service

d) Private Sector  e) Co-operative sector  f) Unemployed

12. Do you read news papers daily? a) Yes  b) No

13. Do you watch television daily? a) Yes  b) No

14. Which program are you interested in? a) Entertainment  b) News relat

c) Political discussion  d) social discussion  e) Cinema

15. Do you have mobile phone? a) Yes  b) No

16. Are you active in social media? a) Yes  b) No

If yes, which of the following?

a) Face book  b) whats App  c) Twitter  d) Messenger

If yes, are you active media in any political parties' social media page?

a) Yes  b) No

### III. POLITICAL ASPECTS

17. Are you a member of any political party? a) Yes  b) No

If yes, level of party affiliation – a) Party member  b) Party Official

c) Elected candidate

18. Do you attend any political meetings? a) Always  b) Sometimes

c) No Comment  d) Never

19. Do you participate in any political procession? a) Always  b) Sometimes

c) No Comment  d) Never

20. Are you satisfied with the actions taken by political parties to uplift you?

a) Yes  b) No

21. Mention the sources you depend for political activities and information?

a) News papers/ magazine  b) Radio  c) Television  d) Mobile phone

e) Organizations  f) Political Parties  g) Family  h) Peer groups/Friends

i) Tribal promoters  j) School  k) Social media  L) None of the Above

22. Do you discuss political matters at home?

a) Always  b) Sometimes  c) Frequently  d) No Comment

23. Does your family follow any particular party ideology? a) Yes  b) No

24. Are you satisfied in the Paniya community representation? a) Yes  b) No

**25. Do you have any cultural taboos that restrict you from active participation in political activities?**

- a) Language  b) Caste  c) Gender  d) Income  e) Job  f) No

**26. Are you a member of any organization?** a) Yes  b) No

**If yes, mention the nature of the organization?** a) NGOs  b) Tribal Organization

c) Women Organization  d) Govt. Organization  e) Youth Organization

f) Religious Organization  g) Others

**27. Have you participated in any political activities of that organization?**

- a) Sometimes  b) Always  c) No comment  d) Never

**28. Do you get any kinds of benefits from these organizations?** a) Tribal organization

b) NGOs  c) Women Organization  d) Political Party

**29. Do you participate in Oorukootam in your colony?**

- a) Always  b) Sometimes  c) No

**If No, Why?** a) No interest  b) Late information  c) No time  d) Unaware

**30. Do you participate in the meetings of Grama Sabha?**

- a) Always  b) Sometimes  c) No

**If No, Why?** a) No interest  b) Late information  c) No time  d) Unaware

**31. Do you vote?** a) Yes  b) No

**32. Do you have any polling Booth station nearby?** a) Yes  b) No

**33. What are the main factors which influence your voting?** a) Family  b) Peer   
group

c) NGO  d) Political party  e) Media  f) Personal will

g) Image of the candidate  h) Offer/Donation from the political party

h) Gender of the candidate

**34. Did you cast your vote for the last Loksabha election?** a) Yes  b) No

**If yes, what was the criterion for selection of candidate?** a) Charisma

b) Qualification  c) Party activities  d) Tribal activities

**35. What is your opinion about Tribal Leadership in Kerala?**

- a) Able leadership  b) Somewhat able  c) Notable   
d) Don't know  e) No opinion

**IV. DEVELOPMENTAL ASPECTS**

- 36. Do you have these items?** a) Ration Card  b) Adhar  c) Voter ID   
d) Driving License  e) Pan Card

- 37. Did anyone help you to get these cards?** a) Yes  b) No

- 38. Do you have bank account?** a) Yes  b) No

**39. How do you obtain the information regarding the development programmes and financial assistance of the central and state governments?**

- a) Media (print and electronic media)  b) Tribal Promoters  c) NGOs   
d) Governmental Organizations  e) Grama Sabha  f) Political parties   
g) Oorukootam  h) Any other (specify.....)

**40. Do you get any financial aid from the government?**

- a) Yes  b) No

- If yes, which of the following financial aid?** a) Household  b) Agricultural   
c) Water facility  d) Health and sanitation  e) Educational scholarship

**41. Are you satisfied in the developmental programmes of government?**

- a) Yes  b) No

**42. Do you get any kinds of benefits from the developmental programmes given below?**

- a) National Rural Development Scheme  b) PMAY/ LIFE MISSION   
c) Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana  e) Pension (Old/Widow/Disable)

**43. Which agency supports you more to get developmental schemes/ benefits?**

- Political party  Tribal promoters  NGOs  Oorukootam  Gramasabha

**44. Do you know about tribal reservation in the government jobs?**

- a) Yes  b) No

**45. Do you support the land agitation movements in Kerala?**

- a) Strongly support  b) Support  c) Not support  d) No opinion

**46. What are the major hindrances to development by numbering 1,2,3 etc?**

- a) Corruption  b) discrimination from the part of the government   
 c) Lack of infrastructure  d) Lack of Co-ordination among Govt. agency.   
 (e) Lack of awareness among people

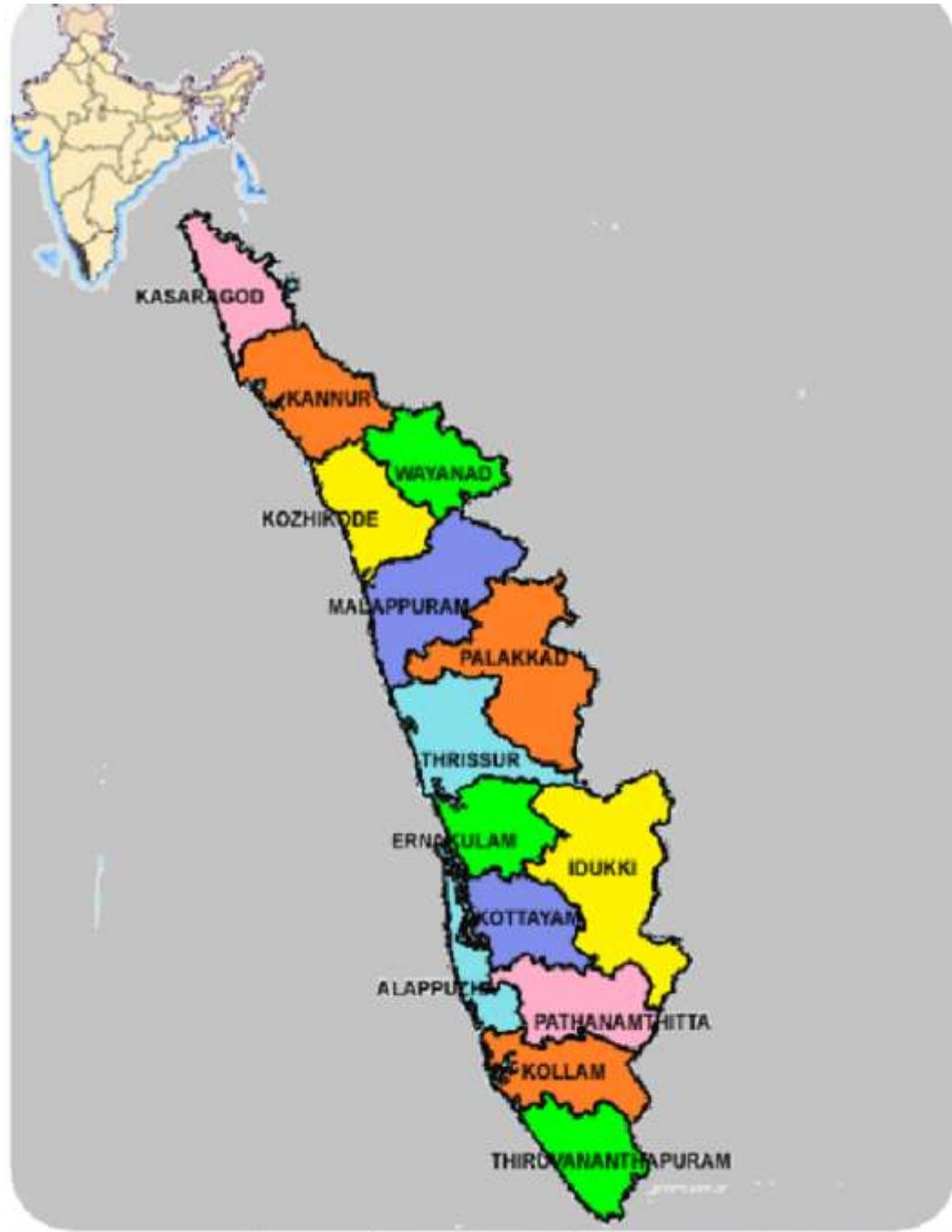
**47. Please tick the appropriate box to indicate your degree of satisfaction**

**SA-Strongly agree, A-Agree, N-Neutral, DA-Disagree, SDA-Strongly Disagree**

Statement	SA	A	N	DA	SDA
Education is an important agent of political participation					
The policies and developmental programs of government and NGOs has helped to improve political awareness of your community					
The land alienation is a landmark in the history of political participation.					
Political parties are effective in the social and political arenas in the tribal area.					
Do you receive any benefits from 33% of reservation seats for women in Wayanad?					
Is corruption hindering your political participation?					
There is no direct relation between the people and the authorities of the power centre.					
The developmental policies lead to upliftment the Paniya community					
In your opinion, is political participation necessary?					
Does creating political awareness encourage political participation?					
Has media played a vital role in encouraging political participation?					

Have the organizations played a key role in encouraging political participation?					
Has the Grama Sabha played a vital role in encouraging political participation?					
In recent past, have you observed a surge in the political participation in your Panchayat?					
In recent past, have you observed a surge in the political participation among young adults (youth)?					
Are the tribal promoters being an influential factor in the overall political participation in your area?					
Are you satisfied with the political activities initiated by the ruling political party/leaders?					
Do you believe that political awareness encourages the political participation?					

## MAP OF KERALA



## WAYANAD DISTRICT MAP



**PICTURE GALLERY**



Political leaders with Paniya tries in Paniya settlement



Tribal promoter communicates with Paniya tribal man



Mini- Wayanad District member (Paniya)



Paniya woman wearing traditional jewellery



Cultivation fields of Paniya Tribes



Houses of Paniya tribes.