From the Editor's Desk

I. Essays

II. Practitioner's Notes

III. Documents on Policing

From the Editor's Desk

Traditionally the tribes inhabiting the sparsely populated forest areas in the Indian heartland had never bothered the State apparatus unduly. They were poor and docile; and they had for long remained submissive to police and civil authority. Having neither ambition nor formal education nor proprietary private ownership of land, they led secluded lives without bothering the mainstream population. For the most part they remained on the fringes, unseen and practically forgotten.

This was the state of the tribal population at the time of Independence. But as the Indian economy expanded and as the ambitious, burgeoning mainstream population required more and more resources for their enterprises, they ventured out into the tribal areas for land and resources. This kind of entrepreneurship, knowingly or unknowingly, deprived the tribal population both of land as well as produce of the forest which had sustained them. Many a time, in the enthusiasm for development, the concerns of the affected people were forgotten by the administration. The inaccessibility of these areas also encouraged the growth of unscrupulous middlemen who flourished as the intermediaries between the people and the rulers.

The police system had hardly taken note of the tribes, except negatively. Often, police had stood up for the interests of the businessmen and the settlers who had gained access to the tribal territory. The tribes were unfamiliar with judicial systems also. Therefore, by early seventies, divergent growth paths were clearly discernible in these areas. Non-tribal population scaled new heights in economic and social well being exploiting the local resources while the tribes themselves languished and lagged far behind. Sometimes they had been deprived of even the little they had. Very often the submissiveness of the tribes and their fear of offending officialdom by any form of protest led to their undoing.

Customarily there had never been intensive policing in tribal areas. The tribes were nondescript and little-known entities to the police. Neither the police nor the tribes had thought of the police as protectors of tribes. Police believed themselves to be - and acted as- the symbols of distant State authority, caring little for the tribes, often bullying them and quick to stifle any weak attempts they would have made to escape from the clutches of their exploiters. The police in the tribal areas, though small in number and ill-equipped, revelled in their unquestioned authority and were smug in their confidence that the tribes cannot challenge the apparent omnipotence of the police.

Such complacency is now history. Across thousands of square kilometers spread across Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Bengal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, no policeman today would understand the smug overconfidence of their predecessors. For them even ordinary movement, let alone any pretence of omnipotence, in tribal areas is a difficult proposition. Vast stretches got infested by Maoists, commanding much local support, to such an extent that a few years back even the Prime Minister had to acknowledge Naxalism as the biggest challenge to the Internal Security of India.

The police experience in tribal areas in India should make us all wise with regard to the futility of policing strategies based on the inculcation of fear and exclusion. "Make everyone afraid; then all will obey", "Befriend none: all are suspects" - these were articles of faith in a colonial policing context. But in a democracy such a strategy would fail, both in attaining mastery over the people and in maintaining peace. When large numbers of people are deprived, dispossessed and exploited, by keeping them in fear, revolutionaries - both real and romantic- are quick to identify and target such people.

History has time and again shown that fear among the dispossessed can easily be transformed into anger against the oppressors. Such anger can easily be channelized to resistance. Every handbook on revolutionary struggle postulates this as a basic strategic imperative. The policing system till the seventies and the eighties had failed to understand this. The need to befriend the tribal was seldom stated or understood. But within a short span of two decades, the growth of Naxalism prevented the police from entering into tribal areas even for normal duties. Significantly wherever formulators of policy had modulated, knowingly or otherwise, the policing strategy to, partly or wholly, befriend affected populations, Naxalism could not make much headway and sometimes had even withered away after an initial flourish.

All police forces need to be extremely vigilant in this regard. Despite the egalitarian nature of Kerala polity and the giant strides made in improving the quality of life of the general population in education, health, housing, employment, foreign travel, entertainment etc, the tribal population, forming just one percent of Kerala, has been virtually left behind both in economic development and democratic empowerment. As professional policemen we must be duly conscious of this. The experience elsewhere must prevent us from becoming smugly complacent with regard to tribal policing issues. That is why the practitioners and advocates of community policing in Kerala, who had successfully evolved and carried out the community policing through the Janamaithri Suraksha model, have ventured into the tribal areas of the State with the message of people-friendly policing. In this issue of Democratic Policing, we focus on that experience.

Forging friendships with tribal communities is the surest way to prevent their being won over by militants and armed revolutionaries. Befriending and protecting the tribal is certain to preserve and protect peace. The principles of Community Policing will ensure proactive and consultative interaction between the tribal and the policeman. The effort must be to make every tribal discover and realize from his own experience that good policing is a civilizing and empowering experience and that all good policemen are truly his friends.

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Introductory note to the Study on Effectiveness of Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribes of Kerala

Dr. B. Sandhya

Janamaithri Suraksha Project, the ongoing community policing initiative in the State was introduced last year to 50 police stations, each having considerable tribal population within its limits.

As the problems confronted by the tribal colonies are multifarious and distinct, the Kerala Police had to adopt diverse strategies in each context, while introducing the project to such areas.

We adopted a technique of training cum panel discussions involving all stakeholders viz, the police personnel, personnel from various departments working for welfare of the tribal polpulace, NGOs, educational institutions etc. The exercise also involved simultaneous academic study of problems, strategies to be adopted etc. hence, academicians were also invited to attend the workshop apart from the other stakeholders. The study report presented here is the outcome of third such workshop.

As various stakeholders got an opportunity to interact with each other and deliberate over the issues, the strength and weakness of the strategies were worked out. These workshops are giving energy and direction to the nascent Janamaithri Project for the tribal areas in Kerala.

Study on effectiveness of Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribes of Kerala

Celine Sunny

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Community Policing intends to encourage citizens to partner with the police initiatives in maintaining law and order.

Besides being a philosophy, it is an effective tool to maintain law and order and is being tried by police all over the world. Fortunately, the police forces in the country started these initiatives in tandem with the rest of the world and many of them could successfully bridge the citizen-police gap. Law enforcement being a State subject, there has not been any initiative from the top i.e. the Central Government. Instead, the initiatives were launched at the local police station, district or state levels. The downside of this bottom-up approach is the lack of adequate documentation at the field level. The benefit, however, is that the concept and the strategy are taking root at the ground level and not being imposed from the top or outside. This trial and error method would lead to a sound and well-rounded approach in which the stakeholders own the end product before a formal launch.

Community policing in the Indian scenario as well as international, involves cultural change as in most of the countries semi-military and highly hierarchical model of policing is prevalent. It involves intensive training and sensitization of policemen to accept an equal role for citizens. Police as a service provider, directly accountable to citizens, is an alien concept and needs a cultural change at the organisational level and attitudinal change at the personal level. It also calls for imparting training to the citizens for a meaningful participation and changing their concept of 'leaving to the enforcers' instead of partnering in the process.

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The Government of Kerala launched Janamaithri Suraksha Project in 20 selected police stations in March 2008. It followed the recommendations of the Justice K.T. Thomas Commission to improve the performance and accountability of the force. A series of deliberations and consultations on the draft project prepared by the police were undertaken. A political and social consensus was arrived at before the project launch. Beat officers were chosen and professional training was imparted to them. Communities were sensitised on the project. The financial commitment was partly met with the State Plan fund.

The basic objectives are to reduce the crime level, crime detection and forge a partnership between the police and the public in the area of security. The project centres on a beat officer who is in daily contact with the people in a locality, typically with around 1,000 houses. The officer knows the area and gains the support and trust of the people. A nominated committee without political affiliations, comprising members representing every section of the society, met frequently to discuss

security-related issues and chalk out plans.

The project has made a tremendous impact on Kerala Society. Further, a number of initiatives such as the establishment of Coastal Vigilance Committees, Road Safety Programmes, etc. are being implemented in the State. These programmes are based on the philosophy, principles and practices of Community Policing. Since Community Policing involves a philosophy of policing distinct from the traditional approach, it is crucial that appropriate training inputs are given for developing the right attitude and for imparting the relevant knowledge and skills.

In order to popularize the concept of Janamaithri Project, Janamaithri Kendrams were opened in the District and Battalion Headquarters. These centres help people to come and interact with the police. These centres have become extremely popular with the public. People started participating in Samithi meetings in large numbers and discussed various local security issues (excluding cases under investigation or trial and issues relating to criminals to be arrested). Janamaithri Kendras have trained youngsters and even organised football tournaments and drama competitions. A student police cadet programme is on in some schools. The information regarding the Police initiatives has to be disseminated to the public. To give publicity about the Janamaithri Suraksha Project

and to attract more and more people into the ambit of the Scheme, various activities are being undertaken. Pamphlets, booklets and other materials are provided to them. The printed materials are supplied to houses in the Beat limits which have the Beat Officer's phone number, other Police helpline numbers and various services provided by the Police. A docudrama is also being staged for the purpose of spreading the message and mission of the project among the general public. To give publicity about the Janamaithri Suraksha Project and to attract more and more people into the ambit of the Scheme, various audio-visual publicity activities are undertaken. Short films and sponsored programmes are telecast through the visual media and jingles, skit and other programmes broadcast through the radio.

The Janamaithri Suraksha Project seeks the responsible participation of citizens in crime prevention at the local level, conserving the resources, both of the community and the police, in fighting crimes which threaten the security of the community. Experience shows that law enforcement and police duties become far more effective with the active cooperation of the public.

Forging partnerships between the police and the people is a concern of all democratic governments. The improvement of policing is part of the development process itself. Indeed, there cannot be any sustained development unless peace and order are guaranteed. The efficacy of policing will be nullified unless the community is taken into confidence. Against the backdrop of growing threats of terrorism and global crimes, ensuring community participation in the maintenance of public order and crime reduction are major challenges for all societies. Police-community partnership is needed not only to ensure economic and social development, but also to achieve global peace. At a national press conference to mark the completion of one year of the UPA-II in office, the former Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh opinioned that "Naxalism remains the biggest internal security challenge and it is imperative to control Left-wing extremism for the country's growth". By terming Naxalism as the biggest challenge to internal security Dr Manmohan Singh clearly wanted to underline the dangers it posed to India and also the need to deal with the challenge in an effective way.

As per news reports, mounting pressure of security forces on Maoists in the central Indian states of Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Maharashtra are

forcing them to look for new bases in the far South. According to some reports by a senior officer of the Union Home Ministry , the CPI (Maoist) is trying hard to establish new bases on the borders of Kerala and Karnataka. In the wooded fringes of the northern districts, namely, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanad and Kannur, for more than past one year, the ominous presence of Maoists is being reported regularly, mostly in the vicinity of tribal colonies. It is undoubtedly a rather serious development and the underlying threat to the internal security of the State cannot be ignored.

The main support to the Naxalite movement comes from the Dalits and Adivasis. The roots of the LWE in India lie in the leftist/Communist political movements, labour and agrarian unrests, the revolutionary societies and the tribal revolts that erupted during various phases of colonial rule in India. The Naxals, reached out to the people, understood them, took up their issues and fought for their dignity and rights. They have earned goodwill among the tribals and the downtrodden. These people are attracted to the extremist ideologies through which they perceive their future liberation from the centuries-old socio-economic and political deprivation. Therefore, Maoist indoctrination affects such deprived sections the most. The prevalent state structure does not accommodate the cultural ethos of the tribals as the extremists' proposed structure does. There are some areas where the extremists were the first to establish contact with the inhabitants. In such cases, a natural bond has developed between the tribals and the Naxals. The extremists assured them of decentralised/localised development wherein they would be able to preserve and pursue their cultural traditions freely with dignity and self-esteem. The extremists aim at revolutionary transformation of the society and their propagated ideology falls well within the cultural and communal ethos of all sections of the society, including the tribals.

The tribal community in Kerala is largely heterogeneous and each community has different traditions, social customs, beliefs, rules and practices. Census (2011) identifies 35 tribal communities in Kerala with 1.20 percent of the state's total population. Wayanad has the highest number of tribes with 37.36 percent, followed by Idukki and Palakkad

(14 percent and 10.89 percent respectively) which constitutes for more than 60 percent of the STs in the State (KSPB, 2013). In comparison to tribes in other States, the life of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala is found to be far better. Even then, the Left Wing Extremists (LWEs) or Maoists are actively working for exploiting the tribal people and the fact that the maximum sightings of Maoists in the vicinity of tribal colonies assumes significance in this context.

Studies show that even after fifty eight years of formation of the state, tribals continue as one of the most marginalized community. The post-globalisation development projects and 'development dreams' of the state have again affected the tribals and the developmental divide increased between the tribal and non-tribal populations in the state. Despite government initiatives, the existing socio-economic profile of the tribal communities is low compared to the mainstream population. The instruments of globalization failed to achieve intended objectives and social security to the indigenous people.

The tribal communities in Kerala have been historically marginalized and oppressed by various development factors and forces. The policies and schemes implemented by successive governments at the Centre and the State further worsened the situation. The challenges to their civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights are critical today as they perpetuate extreme form of deprivation in many ways. Their rights over natural resources such as forests, cultural identity and traditional knowledge, including intellectual property rights, cultural heritage and traditional wisdom are continuously at stake due to the interplay of various factors and forces.

To earn adequate goodwill among the tribals and other deprived sections of the society, the Maoists undertake activities such as redistribution of land, ensuring payment of minimum wages, impose taxes and penalties, hold people's courts, destroy government property and enforce a social code in their areas of influence. At the same time, they organise peasants and tribals against traders and the government by which they are able to

impress the tribals living in the remotest and most inaccessible areas. Inaccessible areas are havens for the Naxalites where they take shelter in tribal hamlets. Support from the local population varies from genuine sympathy to coercion. This has a direct impact on the functioning of the state security forces in these areas as it cuts off their intelligence gathering channels.

The Maoist leaders are motivated largely by their desire to seek political power in the guise of fighting for genuine grievances arising from the political, economic and social hardships of the suppressed communities. The country's long neglect towards the development of tribal areas may be blamed for creating pockets of alienation and such areas are the spawning grounds of Maoist extremism. The governments concerned have to take note of the genuine grievances of the tribals and deal with them in a sympathetic manner. There has to be a system for prompt enquiry into all allegations of excess and it is here the activists can contribute to reveal the base realities and unveil the truth. Extremism cannot be effectively countered without modernising and strengthening our rural policing and the rural presence of the intelligence agencies. Not only the affected areas but also the tribal areas and coastal belts, which have not yet been affected by the Maoist virus, have to be developed soon in order to prevent the virus spread. There has to be an equal focus on several entities like education, employment, immediate settlement of disputes, environment protection and even providing security to the suppressed. The failure to develop the road infrastructure in the rural areas has facilitated the spread of Maoist terrorism.

In general, the contradiction between the tribal community and the State itself has become sharper, translating itself into open conflict in many areas. Almost all over the tribal areas, including Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Assam, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala, tribal people seem to feel a deep sense of exclusion and alienation, which has been manifesting itself in different forms.

The 'Status Paper on the Naxal Problem' tabled in the Parliament by the then Union Minister Shri. Shivraj Patil on 13th March 2006 suggests

that, CPI (Maoists) have been trying to increase their influence and activities in parts of Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Uttarakhand and also in new areas in some of the already affected states. The CPI-ML (Naxalbari) may be an obscure organization for Keralites, but its

frontal organizations like the Ayyankali Pada and Porattam had hit the headlines many times in the past. With the red rebels trying to make their presence felt in the state in the past one year, the May Day merger is likely to give a momentum to the Maoists activities in Kerala. The Viplava Sthreevadi Prasthanam, Viplava Vidyarthi Prasthanam and Njattuvela Samskarika Samithi are the other outfits associated with the CPI-ML (Naxalbari). CPI (Maoist) has been engaged in discussions with the CPI-ML (Naxalbari) ever since the formation of the former in 2004. CPI (Maoist) considered Naxalbari as a true revolutionary organization even though there were some basic disagreements between them over ideological issues. CPI-ML (Naxalbari) also had some reservations about the military line adopted by the Maoists.

Kannamballi Murali, a Malayali who has links with the international Maoist movement, is the all-India secretary of the CPI-ML (Naxalbari). Hailing from Ernakulam, Murali was a student at the Regional Engineering College, Kozhikode. He had left the institute before completing the course. He was the contemporary of Rajan, who was killed in police custody during Emergency. After the merger, Murali is likely to be inducted into the central committee of the CPI-Maoist. He has authored books and articles under the pen name Ajith.

As in other States, the Maoists, as a preliminary step, are visiting these colonies, interacting with the tribals, understanding and empathizing with their problems and ultimately propagating their ideology and strategy as the panacea for all 'sufferings', both real and imaginary. Maoists - by their articulate, passionate presentation, carefully incorporates in-depth facts about the daily life of the Adivasis, magnifying their sufferings and distorting to suit their interests, condemning the Governmental attitude towards the suffering tribals - convince them that the only alternative is to take up arms and fight to finish off the 'heartless' and 'apathetic' Government who would otherwise preside over their doom. Often the

pamphlets and notices seized from such areas slated to be distributed by the Maoists, it is observed that these are remarkably well presented, inspiring, and the distortions are smartly packaged, which can even move a literate person to speak out against the Government, not to mention the illiterate Adivasis.

It is to be mentioned here that in all the States affected by Left Wing Extremism (LWE) today, the Maoists had started their work in a similar fashion. The first step of the Maoist strategy is visiting the tribal colonies and studying their basic problems. During the survey period, they collect the comprehensive information of the area. They also study the issues of tribal people, particularly those neglected by the Government. In such issues, they actively influence the tribals in the manner as mentioned above and give them a false sense of hope and a dangerous option to take up to violent means. The Maoists very cleverly mislead the tribal people, which can result in at least a section amongst the tribes growing more and more intolerant to the legal establishment.

Kerala witnesses an increase in Maoist activities recently and the presence of extremists has been reported in regions coming under 31 Police Station limits in the districts of Kannur, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palakkad and Thrissur. The Kerala Police recently issued lookout notices against 11 Maoists. Sensing the urgency of the situation, the State Government, on February 21, 2014, directed the Police Department to fortify 16 Police Stations in north Kerala on a war footing. The Government ordered 300 armed Policemen to the region to provide 'perimeter defence and support' to Thunderbolts Kerala, the special weapons and tactics team of the State Police, which spearhead the 'anti-Naxal operations' there.

Taking into consideration the need for more conceited efforts for coordinated work of all Governmental and non governmental agencies in recent years, the Govt. of Kerala is determined to widen the activities of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project into the tribal areas. Accordingly, in 2013, in 50 Police Stations tribal Janamaithri Project was introduced and the project has envisaged a proper and sustainable action to protect the

tribal people in the state. Within a short period of time, the project has carried out a number of activities in the tribal colonies. However, the recent Maoists' presence reported from various quarters of the hamlets, has necessitated the strengthening of the activities of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribal police station limits of the state.

Hence, an assessment of the project is the need of the hour to understand the extent of its success in terms of the issues and the subsequent activities carried out and to find out the scope for further improvement.

It is in this context that the present study has been undertaken to analyse the impact of Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribal colonies, in preventing crimes and anti-social activities and subsequent ensuring of safety and security of the tribal people.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The major objectives of the study were:

> • To understand the distribution status of the Beat Officers and Police Stations District wise
>
> • To find out the extent of coverage of tribal colonies by the Beat Officers
>
> • To study the problems/issues existed in the tribal colonies during the Beat visits.
>
> • To find out the crimes committed against scheduled tribes in the colonies under study.

- • To examine the activities carried out by the beat officers in order to: solve problems / issues in the colonies, detect and prevent crimes, prevent anti-social activities, detect and prevent the sale and use of drugs/illicit liquor, help the woman and child victims of crimes, the welfare of tribal children in schools/ tribal hostels, ensure women's security, social security and healthcare of scheduled tribes.

- • To find out the agencies / departments associating with the Janamaithri Police in implementing the Janamaithri Suraksha Project.
- • To assess the impact/effectiveness of Janamaithri Suraksha Project on the tribal communities.

• To recommend appropriate strategies/measures for the effective implementation of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribal colonies in the state.

1.3 Methodology

The Universe All the Beat Officers of the Tribal Police stations with Janamaithri Suraksha Project constituted the universe of the study.

Geographical Area

The 13 districts in the state of Kerala formed the geographical area of the study. Alappuzha district was excluded from the study because of the absence of tribals and Tribal Police Station in the district.

Even though there are 50 Tribal Police Stations with Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the State of Kerala, only 44 were considered due to the absence or scattered nature of the Tribal Colonies. Accordingly, One Hundred and Eight (108) Beat Officers representing 108 Beats from the 44 Tribal Police stations of 13 districts of Kerala constituted the sample size for the study.

1.4 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

Methods

Questionnaire, Desk Review, Case Studies and Panel Discussions were the methods used for the collection of data.

Tools of Data Collection

Questionnaire: The questionnaire, prepared in consultation with experts, was distributed among the respondents. It consisted of 14 questions seeking details on the Beat Officers' visit in tribal colonies, problems/issues noticed in colonies during the Beat visits, crimes committed against the Scheduled Tribes, activities carried out by the Janamaithri Police in tribal colonies to solve their problems/issues, to detect and prevent crimes, prevent anti-social activities, detect and prevent the sale and use of drugs/illicit liquor, etc. The questionnaire also consisted of questions related to the activities of Beat Officers to help the women / child victims of crimes, welfare of tribal students in schools/ hostels and the safety/security of women, society and health of people.

Case Study Format : consisted of questions related to the issues of the respective tribal colonies and the subsequent actions carried out by the Janamaithri Suraksha Project Personnel.

Panel Discussion Guidelines: In order to clarify the data obtained from the field and to draw suggestions for the effective implementation of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribal areas, a panel discussion was held during the state-level workshop of the Janamaithri Tribal Beat Police Officers, at the Police Academy, Thrissur on 26th September 2014. The panel included Beat Officers and experts from the Police Department, Academics and Law.

The Panel Discussion Guidelines mainly revolved around 3 major topics. Accordingly, the respondents were divided into three groups based on the zone they represented. Each zone had a panel discussion on a topic relevant to the zone and the panellists were experts from respective fields. The Thrissur Range was allotted with the subject – Laws related to tribal issues and dealing with crimes against tribals, Thiruvananthapuram and Ernakulam Ranges – Welfare measures for the tribes: roles of various agencies, Kannur Range – Tribal welfare and challenges to internal security.

1.5 Sources of Data

The respondents under study, i.e., the Beat Police Officers formed the primary source of data.

As secondary sources, the study relied on relevant Government reports, scholarly articles, news articles, research documents, books related to the topic etc. The study reports and other relevant publications also formed the source of secondary data.

1.6 Data Processing and Analysis

Processing and analysis of the data were carried out by making use of the manual and computer application like *Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS)* according to the sequence of objectives of the study.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Janamaithri Suraksha Project (JSP) – is a community policing venture of Kerala Police, initiated in the year 2008, on the basis of the recommendations by the K.T.Thomas Commission appointed by the Govt. of Kerala. The JSP implemented in the state with the aim of providing 'security to the community' with the 'cooperation of the community', understanding the 'needs of the community', and taking into account the 'resources available within the community', has crossed several milestones so far. This noble endeavour of the Govt. of Kerala has become a model for the other states in the country and drawn much appreciation at the international forums too. The Janamaithri Suraksha Project has progressed so much in its achievement, and now has widened its scope to protect /secure the most marginalised people in the state – the tribes, with an introduction of 50 Janamaithri Tribal Police Stations across the state in 2013. The project is implemented in the tribal colonies through the Beat Officers and Asst. Beat officers of the respective police stations. Within a short span of time, the project has carried out a number of activities for the safety and welfare of the tribal communities in the state of Kerala.

However, any shaping up of the project or its activities in tribal areas relies much on the assessment of the impact of the project on this community. Here, an effort has been made to elicit the views and perception of the implementers of the project - the Beat officers/Asst. Beat officers, who are implementing the project in the tribal colonies, on the various activities and its effectiveness in the community. Accordingly, the responses from a total of 108 police personnel who have been implementing the project in the 108 Beats of the 44 Tribal Police station limits in the state of Kerala were analysed to have an overview of the

various activities undertaken by them in the tribal colonies as part of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project.

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected from the respondents on the different aspects of the project. The major areas covered through the study are scripted under the following sections: 1) District-wise Distribution of the Beat Officers and the Police Stations , 2) Extent of Coverage of Colonies by the Beat Officers, 3) Problems /

Issues Observed in the Tribal Colonies, 4) Crimes committed against Scheduled Tribes, 5) Activities carried out by the Beat Officers in the Colonies, 6) Various Agencies / Departments associated with the Janamaithri Police, 7) Impact of Janamaithri Project on the Tribal Colonies, 8) Suggestions for Improvement, 9) Case Studies and 10) the Panel Discussions.

2.1 District-wise Distribution of the Beat Officers and the Police Stations

Even though, there are 14 districts in the state of Kerala, Alappuzha district was excluded from the study, due to the absence of tribal colonies there. Accordingly, only 13 districts came under the purview of the study. Here, a district-wise distribution of the Beat Officers and the respective Police Stations is presented.

The data in this regard revealed that of the 108 Beat Officers under study, majority (29) were from the Palakkad district followed by Idukki with 16, Thrissur with 11 and Wayanad with 10 respondents and Kottayam, Malappuram and Kasargode districts with 2 respondents each. With regard to the Police Stations, of the 44, most (8) from the Wayanad district, followed by the Idukki and Kannur districts with 5 police stations each, and Pathanamthitta, Palakkad, and Kozhikode districts with 4 police stations each and the least in Ernakulam district with one tribal police station. *(Refer to table 2.1.1)*

Table 2.1.1
District-wise Distribution of the Beat Officers and the Police Stations

Sl. No.	District	Police Station	No. of Responde nts / Beats	Total
1	Thiruvananthapuram	1.Vithura	3	8
2		2. Palode	4	
3		3. Arynad	1	
4	Kollam	1. Kullathupuzha	2	3
5		2. Thenmala	1	
6	Pathanamthitta	1. Chittar	2	5
7		2. Ranni	1	
8		3. Perunad	1	
9		4.Vechuchira	1	
10	Kottayam	1. Mundakkayam	2	2
11	Idukki	1. Kanjar	4	16
12		2. Marayur	6	
13		3. Kumali	4	
14		4. Kullamavu	1	
15		5. Munnar	1	
16	Ernakulam	1. Kuttambuzha	3	3

No.	District	Colony	Count	Total
17	Thrissur	1. Athirapilly	4	
18		2. Peechi	4	11
19		3. Vellikullangara	3	
20		1. Agali	22	
21		2. Parambikullam	4	
22		3. Kozhinjambara	2	
23	Palakkad	4.Sreekrishnapuram	1	29
24	Malappuram	1. Arikode	1	
25		2. Idakkara	1	2
26		1. Vallayam	2	
27		2. Kodenchery	2	
28		3. Thottilpalam	3	
29	Kozhikode	4. Thiruvambadi	2	9
30		1. Vythiri	3	
31	Wayanad	2. Pulpalli	1	10
38	Kannur	1. Peravoor	4	8
39		2. Alakode	1	
40		3. Iritty	1	
41		4. Aarallam	1	
42		5. Kelakom	1	
43	Kasaragod	1. vediyadukka	1	2
44		2. Athoor	1	
	Total			108

2.2 Extent of Coverage of Colonies by the Beat Officers

A Beat officer / Asst. Beat officer is entitled to visit all the tribal colonies under his beat jurisdiction as part of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project. Here, an attempt has been made to understand the number of colonies in a Beat and how many of them were visited by the respective Beat Officers.

No. of Tribal Colonies in a Beat

Most (38.9%) of the Beat Officers had 2-5 tribal colonies in their Beat jurisdiction, followed by 21.3% had 6-9 colonies. About one fourth of them had to look after either 10-20 (11.1%) or above 20 (13%) colonies in their respective Beats. *(Refer to table 2.2.1)*

District-wise, small Beats (Beats having 1 tribal colony) were found to be more in Idukki with 6 Beats followed by Thrissur with 5 Beats. While almost all (7) the Beats in Thiruvananthapuram district were found to be having 2-5 tribal colonies, most (24) from Palakkad had 2-5 colonies or 6-9 colonies in a Beat. However, large Beats (having 'more than 20' tribal colonies) were more in Wayanad district with 7 (out of 10) Beats. Kannur district also had a good number of large Beats (7 out of 8) with a distribution of 2 Beats having 'more than 20' colonies and 5 Beats having '10-20 colonies'. *(Refer to figure 2.2.1)*

Table 2.2.1
No. of Tribal Colonies in a Beat

No. of Colonies in a Beat	Beat Officers/ Beats	
	Frequency	Percent
1	15	13.9
2-5	42	38.9
6-9	23	21.3
10-20	12	11.1
Above 20	14	13.0
No response	2	1.9
Total	108	100.0

Figure No.2.2.1

No. of Tribal Colonies in a Beat – District-Wise

No. of Tribal Colonies Visited by the Beat Officers
Of the 108 Beat Officers, a good majority 88 (81.5%) had visits in 'all' the tribal colonies in their Beat jurisdiction, while 8 (7.4%) had visits in 'more than half' of the colonies and 7 (6.5%) had 'less than half' of the tribal colonies.

A cross analysis between the number of colonies in a Beat and the number of colonies visited by the Beat Officers portrayed that those who have '1' or '6-9' colonies in their Beat limits had visited all the colonies in the year 2014. Among those who have '2-5' colonies or '10-20' colonies, most of them (90.5% or 91.7%, respectively) had visited all

the tribal colonies. However, of those who had more than 20 colonies, majority could not succeed in visiting all colonies. In other words, most (92.8%) visited either 'more than half' (57.1%) or 'less than half' (35.7%) of the colonies. *(Refer to table 2.2.2)*

The above data reinstate the need for a split of larger Beats into smaller Beats to serve effectively the purpose of the Project in the Tribal colonies.

Table No.2.2.2
No. of Colonies visited by the Beat Officers

No. of Colonies in the Beat	No. of Colonies Visited				
	None	All the colonies	More than half of the colonies	Less than half of the colonies	No response
1	0	15	0	0	0
	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
2-5	1	38	0	1	2
	2.4%	90.5%	.0%	2.4%	4.8%
6-9	0	23	0	0	0
	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
10-20	0	11	0	1	0
	.0%	91.7%	.0%	8.3%	.0%
Above 20	0	1	8	5	0
	.0%	7.1%	57.1%	35.7%	.0%
No Response	0	0	0	0	2
	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	1	88	8	7	4
	.9%	81.5%	7.4%	6.5%	3.7%

Status of activities Carried out solely with the assistance of Police Department

2.3 Problems/Issues observed in the Tribal Colonies during the

Beat Visits

The Janamaitrhi Suraksha Project (JSP), at present has a special focus on the tribal colonies in the state and has granted more importance on the safety and welfare of the people residing there – the tribes - the most marginalised social group in the country. The JSP meant to cover all the tribal colonies in the state. The functioning of the project in the colonies is aimed at not only to ensure the safety and security of the

tribal people, but also to have a better understanding about the basic problems/ issues in the area. Accordingly, during the colony visits, one of the primary responsibilities of a Beat Officer is to understand the major issues/problems in the hamlets as well as that of the people living there.

The data in this regard showed that 'Alcoholism' was found to be a major problem observed in the tribal colonies of majority (67.6%) of the Beat Officers. Subsequent family problems were also reported as its outcome in many of these colonies. 'Drug abuse' was the other important issue reported by a 25.9% of the Beat officers. 'Educational Backwardness' (23.1%), and 'Epidemic Diseases/ other health problems or Lack of Nutritious food' (21.3%) were also reported.

Lack/absence of Basic amenities like: 'Drinking water' (23.1%), 'Housing' (8.3%), 'Latrine' (13.9%), 'Electricity' (14.8%), 'Road/ transportation' (10.2%), etc. were also observed as important issues existed in the tribal colonies. While 'Cleanliness' (12%) was one of the problems in the colonies, 'Presence of Maoists' (6.5%), 'Exploitations '(sexual & other ways) by outsider*s / 'Suicide tendency' among people (10.2%), 'Poor living conditions / Unemployment' (8.3%), etc. were the serious issues found in few of the tribal colonies.*

Though less in number, the other problems (14.8%) like: Lack of Educational Institutions, Lack of interest in studies and subsequent Dropout of Students from schools, Use of Tobacco/Betel, Use of Mala-D, threat from Wild animals, Land alienation problems, etc. were reported by a few of the Beat Officers.(Refer to table 2.3.1

Table No.2.3.1
Problems/Issues observed in the Tribal Colonies during the Beat Visits

Problem / Issue	Frequency N=108	Percent
Alcoholism	73	67.6
Drug abuse	28	25.9
Educational backwardness	25	23.1
Lack of drinking water	23	21.3
Health Problem / diseases/Lack of nutritious food	22	20.4
Lack of Housing	9	8.3

Latrine facility	15	13.9
No electricity	16	14.8
Road / Transportation	11	10.2
Lack of Cleanliness	13	12.0
Presence of Maoist	7	6.5
Poor living conditions /Unemployment	9	8.3
Sexual exploitation / Suicide tendency	11	10.2
Others *(lack of educational institutions, dropouts/lack of interest of students, tobacco use, Maladi use, wild animals, land problems, etc.)*	16	14.8

2.4 Crimes Committed against Scheduled Tribes

Though, special social enactments have come into force from time to time for Scheduled Tribes / Schedules Castes in order to uphold the constitutional mandate and safeguard the interests of these vulnerable sections of the society, the tribal people in the country have been victims of countless crimes, both because of their gullibility and lack of hearing of their grievances. A total of 6,793 cases of crimes (IPC+SLL) committed against Scheduled Tribes were reported in the country during the year 2013 as compared to 5,922 cases in the year 2012, thus showing an increase of 14.7% in 2013 over 2012. The state of affairs of Kerala is also very pathetic as the crime rate was highest in Kerala at 27.8 as compared to only 6.5 at the national level. Hence on an average, 28 persons belonging to Scheduled Tribes in Kerala were victims of crimes per one lakh STs Population during 2013.

The present study also had a look into the Crimes against Scheduled Tribes in the colonies under study. Accordingly, the Beat Officers were asked to respond on the reported cases of various crimes in their Beats viz: Land related cases, Crimes against Women, Drug and Alcohol related Crimes, and Other Crimes.

Land Related Cases

Only 6 Beat Officers reported on the Land related cases in their Beats. Of these, 3 were from the Wayanad district and the rest (3) were from the Palakkad, Kozhikode and Kannur districts each.

(*Refer to table2.4.1 & figure 2.4.2)*

Table No.2.4.1
Land Related Cases in the Tribal Colonies

Status of Cases	Frequency	Percent
Yes	6	5.6
No /No response	102	94.4
Total	108	100.0

Crimes against Women

According to Jeemon Jacob, a reporter of *Tehelka Magazine,* *"*Sexual exploitation of tribal women continues to haunt Kerala long after literacy should have ended their misery. Wayanad district, known for its wildlife sanctuaries and natural beauty, is also home to 2,000 unwed mothers, eking out a perilous existence in the shadow of shame. There are sexually abused and abandoned women in tribal hamlets all over Kerala, but this district, with its 17.1 percent tribal population, has the greatest number". The report portrays a pathetic situation of tribal women in the state.

The data in relation to the Crimes against Women' in the tribal colonies revealed that 17.6% (19) of the Beat Officers reported of the cases of 'Crimes against tribal Women'. Further, it is learnt that, most of these cases were related to Sexual Harassment / Sexual Exploitation. Domestic Violence, Eve Teasing, 118A KP Act, SC/ST PCA Act, etc. *(Refer to*

table 2.4.2)

District-wise, of those who reported on the Crimes against Women, 4 were from the Wayanad district, 9 were from the Thiruvananthapuram, Palakkad and Kannur districts with 3 respondents each and 6 were from the Kollam, Pathanamthitta and Idukki districts with 2 respondents each. *(Refer to figure 2.4.2)*

Table No.2.4.2
Crimes against Women

Status of Crimes	Frequency	Percent
Yes	19	17.6
No /No response	89	82.4
Total	108	100.0

Drug and Alcohol Related Crimes

Regarding the drug and alcohol related crimes, 21.3% (23) reported of the presence of such crimes in their Beat jurisdiction while majority negated the same. *(Refer to table 2.4.3)*

District-wise, most (9) respondents who reported of the drug and alcohol related crimes were from the Palakkad followed by the Wayanad (3) district. *(Refer to figure 2.4.2)*

Table No.2.4.3
Drug and Alcohol Related Crimes

Status of Cases	Frequency	Percent
Yes	23	21.3
No /No response	85	78.7
Total	108	100.0

Other Crimes

Only 13 respondents reported of the Other Crimes viz. financial exploitation, road dispute, etc. in the tribal colonies, while majority (95) were on the contrary. *(Refer to table 2.4.4)*

District-wise, the above Crimes were more in the Beats of Palakkad and Wayanad districts with 6 and 4 respondents each. *(Refer to figure 2.4.2)*

Table No. 2.4.4
Other Crimes

Status of Cases	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	12.0
No /No response	95	88.0
Total	108	100.0

An overview of the crimes committed against the Scheduled Tribes living in the police station limits showed that 'Drug and Alcohol related Crimes' was observed in more Beats with 21.3% respondents followed by 'Crimes against Women' with 17.6%. *(Refer to figure 2.4.1)*

Figure No. 2.4.1
Crimes against Scheduled Tribes
Figure No.2.4.2
Crimes against Scheduled Tribes – District wise

2.5 Activities carried out by the Janamaithri Police in the Tribal Colonies

Wide ranges of activities are entrusted with the Beat Officers in the Tribal Janamaithri Police Stations. They are not only committed to ensure the safety and security of the people, but also to implement the various welfare activities for the scheduled tribes. Accordingly, the present study had a probe into the activities carried out by the Janamaithri Police to: 1) Solve the Problems/Issues in the Colonies, 2) Detect and Prevent the Crimes against Scheduled Tribes, 3) Prevent Anti-social Activities in the Colonies, 4) Detect and Prevent the Sale and Use of Drugs/Illicit liquor, 5) Help the Woman and Child Victims of Crimes, 6) Welfare of the Tribal Students in the Schools / Hostels and 7) Women's Security, Social

Security and Health Security of the Tribals.

2.5.1   *Solve the Problems/Issues in the Colonies*

One of the most prime duties of a Beat Officer in a tribal Beat is to visit all the colonies under his jurisdiction and to have a better understanding about the social, economical and cultural life situations of the tribes living there. Subsequently, the Beat Officer has to take efforts in finding out appropriate solutions for the basic problems/issues they observe in the colonies. For accomplishing this task, the Janamaithri police associate not only with the Police Dept. but also with the other Depts. /Agencies. Here, the study has sorted out the responses of 108 Beat Officers regarding the activities they carried out in the colonies: with the assistance of other Depts. /Agencies and with the sole assistance of Police Dept. *Status of Activities with the assistance of Other Departments / Agencies*

A query in this regard revealed that majority 71 (65.7%) of the beat officers had carried out a number of activities to solve the problems / issues in the tribal colonies in their respective Beats in association with various Departments/ Agencies. However, the rest (34.3%) had either not carried out the activities or not responded to the query. *(Refer to figure 2.5.1.1)*

Figure No.2.5.1.1

Status of Activities Carried Out

Type of Activities

Regarding the type of activities, of the 71 respondents who reported of the activities, about half (47.9%) of them had carried out 'Awareness Classes/Camps' in the tribal colonies in association with other departments viz. Health Dept., Forest Dept., Excise Dept., etc. The classes/camps were mainly intended to address the issues like alcoholism, drug abuse, sexual exploitation, epidemic diseases/other health problems, etc. *(Refer to table 2.5.1.1)*

Further, 19.7% of them organised 'Medical Camps' to solve the health problems like epidemic diseases, lack of nutritious food, etc. observed in the tribal colonies. Health Dept. was the main supporter of the Beat Officers in this regard. *(Refer to table 2.5.1.1)*

A few (15.5%) conducted 'Raids' in association with the Excise/Forest Departments to prevent the distillation of illicit liquor and drug use in the tribal colonies. Further, 9.9% organised the 'Adalaths', in association with the various Depts. viz. Police Dept., Local Self Government, Water Authority, Electricity Board, etc. to meet the basic requirements of the colonies. Moreover, 12.7% had an 'interaction with the officials of other Depts. and handing over the applications' of tribal people's requirements to the concerned authorities, resulting in the receipt of some services like electricity, housing, weekly medical treatment by a doctor, nutritious food, etc. by a few of the colonies. *(Refer to table 2.5.1.1)*

The other activities carried out by a few (4.2%) were: implementation of the 'Gothrasarathi project' for the tribal students to send them back to schools, formation Jagratha samithis to prevent drug abuse, distillation of illicit liquor, PSC coaching /other job oriented classes for unemployed, etc. *(Refer to table 2.5.1.1)*

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Table No.2.5.1.1
Type of Activities carried out

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Type of Activity	Frequency N=71	Per cent
Medical Camp	14	19.7
Awareness Class	34	47.9
Abkari Raid	11	15.5
Informed the concerned authorities about requirements of the Colony/ provided services	9	12.7
Sanitation Campaign	4	5.6
Adalath	7	9.9
Others (*Gothra sarathi, Jagratha samitis, etc.*)	3	4.2

Status of activities Carried out solely with the assistance of Police Department

Nearly three fourth 80 (74.1%) of the Beat Officers reported of the various activities they carried out in the tribal colonies solely with the assistance of Police Department to solve the problems /issues of the colonies in their Beat jurisdiction. *(Refer to Figure 2.5.1.2)*

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Figure No.2.5.1.2
Status of Activities Carried out solely with the Assistance of

Police Dept.

</div>

Type of Activities
'Awareness Classes/Seminars' were the main activity, carried out by the majority 55 (68.8%) of the Beat Officers in the tribal colonies with the assistance of their own department – the police. The programmes were mainly aimed to solve the issues like; safety of women, alcohol and drug addiction, lack of legal awareness, etc.
'Raids' (7.5%), 'House Visits/ Monthly Review Meetings' (6.3%), and 'Formation of Jagratha Samithis' (7.5%) were the activities carried out

by a few of the Beat Officers in their respective Beats.

Further, the Other activities like: Distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, etc. as part of the awareness campaign, Conduct of Sanitation Campaigns, Arrangement of Medical Treatment, Distribution of study materials,

uniform, and umbrella, and Make available of counselling services to the tribal students were also mentioned by a 16.3% of the Beat Officers.

(Refer to table 2.5.1.2)

Table No.2.5.1.2
Activities carried out solely with the assistance of Police Department

Activities	Frequency N=80	Percent
Raids	6	7.5
Awareness Class / Seminar	55	68.8
House Visits / Monthly Review meeting	5	6.3
Formed Jagratha Samithi	6	7.5
Others (Distribution of leaflets, medical treatment, sanitation campaign, distribution of study materials, uniform and umbrella, counseling, etc.)	13	16.3

2.5.2 Detect and Prevent Crimes

Except 6.5%, all the other Beat Officers 101(93.5%) carried out the activities to detect and prevent the crimes. Majority (59.3%) of them 'Made aware' the tribal community about the crimes and 'Prepared/ equipped them' to act with the situation, as a part of the 'Detection and Prevention of Crimes' in the tribal colonies. The awareness given was mainly on the threats like: presence of Maoists, illicit liquor, alcoholism, drug abuse, etc. Further, 19.4% 'Trained a group to inform the Police about the Crimes'. The people associated in this regard were: Adivasi Moopan, Jagratha Samithi members, etc. A good number of Beat Officers reported of the 'Frequent Beat visits' (17.6%) or the 'Formation of Jagratha samithis' (16.7%) as an important step they had taken in this direction. A few (10.2%) stated of the 'Timely service of Police' to the people and for the Others (9.3%) it was 'Conduct of Raids', 'Involving people in Beat duties', 'Providing services of De-addiction Centres',

etc. *(Refer to table 2.5.2.1)*

Table No.2.5.2.1
Activities Carried out to Detect and Prevent Crimes

Activities	Frequent (N=108)	Percent
Awareness about the Crimes &Measure	64	59.3
Timely Service of Police	11	10.2
Prepare a group to Inform the Police about Crimes	21	19.4
Formed Jagratha Samithis	18	16.7
Frequent Beat Visits	19	17.6
Others *(Raids, involving tribes in preventing crimes, providing de-addiction treatment, etc.)*	10	9.3
Not Responded	7	6.5

2.5.3   Prevent Anti-social Activities

The Beat Officers are expected to have a surveillance of the Anti-social Activities if any in the tribal colonies of their respective Beats. Hence, the Beat Officers were asked to respond on the anti-social activities they come across in the tribal colonies of their respective Beats and the

action they taken to prevent the same.

To the query on whether they noticed any anti-social activities in the tribal colonies they visited, 32 (29.6%) confirmed the same. However, majority (70.4%) claimed that there were no such activities in the hamlets under their jurisdiction.

Of those who reported of the anti-social activities, majority (21) stated about the 'Presence of Maoist Activists' in their Beat areas. Sexual exploitation of tribal women (2), Use of alcohol (1), and Activities of Dalit Human Rights Movement (DHRM) (1) were the other anti-social activities reported. *(Refer to table 2.5.3.1)*

Regarding the type of activities conducted, the Beat Officers organised 'Raids' individually as well as with the help of Forest Dept. to trap the Maoists and to prevent their presence in the tribal colonies. Further, they provided awareness among the tribal people about the threats of Maoists and informed their superior officers regarding the same. For the other issues, a few said that they had taken action as per the information they received. For a sexual

exploitation case, the police had made an effort to register a case against the accused, but the victim was not willing to co-operate with the same. *(Refer to table 2.5.3.1)*

Table No. 2.5.3.1
Status of Anti-social Activities in the Tribal Colonies

Status of Anti-Social Activities	Frequency	Percent
Yes	32	29.6
No	76	70.4
Total	108	100.0
Type of Anti-Social Activities		
Activities of DHRM	1	3.1
Presence of Maoists	21	65.6
Sexual exploitation of tribal women	2	6.3
Use of Alcohol	1	3.1
No response	7	21.9
Total	32	100.0

2.5.4 Detect and Prevent the Sale and Use of Drugs/Illicit liquor

The Drug abuse and Alcoholism was found to be the major problems of the tribal colonies in the state of Kerala. The present study has also proved the same. Accordingly, the Janamaithri Suraksha Project at the tribal areas has a special focus on these issues. The Beat Officers are entrusted with multifarious tasks to prevent the same.

Activities Carried out to Detect the Sale and Use of Drugs/Illicit Liquor

Though, majority (56) of the Beat Officers had taken no action to 'Detect the Sale and Use of Drugs/Illicit liquor' in their Beats mainly due to the absence of such problems in their Beat areas, a good number (33) carried out 'Raids' in this regard. Excise Dept., Jagratha Samithi members, or tribal squad etc. participated with them in the raids. A few (12) stated that they trained the people to inform the police about such instances in their colonies. The Other activities done in this regard were: Formation of 'Madhya Virudha Samithi', Associating with the Jagratha Samithis, Patrolling, Registering of more petty cases, etc. *(Refer to table 2.5.4.1)*

Table No.2.5.4.1
Activities Carried out to Detect the Sale and Use of Drugs/Illicit Liquor

Activities	Frequency	Percent
Conduct/Participated in raids	33	30.6
Aware the people to inform	12	11.1
Others *(petty cases, patrolling, formation of groups against liquor, etc.)*	7	6.5
No / No response	56	51.8
Total	108	100.0

Number of Cases Registered

Of those 52 respondents who reported of the various activities to detect the sale and use of drugs and illicit liquor in the tribal colonies, 11 registered 1 case each and 4 registered 2 or 3 cases each. One Beat Officer registered 15 such petty cases to prevent the sale and use of drugs/illicit liquor in his Beat area. *(Refer to table 2.5.4.2)*

Table No.2.5.4.2
No. of Cases Registered related to Drugs and Illicit liquor

No of Cases Registered	Frequency	Percent
1	11	21.6
2	1	1.9
3	3	5.9
15	1	1.9
No Cases registered	36	68.6
Total	52	100.0

Activities Carried out to Create Awareness among the People on Drug Abuse

Most (50) reported of the 'Awareness Camps / Seminars' they organized to create awareness among the people on the impact of Drug Abuse and Alcoholism. Video/Film shows were also used in some of these programmes. A few (6) had taken measures to create awareness among the people during their House visits. However, 4 reported of their activities in association with the Jagratha samithis and 1 reported of the help he provided to the drug addicted persons. *(Refer to table 2.5.4.3)*

Table No.2.5.4.3

Activities carried out to Create Awareness among People on Drug Abuse

Activities	Frequency	Percent
Awareness Camps/Seminars	50	46.3
Act with Jagratha samithi	4	3.7
Awareness during House visits	6	5.6
Helped Drug addicted persons	1	.9
No / No response	47	43.5
Total	108	100.0

2.5.5 Help the Woman and Child victims of Crimes

A Beat Officer is expected to know all the woman and child victims of crimes during their Beat visits in the tribal colonies. He is also liable to provide them an immediate and indispensable support as and when required. This study has probed into aspects like; the number of woman and child victims of crimes contacted by the Beat Officers and the Support/Services the Beat Officers provided to them.

Number of Woman Victims of Crimes contacted by the Beat Officers Except 76.9%, all the other 25(23.1%) Beat Officers reported that they had contacted one or more woman victims of crimes residing in their Beat/Police station limits. While 8.3% contacted only 1 victim, 6.5% contacted 2-5 victims in their Beat. Desperately, one Beat Officer from the Kullamavu Police station limits of Idukki district reported of the 17

tribal woman victims of crimes he dealt with. *(Refer to table 2.5.5.1)*

Table No.2.5.5.1

No. of Tribal Women Victims of Crimes Contacted by the Beat Officers

No. of Women Victims	Frequency	Percent
1	9	8.3
2 - 5	7	6.5
17	1	.9
No number mentioned	8	7.4
Contacted with no Victims	83	76.9
Total	108	100.0

Type of Support the Beat Officers Provided to the Woman Victims

Of those (25) who contacted the woman victims of crimes, 10 provided them with 'Legal support/ Legal awareness". Further, 4 Beat Officers provided 'Financial Assistance and Counselling' and another 4 assisted the victims by 'Registering a Case against the Accused or Arrest the Accused'. One reported of the Medical Assistance he made available to the victim. The other assistances reported in this regard were: solved a Domestic Violence case, provided Awareness about drug addiction and its negative impact to the family members of a woman who was addicted to the drug/alcohol and admitted her in a de-addiction centre and protected a woman who was wandering in streets and sent her back to home. *(Refer to table 2.5.5.2)*

Table No. 2.5.5.2
Type of Support Provided to Women Victims

Type of Support	Frequency N=25	Percent
Legal Support / Legal Awareness	10	40.0
Financial Assistance	4	16.0
Counselling	4	16.0
Registration of Cases / Arrest of accused	4	16.0
Medical Assistance	1	8.0
Others *(Solved the problem, awareness to family members, protect the women)*	3	12.0
Not mentioned about the services	6	24.0

Number of Child Victims of Crimes contacted by the Beat Officers
Among the 108 Beat Officers under study, 10 reported of the contacts with the child victims of crimes in their Police station/Beat jurisdiction. Of which, 8 Beat Officers had contacts with either 1 victim (4), or 2 victims (4). Another one (from Kullavally Police station) had contacts with 10 victims. *(Refer to table 2.5.5.3)*

Table No.2.5.5.3
No. of Child Victims of Crimes Contacted by the Beat Officers

No. of Child Victims	Frequency	Percent
1	4	3.7
2	4	3.7
10	1	0.9
No number mentioned	1	0.9
Contacted with no Victims	98	90.7
Total	108	100.0

Type of Support Provided to the Child Victims

Of the 10 Beat Officers who had contacts with child victims of crimes, 3 provided 'Legal and Medical assistances' to the victims. Another 3 stated that they 'Registered a Case against the Accused or Arrested the Accused'. While 1 reported of the 'Financial Assistance' he arranged to the child victim, another stated of the 'Arrangements he made for the continuation of the study of a child victim and her stay at a hostel'. Further, 1 child victim of rape, was provided with stay in the Government's

Nirbhaya Shelter Home. *(Refer to table 2.5.5.4)*

Table No. 2.5.5.4
Type of Support Provided to Child Victims

Type of Support	Frequency N=25
Legal Aid and Medical Assistance	3
Financial Assistance	1
Registration of Case / Arrest of Accused	3
Arrangements for their study	1
Stay at Nirbhaya Shelter Home	1
Not mentioned about the services	1

2.5.6 Welfare of Tribal Children in the Schools/Tribal Hostels

A probe into the activities carried out by the Beat Officers in the Schools /Tribal hostels for the welfare of tribal children revealed that a good number 32 (29.6%) of Beat Officers had conducted 'Awareness Seminars / Classes' in the schools/tribal hostels to provide awareness to the children mainly on the topics viz. impact of drug abuse, traffic rules, need for environmental protection and cleanliness, cyber crimes, use of mobile phones, etc.

The other activities carried out by the Beat Officers were: 'Encouraging the students' by distributing the study equipments, dress and by providing study classes (7), 'Frequent interaction with the Authorities and Children' (3), 'Organising of Cleaning Campaign' (4), 'Formation of School Protection Group' (2), and 'Others' (5) like initiation of school monitoring committee, counselling to wandering children, conduct of night patrolling, financial assistance to paint the school premises, etc. However, about half of the respondents had no response or they had not conducted any activity in the school/tribal hostels, either due to the absence of such

institutions in their Beat jurisdiction or other reasons. *(Refer to table 2.5.6.1)*

Table No.2.5.6.1
Activities Carried out to the Welfare of Students in the Schools/Tribal Hostels

Activity	Frequency	Percent
Conduct of Awareness Seminars / Classes	32	29.6
Organization of Cleaning Campaign	4	3.7
Interaction with Authorities/Children	3	2.8
Formation of School Protection Group	2	1.9
Conduct of Complaint Adhalath	2	1.9
Encouraging the students by distributing study equipments, Providing study classes, etc.	7	6.5
Others	5	4.6
No / No response	53	49.1
Total	108	100.0

2.5.7 Women's Security, Social Security and Health Security of the Tribals

The security of the women, the society and the health of the scheduled tribes are of much importance in the present situation. Accordingly, the Janamaithri Suraksha Project has also carried out many of the activities in this regard. The present study had a look into the programmes implemented by the Beat Officers to create awareness among the tribal people on the 'Women's Security', the 'Social Security' and the 'Health Security'.

Awareness programmes on Women's Security

Out of the 108 Beat Officers under study, 27 reported of the various types of awareness programmes they carried out in their Beat jurisdiction for the safety and security of the tribal women. On the other hand, 71 (75%) respondents had not any such activities in their Beat areas.

A good number (20) organized 'Awareness Camps / Classes' for the tribal women, while a few (6) provided awareness to the women during their House visits. One Beat Officer organized a 'Self Defence Class' for the Women. The awareness programmes were mainly related to the: Crimes against women and means of protection from crimes, Rights of tribal women, etc. and the Legal Service Society helped them in conducting these programmes. *(Refer to table 2.5.7.1)*

Awareness Programmes for the Safety/Security of Women

Type of Programmes	Frequency	Percent
Awareness during House Visits	6	5.6
Organisation of Classes/Camps	20	18.5
Self Defence Classes	1	.9
No response / No programmes	81	75.0
Total	108	100.0

Awareness Programmes related to Social Security

Though 79 Beat Officers reported of the awareness programmes conducted in relation to social security in their Beat areas, 20 stated of the 'Organisation of Awareness Classes', 6 mentioned about the awareness they gave to the tribal people during their House visits. Another 3 cited of the multiple activities they carried out viz. Organisation of Souhruda Sadhass and Awareness Class, Distribution of booklets, etc. The Social Welfare Dept., Child line and other institutions had also contributed in this regard. (Refer to table 2.5.7.2)

Table No.2.5.7.2
Awareness Programmes related to Social Security

Type of Programmes	Frequency	Percent
Awareness through house visits	6	5.6
Organization of Classes	20	18.5
Organisation of Souhruda Sadass and Awareness Classes, Distribution of Booklets, etc.	3	2.8
No response / No Programmes	79	73.1
Total	108	100.0

Awareness Programmes related to Health Security

Of the 108 beat officers, 38% (31) reported of the various activities they carried out to create awareness among the tribal people on the Health Security.

Of the 31, most (17) provided awareness to the people during their 'House visits' or by 'Organising Awareness Classes'. While 9 organised 'General

Medical Camps' for the health security of people, 7 conducted the 'Cancer Detection Camps' in their Beat areas. However, 4 Beat Officers each carried out multiple activities like 'Eye Check up & Cataract Operation Camps' and 'Eye check up & General Medical Camps', for the safety / security of the health of tribal people. The programmes were organised mainly with the assistance of the Health Department. *(Refer to table 2.5.7.3)*

Table No.2.5.7.3
Awareness Programmes related to Health

Type of Programmes	Frequency	Percent
Cancer Detection Camp	7	6.5
Awareness through House Visits/ Classes	17	15.7
Conduct of Medical Camps	9	8.3
Eye Check up &Cataract Operation Camps	4	3.7
Eye check up &General Medical camps	4	3.7
No response / No programmes	67	62.0
Total	108	100.0

2.6 Agencies / Departments Associated with the Beat Officers

As the resources with the Janamaithri Police in the state to go through the various activities in the tribal colonies for the welfare and security of the scheduled tribes are scanty, the Beat Officers make efforts to mobilize the same from the different sources. In this regard, they build association with various Agencies/Departments like: Forest Dept., Excise Dept., Health Dept., Scheduled Tribes Development Dept., Local Self Government, NGOs, etc. to meet the basic and infrastructural needs of this vulnerable group. Here, an attempt has been made to identify the various agencies that are associated with the Beat Officers in their activities.

The data in this regard showed that a good majority 86 (79.6%) of the Beat Officers confirmed the association of various Agencies/ Departments in their welfare activities in the tribal colonies.

While the majority (45.4%) associated with the 'Health Department', 29.6% each allied with the 'Forest Department' and the 'Excise

Department'. Further, 15.7% had associations with the 'SC/ST Development Department' and the 'Women's Organizations/Groups' like Kudumbasree units in their respective Beats. The other Departments/ Agencies associated with the Beat Officers in the various activities were: 'Local Self Governments' (11.1%), 'Promoters' (12%), 'Tribal Organisations'/Groups like Adivasi Mahasabha (13%), 'Clubs/Residence Association/Charitable trusts/Private agencies/Organisations', etc. (13%), 'Social Welfare Dept./Education Dept.' (8.3%) and 'Other Groups (10.2%) like: Legal Service Cell, Political parties, etc. *(Refer to table 2.6.1)*

Table No.2.6.1
Agencies / Departments Associated with the Beat Officers

Institutions	Frequency (N=108)	Percent
SC/ST Development Department	17	15.7
Health Department	49	45.4
Forest Department	32	29.6
Excise Department	32	29.6
Promoters	13	12.0
Local Self Governments	12	11.1
Women's Groups like Kudumbasree units	17	15.7
Tribal Organisations/ Groups	14	13.0
Clubs, Residence Association./Private Agencies, Charitable Orgs, etc.	14	13.0
Social Welfare/Education Dept.	9	8.3
Others *(legal service authorities, Political parties,etc.)*	11	10.2
No associations / No response	22	20.4

2.7 Impact of Janamaithri Suraksha Project (JSP) on the Tribal Communities

The impact of Janamaithri Suraksha Project (JSP) on the tribal communities in the state of Kerala was assessed by the present study in terms of the perceptions made by the 108 Beat Officers on the changes occurred in the tribal colonies after the implementation of the JSP in their respective tribal police station limits.

A query in this regard revealed that majority 93 (86.1%) of the Beat Officers opined that the Janamaithri Project has made changes on the tribal communities. The changes reported by the Beat Officers are as follows:

2.7.1 Reduction in Alcoholism and Subsequent Family Problems

Most (35.5%) among the Beat Officers who reported of the impact, perceived 'Reduction in Alcoholism' as a major change occurred in their tribal colonies after the implementation of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project. According to a Beat Officer from Kasargode, in some of his tribal colonies, alcoholism was completely stopped. Further, the distillation of illicit liquor was also stopped in a few of the other Beats. The awareness programmes, raids, frequent house visits, etc. made by the Beat Officers had contributed to this effect. *(Refer to table 2.7.1)* Decrease in the Family Problems/ Domestic violence was also found as a subsequent change in the tribal colonies as mentioned by a few (7.5%) of the Beat Officers. The decrease in the family problems in many

colonies was also a bi-product of the reduction in alcoholism.

2.7.2 Improved Relationship between People and Police

Of the 93 beat officers who reported of any impact in the tribal colonies, a good number (22.6%) opined about the improved relationship between the Tribal People and the Police. The project was instrumental in wiping out the fear of tribal people about the police and creating a cordial

relationship with them.

2.7.3 Improved Educational Status of the Children

A good number (21.5%) of the Beat Officers cited that the Improvement in Educational Status of the children in their Beat areas was a result of the works done by them as part of the Janamaithri Project. The efforts made by the JSP resulted in the regular attendance of tribal students in schools and a reduction in the dropout rates. The activities carried out to motivate the students included: the distribution of study equipments, materials, uniforms, etc. and the study classes organised had contributed much to enhance the interest of students in their education. Higher education of few tribal students was also reported from some of these colonies.

2.7.4 Reduction in Tobacco Use

Reduction in Tobacco/Betel use of tribal people was found to be an important change occurred in the colonies of a good number (12.9%) of Beat Officers. This happened as a result of the awareness programmes carried out by the Beat Officers as part of the Janamaithri project in

these tribal colonies.

2.7.5 Reduction in Crimes / Complaints

Another change perceived by 20.4% of the Beat Officers in their Beats/ Police station limits was 'Reduction in Crimes / Complaints'. The formation of Jagratha Samithis, Joint night patrolling with the Samithi/ Colony members, Frequent colony visits by the Janamaithri Police, etc. were influential in reducing the crimes and subsequent complaints in the

police stations.

2.7.6 Safety /Security feeling among Tribal People

One of the key measures on the impact of Janamaithri police is the extent to which the people feel safe / secure in their colonies. To feel secure in a society is more important for the people to live peacefully. To build up or to increase the safety of the people with their own participation was envisioned as one of the aims of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project (JSP).

In tune with the reduction in crimes, a few (16.1%) of the Beat Officers opined that the 'Security Feeling' of tribal people in their Beat limits has increased after the implementation of JSP. The presence of police and their cordial relationship with the tribes has improved the security feeling of the people, especially the women in the tribal colonies to a great

extent.

2.7.7 Timely Information about Crimes by the People

As part of the JSP, the Beat Officers are expected to make cordial relationships with the people in the tribal colonies and equip some of their prominent people viz. Adivasi Moopan, Jagratha Samithi members, etc. to inform the police about the crimes taking place in their colonies.

Accordingly, a good number (10.8%) of the Beat Officers confirmed the 'Timely information of the people about the Crimes' in their Beat

areas.

2.7.8 Control in the visits of Strangers

Generally, it is known that the criminals and extremists are using the tribal areas to hide out and for their anti-social activities. The Janamaithri Project has also a focus in this regard. Accordingly, 3.2% of the Beat Officers reported that in their Beat limits there occurred drastic reduction in the number of visits of Strangers, after the implementation of the

Janamaithri Suraksha Project.

2.7.9 Other Impacts

Further, 8.6% of the Beat Officers reported of the other types of changes occurred in the colonies of their Beat limits after the implementation of JSP. Better living conditions, clean environment of the colonies, Reduction in the diseases among people, and Better knowledge about their rights were the other impacts made as part of the Project. *(Refer to table*

Table No.2.7.1
Impact of Janamaitrhi Suraksha Project (JSP) on the Tribal Communities

Status of Impact/Change	Frequency	Percent
Yes	93	86.1
No	3	2.8
No Response	12	11.1
Total	108	100.0
Types of Impact/Change	**N=93**	
Timely Information to Police (on Illicit liquor / other crimes)	10	10.8
Reduction in alcoholism	33	35.5
Reduction in tobacco use	12	12.9
Reduction in Crimes / Complaints	19	20.4
Control in the Visits of Strangers	3	3.2
Improved Educational Status of Students	20	21.5
Improved Relationship /Change in Approach to Police	21	22.6
Increased Security Feeling	15	16.1
Reduction in Family Problems/DV	7	7.5
Others	8	8.6

2.8 Suggestions for Improvement

Continuous improvement is critical for the sustenance of any initiative. In this regard, the present study has also made an attempt to elicit

suggestions from the Beat Officers for the improvement in the implementation of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the Tribal Police Station Limits. These suggestions are indeed indicators for designing and developing appropriate action programmes for an effective implementation of the project in the tribal areas.

Accordingly, except 11.1%, all the other Beat Officers (88.9%) had provided the following suggestions for the improvement in the security

and welfare of the tribal people.

I. Awareness generation among people

The need for a well designed awareness programmes on various aspects was suggested by the majority (47.2%) of the Beat Officers. Though, the Beat Officers have been organizing 'awareness classes/camps' in most of the colonies, a well designed programme led by experts in the concerned fields would make the situation in the colonies much better. Further, the awareness programmes should be implemented at regular intervals, say once in a month or so on. The programmes should also be instrumental in improving the educational status of the children, bettering their living conditions, enhancing their knowledge on the rights, empowering the tribal women, etc.

II. Better Education to Children

A good number (18.5%) of Beat Officers suggested a better education to the tribal children. As the children are the future citizens of a society, better education will improve their status in the society. Hence, there should be efforts to encourage the students in making them interesting in studies and motivate them for higher studies. Initiation of schools, bettering the facilities in the existing schools, etc. will be also useful in this regard. Providing the children with Tuition class, PSC coaching, Career guidance classes, etc. were also suggested by them.

III. Improve Basic Facilities / Living Conditions of the Scheduled Tribes

As a good number of tribal colonies in the state are facing a problem of lack of basic facilities, 15.7% of the Beat Officers suggested for an improvement of Basic facilities of tribal colonies like: road transportation, toilet, drinking water, etc. They also recommended for the improvement

in living conditions of the people by providing them, especially the women, opportunities for self employment like tailoring, bookbinding, printing, etc.

IV. Association with Other Agencies

Ensure the association of maximum agencies / departments, especially the government departments in the implementation of the welfare activities was the other suggestion put forth by 14.8% of the Beat Officers. This association would be beneficial to the tribal people in meeting their infrastructural facilities and basic needs.

V. Regular House Visits by Beat Officers

Regular Visits by the Beat Officers in the colonies was suggested by15.7% of the respondents. The visits would make better the relationship between the people and the police. Subsequently, the police could be able to prevent/reduce crimes and anti-social activities in the area to an extent

VI. Introduce more Beats/Divide the large Beats

A few (4.6%) suggested about the introduction of more Beats or division of large Beats for the effective functioning of the project. As the tribal colonies are in remote areas and some of the Beats are having more tribal colonies, sometimes the Beat Officers could not cover all the colonies in their Beat limits and the houses of tribal people. This also holds back them from the frequent house visits.

VII. Let them Live with Other People

A few (5.6%) of the Beat Officers had a suggestion that the tribal people have to survive in a society where the other people are living, which will make a change in their attitude and status.

VIII. Activities against Alcoholism

As alcoholism was found to be a major problem in the majority of the tribal colonies, according to 4 respondents, there should be planned activities to solve the issue. Further, the prevention of the distillation of illicit liquor in the area also deserves prime importance.

IX. Other Suggestions

The other suggestions pointed out by 20.4% of the Beat Officers were: the strengthening of Jagratha Samithis, Encouraging of the Complaint Box system, Conduct of continuous Raids and Night patrolling to prevent the anti-social activities like presence of Maoists, distillation of illicit liquor,

etc., Personal interaction with the individuals by the Beat Officers, Conduct of Medical camps, Ensuring of the safety of tribal women and the health security, Jeep facility for schools in tribal areas, Ensuring of marriage registration of unwed mothers, etc. *(Refer to table 2.8.1)*

Table No.2.8.1
Suggestions for Improvement

Suggestions	Frequency N=108	Percent
Awareness to People	51	47.2
Regular House visits	17	15.7
Association with other Agencies	16	14.8
Better Education to Children	20	18.5
Introduce More Beats	5	4.6
Improve Basic facilities / Living conditions	17	15.7
Live with other people	6	5.6
Action against Alcoholism	4	3.7
Others	22	20.4
No Suggestions	12	11.1

2.9. Case Studies

In order to bring about the life situation of the tribes in the state and the issues existing in the tribal colonies, in a more detailed and evaluative manner, 2 case studies from the Janamaithri Police station limits of the Idukki and the Palakkad districts are taken. The case studies also portray the efforts made by the Janamaithri Police to improve the disturbing situation in the colonies. Of the several issues, two issues are very prominent in the tribal colonies that have been discussed here are: 1) the excessive use of contraceptive pills – Mala-D in the 12 colonies close to the Marayur Police Station and Edamalakkudy under the Munnar Police Station limits of Idukki district and 2) the Presence of Maoists in the Attapadi tribal colonies of Palakkad district.

Case Study - 1: Mala-D - a threat to the Survival of Tribals

Marayur, and Kanthalloor are two major tribal inhabiting grama panchayaths of Idukki district, under the jurisdiction of the Marayur Police Station. Marayur Station became a 'Janamaithri (Tribal) Police Station' after the Govt. of Kerala decided to extend its prestigious Janamaithri Suraksha Project to the 50 tribal Police Stations. According to Mr. Joyce,

CRO, Marayur Janamaithri Police Station, there are around 43 Adivasi colonies in its limits. Of these, 12 colonies are closer to the Station. Mostly the tribes belong to two categories viz. 'Muthuvans' and 'Pulayas'. Though, these two groups are living separately, most of the time they are in conflict with each other.

The Mala-D Menace

Mr.Siji Ram, a Beat Officer in charge, spoke about a common and focal issue he found in these colonies, the 'Low Birth Rate' among the tribes. "Only one case of pregnancy was reported in the last 3 years, in a tribal colony named 'Kummalamkudy', where 300 people are dwelling in 70 houses," he said. "Another colony namely 'Thayathhumkudy' has a population of 110 tribals and there are only 16 children," says Khadheeja, an Asst. Beat Officer in charge of the colony. She feared a threat of the extinction of these tribes in the near future.

A probe into the reasons for the 'Low Birth Rate' in these colonies exposed that 'the tribal women and girls in these villages have been popping contraceptive pills to avoid the inconvenience of those few days of menstruation - the girls begin to take the pills from the start of menstruation. As a result, many have stopped conceiving. According to the Adivasi customs, on the days of menstruation, the women have to stay away from their homes and remain for at least three days at a separate place called 'Valaymapura' without seeing the men. Since the facilities at these 'Valaymapuras' are not congenial (having only 1 cot) and are not safe, they have found an easy way out - popping a pill and not menstruating.

Helping the women not to menstruate is Mala-D, an oral contraceptive pill produced by the central public sector Hindustan Latex Limited. The three medical shops functioning in the area are apparently making a killing of Mala-D, and supply them without a valid prescription. Further, it is learnt that the men are the ones who buy Mala-D for the women. The damaging aspect is that the women are not taking the iron tablets supplied along with the Mala-D. Mr. Joise, the CRO said: "Though we had taken concrete efforts to control the selling of Mala-D in these Medical shops, the people found another source in the medical stores of Udumalaipettai, a village in Tamil Nadu district and 40 km away from

the Marayur Police Station limits, where almost all types of medicines are available."

Actions taken by the Janamaithri Police

The Janamaithri Police took the issue seriously and tried all possible ways to find a solution. It organised awareness programmes including classes, led by female resource persons on the ill effects of the continuous use of Carefree, Mala-D, etc. Further, they sought and utilized the assistance of Grama Panchayat, Scheduled Tribes Development Department, etc. to renovate the 'Valaymapuras'.

Other Issues and Actions Taken by the Janamaithri Police

The Police are trying to find a solution for another problem that 'there was no record of their (tribes) marriage registration in these colonies'. They provided awareness to the people on the need for marriage registration and contacted Local Self-Government authorities and the District Collector for facilitating the same. The issue is being solved as the Collector has initiated some measures. The other effort made by the Janamaithri Police was to transfer the Above Poverty Line (APL) status of ration cards of tribal people in the area to Below Poverty Line (BPL) status. They had consultations with Taluk Officer, Grama Panchayat (GP) authorities; Tribal Development Officer, etc. and is awaiting a fruitful result. The police have also taken steps to prevent drop out of students. They have organised awareness classes on health and hygiene in order to make a hygienic atmosphere in the colonies and to prevent health problems caused by unhygienic conditions.

Edamalakkudy – another tribal inhabiting grama panchayath of Idukki district, is under the Munnar Janamaithri tribal Police station jurisdiction. The Panchayat is situated in a remote area and one has to travel 18 kilometres from Munnar by Jeep to reach Pettimudi and another 18 kilometres by foot to reach Edamalakkudi.

This settlement is also facing the same threat - *the excessive 'use of Mala-D'* and subsequent 'Low Birth Rate'. There is only one medical shop in Munnar town which provides Mala-D. After the intervention of the Janamaithri Police, there is a restriction regarding the purchase of Mala-D without a medical prescription. However, they are getting Mala-

D from the merchants coming from 'Valppara'- a border town of Tamil Nadu and they are using it as and when required.

Here too, the problem of 'Valaymapura' is found to be a major reason for the excessive use of Mala-D. The women have to stay alone in unsafe conditions of the 'Valaymapura' during this period. Comparatively, the Valaymapura at Edamalakkudy is better than those in other settlements but not up to the mark.

Further, the babies in the colonies having 3-4years of age have to stay away from their mothers in a 'sathram' (tavern) occupied separately by the boys and girls. The responsibility of the 'tavern' is entrusted with elderly males and females. This has also contributed to the excessive use of Mala-D and subsequent decrease in the birth rate.

Actions taken by the Janamaithri Police

Mr. Madhu, the Beat Officer and Ms.Lijamol, the Asst. Beat Officer, Munnar Police station said: "There was no problem of birth rate in these tribal colonies 10 years ago when the Govt. introduced Mala-D pills." However, the Janamaithri Police have taken many steps to prevent the practice of using Mala-D, among the tribal women. The Police have organized many awareness programmes regarding the negative impact of the practice of excessive use of Mala-D. As a result of these programmes, there occurred a considerable decrease in the use of Mala-D in a tribal colony named 'Mullakutharakudi'.

Even though many efforts are being taken by the Janamaithri Police, the women are still scared of menstruation, the pregnancy and stay at the 'Valaymapura' and there is every chance of them being lured to excessive use of Mala-D. Hence, concrete measures are to be planned and implemented to save these women and promote birth rate of the tribal population in the colonies under threat.

Case Study – 2: The Maoist Lure..........

Attapadi, the only tribal block of Palakkad district in the state consists of 3 grama panchayats viz. Sholayur, Agali and Pudur. Two janamaithri tribal police stations viz. Sholayur and Agali are functioning here, for

maintaining the law and order situation. According to Mr.Krishnankutty, Sub Inspector of Police, Agali Police Station, there are 193 tribal hamlets (Ooru) existing in the jurisdiction of these two police stations, and mostly the people living there belong to Muduga, Irula and Kurumba tribes. Though, there were many developmental / welfare projects implemented in Attapadi, the tribes in the area are still facing a lot of problems. Many of these projects were not well adapted to the traditional adivasi (tribal) culture and beliefs. Hence, about 80 per cent of the tribal population is

still living in abject poverty.

The Janamaithri Suraksha Project implemented in the two tribal police station limits of Attapadi, has taken a stock of the current situation of tribals in the area viz. Social, Economic and Cultural; by convening 'Oorukootams' in all the hamlets. The results emerged were very pathetic. There are around 100 unwed mothers dwelling in these tribal colonies. Besides, the number of widows is increasing day by day. In one hamlet, there are 40 widows inhabiting. Again, the young male population in some of the hamlets has been found decreasing. The reason for their pre-mature death is considered as the adherence to modern diet pattern – a deviation from their traditional pattern. The intrusion of the non-tribals has contributed to this situation. According to Mr. Krishnankutty, "around three decades ago, there were only 2100 non-tribals inhabiting in Attapadi as against the 2500 tribals. However, now the ratio is 4800 non-tribals as against the 3600 tribals. Subsequently, the tribal people were alienated from their land and the intruders forced them to cultivate different crops which are not in tune with their earlier dietary pattern which caused this alarming situation of pre-mature death of the young males".

The other major issues noticed in the adivasi colonies of Attapadi were: malnutrition and infant deaths due to poverty, lack of basic amenities like: drinking water, toilet, electricity, housing, road etc., scarcity of agricultural land, absence of adequate financial support, threat of wild animals, selling of tribal land to non tribals, dumping of waste by other people, educational backwardness, functioning of unrecognised schools, illicit liquor, depletion of forest, functioning of 24 illegal quarries, encroachment of forest land by non-tribals, construction of illegal resorts, etc.

The Maoists' Presence.....

Adding to concern, a major threat the Attapadi tribal hamlets are facing now is the active presence of Maoists. The above mentioned appalling conditions of tribes made an easy way for the intrusion of Maoists in the colonies. The Maoists established themselves as helping hands for the tribal people. They are making efforts to recruit tribal youths as volunteers in their group. They exposed their presence by distributing leaflets and notices in the tribal colonies on the issues like functioning of illegal quarries, tribal land alienation, etc. Their presence was noticed more in the hamlets of remote areas viz. Thudukki, Galazi, Aanavay, etc. where one has to walk kilometres through the interior forests to reach there. Mr. Krishnankutty said that the police have registered suo moto complaint related to the presence of Maoists.

Action taken by the Janamaithri Police

The initial effort of Janamaithri Police in this regard was to solve as many problems as possible in the area at the earliest. Primarily, the police have taken action to stop illegal quarrying and cutting of trees. For the forest land encroachment cases, they took the matter to the notice of Forest Dept. Subsequently, the cases were registered. Further, awareness was provided among the people on leasing and selling of tribal land through mike announcements and through the distribution of notices and leaflets. Around 50 acres of land were made fit for cultivation by ploughing. For the issue of 'unwed mothers', 25 cases were registered on the petitions of the victims. This was a deterrent action to prevent the menace of unwed mothers.

In the field of 'education', as part of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project, the police have implemented a project namely 'Ooru Jyothi' in 32 hamlets. Here, study classes on different languages were organized. They have also distributed study equipments to students in the *Chindakki* tribal high school, to encourage them in their studies. As a result, the school achieved 100% pass in 10th standard. The teachers and children were honoured by the Janamaithri police with the support of Lions Club, Palakkad. Further, free medical and engineering entrance coaching were organized for the students of 3 tribal schools in the Attapadi block. For the job aspirants, the Police opened PSC coaching centres where around 150 candidates including tribals and non-tribals are benefited (free of

cost). Another move in this regard was the conduct of physical test for 20 women (for the post of 'Vanitha Excise Guards') and selected 6 out of which, 5 were tribals.

To identify and solve the health related issues existing in the tribal hamlets, the Janamaithri police organised 'Health Camps' through which around 1000 tribal people are benefited. Further, the Janamaithri Suraksha Project has provided skill training on 'paper bag' to 60 tribal women from 10 hamlets. The Janamaithri police conducted raids to prevent the distillation of illicit liquor and cultivation of 'Ganja' and seized 2500 litters of 'Wash' and destroyed 15 kg of 'Ganja'.

Mr. Krishnankutty, suggested an action plan that would help the tribal people in the area where the Govt. has to deposit a fixed amount of money in a scheduled Bank for the future developmental/ welfare activities for the tribes in the area and appoint an IAS officer to design and implement the activities. The Bank also should have a control over the releasing of funds.

To conclude, the tribals as such are an innocent lot, but presently they are in a disturbed state of mind. Unless concise efforts are not taken to solve the earlier mentioned burning issues of these tribal colonies, there is every possibility of the spread and strengthening of Maoism which is at its infancy now.

2.10 The Panel Discussions

The Panel discussions were organised to have a better understanding on the various issues related to security and welfare of the tribal people and the possibilities of initiating different measures for them. It also aimed at making an opportunity for the Beat Officers to hear several knowledgeable people about a specific issue or topic being discussed, helping them to clarify and evaluate their positions regarding the same. The Panel discussions were organised on 26th and 27th September, 2014 at the Kerala Police Academy (KPA), Thrissur, as a part of the State Level Workshop for the Beat Officers on the 'Role of Janamaithri Police in Preventing Crimes in Tribal Colonies'. The topics dealt in the Discussions were: 1. Laws related to tribal issues and dealing with crimes against tribals, 2. Welfare measures for the tribes: Role of Various Agencies and 3.Tribal welfare and challenges to Internal Security. Accordingly, the Beat Officers were divided into three panels depending

on their areas of operation and each panel was led by the experts in the concerned topics. The panels discussed the problems and recommended suggestions for improvement. The recommendations emerged from the panel discussions are the following:

Panel - I: Laws Related to Tribal Issues and dealing with the

Crimes against the Tribals

This Panel was led by 1.Shri. Sunil Pamidy, I.F.S, D.F.O, Chalakkudy, 2. Shri. R.K. Jayaraj, SP, Crime Branch, and 3. Adv. Seena Rajagopal, Member, C.W.C, Thrissur and the Beat Officers from Thrissur Range constituted the participant category.

During the discussions, the panellists briefed various laws related to the scheduled tribes and the subsequent discussions listed out, some of the issues relating to the implementation of laws related to tribal issues.

Following are the suggestions put forth in this regard:

- *Implementation of Laws related to Tribal Issues*
- Avoid Delay in Registration of cases, Investigation, and Trial.
- Ensure follow up - provide information on the case to the victim.
- Make a note of atrocity prone areas.
- Appoint Special Prosecutors for dealing with the crimes against tribes.
- Introduce Special Courts for the cases related to tribes.
- Take strict deterring action against intermediaries to dissuade them from exploitation.
- *Association with other Agencies like Child Welfare Committee, Social Justice Dept., Revenue Dept., Education Dept., LSGs, etc.*
- For providing protection to children, women and senior citizens.
- For providing infrastructure facilities like: housing, road, drinking water, etc.
- *Appointments / Transfers*
- Appoint service minded persons as promoters in the tribal colonies.
- Avoid punishment transfer of police personnel to tribal areas / Keep away the police personnel who got a punishment transfer in the Janamaithri project in tribal areas.
- *Do's of Beat Officers*

• Observe maximum procedures in dealing with the cases of the tribals.

• Use lawful discretion in the discharging of duty against tribes.

• Have knowledge about the laws related to tribal issues

• Provide awareness to women and children – to prevent child abuse, drug abuse, crimes against women etc.

• *Other Suggestions*

• Record immediate statement of the victims.

• Record the statement of a rape victim under Cr.P.C 164, instead of Cr.P.C 161.

• Make provisions for audio-video recording.

Panel - II: Welfare Measures for the Tribes: Role of various Agencies

Dr. Celine Sunny, Executive Director, Research Institute, Rajagiri College of Social Sciences, and Smt. R.Nishanthini, IPS, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Kochi city, led the discussions on the topic. Beat Officers from Thiruvananthapuram and Ernakulam Ranges participated in the discussion.

The panellists listed out the various agencies viz. Police, Social Justice Department, ST Development Department, Forest Department, Revenue Department, Health Department, Excise Department, and Local Self-Govt. Department, and their roles and contributions in the tribal areas.

Following are the suggestions emerged:

Trainings/Awareness Programmes

 • Create basic awareness on health and hygiene.

 • Organize legal awareness classes in the tribal settlements.

 • Create awareness among students/youth on employment opportunities.

 • Provide awareness on various training opportunities to men and women.

 • Provide Skill development training to women.

 • Initiate Janamaithri kendram in all major tribal areas with minimum basic facilities to create awareness about the project.

 • Introduce training camps for students on 'English language and Personality development'.

Other Activities

 • Prohibit Drugs and illicit liquor

• Protect the Tribal culture
• Market forest products through Tribal Cooperative Marketing Federation (TRIFED).
• Organise regular joint adalaths at the colonies

• Ensure education for all children and prevent dropouts

Panel - III: Tribal Welfare & Challenges of Internal Security

The Panellists were: Shri. Akbar V.K. SP, Shri. Vahid, DYSP, and Dr. Binu, Asst. Professor. Beat Officers from the Kannur range participated in the discussions. The panel discussed the various threats faced by the tribals from the Extremists and Naxals. The various stages of Naxalism and its intensity were briefed by the panellists. Following are the suggestions put forth.

Do's of Janamaithri Police
• Have confidence and show patience while working among the tribal people.
• Study the attitude and stand of the tribes
• Introduce role rotation – multi-tasking among the police personnel.
• Ensure regular Beat visits by the Beat Officers

• Don't hurt the Ritual /cultural aspects of the tribals.

• Implement the welfare / developmental activities in the tribal colonies to avoid the exploitation of the situation by Maoists.

Action against the threat of Naxalism
• Enhance Central – State strategic actions
• Promote academic interventions without prejudice.
       • Conduct multilateral dialogues.
       • Promote dialogue with the tribal leaders depending on the intensity and gravity of the problems.
        • Implement active governance.

Chapter-III

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Janamaithri Suraksha Project, the prestigious community policing venture of Kerala Police, started with pilot projects in 20 police stations (vide Kerala Government Order dated 23.11.2007). Later it was extended to 248 police stations in four phases. The fourth phase saw 50 police

stations being included in the project aimed at the welfare and security of the Scheduled Tribes. So far, the project implemented several projects and activities for the welfare and security of the people in the tribal belt. Now, it's time up for an assessment of these activities to improve the quality of the project. *This study titled: 'Role of Janamaithri Police in Preventing Crimes in Tribal Colonies',* was undertaken by the State Home Department to gauge the overall impact of the programme in preventing crimes and anti-social activities in the tribal colonies and to ensure the safety and security of the tribal populace.

The major objectives of the study were:

• To understand the distribution status of the Beat Officers and Police Stations

• To find out the extent of coverage of colonies by the Beat Officers under their jurisdiction.

• To study the problems/issues existed in the tribal colonies during the Beat visits.

• To find out the crimes committed against scheduled tribes in the colonies under study.

• To examine the activities carried out by the Beat Officers in order to: solve problems/ issues in the colonies, detect and prevent crimes, prevent anti-social activities, detect and prevent the sale and use of drugs/illicit liquor, help the woman and child victims of crimes, the welfare of tribal children in schools/ tribal hostels, ensure women's security, social security, and healthcare of scheduled tribes.

• To find out the agencies / departments associating with the Janamaithri Police in implementing the Janamaithri Suraksha Project.

• To assess the impact/effectiveness of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project on the tribal communities.

• To recommend appropriate strategies/measures for the effective implementation of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribal colonies of the state.

Keeping the objectives close in front, a review of the Janamaithri Suraksha Project in the tribal police station limits was carried out. For this, 108 Beat Officers representing 108 Beats from the 44 Tribal Police stations of 13 districts of Kerala were identified and elicited information related to the various aspects of the study through the Administration of Questionnaires, Conduct of Case studies and Panel Discussions.

This chapter presents the findings derived from the data gathered related to the subject of study and the subsequent recommendations out of it.

3.1 MAJOR FINDINGS

The findings are scripted under the following heads viz. 1) District-wise Distribution of Beat Officers and Police Stations , 2) Extent of Coverage of Colonies by Beat Officers 3) Problems/ Issues Observed in Tribal Colonies, 4) Crimes committed against Scheduled Tribes, 5) Activities carried out by the Beat Officers in the Colonies, 6) Various Agencies / Departments associated with the Janamaithri Police, and 7) Impact of Janamaithri Project on the Tribal Communities.

3.1.1 District-wise Distribution of Beat Officers and Police Stations

• The study covered 108 Beat Officers from the 44 tribal police stations of the 13 districts of Kerala (excluding Alappuzha).

• Majority (29) were from the Palakkad district followed by Idukki (16), and Thrissur (11).

• Of the 44 Police stations, maximum number of stations (8) were in the Wayanad district, followed by Idukki and Kannur.

3.1.2 Extent of Coverage of Colonies by Beat Officers

No. of Tribal Colonies in a Beat

• Most (38.9%) of the Beat Officers had 2-5 colonies in their Beat, followed by 21.3% with 6-9 colonies.

• About 24.1% had large Beats i.e. having either 10-20 (11.1%) or above 20 (13%) colonies.

• Small Beats (*Beats with 1 tribal colony*) were more in Idukki (6) and Thrissur (5).

- Large Beats (more than 20 colonies) were more in Wayanad (7 out of 10)

- Beats with 10-20 colonies were more in Kannur (5).

No. of Tribal Colonies Visited by Beat Officers

- Most (81.5%) of the Beat Officers had visited all the tribal colonies.

- All the Beat Officers having 1 or 6-9 colonies had visited all the colonies.

- Most (90.5% & 91.7%, respectively) having '2-5 colonies' and '10-20 colonies', had visited all the colonies.

- Majority (92.8%) having 'more than 20 colonies', could not cover all the colonies.

The above data reinstate the need for a division of larger Beats into smaller Beats to serve effectively.

3.1.3 Problems/Issues Observed in Tribal Colonies during the Beat Visits

• Alcoholism was a major problem in the tribal colonies of the majority (67.6%) of the Beats. Subsequent family problems were also reported.

• Drug abuse was reported by 25.9% of the Beat Officers.

• Educational backwardness (23.1%), and Epidemic diseases/ other health issues or Lack of nutritious food (21.3%) were the other major problems.

• Lack/absence of basic amenities like: Drinking water (23.1%), Housing (8.3%), Latrine (13.9%), Electricity (14.8%), Road/ transportation (10.2%), etc. were also observed.

• Cleanliness (12%), Presence of Maoists (6.5%), Exploitation by outsiders / Suicide tendency among people (10.2%), Poor living conditions / Unemployment (8.3%), etc. were the issues of certain colonies.

• The other problems (14.8%) included: Lack of educational institutions, Lack of interest in studies and subsequent dropout of students from schools, Use of tobacco/betel, Use of Mala-D, Threat of wild animals, Land problems, etc.

3.1.4 Crimes Committed against the Scheduled Tribes

Land-related Crimes

• 6 Beat Officers reported of land-related crimes - Wayanad (3), Palakkad (1), Kozhikode (1) and Kannur (1).

Crimes against Women

• 17.6% (19) of the Beat Officers reported of cases of 'Crimes against tribal Women' viz. sexual harassment / sexual exploitation, domestic violence, eve teasing, 118A KP Act, SC/ST PCA Act, etc.

• District-wise, 4 were from Wayanad, 3 each from Thiruvananthapuram, Palakkad and Kannur and 2 each from Kollam, Pathanamthitta and Idukki.

Drug and Alcohol-related Crimes

• 21.3% (23) of the Beat Officers reported of Drug and Alcohol-related crimes.

- District-wise, most (12) were from Palakkad (9) and Wayanad (3).

Other Crimes

- Financial exploitation, Road dispute, etc. were the other crimes reported by 13 Beat Officers mostly from Palakkad and Wayanad districts.

Overall, Drug and Alcohol-related Crimes as well as Crimes against Women were more prominent.

3.1.5 Activities carried out by the Janamaithri Police in the Tribal Colonies

3.1.5.1 Solve the Problems/Issues in the Colonies

With the assistance of Other Departments / Agencies

- 65.7% (71) of the Beat Officers associated with the various Departments/ Agencies.

- About half (47.9%) the number of officers organised 'Awareness Classes/Camps' dealing with topics viz. impact of alcoholism, drug abuse, sexual exploitation, epidemic diseases/ other health problems, etc with the support of departments of Health, Forest, Excise etc.

- 19.7% of them organised 'Medical Camps' to detect and cure health problems, epidemic diseases, lack of nutritious food, etc with the support of the Health Dept.

- 15.5% conducted raids in collaboration with the Excise/ Forest Departments to prevent the distillation of illicit liquor and drug use in the tribal colonies.

- 9.9% organized 'adalats', with the support of Police Dept., Local Self-Government, Water Authority, Electricity Board, etc. to meet the basic requirements of the colonies.

- 12.7% had interaction with the officials of other Depts. and subsequent handing over of applications of the people to the authorities concerned, resulting in the availability of services like electricity, housing, weekly medical treatment, nutritious food, etc.

- 4.2% carried out activities like: Implementation of the 'Gothrasarathi project' for the tribal students to send them back to schools, formation of Jagratha samithis to prevent drug abuse and distillation of illicit liquor, PSC coaching /other job-oriented

classes for unemployed, etc. in association with other Depts./ Agencies.

Solely With the assistance of Police Department

- Nearly 75% of the Beat Officers had carried out activities solely with the assistance of the Police Dept.

- Most (68.8%) of them conducted 'Awareness Class/ Seminar' on topics viz. safety of women, impact of alcohol and drug use, legal awareness, etc.,

- A relatively low number of officers (7.5%) conducted raids, 6.3% house visits/ monthly review meetings and 7.5% formed Jagratha Samithis.

- 16.3% carried out other activities viz. distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, etc. as part of the awareness campaign, sanitation campaigns, arranging medical treatment, distribution of study materials, uniform and umbrella etc. and counselling services to the tribal students.

3.1.5.2 Detect and Prevent Crimes

- Majority (59.3%) provided 'Awareness' to the community on the dangers of Maoists, illicit liquor, alcoholism, drug abuse, etc. in order to detect and prevent crime.

- 19.4% made a platform to provide timely information on crimes to the police and for which they trained the people like tribal chieftains, Jagratha Samithi members etc.

- 17.6% carried out frequent Beat visits and 16.7% formed Jagratha Samithis' to detect and prevent crime.

- 10.2% provided 'Timely Service of Police' to the people and 9.3% carried out raids involving people in Beat duties, facilitated services of de-addiction centres etc. .

3.1.5.3 Prevent Anti-social Activities

Status of Anti-Social Activities in the Tribal Colonies

- 29.6% (32) confirmed the presence of anti-social activities in the tribal colonies they visited.

Types of Anti-Social Activities found in the Colonies

- 'Presence of Maoist Activists' in the tribal colonies was reported by a good number (21 out of 32) of Beat Officers.

- 'Sexual exploitation of tribal women' (2), 'Use of alcohol' (1), and 'Activities of Dalit Human Rights Movement (DHRM)' (1) were the other anti-social activities reported.

Activities Carried out to Prevent the Anti-Social Activities

•   Conducting raids *(individually and with the help of Forest Dept.)* and awareness classes were the major activities carried out to prevent the Maoists influencing the tribals.

•   On the issue of sexual exploitation, the police took efforts to register cases timely.

3.1.5.4 Detect and Prevent the Sale and Use of Drugs/Illicit liquor

Detect the Sale and Use of Drugs/Illicit Liquor

•   A good number (33) carried out raids to detect the sale and use of drugs and illicit liquor in the colonies. Excise Dept., Jagratha Samithi members, or Tribal squad etc. participated in some of these raids.

•   A few (12) had prepared or made aware the people to inform the police about such instances in their colonies.

•   Formation of Madhya Virudha Samithi, works in participation with Jagratha Samithis, Patrolling, Registering of more petty cases, etc. were the other activities.

Number of Cases Registered

•   11 (out of 52) Beat Officers had registered one case each and 4 had two or three cases each to detect the sale and use of drugs and illicit liquor in the tribal colonies.

•   One Beat Officer had registered 15 petty cases in this regard.

Creating Awareness Against Drug Abuse

•   Most (50) organized 'Awareness Camps / Seminars' or conducted 'House visits' (6) to create awareness on the ill effects of drug abuse and alcoholism. Video/ Film shows were used for some of these programmes.

•   Negative consequences of alcoholism and drug abuse, traffic rules, legal issues, etc. were the topics dealt with during the awareness programmes.

•   Few (4) organized joint activities with the Jagratha samithis .

3.1.5.5 Activities to Help the Woman and Child victims of Crimes

Woman Victims of Crimes contacted by the Beat Officers

•   23.1% (25) had contacted woman victims of crimes; of which 8.3% had contacted only 1 victim, while 6.5% contacted 2-5 victims.

•   One Beat Officer contacted 17 tribal woman victims of crimes in this regard.

Type of Support Offered by Beat Officers to the Woman Victims

• Of the 25, 10 Beat Officers provided 'Legal support/ Legal awareness', 4 'Financial Assistance', 4 'Counselling' and 'Registration of Case/ Arrest of Accused', and 1 'Medical Assistance', to the victims.

• The other assistances given were: Solved a domestic violence case, provided awareness to the family members of a woman addicted to alcohol (she was admitted to a de-addiction centre) and rescuing a woman who wandered on the streets (helped her to join her family).

No. of Child Victims of Crimes contacted by the Beat Officers

• 10 Beat Officers had contacted the child victims of crimes in their Police station/Beat jurisdiction. Of these, four had contacted 1 victim, while the other four had 2 victims each.

• One Beat Officer had contacted 10 child victims.

Type of Support Provided to the Child Victims

• Support provided included: 'Legal as well as Medical assistance' (3/10), 'Registering of Case / Arrest of Accused' (3), Financial Assistance (1), Arranging of continuation of study of a child victim and her stay at a hostel (1), Arranging of stay for a child victim of rape at Government's Nirbhaya Shelter Home (1).

3.1.5.6 Activities carried out in the Schools/ Tribal Hostels

• A good number 32 (29.6%) conducted 'Awareness Seminars / Classes' to the children mainly on topics viz. impact of drug abuse, traffic rules, need for environmental protection and cleanliness, cyber crimes, use of mobile phones, etc.

• The other activities were: Encouraging students through study classes and distribution of the study equipment, dress, etc. (7), frequent interactions with the school/hostel authorities and children (3), organising cleanliness campaigns (4), formation of School Protection Groups (2), and Others (5) like initiation of School Monitoring Committee, counselling to wandering children, conducting night patrolling, financial assistance to paint school building, etc.

3.1.5.7 Women's Security, Social Security and Healthcare of Tribes

Awareness Programmes in relation to the Women's Security

• 27 (25%) of the Beat Officers provided awareness to the people through camps, classes or house visits.

• The topics dealt were: Self defence, crimes against women and means of protection from crimes, rights of tribal women etc.

• A few got support from the Kerala Legal Services Authority (KELSA) in organizing awareness classes.

Awareness Programmes related to Social Security

• 26 Beat Officers created awareness through classes/ house visits.

• 3 carried out 'Multiple activities' viz. organising 'Souhruda Sadass', awareness class, distribution of booklets etc.

• Social Welfare Dept., Child line and other institutions helped the Beat Officers in this regard.

Awareness Programmes related to Healthcare

• 41(38%) Beat Officers conducted various activities viz. house visits, classes (17), general medical camps (9) and cancer detection camps (7),

• 4 each carried out multiple activities like 'eye check-up and cataract surgery camps' and 'eye check-up and general medical camps'.

• Health Department offered its support in this regard.

3.1.6 Agencies / Departments Associated with the Beat Officers

• Majority (79.6%) of the Beat Officers associated with the various Agencies/Departments viz. Health Department (45.4%), Forest Department (29.6%), Excise Department 29.6%, SC/ST Development Department (15.7%), and Women's Organizations/Groups like Kudumbasree units (15.7%).

• The other Departments/Agencies associated were: Local Self-Governments (11.1%), Tribal Promoters (12%), tribal Organisations/Groups like Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (13%), clubs/ residents' associations/ charitable trusts/ private agencies / organisations etc. (13%), Social Welfare Dept./Education Dept (8.3%) and other groups' (10.2%) like Legal Service Cells, political parties, etc.

3.1.7 Impact of Janamaithri Suraksha Project on the Tribal Colonies

• Majority 93 (86.1%) of the Beat Officers opined that the Janamaithri Suraksha Project (JSP) has made a positive impact on the tribal communities in the project areas.

- 'Reduction in Alcoholism' (35.5%), 'improved relationship between tribes and police' (22.6%), 'improvement in education /interest in study' of children (21.5%), 'reduction in crimes / complaints' (20.4%), 'increase in security feeling' (16.1%) were the prominent impact/changes reported.

- The other changes were: reduction in tobacco use (12.9%), reduction in family problems (7.5%), timely information by the people about crimes (10.8%), control on visits of strangers (3.2%), etc.

3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the suggestions made by Beat Officers, panel discussions and informal discussions with various stakeholders of the project, the following recommendations are put forth. They are aimed at the better implementation of the Janamaithri Project in tribal areas and improvement in the safety and security of tribal people. The recommendations are scripted under the major heads: 1. Role of Janamaithri Police in Tribal Colonies 2. Police Department 3. Appointments / Transfers, 4. Beat and Beat Visits 5. Planning, Designing and Implementation of Programmes 6. Association with Other Departments/Agencies 7. Education 8. Action against the threat of Left Wing Extremism (LWE) 9. Other Recommendations.

1. Role of Janamaithri Police in Tribal Colonies

- Observe mandatory procedures while dealing with the cases of tribals.
- Use lawful discretion in discharging of duty against the tribals.
- Show more patience and confidence, understand the attitude and culture of the communities while working among the tribal people.
- Take more care in avoiding such situations that hurt the ritual / cultural aspects of the tribes.
- Enforce strict action against distillation of illicit liquor and alcoholism.
- Enhance the linkages between Beat Officers and tribal leaders.
- Organise regular joint adalats in tribal colonies.

2. Police Department

- Introduce role rotation – multi-tasking among the police personnel.
- Provide training to Beat Officers for enhancing their knowledge on the various laws related with tribal issues.
- Start Janamaithri kendram in all major tribal areas with sufficient facilities to create awareness.
- Ensure monitoring of Beat Officers' visits to tribal colonies.

3. Appointments / Transfers

• Appoint service-minded persons as tribal promoters.

• Avoid punishment transfer of police personnel to tribal areas or police stations in the Janamaithri project.

• Appoint Special Prosecutors for dealing with the crimes against tribals.

• Introduce Special Courts for the cases related to tribals.

4. Beat and Beat Visits

• Split the existing large Beats (Beats with more number of colonies) into smaller Beats so that a Beat Officer could cover all the tribal colonies under his Beat limits within a short period of time.

• Ensure frequent Beat visits by the Beat Officers/Asst. Beat Officers in all the colonies to make their presence and for creating a sense of security feeling among the people.

5. Planning, Designing and Implementation of Programmes

• Area-specific awareness programmes for the tribal community, incorporating the topics viz. legal, education, health, etc. Ensuring the service of experts for conducting awareness classes.

• Organize regular awareness programmes.

• Provide skill development/ enterprise initiation/ self-employment training (handicraft making, candle making, etc.) for the skilled /needy persons, especially the womenfolk in the colonies.

• Provide counselling, referral services, medical services etc. to the people of tribal areas as and when required.

6. Association with Other Depts. /Agencies

• Associate with the various government departments/private agencies to fulfil the infrastructure and other needs of tribal colonies.

• Make alliance with corporate bodies for implementing their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities and NGOs for implementing various welfare programmes.

• Ensure the association of Child Welfare Committee, Social Justice Dept., Education Dept., etc. for providing protection to children, women and senior citizens.

7. Education

• Ensure education for all children and prevent discontinuation of studies

• Organise summer camps with focus on English and personality development to motivate the children to pursue education and for subsequent enhancement of their personality.

• Arrange tuition classes for weak students.

• Organise PSC coaching, career guidance classes for the children

• Ensure educational facilities for smaller children near their own tribal colonies.

- Enhance the infrastructural facilities in schools.
- Set up library facilities in colonies.

8. Action against the threat of Left Wing Extremism (LWE)

- Initiate Central – State strategies against the insurgence of Maoism.
- Equip the Beat Officers with academic inputs related to the tribes and the modus operandi of the LWE among tribes.
- Promote multilateral dialogues between Beat Officers and tribal leaders.

9. Other Recommendations

- Market the forest produce through Tribal Cooperative Marketing Federation (TRIFED) of India Ltd.
- Set up recreation centres for women with facilities for self-employment.
- Encourage indigenous agricultural activities among the tribals.
- Ensure corruption-free development activities.
- Government depositing an amount in a scheduled bank for the future development /welfare activities for the tribes and appointing an IAS officer to design and implement area-specific activities. Empower the bank with necessary guidelines for releasing the money.

"The need of the hour is to build confidence in the minds of the tribal people by Active Janamaithri Policing"

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TRIBAL SITUATION IN CONTEMPORARY KERALA

Jose Boban. K

Abstract

The present paper deals with the situation of tribals of Kerala in the contemporary period. Even though tribals constitute only a minuscule of Kerala society, their issues and problems always generates many a discussion in the state. Therefore it is relevant to study the problems of them. This paper attempts to cover many phenomena including tribal way of life, tribal medicine, tribal education, alcoholism, etc. The paper also give due attention to the relation between tribals and police which is significant in the context of emerging Maoist threat in the northern districts of the state. Agitations by tribals around the problem of land alienation are a serious problem in our state. Therefore due attention was given to analyze this problem from a historical point of view. The Forest Rights Act – 2006 is giving some hope to the tribals in getting back their land. The paper also argues that the Panchayathi Raj Institutions can play a great role in assisting the tribals to improve their living conditions. Another problem mentioned in the paper is the detribalization process going on among the tribals. On the whole the present paper made a sincere attempt to present a realistic picture of the conditions of tribals in the contemporary Kerala society.

Introduction

Even though tribals constitute only a minuscule of Kerala society, their issues and problems always generates many a discussion in the state. In Malayalam they are known as 'Adivasis', indicating they are the original inhabitants of this land. In the modern parlance, they can be treated as an ethnic group with their own unique culture, language and origin. At the same time, tribals in Kerala are divided among themselves into a

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number of communities. According to the Scheduled Tribe list, which is prepared to give them constitutional protection, there are thirty six communities. This is a list which can be revised by the Union Government. Therefore, there are communities outside the ST list, who consider themselves as tribes even though they may not be officially recognised by the government. Also there is an OEC list in which some tribals are included, just for giving them educational benefits.

There is no clear-cut definition of the word tribe, even though many anthropologists proposed various definitions. There is no unanimity among anthropologists regarding the reliability of any of these definitions as different definitions emphasize on different characteristics of tribes. But all of them have agreement on some of the unique features of tribes.

Tribe – A Definition

Though the constitution of India devotes an entire schedule for listing the scheduled tribes of India the word tribe is nowhere defined in the Constitution except in the following manner. The scheduled tribes are "the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which the President of India may specify by public notification" (Article 342). The Backward Classes Commission appointed by the President of India in 1953 was entrusted with the task of laying down the criteria for the determination of the scheduled tribes. It suggested the following criteria: "They (the tribes) live apart in hills and even when they live in plains, they lead a separate, excluded existence and are not assimilated in the main body of the people; scheduled tribes may belong to any religion. They are listed as scheduled tribes because of the kind of life led by them" (Saksena, 1978:6).

The criteria adopted in the Constitution of India are not satisfactory from an Anthropological point of view. They are not giving any insight into the cultural and social life of the tribes. Therefore, we have to depend on the views put forward by professional anthropologists. Even though many anthropological definitions are available they only increase the ambiguity of the term by emphasizing certain distinctive characteristics of the tribal society. In order to get a holistic picture of a tribe we have to integrate the distinctive features scattered in different definitions. After making an analysis of the various definitions of the term tribe, Vidyarthi and Rai (1977:148) pointed out that tribe is a social group of people who have the following features, viz,

- A definite territory or who claim to occupy a common territory;
- A common name;
- A common dialect;

- A common culture;
- Behaviour of an endogamous group;
- Common taboos;
- Existence of distinctive social and political systems;
- Full faith in their leaders; and
- Self sufficiency in their distinct economy.

These features of the tribal communities give us clarity about this concept even though some of these features may not have universal application.

National Context

The tribes are often treated as separate from the mainstream society as they are following a unique way of life with their own specific historical background. In the pre-independence period, the colonial administration was following a policy of isolation towards them as their early experiences with the tribes were not so good. When the British government attempted to establish tea plantations in the north-eastern part of the country, by encroaching tribal land, they had to face fierce resistance from them. The colonial administration couldn't understand the importance of land in tribal life. When the colonial government treated land only as an economic commodity, tribals had multitude of relations with their land including religious significance. They never practiced the individual or private ownership of the land, but followed the collective ownership of the land by the community. Tribals were following a subsistence economy and never exploit natural resources with a profit motive. For them land was everything which provided them food, shelter and clothing and so they worshipped nature, land and natural objects like trees, waterfalls, animals etc.

So, when the Britishers exploited the natural resources, by establishing plantations, mines, dams etc, the tribals revolted against it. However, Britishers also brought forest conservation legislations in the name of protecting forests. Indian Forest Act -1927 was the most prominent one among these. But through the provisions of the Forest Acts government auctioned the timber inside the forests to increase their revenue. On the other hand, the Forest Acts also denied the customary rights of the tribals over forest resources. Tribals could not understand these discriminations and revolted against it. Therefore, the colonial government declared the tribal concentrated territories as Scheduled Areas and brought special administrative mechanisms there. Tribals were directly under the control of the Provincial Governor and their interactions with the non-tribals were restricted by law.

Thus the earlier tribal problems were related to land. Even before the famous first major agitation for Independence in 1857, tribal revolts against

the colonial rule were many, including the famous Santhal Rebellion of 1855 in Central India. Some historians opined that these tribal rebellions inspired other communities to raise their voice against British. As British government was following a policy of isolation towards the tribes, it adversely affected their development.

When India got Independence, Central Government gave tribes all possible care and support as they were a marginalized group. However, there were different approaches towards tribal development (Doshi and Jain, 2001). The most prominent were Isolation, Assimilation and Integration. Famous British anthropologist, Verrier Elwin who was the adviser to the Prime Minister on tribal affairs promoted the policy of isolation. He believed that tribal culture is unique and should be preserved. Any contact between the tribals and the non-tribals will contribute to the decline of the tribal culture. Therefore tribal communities can be settled in 'National Parks' for avoiding the contamination of tribal culture. But Elwin was criticized for this policy. The critics said that Elwin was treating tribals as museum pieces, and isolating them would be detrimental for their development. Anyway, this policy was not accepted by the central government.

Famous Indian anthropologist, G.S.Ghurye was the proponent of the second approach - Assimilation. Ghurye believed that tribals are not outside the caste system of Hindus. They can be equated with lower caste Hindus occupying the lowest rungs of the caste hierarchy. Therefore, the tribals should be treated like other lower caste Hindu communities and in-order to overcome their socio-economic backwardness, special support can be given to them by the government through various development projects, so that in course of time, they can be fully assimilated to the mainstream society. He did not find any reason for the preservation of tribal culture. This approach was also not accepted as many others treated tribes as different from the Hindu community and a complete assimilation would not be beneficial for them. Mainly the bureaucrats and the administrators, who are in charge of tribal development, proposed the approach of Integration. This approach admits the unique culture and way of life of tribals. At the same time, they realize that tribals experience many socio economic problems so that they cannot be left alone. They need support from government. What is needed is to give opportunities for tribals to achieve development so that they can choose what is needed for them. Nothing should be imposed on them. This approach is widely accepted among the scholars and administrators.

Tribal situation in Kerala

The Western Ghats and its peripheries form the main abode of tribes in

Kerala. The Scheduled Tribe (ST) population of the State is 364189 which is 1.14 % of its general population (Census, 2001). Of the 36 ST communities in the State five are classified as Primitive Tribal Groups due to their extreme socio-economic backwardness. The primitive tribal communities are Cholanaickans, Kattunaickans, Koragas, Kurumbas and Kadars. They are most backward and numerically small in size. They constitute roughly five percent of the total tribal population in the state. Highest concentration of ST population is in Wayanad (37.4 %) followed by Idukki and Palakkad districts.

For any social scientist tribal situation in Kerala unfolds unique features in comparison with rest of India. Even though certain number of communities was identified by the state as tribals, they are not showing uniform characteristics. On one extreme, we can place relatively advanced tribal communities like Mala Arayans of Kottayam, Kanis of Thiruvananthapuram or Kurichiyas of Wayanad who have achieved good education, better employment, good houses, vehicles, and many other modern facilities at par with the non-tribals. They are enjoying a decent standard of living. On the other extreme, there are five primitive tribal groups whose socio-economic conditions are really pathetic. In between, there are so many other communities, who are occupying the different rungs of the development ladder.

These diversities are a challenge for the planners and policy makers, while formulating development projects for them. Of course, special treatment is extended to the primitive tribal groups. However, for others, there are no such official demarcations to give special support based on the gravity of backwardness of each group. As Attappady area comes under the only tribal block in the state, the tribals inhabiting there are also getting special support from both central and state Governments.

Actually, there is a provision for descheduling of communities in the ST list. That means, President of India, based on the recommendations of the Union Government, can revise the list. He can remove the name of any community in the list or include the name of another community. This is done in order to remove those communities who have already achieved self reliance in terms of their development. Also if another community which is not in the list but experiencing backwardness can be included in the list in order to give special support. However, there are wide spread criticisms about the way in which descheduling takes place. Often it is alleged that corrections are made in the list on the basis of political considerations. Therefore many empowered communities are continuing in the list and grabbing most of the opportunities set apart for tribals. This keeps the backward communities to remain in their position.

For outsiders, all tribal communities constitute a homogenous group. But

a closer look into the characteristics of each one of them shows that they also maintain notions of inferiority or superiority in the inter-tribal interactions. For example, the Kurichiyas of Wayanad are famous for their notions of ritual purity. Outsiders are not allowed to enter inside their houses. Other tribal communities are considered inferior to them. The present author also noticed such notions of inferiority or superiority in the interactions between Muthuvans and Hill Pulayas of Idukki. Muthuvans consider themselves superior to Hill Pulayas and not interested to share food with them.

In addition, we can see differences in their dialects, myths of origin, food habits, dressing, art forms, occupation etc. While visiting the traditional hamlets of tribals, which incidentally are very few now in the state, one can notice that all households in such hamlets belong to a single community. This is very beneficial for them to maintain their traditional culture. However, in many of the settlements in the fringe areas of forest one can see more than one tribal groups living together. These are settlements established by the government where members of different tribal communities are resettled after they were displaced from somewhere else. Here they have no choice but to accept the land provided by the government. In such situations, each tribal group may not get chance to preserve their traditional culture. So their newer generations lose their traditional community structure.

The media often covers the tribal life and even play advocacy role for them. Actually, the tribals first find a place in feature films. But in those movies, a totally stereotyped image of tribals are presented. Here, the tribals are always presented as half naked, wearing colourful dresses and wearing ornaments with teeth of wild animals like leopard or tiger. They are shown in such a way as they are always in a happy mood, singing and dancing before the jungle Gods. Such type of exaggerated picturisation of tribals creates an impression in the mind of non-tribals that tribals are unique and extraordinary people. Some even think that tribals have magical powers and they know medicines for all serious ailments etc.

But, in the more recent period, especially after the proliferation of television channels, more realistic presentation of tribal life is available. The media personnel often take initiative to visit the tribal hamlets and telecast or print their problems so that it is helpful for inviting the attention of the government to such issues. Media also give support to tribal agitations taking place in different parts of the State. TV channels nowadays regularly conduct investigations on corruption and inefficiency associated with the development projects for tribals. Thus media act as a watch dog which is really helpful for the tribals. However, there are

also criticisms that some of the stories of the media on the tribal issues are not well supported by facts, but cooked up stories.

Status of Women

Among the tribal communities the women enjoy an egalitarian position in comparison with men. They contribute to the wellbeing of the family by working as manual labourers and also function as home makers. The opinion of the women, especially the elderly women is taken seriously while taking decisions in the family. The women are also bold enough to express their opinion without any inhibition even in front of outsiders. They have an inner strength to participate in agitations for protecting their fundamental rights.

Tribal Education

Tribal education is another thrust area. Even though Schools, Anganwadis etc are provided in tribal areas, still the educational progress is not encouraging. Tribal hostels are also functioning in order to accommodate tribal students both boys and girls. Hostels provide food, accommodation and entertainment facilities. Tuition facilities are also available in some hostels. But the number of students making use of these facilities is limited. Though the tribal children communicate in their dialect in their households, they are forced to study the lessons in the school in Malayalam, which is a foreign language for them. Most of the contents in the curriculum are subjects or themes which has no connection with their culture. So, for the tribal children, it is difficult to digest. The pattern of syllabi and teaching methods are not useful in the development of life skills. Besides, many parents are not aware of the need and importance of education. Hence it is difficult for them to motivate their children. Infrastructural facilities in some schools are poor, which is also a limiting factor.

Many parents are not ready to send their girl children to hostels mainly because of some incidents of sexual harassment reported in the media. Even though these are rare incidents, still it has an impact on the parents. If at all they send their girl children to hostels, they call them back after they have attained puberty. Therefore, facilities and security in the hostels must be improved. Authorities can also provide some awareness programmes for the parents' in-order to instill confidence in their mind. The education department can also include more topics on tribal culture in the text books. While preparing the contents of such lessons, authors must be realistic. Rather than giving a romantic picture of tribal culture, they must showcase the true facts. This is helpful for the non-tribal students to develop a sympathetic and respectful attitude towards tribal communities.

Tribal Medicine

The tribal communities have always relied on a rich stock of traditional knowledge in health and medicines that was transmitted from generation to generation. These communities have a store-house of knowledge about their geographical flora and fauna, and they know how to treat ailments. People believe that maintaining harmonic relationship with the supernatural ensures protection from diseases and other calamities. The various methods and techniques developed by the tribes are not the results of scientific experiments. But most of them can stand the rigorous test of the scientific standards of modern medicine.

Tribal communities live in harsh environments and are thus vulnerable to various diseases and accidents. However, they have no scientifically proven method to tackle adverse situations like famine, diseases, epidemics and ultimate calamity of death. Therefore they depend upon empirical knowledge and methods which are often expressive and symbolic. They retain those techniques which have solved their problems and in course of time such practices become part of their culture.

Having lived in harmony with nature for centuries, the tribes have identified various herbs which can heal a variety of diseases. They have no side effects. This indigenous stream of herbal medicine gets increased attention nowadays and more and more people, not only belonging to tribal community, but those from the outside non-tribal society, approach the tribal medical experts to take their medicine. Their approach to curing the disease not only includes taking the medicine, but also following some diets along with it. They may also suggest some changes in the lifestyle also depending on the type of diseases.

The phenomenon of medical pluralism is very much alive now in the case of tribal communities. Today the tribes are exposed to various kinds of medical systems in addition to their own. Even though many of them accept modern medicine as efficacious they also preserve their own ethno medicine. They consider that only ethno medicine can heal certain type of diseases, especially those caused by supernatural forces. They often make arbitrary division of diseases and use both modern and ethno medicine selectively.

In the past services of tribal healers were available only for the members of those communities. Outsiders were not very much aware or serious about those healing practices. At present there are efforts made by various agencies in order to utilize the traditional wisdom of the tribal healers for the benefit of the modern society. Even though the modern medicine has achieved great success in checking most of the ailments afflicting man still there are many instances where modern

medicine remaining helpless or less effective.

There are many hurdles for the transfer of the traditional medical lore to the youngsters. On one hand many of the old healers are not ready to teach others their own medical knowledge. They have misconceptions that efficacy of the medicine will be lost if they reveal it to somebody. Therefore, they reveal those secrets only during their old age and some may not get an opportunity to do so before death. On the other hand many of the youngsters are skeptical towards the reliability of the ethno medicine and are not interested to learn it. This is mainly due to the influence of modern education and their exposure to the non-tribal culture.

However, even in this bleak scenario there are certain developments that are giving some hope for the continuation of tribal ethno medicine to the future. Among the agencies which are taking initiative for supporting ethno medicine *Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes* (KIRTADS) is most important name in this regard. This is a research institute run by the Government of Kerala for the benefit of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities of the state. It is located in Kozhikode and doing commendable work for the promotion of ethno medicine.

This institute has organized many programmes for encouraging tribal youth to learn ethno medicine and practice it for the benefit of society. Through such activities a new generation of tribal healers is now moulded by this institute. Generally training programmes are organized by the KIRTADS for the interested tribal youth. In the training sessions a group of tribal youth study tribal medical lore from well-known practitioners of tribal medicine and later emerges as successful medical practitioners. After receiving training the trainees are given certificates and permission to practice ethno medicine. Many of them get recognition as Vaidyar, (medical practitioner) and put up dispensaries especially in different parts of Wayanad district like Kalpetta.

The tribal medicine men acquire their knowledge primarily from the senior healers of the community. There are no written texts available for reference as in the case of doctors of other medical systems. Research and development are concepts unknown to the tribal medicine men. They follow the age-old medicinal combinations and healing techniques inherited from their forefathers. Therefore this medical system is a closed one which is neither experimental nor does it imbibe any knowledge from other cultures in any systematic way.

The most well known instance in Kerala of tribal medicine getting popularity through the media was the case of *Arogyapacha* (Trichopus zeylanicus). A lead provided by a tribal community, Kani tribe of Thiruvananthapuram, inhabiting the Southern-Western Ghat region of Kerala, relating to the anti-fatigue properties of a wild plant arogyapacha has led to development of a scientifically validated drug *"Jeevani"* by the Tropical Botanic Garden and Research Institute (TBGRI), an organization established by the Government of Kerala. The TBGRI has worked out an arrangement for benefit sharing with the tribal community. But this project is not going on well now due to lack of coordination among various government agencies concerned with the research and administrative aspects of this.

Agitations for Land

There is a long history of agitations by tribals for getting agricultural land. A vast majority of the tribals follow the occupation of agriculture. So it is vital for them to have their own land. Tribal land alienation is coupled with the migration of non-tribals to hilly areas of the state in search of fertile agriculture land. This process started in the pre-independence period, ie. in the 1940s and continued in 1950s even after independence. In the 1950s, when Shri. Pattom Thanupillai was the chief minister of Travancore-Cochin state, he introduced a new scheme known as "Grow more Food" and encouraged agriculturists of the plains to migrate to the high ranges and convert the forest into agricultural land, to cultivate food crops including rice. This was mainly for overcoming serious food shortage caused due to the Second World War. The government support encouraged large number of ordinary people to migrate to high ranges. According to the Socio-Economic Survey conducted by the Government of Kerala in 1979 in tribal areas most of the migrations to Malabar took place in the 1950s. By 1976 tribals in Malabar lost 9857 acres of land due to migration. According to a study conducted by the Kerala Agricultural University in 1992 only through migration tribes of northern districts lost two thirds of their land (Mohandas, 1992). In Wayanad tribals were the original inhabitants and formed the majority population. But due to the large scale migration of non-tribals now the tribals constitute only a minority in the population of the district.

All this resulted in the influx of large number of non-tribals into the tribal areas. In 1940s or 1950s this problem was not serious as tribals could move into more interior parts of the forests when their land was encroached by non-tribals. Overall population density was also less in the High Ranges during those days. However, the problem became more serous in 1970s when the area of forests declined and both Central and State governments brought many control over establishing hamlets inside

the forests.

Tribals were also affected by the development projects constructed in the hilly terrains. Many dams were constructed for the generation of electricity and for irrigation. In addition, tribals were also displaced from their land for the construction of roads, including highways and plantations. Most of these tribals were resettled by the government. However, some have ended up on the banks of rivers, roadsides etc.

Government also brought many rehabilitation packages for the displaced tribals and also for those tribals who were under the system of slavery. In Wayanad, government established estates in Pookod and Sugandhagiri, mainly for rehabilitating tribals who were bonded labourers. Houses were constructed for them and employment opportunities were provided. Tribals had control over the functioning of the estates even though the overall administration was managed by the government officials. Land in the estates was also given to the tribals. Similarly, agricultural projects were started in different villages in Attappady like Pothuppady, Chindakki etc to give land and income for tribals. However, these estates and farms are not functioning well. Productivity is very less and one cannot find any observable improvement in the conditions of tribal beneficiaries. What is needed is to make these farm projects self reliant and profit making by improving their management so that the tribals who are part of these projects can be economically self sufficient.

The Forest Rights Act − 2006

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, is a key piece of forest legislation passed in India on 18 December 2006. The law concerns the rights of forest-dwelling communities to land and other resources, denied to them over decades as a result of the continuance of colonial forest laws in India. Before the passing of this Act Indian forests were governed by two main laws the Indian Forest Act -1927 and the Wild Life (Protection) Act -1972. These Acts had severe provisions so that the forest dwellers were always under the threat of eviction. The Act is intended to recognize land ownership rights for those lands that are already under cultivation as on 13 December 2005 and not to grant title to any new lands. The tribals of Kerala welcomed this Act as they expected that it will protect their customary rights over the forest and its resources. They also expect that by making use of the provisions of this Act they will be able to get back their land which was alienated earlier.

Alcoholism

It is a serious problem affecting the well being of tribals in many areas of the state. Actually, liquor was prohibited by the State Government in

the Attappady region as it is the most tribal concentrated area in the state. In spite of these measures taken by the government illicit liquor and even foreign liquor in readily available in Attappady. Not even men, but many tribal women are also addicted to liquor. It takes away whatever little money they have. Also when pregnant women drink it affects the foetus and sometime leads to miscarriages. Moreover, it contributes to malnutrition and a variety of other health problems. Alcoholism is a problem in many other regions of the state like Wayanad, Malappuram, Idukki etc. Many tribals visit liquor shops regularly and some depend on illicit liquor traders. Proper enforcement of the law by the excise officials is required in order to control this menace. Moreover, awareness programmes are to be organized against alcoholism in the tribal settlements with the cooperation of NGOs.

Tribes and Panchayathi Raj Institutions

Modern three tier Panchayathi Raj Institutions were introduced in India through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts by the Parliament in 1992. Later the Kerala Panchayathi Raj Act was passed by the Kerala Legislative Assembly in 1994. The first elections were held in 1995 in Kerala.

In India the tribal dominated regions are declared as Scheduled Areas in order to give special protection for tribals and to ensure their development. Such territories are identified in the Indian Constitution under 5th and 6th Schedules. The 6th Schedule areas comprise of regions coming as part of four states in the North-eastern parts of the country whereas the regions that come under 5th Schedule are widely scattered in the country under nine states.

The legislation on Panchayathi Raj passed by the parliament in 1992 is not applicable in its original form in the Scheduled Areas. Therefore a new legislation was passed in 1996 by modifying the original Act in order to suit with the conditions prevailing in the tribal concentrated areas. These regions are controlled by an Act known as *Provisions of Panchayathi Raj (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act – 1996* which is popularly known as *PESA Act.* As per the provisions of this Act in the Scheduled Areas all the seats of the chairpersons in the panchayath council is reserved for the tribals and 50% of members seats are also reserved for tribals. Land rights of the tribals are fully protected in the Scheduled Areas. In Kerala there is no Scheduled Area as the numerical strength of tribals is less here in comparison with other states. However, the leaders of tribal movements in Kerala demand that the tribal concentrated areas in the State like Attapady and Wayanad should be declared as scheduled areas. Then the tribals will get more roles in the

administration of the region especially through the Panchayathi Raj institutions. The problem of land alienation and other atrocities against them can be totally prevented in scheduled areas.

Panchayathi Raj system should be utilised to cater to the needs of the tribals. Tribal Oorukootam which is equivalent to the Grama Sabha of a ward is the most grass root level organization. Oorukootam gives opportunity for any tribal person who is a voter to express his opinion in the meeting. This is an attempt to bring democracy in the process of planning and implementation to the grass root level. Many persons are making use of this opportunity. On the other hand, there are some drawbacks in the effective functioning of Oorukootam. In some regions, the rate of participation is very less and very few women are present in the meeting. It is also noticed that in some Oorukootams, members of different tribal communities participate. In such occasions members of one community dominate and they control the proceedings. Members of the other community remain as spectators as they lack confidence to open up. Therefore the decision making process may not be proper. In some other occasions, it is found that the panchayath officials come for Oorukootams with their agenda. Then, they will dominate over the proceedings. The officials will announce what are the development projects that are being proposed for the next year and who are going to be the beneficiaries. Then without any discussions the proposal will be approved by the members. The real purpose of the Oorukootams is foiled in such occasions.

Police and Tribals

The state police department which takes care of the internal security and maintenance of law and order of the state is also an agency which interacts with the different sections of the people in a multitude of ways. In the recent period police department attempts to project a people friendly image of it as even today people generally have fear in their mind towards the police force. With this aim the Janamaithri Suraksha Project was launched in 2008 which is the Community Policing initiative of the Kerala police. This is a state level project with its presence in all districts of Kerala.

Today the police force is giving special attention to the tribal areas in the context of the emerging threat from the subversive forces like the Maoists. Their presence in the forests of Kerala from the beginning of 2013 especially in the northern districts is a well accepted fact. Experiences of other states show that the Maoists generally operate from the tribal areas. Even though the state government implements various development projects for tribals still there are many unresolved

problems. The Maoists attempt to exploit this situation. They give a false sense of hope to the tribals and try to get their support in all extremist activities. According to P. Vahid, DySP of Kerala police " As in other states, the Maoists as a preliminary step, are visiting these (tribal) colonies, interacting with the tribals, understanding and empathizing with their problems and ultimately propagating their ideology and strategy as the panacea for all 'sufferings', both real and imagined. Maoists, by their articulate, passionate presentation, which carefully incorporates in depth facts about the day to day lives of the Adivasis, magnifying their sufferings and distorting to suit their interests, the Governmental attitude towards the suffering tribals, so as to convince them that the only alternative is to take up arms and fight to the finish against a 'heartless' and apathetic Government who would otherwise preside over their doom" (2014: 43). When Maoists operating in this manner there is great chance that they can easily mislead the simple, often less educated tribal people. That is why the police department is taking steps to watch the activities going on in the tribal settlements.

The top authorities of the police department decided to take steps to be more close to tribal settlements in order to get their support against the operations against the subversive forces. The Janamaithri Suraksha Project has great relevance in this regard. Special attention is given to four northern districts of the state viz, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanad and Kannur. Under the leadership of the State Nodal Officer the officers of the Janamaithri police visited many of the tribal settlements in these districts and enquired about their problems. It was found that even though the condition of the tribals in Kerala is better than their brethren in other states, still there are many problems like poor housing and sanitation facilities, lack of drinking water facilities, absence of good roads and electricity, inadequacies in educational and medical facilities etc. Moreover, concrete steps were taken to solve the problems identified during such visits. Some of these problems can be solved by the police department itself whereas for solving some other problems cooperation and involvement of other departments like revenue, agriculture, education, health etc are required. In such occasions district level meetings are convened with the participation of officials from other departments concerned as well as representatives of NGOs. Such a meeting was recently held in Wayanad district. Some of the suggestions came as an outcome of the visits to the tribal hamlets are given below:

·   Take measures to solve the problem of malnutrition among tribal women and children. Rejuvenate the functioning of the Primary Health Centres.

·   Create a congenial environment for the primary and continuing

education of the tribal children.

· Improve the facilities in the offices of the Tribal Development Department through which all the welfare programmes for the tribes are implemented.

· Strengthen the activities of the Excise and Forest Departments in order to check the problem of increasing sale and consumption of liquor in tribal settlements.

· Avoid intermediaries in the construction of houses for the tribes and construct the houses with the participation of the tribal beneficiaries themselves.

· Take immediate measures to issues ration cards and identity cards to each tribal person who does not possess it now.

· All other government departments should extend their cooperation to the tribal Janamaithri police which have taken the initiative to solve the issues in the tribal settlements. (*Janamaithri Police News Letter* – May/June, 2014)

The police stations in the tribal concentrated areas were converted as tribal Janamaithri police stations and beat officers now regularly visit the nearby tribal settlements to know what is going on there. For example in Kannur district there are 17 tribal Janamaithri police stations. Through them already some welfare programmes were organized including housing projects for very poor tribal families, electrification of houses, distribution of wheel chairs for those who are physically handicapped, organizing training on swimming for the tribal children, coaching classes for writing PSC tests etc. Through all these type of consistent activities the tribal Janamaithri police now get good contacts with the tribes and people consider them as their friends and benefactors. This is very important in the fight against Left Wing Extremists where the support of the local tribes is very crucial.

Detribalization

In spite of the various initiatives of the government agencies and NGOs for the development of the tribals, still there a many issues prevailing. Poverty, malnutrition, unemployment, high infant mortality, poor housing etc are some of the burning issues of tribes in Kerala. Land alienation and the consequent landlessness is yet another serious problem. Even though the state government evolved many innovative programmes for the improvement of their education, health, agriculture etc, often the targets are not achieved.

Even today, tribals are keeping a distance from non-tribals. The goal of integration with the main stream society is yet to be achieved. Relatively backward tribal communities are more suspicious of the non-tribal locals

residing in their area. This is due to their bitter experiences of the past. Even after adopting the non tribal culture to a great extend, still most of the tribals maintain the fundamental principles of their own culture. Tribals follow the food habits, dressing patterns, modes of entertainment and language of non-tribals to a great extend. However, they have more difficulty in following the religion and value system of non-tribals. The marital relationship between tribes and non-tribals is very low. Occasionally, certain love marriages take place. Otherwise, each party selects their spouse from their own group. This is one reason for the lack of integration of tribes in the mainstream society. Otherwise, a hybrid population would have been developed due to the mixing of genetic properties between tribes and non-tribals.

Many anthropologists identified the process of Detribalisation among many tribal groups. It means that tribals are losing many of their original cultural elements which are replaced by the cultural traits of non-tribal communities. In anthropological terms, this is a type of acculturation process which is resulting in the diffusion of cultural elements from the non-tribal communities. This detribalisation process has influenced more the relatively educated and employed members of the tribal groups. After getting white collar employment, many of the youngsters are leaving their original hamlet. They generally settle down in the urban areas with their wife and children. Often they are ashamed of their tribal identity. Consequently, their community never gets any benefits from such persons. While interacting with these employed and educated tribals it can be found that they are fully integrated with the non-tribal middle class society and have abandoned all their traditional characteristics. They incorporate the non-tribal value system and keep their children away from the indigenous culture. Therefore, the present generation of children growing up in the urban areas looses all their tribal characteristics.

Conclusion

Nowadays all facets of tribal life are changing due to the close contact with the non-tribal society. The general socio-political atmosphere prevailing in the country is accelerating this process. Government follows a policy of protective discrimination towards tribes so that development programmes are implemented for bringing them in the mainstream society.

Tribals in Kerala need a humane treatment from the part of the non tribal society and the State Government. In spite of the sincere efforts made by the Government, many of their problems are still persisting. The government officials should develop an empathetic feeling towards the tribals. Our first Prime Minister, Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized

this point in the 1950s itself. While sending government officials to North Eastern states to take care of tribal welfare, he opined that these officials should learn tribal dialects, follow their food habits and be ready to smoke with them or dance with them. Nehru was emphasizing the need to officials regarding internalizing tribal culture so that they can get their confidence and trust. Then only tribals will cooperate with them when development programs are implemented.

Now Kerala Government is all determined to address the problem of alcoholism in our state. This is beneficial for the tribals too. As mentioned earlier alcoholism is a serious problem among many tribal communities. In the present circumstance, the government officials get a better chance to make tribals aware of the problems of alcoholism. The Janamaithry police can also play a major role in this regard.

Now many government agencies are functioning for the welfare of the tribals. Each institution is initiating projects for tribal welfare. Often there is duplication and overlapping in the activities of the various agencies. Therefore a better coordination among these agencies would have been beneficial in order to attain the targets of these projects. Much wastage of money and other resources could have been reduced. One possibility is to integrate the State Government agencies with the Panchayathi Raj institutions, as in the case of many other sectors.

Media play a major role in highlighting the problems in the tribal hamlets. Today, both the print and the visual media expose the problems in the tribal areas. Often this is helpful for the government agencies to take ameliorative steps in this regard. Moreover, media can also present the uniqueness of tribal culture, their way of life, festivals, art forms, food habits etc. This can be helpful for the mainstream society to develop a better awareness on them. The wrong image in the mind of outsiders can be rectified through such programs.

A democracy works when all citizens including the most marginalized people have the capability to ask questions seek accountability from the state and participate in the process of governance. Anthyodaya or unto the last should be the philosophy behind distribution of resources by the government. Voices of the most vulnerable should be heard in decision making. Panchayaths have become an important cornerstone for empowerment of people and for building the grassroots' most crucial process for people to assert their community identity and fulfill their basic needs of democracy.

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Issues of Tribal Education in Kerala

M S Jayakumar

Abstract

Kerala with its own model of development has achieved better human development for its people. However, still, there are outliers and the tribal communities are the major among them that is sidelined in almost every walk of life, including education. The problem of educational drop out remains high among them compared to the mainstream population. There is a vicious triangle of poverty-ill-health-low education at work among them. The illiteracy/low education of parents is an effective hindrance to their children's educational achievement. The indifferent and/or insensitive functionaries, including teachers, often act as effective impediments to tribal education. Language barrier is yet another major constraint in the educational development of tribes which acts at multiple levels. Another barrier in tribal education is the attitude of the parents towards the education of their children. Most of the tribal hostels are overpopulated and in poor condition. Most of the enabling and empowering efforts carried out successfully in the mainstream society either do not succeed or do not find a place among the tribes. Infrastructure is not a significant reason for backwardness of tribes at school level. Educational institutions are less available to the tribes at the higher levels, constraining their access to higher education. In-access to educational institutions is another reason for the educational backwardness of the tribal communities.

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Introduction

Education is a prerequisite of development, economic as well as human, of a society, and the level of education of a society is determined by several factors including but not limited to economic, social, cultural and religious. Indian society, built up on a firm structure of caste, has specific blockades preventing equal opportunities to all segments of population. Kerala with its own model of development has excelled all other states in the country in achieving better human development for its people. However, still, there are outliers and the tribal communities are the major segment that is sidelined in almost every walk of life, including education. Here an attempt is made to understand their educational backwardness.

Drop out

Kerala boasts of having the lowest rate of dropout among school students in India. In 2006-07, the total dropout among school students in the state was only 0.81 percent. The dropout ratio in Lower Primary, Upper Primary and High School levels were 0.59 percent, 0.52 percent and 1.38 percent respectively. However, the dropout ratio among the ST students was four times that of the state level ratio (4.18 percent). It is remarkable that the dropout ratio of scheduled caste (SC) students was only 1.04 percent during the same period (GoK, 2009).

The detailed data show that the most tribal populated districts have the highest dropout rates. Wayanad district leads with 1.89 percent in Lower Primary, 1.92 percent in Upper Primary and 2.56 percent in High School sections, followed by Idukki (LP-1.02, UP-0.89 and HS-2.43 percent) and Palakkad (LP-0.81, UP-0.67 and HS-1.71 percent) (GoK, 2009). This could be attributed to the high level of tribal dropout. It shows that despite the Government initiatives including the tribal sub plans giving greater emphasis on the education of tribes, the problem of educational drop out remains high among them compared to the mainstream population (Mitra and Singh, 2006).

The significance of education in the development of tribes is evident from the example of Kurumas and Kurichiyas. According to experts, educational drop out is the least among them and eventually they are the most advanced tribes in Wayanad district. During the first half of 1970s, there was high dropout among these tribes at the LP level itself. But now many of them pursue higher education. On the contrary, drop out is very high among the Paniya, Adiya, Kattunaika, Uralis coupled with low

enrolment. The district level data (of Wayanad) show that dropout of tribal students constitutes the greater majority of total dropout (DD, 2009) demanding more attention and intervention.

Dropout occurs largely due to social constraints like illiteracy, consumption of alcohol etc. of parents, loose family relations, informal and early marriage, (informal) divorce (even among the educated ones) etc. there are even instances of both husband and wife studying in the same class hindering possibility of higher education.

The official figures of drop out, it is understood, do not reveal the reality in-toto, as there is underreporting. Consequent to the different policies and programmes aimed at tribal education, the tribal students get various assistances including financial aid. There are instances in which the students are retained in record, despite being dropouts, so as to facilitate them/their families to avail these benefits. This could be because of either parental pressures or philanthropic attitude of teachers. Another important reason is the threat of losing job of teachers and staff. If the number of students comes down to a lower level (in that case the school is likely to be 'uneconomic'), the employment prospect of the teachers might be at risk. Besides, there are incidences in which some vested interests grabbing these benefits retaining them in the roll.

Malnutrition

Another bottleneck in tribal education is nutrition deficiency. The number of healthy children is very less among them. Anemia, sickle cell anemia etc are rampant among them. In the past, they cultivated Chama (ragi), cholam (corn) and thina (muthira) in abundance and shortage of food grains and nutrition deficiency were not serious issues .

Income poverty

Lot of facilities/programmes are provided for their education by government free of cost. It is observed that despite all these, dropout happens. One reason is that they are unable to bear the hidden costs of education. They are in the form of special fees, cost of reading and writing materials, clothing, travelling, study tours, private tuition etc. Another one is that due to income poverty, children either go for work or do the household chores while both parents go for work.

There is a vicious triangle of poverty-ill-health-low education at work among them. The illiteracy/low education of parents is an effective

hindrance to their children's educational development. It is seen that if mothers are given proper awareness and guidance after their problems are identified, student enrolment rate could be substantially increased and dropout decreased.

Insensitive functionaries

The indifferent and/or insensitive functionaries often act as effective impediments to tribal education. This is irrespective of the type of management of the school i.e. government or private sectors. The schools run by the missionaries are well known for imparting education to the marginalized, including tribes. These schools generally motivate all students cutting across communities, maintain better discipline and promote extracurricular activities. However, even the teachers in these schools are often not tribal sensitive, not to say about others. For instance, when the stipend for the tribal students is ready for distribution, the teachers announce in the class room. Then the general students laugh at the tribal students. Such incidents happen unknowingly and often go unnoticed.

Insensitivity of officials and other functionaries is a major, but often taken for granted, constraint in tribal education. Informal estimation shows that about 80 percent of the workers in the Anganvadis of tribal areas are non-tribal. Even the tribal oriented projects like AHADS do not employ tribes in its important levels. Officials get posting in the tribal areas either as punishment transfer (in which case they are not only without commitment but also have hostile attitude towards the public) or as promotion (and are eager to go back at the earliest). Studies have shown that the tribal students like the teachers belonging to their own (tribal) communities and the subjects taught by them most (CSES, 2007).

Of the total 1,76,200 school teachers in the state, only 374 belonged to STs (whereas 5110 belonged to SCs). Among the ST teachers 313, 55 and 6 were the respective share of Government, Aided and Unaided schools. The district wise number of ST teachers (GoK 2004) shows that Palakkad, the second most tribal populated district has very few teachers from the tribal communities and the situation in other important tribal districts is also far below satisfactory level.

Language barrier

Language barrier is one of the major constraints in the educational development of tribal communities in the state which acts at multiple

levels as they have their own mother tongues (mostly dialects). First, Malayalam, the common medium of tribal education in the state itself is alien to them. Again, the second language i.e. Hindi and third language English are all alien and strange for them.

Non motivating parents

Another barrier in tribal education is the attitude of the parents towards the education of their children. The majority do not take any initiative in this matter nor do they give any incentives to their children. The fathers (who spend good sum for smoking and drinking) do not usually buy a pen or pencil for their kids. Besides, they take the stand that everything should be provided by the Government. This kind of passive attitude consequent to the lack of enabling process is widespread among them.

Withdrawing nature

In some tribal pockets, drop out is more visible in 5th 6th and 7th standards which requires further probe. There are instances in which many tribal students who go to towns for their study faced ragging and eventually terminated their study. Since they do not get opportunity and training in leadership, public speech etc, they are unable to address a group or face new situations.

Poor condition of hostels

Most of the tribal hostels are overpopulated and in poor condition. There are instances in which 100 students are staying where the actual capacity is just 30. The food supplied does not provide sufficient nutrition for the students who suffer from malnutrition. Besides, they have to share even the personal articles like soaps and towels due to financial crunch resulting in the spread of skin diseases etc. The insensitive and irresponsible hostel staff also do havoc. Many of the engineering colleges do not provide hostel facilities for the first year students, either due to the fear of ragging or due to lack of space forcing students to seek costly accommodation that is very often unaffordable for tribal students.

Exclusion from programmes

Most of the enabling and empowering efforts carried out successfully in the mainstream society either do not succeed or do not find a place among the tribes. For example, the central government is funding a project on training for skill development of students in association with core groups (here registered youth clubs affiliated to Nehru Yuva Kendra).

It's a seven-day non-residential course (with free food and equipments). However, since there are few youth clubs (core groups) in tribal areas, this programme cannot be carried out among them.

Poor infrastructure

Educational infrastructure is a decisive factor determining the educational attainment of the tribes. The state has a total of 12647 schools, of which 2803 are High schools, 3042 U P schools and 6802 LP schools. The Three tribal districts, except Idukki, have schools below the ratio of their population at school going age, i.e. 5-14 years. Wayanad has a share of 2.57 percent of the total state population at school going age but has only 2.32 percent of the total schools in the state. For Palakkad they are 8.71 percent and 7.64 percent respectively (Govt. of Kerala, 2009). Low distribution of schools is observed in some other districts as well, requiring further inquiry in this regard.

The availability of infrastructure, both in terms of quantity and quality, is a determinant factor for the educational advancement of the tribes as any other community. Cent percent schools in all the four major tribal districts in the state have pucca buildings. With regard to drinking water facilities, urinals, latrines, etc., also, the tribal districts are not behind the other districts (this does not necessarily mean that both have satisfactory infrastructure). Therefore, it can be inferred that the reason for backwardness of tribes at school level is other than infrastructure.

The standard-wise strength of ST students in the state in the year 2008-09 shows that the tribal education is largely dependent on government infrastructure (GoK, 2009). Their representation in the total student population in the Government schools is 2.89 percent followed by Private Aided Schools (1.18 percent) and Private Unaided schools (0.34 percent). This is significant as any possible (or prevailing) failure of the government mechanism would have far reaching effect on the human capital acquisition and thereby on the mobility option of the tribal communities.

Analysis of the standard-wise strength of students (GoK, 2009) in the state in Government and Private aided schools (where the majority of the ST students enroll) during the year 2008-09 shows that their number decreases as the standard/level of schooling increases up to the 10th standard (GoK, 2009). Thus more dropout happens at higher levels of schooling among the ST students in the state.

However, the situation of higher education is quite different. The state

has a total of 189 Arts and Science colleges, of which 39 are Government colleges and the remaining (150) are Private Aided colleges. Except Palakkad (14), all the tribal districts (Wayanad-6, Idukki-8 and Kasargodu-5) have the least number of Arts and Science colleges in the state (GoK, 2008). This shows that educational infrastructure is less available to the tribes at the higher levels, constraining their access to higher education.

In-access to institutions

In-access to educational institutions is another reason for the educational backwardness of the tribal communities despite a number of policy and programme interventions. Since they largely live in remote hamlets, they cannot have easy access to schools, colleges etc. Here it should be kept in mind that Kerala's higher achievement in literacy and education is greatly contributed by the easily accessible settlement pattern that the state has been known for since very past (Tharakan, 1986). It is seen that the most forward tribes (Kurichya, Malayaraya and Kuruma) have greater access to schools where as the backward ones have less access. Inaccessibility is highly visible with regard to higher education (Jayakumar and Rajasenan, 2010) as the majority of all tribes do not have easy access to colleges. This helps to draw a parallel between low attainment in education and inaccessibility.

There is a vicious triangle of poverty-ill-health-low education at work among them. The illiteracy/low education of parents is an effective hindrance to their children's educational development. It is seen that if mothers are given proper awareness and guidance after their problems are identified, student enrolment rate could be substantially increased and dropout decreased.

Conclusion

Though the state has enviable achievements to its credit in literacy and education, the tribes remain outliers. The dropout of ST students at schools is four times that of the SC and even more compared to the general category. The situation of poverty forces them to choose between "education or immediate income" and deprives them of the option "education for better income". There is a vicious circle of 'poverty-ill-health-low education' at work impeding the educational development of tribal communities. Besides, there are a number of factors contributing to the lower educational attainment of the tribal communities.

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Police to the aid of tribesmen in distress

B.R.P.Bhaskar

The plight of Kerala's miniscule tribal population mocks at the state's claims about its impressive social development. It has no doubt achieved indices of social development comparable with those of the advanced nations of the world and is way ahead of other Indian states, but its Adivasis remain way behind their counterparts in the rest of the country.

Kerala is the richest of India's states – it tops in per capita income as well as expenditure – but the Adivasis who constitute only one per cent of the population lead a life of extreme deprivation. Against this background, the State government's decision to involve the Janamaithri Suraksha police (Community Policing Project) in aid of the tribal population is a welcome step.

Ms. C. K. Janu, President of the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha, in a recent newspaper interview presented a grim account of the conditions of the tribes. "Life in tribal colonies in Kerala is becoming miserable day after day," she said. "Seven to eight families are living in small huts in just four cents of land. There is friction among family members as they lack privacy. People in many colonies are becoming alcoholics, and quarrels among them are frequent. Suicide among tribals is increasing at an enormous rate as they face stress at home."

A spate of deaths of infants was reported recently from the backward Attapady tribal belt in the Palakkad district. This is one area where the government has decided to enlist the services of the Janamaithri Police.

According to the local media, Intelligence reports had indicated that malnutrition, lack of access to hospitals, blighted living conditions, concentrated poverty, lack of living skills, ignorance of their special rights, illiteracy and exploitation at the hands of land grabbers, labour contractors and forest mafia were resulting in growing estrangement of tribal youth, and the situation needed to be remedied at the earliest to preserve the

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social fabric.

It is no secret that there is much in the traditions of the police, an institution which originated in the feudal and colonial times, that inhibits it in its interaction with the general public. There is thus room to doubt if the police is equipped to play the role envisaged for it.

The community policing project is the boldest attempt yet to improve the performance of the police and reconstruct its image. At a workshop organized by Janamaithri police recently to evolve strategies to deal with the problem of alcoholism and drug abuse, I had occasion to interact briefly with personnel at various levels who have been engaged in such activity for some time now in the tribal areas. I was impressed with the sincerity and earnestness which many officers and men are bringing to bear on their task.

The present plight of the Adivasis is largely the result of intrusion of non-tribals into their areas since Independence. They had a traditional right to live in the forests and earn their livelihood there. Migrants from the plains looking for land to cultivate took over their lands illegally. Since the Adivasis did not have titles to the land in their possession, they could not transfer it lawfully to anyone. Yet the settlers claim they had bought the land from the Adivasis. The fact is that they were able to establish ownership by registering fraudulent sale deeds with the help of corrupt officials.

In 1975, the State Assembly passed a law to restore the alienated land to the Adivasis. It could not be implemented as successive governments were keen to placate the powerful political and religious elements whose patronage the settlers enjoy. Since the Adivasis' forest holdings have changed hands several times in the last six decades, there are practical difficulties in repossessing and restoring them. The government has, therefore, decided to provide alternative land to the landless Adivasis. While this policy is being implemented ever so slowly, there is fear that the Adivasis could again be cheated of the land in their possession. To prevent this, the Gothra Mahasabha has called for declaration of Adivasi colonies as Scheduled Areas, as provided for in the Constitution. The matter is engaging the government's attention. Also under its consideration is the Gothra Mahasabha's proposal to extend to the Adivasi areas the special provisions in respect of tribal areas in the Central Panchayat legislation.

Even if constitutional and legal safeguards are put in place, the Adivasis, who are weak and highly vulnerable, will need help from the authorities to protect their interests. Hopefully police-public partnership envisaged under the Janamaithri scheme can play a useful role in this regard.

Crime Is A Plural Word: Criminal Tribes And Racial Criminality In The UK : Project Assignment- Law, Culture and Pluralism

Harsh Adithya Poddar

I. INTRODUCTION

1.I THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

The ostensible purpose of the 1987 Act had been to suppress hereditary criminal sections of Indian Society.[1] The notion of crime and criminality had, however, been changing throughout the nineteenth century. There is a comprehensive discussion of the changing definition of crime over a period of time in several works. These works address the problematic of differing notions of criminality in an industrializing European society, mainly England Wiener [2] in his brilliant study, has pointed out that during this period, public interest in criminality was growing and crime and criminals became the subjects of innumerable works of fiction and fact. Causes of crime were variously attributed by thinkers and policy makers of the times to drunkenness, increasing poverty, increasing prosperity, rapid urbanization, overcrowding of residential areas, universal and natural decline in morals, unsettled family life and increasing population. A strong school of thought, put forward by criminologists and scientists, and much subscribed to, held that crime was a genetic trait transmitted over generations in a family through parents or ancestors. The concept of a hereditary criminal class was an important and attractive one, and a consequence was the deflection of serious enquires into the causes of crime.

Notions of criminality were located and developed sometimes in the social, sometimes in the scientific context the two not necessarily

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excluding each and other. It has been shown, that British science in the nineteenth century, followed, rather than led, public opinion insofar as ideas on racism were concerned. In the case of a concept like crime, this was quite likely to have happened as well, as there would always be considerable public interest in this issues, attended by questions like so what should be done about it/where do we go from here? While devising a new definition of crime or listing newly discovered causes of crime, a scientist would be under pressure to take this factor into account if new theories were to achieve any degree of public support and acceptability. Goirdan has pointed out that there was vigorous public debate in Victorian England about the redeemability of the lower classes in general, and the criminal classes in particular.

I.II. THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF RACIST CRIMINALIZATION

A historical perspective is critical to understanding contemporary patterns because it establishes a context for the relationship between ethnicity, fascism, crime and criminal justice. Although bodily differences between groups of people, such as skin colour and hair texture, have been commented on for thousands of years, the 'scientific' ideas of 'race' and racial hierarchies are modern ones, originating in the European Enlightenment with the work of philosophers and physical scientists such as Hume, Kant, de Gobineau, Linne and Blumenbach. [3] For thinkers of this period, 'the Age of Reason' and 'civilization' were synonymous with 'white' people and northern Europe, while those considered to be of other 'racial' and cultural origins were regarded as inferior with less rational, moral, and evolutionary potential. In these early narratives, the stereotypes used to describe people of African origin were different front those applied to people from Asia. In his 1853 essay on The Inequality of Human Races, de Gobineau referred to 'negroes' in the following ways 'the animal character that appears in the shape of the pelvis is tamped on the Negro from birth and foreshadows his destiny… mental faculties are dull or even non-existent …. Kills willingly, for the sake of killing…" The 'yellow race', by contrast, had 'little physical energy and inclined to apathy …. desires are feeble … tends to mediocrity in everything…. His whole desire is to live in the easiest way possible'. De Gobineau described the Arayan as beautiful, intelligent, and strong, and believed that only influential of the new "scientific criminologists", also made a direct link between 'race' and crime in his work, Criminal Man (1876). He concluded from his research on soldiers, convicts, and lunatics that 'many of the characteristics found in savages, and in the coloured races, are also to be found in habitual delinquents', including low cranial capacity, receiving foreheads, darker skin, curly

hair, and large or handle-shaped cars. As might be expected, Lombroso considered the white races as the "triumph of the human species, its hitherto most perfect advancement".

II. THE CONCEPT OF CRIMINAL TRIBES

II.I. THE NOTIONAL ANCHORS OF THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACTS IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

As implied earlier, the 1880s had been deemed to be a particularly hard period by the policy maker. Poverty, alcoholism, ill health (and crime) had not disappeared in England inspite of decades of social legislation. There was great temptation for believing-preferably buttressed with scientific proof- that crime was a hereditary trait, and called for measures to reengineer society on biological, rather than social or political bases. The new concept of Eugene (good genes) coined by Francis Galton[4], seemed to provide an answer, among others to the problem of criminal classes as well one eugenicist included pauperism in his list of hereditary traits another included criminality. The social policies contemplated by eugenicists were directed against the social residuum of paupers and persistent criminal offenders. All over the world, including England, eugenics societies targeted criminals in prisons by forcibly sterilizing them so as to avoid passing on the gene for crime to the next generation.[5]

The developing disciplines of anthropometry and anthropology also contributed to notions of hereditary criminality. These disciplines in India addressed themselves to the study of particular sections of the Indian population, mostly indigenous "tribal" communities and itinerant groups and contributed in a very substantial way to the conceptual outline of a criminal in the popular mind. By focusing on bizarre or exotic ritual aspects of the social lives of such communities and at the same time also on their differential anthropometric measurements, these disciplines created categories of the civilized and the barbaric individual. In the popular ethnographic literature of the period, a sketch was drawn of a criminal who possessed not just bizarre social customs but a strange body and psyche as well, which had criminality written all over.[6] These disciplines therefore held that criminality was a hereditary trait and one in fact which could actually be perceived in the physical features. The communities which were trawled under the CTA nor unexpectedly were those which were also grist for the anthropological mill of the time.

Interestingly as early as 1860s in England the phrase "our criminal tribes" was already in usage to define that portion of our society who have nor yet conformed to civilized habits. Such sections were

likened to gypsies who preferred to indulge their appetites when they could be resorting to plunder rather than submit to the discipline of steady work, the search for practical social causes of criminality thus ran parallel to the menthes of supposed scientific knowledge in the field of genetics or anthropometry.

The Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) however, had its conceptual origins in local systems and structures and arose out of policies of political control rather than social concern for escalating crime.[7] In the later nineteenth century, there was a renewed interest in and admiration for the Indian caste system in British administrative and intellectual circles, the criminal tribes seemed to belong to a definable cases of hereditary criminals within the Hindu social system Though neither the concerned communities nor the Hindus, thought of the matter in these terms.The British nevertheless transfixed these communicates into an existing hierarchy. By an extension of the same logic the communities in question also came to be perceived by the British through the yardstick of both Brahmanical and Victorian motions and norms.[8]

II.II THE NATIONAL ANCHORS OF HEREDITARY CRIMINALITY IN INDIA (AN ADMINISTRATIVE APPROACH)

Though individual crime in India was also seen to stem from a hereditary cause, the investing of entire communities with hereditary criminality was radically different in the case of India and Europe. In India it was based not on the notion of generically transmitted crime, but on crime as a profession passed on from one generation of criminal caste to another like carpenter would pass on his trade to the next generation, hereditary criminal cases members would pass on this profession to their offspring.[9]

Thus hereditary crime in India never got seriously linked to biological determinism. This happened not so much because of skepticism regarding the concept of genetically transmitted crime, but because of a particular view of Indian social structures. More immediately however it happened because realpolitik on the ground dictated a pragmatic policy and a need to see crime as arising out of some administratively manageable cause such as unemployment. Genetics seemed too much out of bounds for Manipulation. So while racial theories distanced from the problem of governance might continue to adhere to notion of the "hereditary" criminal, a surcharge was occurring in the administrative mind. [10] By calling the taint hereditary, the possibility of control would be given away, the explanation had to therefore incorporate an understanding of society which would make the process seem amenable to bureaucratic

interventions. [11] The British Indian administrator, in particular, had to pose the problem in ways which would point towards an administrative resolution and not locate the problem, in either the unquestionable superiority of the British race or the inherent wickedness of the Indian. The preferred line of reasoning was less ideologically loaded and attempted to pin the ungovernability of the Indian on identifiable, correctable and material causes as opposed to genetic/environmentally deterministic ones. [12]

The concept of Indian crime and its causes had thus, changed between 1871 (when the CTA was first instructed in Northern India) and 1911 (when a revised version was applied to the whole of British India). The needs of practical governance led to a search for social scientific explanations of crime in India. Connecting Indian criminality to the introduction of the railways, the new forest policy,repeated famines and so on.[13] Not that these material causes were seen to be reversible, in fact the emphasis could now be on the point that the inexorable civilizing processes set in motion by the British had unforeseen unfortunate and inevitable effects on an ill repeated section of India society. The new administrative rationale was that with the introduction of certain policies designed to raise revenue,some communities had irrevocably lost their means of livelihood. How else could they live except by committing crime, especially if there was no property to support them? [14] This section which had become criminal, now needed to be made by special legislative measures. Implicit in linking crime with a lack of means of sustenance was a corollary-the criminals were reformable and not hereditary habitual and incorrigible criminals. The British administration would intervene in an inexorable process and by giving these criminals employment, reverse it.

The colonial administration had, in any case been under pressure to identity the precise causes for criminality in Indian society, which made it so ungovernable from time to time. It is within this large context that a link was sought to be established between lack of proper means of livelihood and criminality. In this specific sense the new concept was an advance on the old as it attributed social behavior to social causes on the one and did away with the exclusivity of Indian criminality on the others, the revised CTA 1911 after all, sprang out of an era which prided itself on basing its social policies on an understanding that social processes were "man made" as opposed to God-give".[15]

Thus the concept of criminality got linked to a secular cause and commission of crime was now directly related to lack of means of livelihood, and non availability of work. (Even in England, by this time

lack of "ostensible means of livelihood" made a person qualify as a potential criminal) This implied that if honest (wage) work could be found for the affected communities they could be weaned away from crime.

II. III. THE ECONOMIC COMPULSIONS OF THE RAJ

However, the urge to reform these communities seems to have coincided with two other critical compulsions faced by the British Indian government to raise revenue from land and the administration's commitment to private enterprise. These two objective needs led to government to the unavoidable conclusion that work had to be found for a large number of CT members in order to wean them away from a little of crime or reform them. This could be achieved either by giving them work on land or in private enterprises. Herein lay the genesis of the so-called agricultural and industrial settlements.[16]

In the early twentieth century while compiling records on the criminality of certain communities, the administration went back decades in time. Policies followed by the British Indian administration fifty years ago were blamed for destroying the traditional means of livelihood of a number of communities. Many factors were considered responsible for the subsequent criminalisation of these communities. It was now officially recognized that the British administration's economic policies aimed at raising revenue had made the itinerant communities economically redundant and anachronistic.[17]

Looked at another way, here was an admission by the British administration of having unleashed unsavory social processes in India.This acknowledgement, however could not be made readily and publicly because the responsibility for this was pinned to another earlier generation of British administrators.[18] The duty of the current generation was seen to be the clear headed solving of a social problem bequeathed to them by an earlier generation of administrators.[19] To this limited extent a study of the CTA so helps to unpeel a layer of the British perception of their own presence in India once one generation of administrators could distance itself from the ill effects of policies introduced by another. At any rate the CTA 1911 conceptualized during an era when eugenics enjoyed immense popularity embodied radically different principles, it saw crime not as a result of irreversible heredity or genes but as arising from social cases.

II. IV. THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT, 1911

The new Act was more comprehensive than the old one. The primary task of the new Act, which was introduced after the 1909 political

reforms, was to enlarge the powers of control of local governments. The new CTA therefore enabled them to declare any tribe section or class of the people to be a criminal tribe to order the registration of the criminal tribe members and the taking of their finger prints, to direct that such registered members should report themselves at fixed intervals to a police officer of the village, report to the police officer or the headman any changes of residence and to restrict the movements of criminal tribe members to a particular area.[20]

A provision of the Act denied members of the CT normal rights under the common law, another specifically took away the jurisdiction of the courts to question the validity of notifications issued under the most crucial sections of the CTA by the Government. The registration of an individual or a community could no longer be questioned under this section nor could their restriction of movements. It was not for any offence committed that all these punitive measures were employed but only for preventive action which was the professed purpose albeit unofficially of the Criminal Tribes Act. This could be done even though a CT member had no previous convictions had never gone to prison or even paid a fine. Thus was because all that was required for notification of a community as a CT was reason to believe that he community was addicted to crime. [21]

Another important feature of the Act was that local government were authorized to establish industrial, agricultural or reformatory schools and settlements for the CT members. Under this scheme employment was to be given to the CT members either on government agricultural land or in a private enterprise. The members were not allowed to go out without a pass which was issued at the discretion of the manager of the settlement.

In substance the Act enabled any local government to declare any section of the people which it has reason to believe to be addicted to the systematic commission of non bailable offences' to be a criminal tribe (Section 3). After such a declaration (which could not be questioned in any court of law) had been made, the individual or group in question was outside the pale of ordinary law. If members of the group so notified, did not appear for registration or resisted it in any way they could be imprisoned and fined (Section21).[22] The local government albeit with the sanction of the Government of India, could not only restrict the movements of the CT members to any specified area (Section 12) but also subject them to discipline,should they try to escape from such a settlement (Section22). Hours of work in a settlement, rate of payment,disposal of surplus produce, all were to be decided by rules made by the local governments (Section 20 and 22).[23]

Thereunder the terms 'settlements' and 'settled' were concealed the most unlimited powers. Under the provisions of the Act the Government could deport any number of persons any distance from the homes,could employ them in any form of labour,hire them out to employers,punish them with fine and imprisonment if they refused to work,bring them back if they attempted a escape and subject them to additional disciplinary measures.[24] These measures were not limited to persons against whom a conviction had been registered or even to those who had no ostensible means of livelihood or who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves. They applied to all members of the group concerned- men, women and children.[25]

Moreover, whereas a convict to be sent to jail had some limit to his sentence, and some hope of final release,a member of a criminal tribe under the CTA had almost none. Once he or she was 'settled' it could be for life.[26] They could not go back to their village or hope to escape from the work the government had considered it fit to get them.

The harsh provisions of the CTA would appear to be due to the fact that the bill rearding the CTs went through the imperial legislative council practically without a debate.[27] The Indian non official members seemed completely indifferent to the fate of this section of the Indian population. It is interesting however, that even as early as the 1910s the government had tried to include in the CTA provisions for combating secret societies (and) political preachers who might create unrest and it was these provisions of the Act that G.K. Gokhale successfully resisted,being politically active himself. Otherwise nobody cared a pin as to what was done with the CTs and the Bill was passed undisguised and unopposed.[28]

III. RACIST CRIMINALISATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM
III. I. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RACIST CRIMINALISATION

The idea of white supremacy and the dehumanisation of "racial others" legitimised practices of slavery and indentured labour which were ascendant during this time. Ships left London, Bristol, and Liverpool with commodities such as textiles, brass, and copper made in Britain. In West Africa, these were bartered for block slaves, who were shipped in chains across the notorious "middle passage" to the West Indies where they were exchanged for sugar, spices, rum and tobacco, which were carried back to British cities and sold. It was on this triangular trade that shipping, manufacturing, and other industries in Britain thrived and grew at the beginning of the factory age.

Although slavery ended around 1833 (1807 in Britain), the themes of racist thinking-what Gilroy (2000) refers to as 'raciology'- became embedded in British imperialism and colonial policies covering parts of Africa, Asia and the West Indies, and were applied in similar form to the white working class in Ireland and England (Solomos and Back 1996) [29] Racist ideas, born in the Enlightenment period, promoted institutionalised practices in many parts of the world which drew on notions of the superiority of whiteness, racial purification, and systems that exclude the arrival or settlement of 'non whites'. Examples include the White Australia policy, South African apartheid, and Jim Crow racial segregation in the USA. A particularly extreme and horrific manifestation of racial supremacist ideology was the Nazi regime in Germany based on the idea of Aryan superiority, leading to the extermination of a significant proportion of European Jewry.[30]

In the aftermath of the Second World War, international migration to Britain from colonial territories was actively encouraged because of extreme labour shortages as well as economic collapse in many former colonies. Nonetheless, the political and public discourses of this time echoed earlier concerns about 'racial degeneration' and the problem of 'bad stock' assimilating into English culture. British 'race relations' research in the 1950s and 1960s documented widespread rejection of people migrating from the Caribbean, Africa, and, somewhat later, from the Indian subcontinent. In some cases this escalated into forms of racist violence, although the racist nature was frequently denied or downplayed by the government and the police.

In the 1960s, the local political climate was hostile to the influx of 'coloured' immigrants. This is best epitomized in the racist campaign platforms used by MPs such as Peter Griffiths,Smethwich and Enoch Powell, who, in a notorious speech in Birmingham in 1968, predicted that "rivers of blood" would flow as a result of the arrival of people from the Indian subcontinent and the West Indies. Powell's doctrine- which included proposals for a Ministry of Repatriation for post-colonial settlers- was based on racist stereotypes,had concerns about the "mixing" of races which overlapped with discussions about crime and policing amidst growing conflict between the police and black communities.[31]

Margaret Thatcher was elected to her first term as Conservative Prime Minister in 1979, publicly sympathizing with white fears of being "swamped" by "alien cultures" and promising more law and order reforms to stem a "rising tide of crime". The relationship between African/Carribean communities and the police, which had become increasingly fractious by the end of the 1970s- in large part because of perceptions of oppressive policing- collapsed vividly in public

disorder in St. Paul's, Bristol in 1980, then in Brixton and across the country in 1981, and again in several British cities in 1985. Images of disorderly and riotous African/ Carribean youth became etched in the public imagination and cemented views about "black criminality". The Scarman Report (1981) into the disturbances of the early 1980s placed centre-stage the African/Carribean experience of oppressive policing and the context of social and economic exclusion which beset inner-city ethnic minority communities.

The social and economic conditions are relevant for understanding the current position of ethnic minorities in Britain. The first comprehensive study of the position of ethnic minorities in Britain was carried out in 1966 by Daniel (1968) for the Policy Studies Institute (PSI)[32]. He found that black and Asian people were consistently in jobs below the level to which they were qualified. Overwhelmingly in manual work, they were confined to a limited number of industries. This was because some employers flatly refused to employ "coloureds" (the Metropolitan Police did not recruit its first African/Carribean police officer until 1966).Daniel found overt exclusion from public and private sector housing, with properties available only in areas that white people were leaving, and this was the principal cause of a pattern of racial segregation in reside ntial settlement, which persists to this day. Daniel also used objective tests in housing and employment-using identical application letters for example with only the ethnic origin of the applicant changed-which conclusively demonstrated racial discrimination.

The legacy of these patterns is that ethnic minority communities are geographically concentrated in the most deprived neighbourhoods, where housing stock is poorest. This is accounted for partly by preference, but systematic inequalities and discrimination in the provision of public and private housing are significant contributory factors. In education, the statistical evidence points to lower academic attainment among ethnic minorities, particularly those of African, Carribean.Likewise, exclusions from school show an over-representation of African/Carribean boys, who are commonly perceived by teachers to be disciplinary problems. Studies of work and income consistently reveal higher levels of unemployment among ethnic minorities, and for those in employment, lower mean weekly earnings, leading to many ethnic minority families falling below the poverty threshold. These patterns of disadvantage also contribute to disproportionate outcomes in criminal justice, and it is to these that we now turn.

III. II DECONSTRUCTING NOTIONS OF 'BLACK' AND 'ASIAN' CRIMINALITY

Racist beliefs and stereotypes depicting African/Caribbean people as criminals have existed for centuries, and were widely and freely expressed in Britain well into the post-War years. This notwithstanding, in the 1970s, a quarter of a century after the onset of mass migration from the West Indies and Indian subcontinent, there was an official consensus that the settler communities offended at lower rates than the majority population. As the House of Commons Select Committee put it; "(t)he conclusions remain beyond doubt: coloured immigrants are no more involved in crime than others; nor are they generally more concerned in violence, prostitution and drugs". The West Indian crime rate is much the same as that of the indigenous population.[33] The Asian crime rate is very much. This position dramatically altered in the mid-1970s in the face of increased conflict between the police and African/Caribbean communities, and the accumulation of police statistics which documented higher arrest rates- particularly for robbery and theft from the person-among African/Caribbean youth in London. Despite methodological weakness in these statistical data, views about "black criminality" and its supposed roots in black culture became entrenched in the public consciousness, and even more so following the media reporting of the disorders of the 1980s.[34]

The construction of "Asian criminality" has assumed a very different character from that of black of white "criminalities". In general, images of Asian communities are thought of as "inward looking", "tightly-knit", self-regulating, passive, and ordered by tradition and with strong family ties. Asian youth were largely absent from debates about urban unrest in the 1980s, and studies two decades later have referred to Pakistani and Bangladeshi young people as "conformists" who emphasized the desire to avoid bringing shame on the family name and accepting the traditional strategy of avoiding conflict in the face of racist assault. However, these studies have also identified other groups of Asian males who were less conformist, with some active in defending "Asian territory" from incursions by overtly racist white youth. Linked to this form of behaviour in the public mind was the "Rushdie Affair", which saw young Asian Muslim men burning copies of the Satanic Verses,

demonstrating their ties to Islam in a display of militancy and aggression. The media construction of the "Asian gang" emphasizing resistance to passive stereotypes of Asian people, was brought to the fore in 1994 by

the murder of Richard Everett in King's Cross by a group of Bangladeshi youths, the disorders in Manningham in Bradford in 1995, and again in the summer of 2001 with disorders in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford.

Since relatively few people are themselves the victims of crime, the media are central in allaying or confirming public fears. Yet media accounts, sometimes unrepresentative and sensationalist, may bear little relation to the extent of "actual" offending, while contributing much to the social construction of crime and criminality (see Hall et al. 1978; Cohen 1972)[35]. Over time, various ethnic groups such as the Irish, Maltese, Russians, and Jews,[36] today, communities of African, Caribbean and Asian origin all appear as "fold devils"; and more recently, refugees fleeing from civil war and genocide and "asylum seekers" have also become a new source of public anxiety about crime. These images have led authors such as Gilroy (1982, 1987b) to conclude that it is impossible to disentangle the myth of black (and Asian) criminality from its "reality". The myth of higher rates of offending by some ethnic minorities inspires the practices of the criminal justice system-as evident in proactive policing and responses to gatherings of African/Carribean people in public space-which lead to the production of statistics; and this, in turn, feeds the myth. This issue is returned to in the concluding section of this chapter, but for now it is necessary to turn to the criminological evidence about patterns of offending among ethnic minorities, drawing particularly on victimization surveys, self-report offending studies, and official statistics-each with a health warning attached.

III. III. OVER POLICING FOR RACIST MINORITIES

Over the past four decades, the relationship between ethnic minorities and the police has often been adversarial, if not open conflict. One of the earliest community accounts referred to the practice of "niggerr hunting" whereby junior police officers at some police stations allegedly planned to bring in a coloured person at all cost'. Hunte highlighted issues that would still be at the heart of policing African/Carribean people thirty five years later, including racist abuse and a failure to protect ethnic minority communities. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, other accounts documented the use of oppressive policing techniques, such as mass-stop and search -operations,the use of riot squads using semi-military equipment, excessive surveillance, unnecessary armed raids, and police use of racially abusive language particularly in the centres of Britain's, African, Carribean and Asian communities. Collectively these practices have been referred to as the "over-policing" of ethnic minority communities.

Excessive use of force and deaths in custody continue to be source of tension. Over the years the numbers of deaths in police custody have

been disproportionately high for black people compared to both the general and arrest population (Home Office 2000c). In the most recent figures, however, the number of ethnic minority deaths decreased markedly, perhaps influenced by the adverse reaction to such deaths in ethnic minority communities, highlighted by the McPherson Inquiry.[37]

Police deployment and targeting

It is clear that targeting people from ethnic minorities and trawling for suspects plays part in producing the over-representation of African/ Carribean among those arrested by the police. They are less likely to receive the benefits of under-enforcement by the police than other ethnic groups which, alongside the ongoing targeting and heavy police deployment in African/Carribean communities, means that their offending behaviour is more likely to come to official attention that that of other ethnic groups. Hood's (1992) research in Crown courts in the West Midlands found that 15 percent of those dealt with for drugs offences-typically for small trades in cannabis-were black compound with only 3 per cent who were of Asian origin and 2 percent who were whites. These offences came to official attention following proactive policing. Indeed, the most common reason given by police when searching black and Asian people was suspicion of drugs possession, even though self-report studies challenge the perception that they are more likely to use drugs than white people (Home Office 2000C Ramsay et at. 2001).

Stop and search

The history of police use of "stop and search" powers provides a contest for the distrust of the police felt by African/Carribean and, increasingly, Asian communities. These practices are seen by many people as the most glaring example of an abuse of police powers, hostility to which dates back to the time of "sus" laws when a person could be arrested under the 1824 Vagrancy Act (s.4 and s.6) for frequenting or loitering in a public place with intent to commit an arrestable offence. Now regulated by the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (Page 1984), a stop and search can be carried out only when there is "reasonable suspicion" that stolen property or prohibited articles are being carried.

The national police data for 1999/2000 found, with some force variation, the number of PACE searches of black people to be five times higher than of whites. Rates for Asians were almost always higher than for whites (Home Office 2000c). The same pattern has been observed in the use of other stop and search powers, including stops under s 13 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 1989, designed specifically to combat terrorism from the IRA. In 1997/8, 7 percent of these stops were of African/Carribean and 5 percent were of Asians, a clear example of

direct discrimination (Home Office 1998).[38]

It also seems to be the case that the extent of police intrusion and formal action tends to be greater when the suspect is not white. People from ethnic minority communities are more likely to be stopped repeatedly, stops are more likely to result in a search and searches tend to be more intrusive, including the use of clothing searches and strip searches. Formal action is also more common in stops involving black people compared with other ethnic groups.

This research emphasizes the need of caution in assessing disproportionality in stop and search, but it also raises important question about the 'neutrality of availability'. For example, African/Carribean pupils may be victims of direct discrimination when they are excluded from school, and racism undoubtedly contributes to unemployment patterns among ethnic minorities; therefore, "being available" to be stopped and searched by the police may in itself be explained by discrimination. It is also problematic that "lifestyle factors" such as going out more in the evening should lead African/Carribean people to be more often the subject of proactive policing than other ethnic groups (Modooed et al. 1997; Bourne, Bridges, and Searle 1997). Moreover, to the list of factors which arouse people suspicion, Quinton, Bland, and Miller (2000) have added items of clothing (such as baseball caps and hooded jackets), type, make and cost of cars and engaging in vaguely defined 'suspicious activity', all of which can be negatively associated with African/Caribbean's and Asians to a lesser extent, and which may contribute to the process of criminalization.

Fritz Gerald's (1999) study in London has provided an insight into the use of stop and search in the late 1990s. It found that reasonable suspicion was frequently absent in the use of stop and search, and that the power is often not used for the purpose of detection (as justified in PACE) but instead is used for "intelligence-gathering", "disruption", and the "social control" of young people. Until 1997 these practices were institutionalised by the Metropolitan Police who used stop and search as a 'performance indicator' of productivity. Despite a policy shift away from this approach, some operational officers believe it is still used by supervisors to measure performance (see HMIC 2000). In the wake of the Lawrence Inquiry, concerns were expressed about the declining use of stop/search for ethnic minorities. However, Home Office (2000) statistics show that in 1999/2000 the fall in the number of recorded stops was lower for back people in England and Wales (10 per cent) than it was for other ethnic groups (14 per cent).

Once in police custody opting for legal advice exercising their right of silence and denying the offence, for which they have been arrested

to a greater extent than their white counterparts, all cumulatively disadvantage ethnic minorities in the criminal justice process. For example the least punitive outcome of police action following arrest a caution or reprimand encamp be given only where an offender admits the offence and this partly explains the lower rates of cautioning for ethnic minorities. There is also some evidence that black juveniles are subtly discriminated against, which contributes to their being filtered in to the criminal justice process rather than being diverted from court. Philips and Brown (1998) found in their observational survey of over 4,000 police arrests that black juveniles were less likely to have their cases referred to a multi agency panel which plays a key role in diverting juveniles out of the process and this held even once admission of the offence had been taken into account. It can be speculated that these decisions derive from ethnic minorities negative opinions of the police which emerge in attitudinal and victimization surveys thus further emphasizing the significance of relations between the police and ethnic minorities for how individuals fare in the criminal justice process.

IV. CONCLUSION

The present paper has sought to be a comparative study in the domain of 'hereditary criminality'. Yet the subject does not wish to be restricted to being only an objective comparison but rather posits the question as to whether there has been any change in mindset as regards hereditary criminality. The discrimination against peoples, in criminal law on grounds of immutable characteristics such as caste, tribe or race is a legal fixture that most people presume to be an anachronism. Yet tacit recognition indeed exercise of this premise continue to thrive in the post modern world, and that too largely in the developed world with all its platitudes of liberalism, fraternity and universalism. One of the anomalies of this project is the historical juxtaposition it provides between the concept of criminal tribes (an antediluvian notion which died out even before independence) and the criminalisation of Blacks, which still continues in large measure. The former study is set in the 'third world' which is believed to be underdeveloped and a cradle of oppressive social norms. Yet this project brings to light a socio-legal aspect that is definitely oppressive and yet continues in a developed country such as the United Kingdom long after it died a natural death in India. The only saving grace, is that it does not have legislative authority in the first world countries.

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACTS-IMPERIAL ASSUMPTION

The Criminal Tribes Act is the perfect example of British Imperialist policy trying in vain in grapple with a socio-economic setting

which defied British comprehension. The Act gained its intellectual foundation by the rise in European interest in explaining human characteristics through heredity; this was buttressed by the new theory of eugenics. Later onwards the Empire found the explanation of heredity took the matter of criminality beyond the domain of administrative manipulation. Consequently the British justified the Acts on the grounds that public policy in India had necessarily deprived certain sections of society of their livelihood; consequently they had turned to crime. The solution which was found to this conundrum was to put an end to the itinerant life style of certain nomadic tribes by forcing a sedentary lifestyle of settled employment. This also served the dual purposes of the British, namely to increase land revenue and to encourage private enterprise by making cheap labour available.

CRIMINALITY AND BLACKS-THE CONTINUANCE OF IMPERIAL CHAUVINISM

The second part of the paper dealt with the association of blacks with criminality. It highlighted the fact that black criminality was actually on the rise much after the Criminal Tribes Acts were repealed in India.[39] The influx of coloured ethnicities into the United Kingdom post-World War II raised serious concerns about the growth of crime linked particularly to the Blacks. This led to a general assumption by the law enforcement agencies that the strictest measures of surveillance, no matter how degrading, must be carried out against the Blacks.

This discrimination became all the more culpable through the particular time gap in history through which we are operating. The time hiatus between the Criminal Tribes Acts and Racial criminality in the west is one which saw the creation of grandiloquent Human rights instruments such as the United Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic Social and cultural Rights among others. If such a regime of Human Rights cannot abolish the theory of hereditary criminality, what can?

ENDNOTES

[1] A draft bill submitted by the Inspector General of Police of NWP to the Government of India was also forwarded to the local government for their consideration and views, before it was discussed in the Council Government of India. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Governor General of Indian in Council Assembled for the purpose of making laws regulations (hereafter Abstract), vol. IX, 3.10.1870: Judi GO 1071 (Back

Nos. 51-53), 10.8.1870. For a derailed discussion of the origins

2. Abstract, vol IX, 3.10.1870.

3. Judl. GO 1071 (Back Nos. 51-53), 10.8.1870.

4. Kumool 'considerably overrun by Lumbadi, Koravar and Yerukula gangs' and Nellore, virtually the home of the Yerukulas, and also visited by other wandering groups had a record of a total of 166 dacoities between the years 1864 to 1869. For the same period, in South Arcot, where all the dacoities were claimed to be the work of local offenders, the dacoities numbered 318. Judl. GO 1071 (Back No.52), 10.8.1870. IGP's communication to Chief Secretary, Government of Madras.

5. Judl. GO 1071 (Back Nos.51-53), 10.8.1870. Incidentally, only a few years earlier, in 1863, the first provincial IGP had successfully resisted the attempts of another police official from the North to extend the operations of the Central Thuggee and Dacoity Department to the Madras presidency. He had argued that on special features like those in the north existed in Madras and the situation called for no special measures-that crime in the countryside could be contained by ordinary executive and judicial procedures. (Arnold 1979:150).

6. Judl. GO1071, (Back No.52), 10.8.1870, IGP's letter of Chief Secretary to Government.

7. It has been recorded that at the beginning of the century, there was an almost complete absence of any roads in the Madras Presidency. As late as the 1850s, the roads were such that carts could move only in dry weather, and even then, only with light loads at a very slow pace and in very short stages. In the monsoon months, the roads were useless except for cattle of foot passengers D.R. Gadgil. The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times 1860-1939, Delohi, 1971, P-4

8. Jud: 1071 (Back No.52), 10.8.1870. Letter by IG of police to Chief Secretary to Government, Madras. A collector gave a reason for this low price of sale the Kara vans' means of transport cost them little as they dared their own rattle which subsisted chiefly if not wholly by the right of commonage' Trichinopoly District Records, Vol. No.3653, P-165-170. Collector of Tanjore to Board of Revenue (Hereafter B/R) 16.6.1813.

9. Madura District Records. Vol. No.4680, PP. 326-330. Collector of Madura to B/R 18.11.1832; Advances were given Brinjaries to the tune of Rs.5,000 to enable them to sell salt at Hyderabad. Masulipatnam District Records, year 1813, Vol. No.3079, PP. 338; Masulipatnam District Records, year 1800, Vol. No.3075, PP 612-15.

[10.] Judl. 725. 20.5.1903.

[11.] Government of Madras, Nellore Manual. Vol. II, 1868, P-489; 'The Brinjaries and Korchas, carriers of salt, were also said to be encouraged by Tippoo Sultan of Mysore and Nizam Ali Khan, Subhadar of the Dekkan'. Minure of Falconer addressed to Board of Revenue (B/R) dated 28.6.1804 in Government of India, Report of the Commissioner appointed to enquire into and report upon the manufacture and sale and tax upon salt in British India, 1856. (Hereafter Report, 1856).

[12.] 'Memorandum on the Supply of Salt for Presidency of Madras', prepared by B/R 17.6.1854; Correspondence between B/R and Collectors of Vishakhapatnam, Rajamundry, Ganjam, Masulipatnam, and Guntur, Report, 1856: 107, 222, 226, 208, 237.

[13.] Settlement Report of the Fusli 1211 (1801) quoted in Nellonre Manual, 1868, Vol.II:488; Jeyaraj 1984:38; Collector of Tanjore to B/R, 16.6.1813. Trichinopoly District Record, Vol. 3653:165-170; Collectors of Nellore, Chinglepet, Madura and Madras to B/R, Report, 1856:245, 173, 298, some of the exporters, however, occasionally acted as retailers within the Presidency. This was necessitated by the exporter's need for fodder for their cattle which they bartered for salt while passing through the village.

[14.] The crucial aspect of this policy was that while the actual manufacturing price was Rs.3 or 4 per grace (and the price paid by the government to the manufacturer never exceeded Rs.10 per grace), salt was sold to the Korava all through the monopoly period for a price of Rs.70 to Rs.120 per grace. (One grace equals 1265 pounds.)

[15.] It was revealed in 1856 that taking consumption of an average household at the then prevailing price of sale it required one month's earnings to meet its requirement of sale per annum. This happened not just in Madras, but all over British India, including other sale producing areas. In an estimate presented to the 1856 Sale Commission, it was stated that an ordinary Bengali labourer with an average-size family spent one sixth of the family's yearly earnings on the single article of Sale Conclusion of Report 1856.

[16.] Report, 1856 : 99,109. In the interior, where the Korava community supplied salt the price rose in proportion to the distance from the cost due to the cost transit. For every mile, one rupee was added to the monopoly price. Ibid. : 108.

[17.] Collector of Trichinolopy to B/R 10.8.1803. Trichinolopy District Records, Vol. 3662: Collector, Tanjore to B/R 13.6.1805, Tanjore District Records, Vol. 3216.

[18.] Government of Madras, Report of the Madras Salt Commission. 1876 (Hereafter MSC, 1876), p. 33.

[19.] Report, 1856: 77. Credit upto 6 months was given to those who opened accounts with the government for sums exceeding Rs.5000. MSC, 1876 : 37. The largeness of the sum show the capacity of the new traders, and the scale of their operations.

[20.] MSC, 1876 : 246.

[21.] As the Madras Salt Commission pointed out no portion of Madras Presidency is more than 100 miles from the cost or from a railway station and salt works or sale depots (of private companies) exist on the average of 18½ miles on the east. The communications are good, and being improved yearly' By the 1870s there were 17,186 miles of roads and 1269 miles of railways, besides many miles of water communication in the Presidency. MSC, 1846 : (Gadgil 1941 :4).

[22.] Collector of Salem, Collector of Tanjore, MSC, 1876: Appendix A.

[23.] report, 1856 : 355-56; Government of Madras, Report of the Administration of the Department of Salt Revenue in the Madras Presidency and Orissa, Madras, 1894-95,P.6.

[24.] 24. As pointed out, under the earlier system, there was little opportunity for extractions. The price at the government stores was fixed and known to all. The monopolist manufacturer, on the other hand, was likely to state his own price for possibly an inferior quality of salt. Collector of Guntur to B/R, Report, 1856: 339,356. This system was introduced in 1882 in a few districts and by 1887,87 per cent of the salt consumed in the Presidency was manufactured under the new system. Moral and Report 1886-87, P. 73 quoted in Monograph on Common Salt ficci, Calcutta 1930, P.103.

[25.] Government of Madras, Administration Report of the Forest Department (Southern and Northern circles), Madras presidency for 1889-90, Madras, P.27, Revenue for grazing went up from Rs.40,138 in 1883-84 Rs.1,43,845 in 1889-90 : Government of Madras, Report of the Forest Committee. Madras 1912. Vol. II P-7 and P-32.

[26.] Government of Madras. A Memorandum on the Madras Finance of 1866. Madras, 1967. Appdx viii. Government of India. Report of the India Finance Commission, 1878 Parts. I. II and III Vol. I. P.49. Also see, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya. Laissez Faire in India. Indian Economic and Social History Revew, Vol. II No.I January, 1965 : S. Ambirajan, "Laissez Economic and Social History Review, Vol. II No.3 July, 1966, S.Ambirajan, "Political Economy and Indian Famines South Astan Studies, No.I. August 1971.

[27.] Quoted in V. Raghunath the Problem of Criminal Tribes p.6 Sec., also

Sanjay Nigam, Disciplining and Policing the Criminals by Birth. 1. The Making of a Colonial Stereotype-- the Criminal Tribes and Castes of North India. Indian Economic and Social History Review Vol. XXVII No.2 1990.

[28.] Government of Madras, Note showing the progress made in the settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency upto September, 1916 (hereafter note 1916) Madras 1917.

[29.] Alfred, R. (1992), *Black Workers in the Prison Service*, London Prison Reform Trust.

[30.] Ibid.

[31.] Aye Maung, N., and Mirrlees –Black, C. (1994), *Racially Motivated Crime : A British Crime Survey Analysis*, London : Home Office.

[32.] Ibid.

[33.] Ibid.

[34.] Supra n. 29 at p.34

[35.] Barker M., Geraghty, J., Webb, B., and Jey T. (1993),

The Prevention of Street Robbery, Police Research Group

Crime Prevention Unit Paper 44, London : Home Office.

[36.] Bottomley, A.K. and Coleman, C. (1976), 'Criminal

Statistics : the police role in the discovery and detection of crime',

International Journal of Criminology and Penology, 4; 33-58.

[37.] Ibid.

[38.] Bowling, B. (1990), 'Conceptual and Methodological Problems in Measuring "Race" Difference in delinquency: A reply of Marianne Junger, *British Journal of Criminology*, 30; 483-92.

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Understanding Educational Attainment among Scheduled Tribes in Kerala: New Evidences from the Scheduled Tribe Survey 2014

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Abstract

Kerala is overwhelmed with wide variety of tribal groups ranging from 40 to 43 across the state. As per 2011 census, Scheduled Tribe population constitute 1.5 per cent to total population in Kerala. The scheduled tribes in Kerala are often referred to as the "marginalized" section of the society predominantly due to their marginalization in the field of education, health amenities, and their socio-economic status. Owing to this marginalization they are over and over again isolated and curbed to low standard of living. Even when we speak vividly about the 'development experience' of Kerala, the scheduled tribe community still remains backward and depressed. The objective of this paper is to examine the educational attainments and to elucidate whether the educational backwardness is the root cause for the marginalization of the Scheduled tribes. The Centre for Development Studies has conducted a special Scheduled Tribe survey among students and households, financed by the State Planning Board, Government of Kerala. Field survey was done across six districts with the highest ST population. The total sample size includes 300 ST and 120 NST households, 871 ST and 297 NST students from three different levels viz upper primary, high school and college. The study arrives at the following conclusion. The Scheduled Tribe population in Kerala is very small. However, they have an influence on the overall performance of the state. Students are highly motivated and supported by their parents for their educational attainments. But the educational performance of the ST students is not credit worthy.

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The main reason which they point out is the medium of instruction. This mainly paves the way for the high rate of drop out among the ST students. Only through an educated generation the scheduled tribes can be elevated to the mainstream of the society.

1.Introduction

The Scheduled Tribes (ST) constitute the most backward group among the weaker sections in India and were regarded as 'depressed classes' during the colonial period. The term Scheduled Tribes (ST), was first introduced in the Constitution of India, and is described in Article 366 (25) as per clause (1) of Article 342 of the Constitution of India. This Article says that only those communities that have been declared as such by the President through an initial public notification or through a subsequent amending Act of Parliament will be considered as Scheduled Tribes. They are secluded groups living in highland forest areas, practising traditional systems of medicine and having extensive knowledge of the forests and their life forms. However, they are an uneducated, underdeveloped segment of the population and stand in contrast to the rest of the civilized world. As a result, they are considered socially and economically susceptible.

2. What is a Tribe?

The ILO Convention 1989 (No. 169) does not define who are indigenous and tribal peoples. It simply provides criteria for describing the peoples that it aims to protect. The ILO describes them as those with traditional lifestyles, culture and way of life different from the other segments of the national population, have their own social organization and political institutions. Additionally, the Convention considers indigenous people are considered those living in historical continuity in a certain area, or before others "invaded" or came to the area. (See http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Conventions/no169/lang—en/index.htm).

A more widely accepted definition of indigenous people is given by Jose R. Martinez Cobo (1982) in his study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations: 'Indigenous communities', peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present

non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system'. Self-identification is regarded as one of the basic criteria of indigenous people (Actionaid India Report, 2013). The Scheduled Tribes are referred to as 'Adivasis' in different parts of India, which literally means 'indigenous peoples'. Tribes have been categorised using by different terms by the Govt. of India, such as Primitive Tribal Groups, Notified Tribes (with/without area restriction) and generic tribes.

According to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, the total number of tribal communities is estimated to be 703, in which 75 communities come under primitive tribes or particularly vulnerable tribal groups. The states with the highest number of tribal groups are Odisha (62) followed by Karnataka (50), Maharashtra (47) and Madhya Pradesh (46). Bhil, Gond and Santhal are the three most populous tribes in India.

3. Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India

According to Census 2011, the Scheduled Tribes account for 8.6 per cent of India's total population. Evidence from successive census data shows that the per cent of Scheduled Tribes to the total population of India is on an increase (it was 8.2 per cent in 2001). A tribal population can be found in all states except Haryana, Punjab, Pondicherry, Delhi and Chandigarh. Madhya Pradesh (14.7 per cent) and Maharashtra (10.1 per cent) occupy the first and second positions respectively for the largest tribal population in the country. The highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes (more than 50% of total population) is found in the North Eastern states of Mizoram (94.4 per cent), Nagaland (86.5 per cent), Meghalaya (86.1 per cent) and Arunachal Pradesh (68.8 per cent). Among the Union Territories, Lakshadweep (94.8 per cent) and Dada Nagar Haveli (52.0 per cent) have the highest concentration of STs in India. Lakshadweep has the highest percentage of Scheduled Tribes population. Uttar Pradesh has the lowest concentration of Scheduled Tribes (0.6) with respect to total population. The share of the ST population in Kerala is 1.5 per cent (as per the 2011 Census).

Females outnumbered males in eleven states of India and the sex ratio is highest in Goa (1046) followed by Kerala (1035) and Arunachal Pradesh (1032). The states with high literacy levels are Mizoram (77

per cent), Sikkim and Goa (71 per cent), Nagaland (68 per cent) and Kerala (67 per cent), though the Union Territories of Lakshadweep (81 per cent) and Daman Diu (70 per cent) in the leading position. Female literacy is the highest in Lakshadweep (78.1 per cent) and

Table 1: Scheduled Tribe Population by State and Union Territories, 2011

	Country/States	Total ST Population	Proportion to Total Population	Proportion to Total ST Population	Sex ratio	Literacy Rate		
						Total	Male	Female
	India	104,281,034	8.6	100.0	990	49.5	57.4	41.6
1	Jammu &Kashmir	1,493,299	11.9	1.4	924	40.3	48.2	31.7
2	Himachal Pradesh	392,126	5.7	0.4	999	64.6	72.6	56.6
3	Punjab	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST
4	Chandigarh	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST
5	Uttarkhand	291,903	2.9	0.3	963	65.1	73.5	56.5
6	Haryana	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST
7	NCT of Delhi	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST
8	Rajasthan	9,238,534	13.5	8.9	948	43.1	55.0	30.5
9	Uttar Pradesh	1,134,273	0.6	1.1	952	45.5	54.8	35.8
10	Bihar	1,336,573	1.3	1.3	958	41.5	49.9	32.8
11	Sikkim	206,360	33.8	0.2	960	71.3	76.0	66.4
12	Arunachal Pradesh	951,821	68.8	0.9	1032	54.3	59.8	49.0
13	Nagaland	1,710,973	86.5	1.6	976	68.1	70.5	65.7
14	Manipur	902,740	35.1	0.9	1002	63.0	66.8	59.2
15	Mizoram	1,036,115	94.4	1.0	1007	77.3	78.8	75.9
16	Tripura	1,166,813	31.8	1.1	983	67.2	73.3	61.0
17	Meghalaya	2,555,861	86.1	2.5	1013	59.7	60.2	59.2
18	Assam	3,884,371	12.4	3.7	985	61.9	67.7	56.0
19	West Bengal	5,296,953	5.8	5.1	999	50.3	59.1	41.5
20	Jharkhand	8,645,042	26.2	8.3	1003	47.4	56.4	38.5
21	Odisha	9,590,756	22.8	9.2	1029	44.0	53.4	34.8
22	Chhattisgarh	7,822,902	30.6	7.5	1020	50.0	58.8	41.4
23	Madhya Pradesh	15,316,784	21.1	14.7	984	41.2	48.4	33.9
24	Gujarat	8,917,174	14.8	8.6	981	52.6	60.2	44.9
25	Daman &Diu	15,363	6.3	0.0	977	69.7	76.0	63.2
26	D &N Haveli	178,564	52.0	0.2	1010	51.9	61.6	42.4
27	Maharashtra	10,510,213	9.4	10.1	977	56.0	63.2	48.7
28	Andhra Pradesh	5,918,073	7.0	5.7	993	42.8	50.5	35.0
29	Karnataka	4,248,987	7.0	4.1	990	53.9	61.6	46.1
30	Goa	149,275	10.2	0.1	1046	71.2	78.1	64.7
31	Lakshadweep	61,120	94.8	0.1	1003	81.1	84.1	78.1
32	Kerala	484,839	1.5	0.5	1035	67.3	71.3	63.4
33	Tamil Nadu	794,697	1.1	0.8	981	47.2	53.5	40.9
34	Puducherry	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST	NST
35	A &N Islands	28,530	7.5	0.0	937	65.4	70.1	60.4

Source: Compiled from Census 2011, Registrar General of India

Mizoram (75.9 per cent). There are a larger number of illiterates among the tribes in Jammu and Kashmir (40.3 per cent) while the female illiteracy is higher in Rajasthan (30.5 per cent). When analyzing the gender disparity in literacy, the widening gap can be seen in Rajasthan, followed by Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Odisha. The smallest disparity in literacy is in Meghalaya (Table 1).

Though the concentration of STs in Kerala is very low compared to the national level, about 4.85 lakh of the ST population live in Kerala. High levels of social and economic inequality prevail among the STs and NSTs in Kerala. Social and economic development needs better educated human resources. So it is important to assess their educational profile.

4. Profile of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala

The Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are not only geographically concentrated but also overwhelmingly rural. There are 43 different groups of tribals dwelling throughout Kerala in which the 'Paniyans' are the numerically dominant group followed by the 'Kurichchians'. The tribes are different from the non-tribals as well as from each other. Each tribe has its own customs, rituals, norms, and judiciary system. The successive census data indicates that the per cent of tribal population to the total population is more or less static, which is 1.3 per cent in 1961 and 1.5 per cent in 2011. Figures of decadal growth rate are sinuous. The growth rate is highest in 2011 compared to the previous Census years. In 1981, there was a negative growth rate among the tribes (Table 2). This might be due to changes incorporated as per the 1976 revised list of tribes in Kerala, deleting the 'Pulayans' from the ST list. Again in 2003, there was some deletion and inclusion of tribal communities which may vary in proportion and growth rate of the tribal population.

Tribes largely live in the Western Ghats region and are concentrated in the hilly taluks of Wayanad, Malappuram, Palakkad, Idukki Pathanamthitta, Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram districts. According to Census 2011, the highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes is seen in Wayanad district (31.2 per cent) followed by Idukki (11.5 per cent), Palakkad (10.1 per cent) and Kasaragod (10.08 per cent).These four districts together account for 62.9 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes in the State.

Table 2: Share and Decadal Growth rate of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala, 1961-2011

	General Population			ST Population			Per cent to Total Population		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1961	16903715	8361927	8541788	212762	106076	106686	1.3	1.3	1.2
1971	21347375	10587851	10759524	269356	134998	134360	1.3	1.3	1.2
1981	25453680	12527767	12925913	261475	131243	130232	1.0	1.0	1.0
1991	29098518	14288995	14809523	320967	160812	160155	1.1	1.1	1.1
2001	31841374	15468614	16372760	364189	180169	184020	1.1	1.2	1.1
2011	33387677	16021290	17366387	484839	238203	246636	1.5	1.5	1.4

Source: Compiled from Various Censuses, Registrar General of India
Note: Exponential growth rate is constantly growing rate to calculate the size of the population

The coastal district of Alappuzha has the lowest percentage (1.4 per cent). The four districts with a higher proportion of Scheduled Tribes than the state average are Kasaragod, Wayanad, Palakkad and Idukki. Kasaragod and Palakkad together constitute more than 20 per cent of the STs in the State. The sex ratio is favourable to females in all the districts except Idukki and Ernakulam (Table 4).

Table 3: Details of Primitive Tribal Groups, 2007

Name of the PTG	Total Population	Number of Families	Per cent to Total ST Population 2011
Kattunaikan	18576	5055	3.8
Cholanaikan	363	82	0.1
Kadar	1695	486	0.3
Koragas	1572	422	0.3
Kurumbas	2079	478	0.4
Total	24285	6523	5.0

Source: Base Line Survey Report (2006-2007) KIRTADS
Note: calculated the per cent based on 2011 Census

Kattunaikans is the largest primitive tribal groups in Kerala followed by Kurumbas (Table 3). These five primitive groups constitute 5 per cent of the total tribal population in the state. Cholanaikan is the most primitive tribe and can be seen only in Malappuram district. Kattunaikans are mainly seen in Wayanad district and in some parts of Malappuram and Kozhikode district. Koragas prevail widely in Kasaragod district.

5. Age Pyramid of ST Population

The age pyramid of the Tribes shows the distribution of population in terms of age groups and sex. It is used to analyse the trends in fertility, mortality and migration of a population. The bars for the age group 0-4 and 5-9 years represent the declining trend of birth rate after 2001 (Fig.1). The death rate is high among the people aged 50 and above years. As in the general population, here too there are more females among the elderly (60+). The widest group in the pyramid was born about 15 years ago. The pyramid shows the dependency ratio: for every

100 people of working age group (15-59 years), there were 55.4 people depending on them. The dependents come from the young (0-15 years) and old age (60+ years) groups. About 26.4 per cent of the total population is the younger age groups and 9.2 per cent are the older age groups.

Figure 1:

Age Pyramid of Tribes in Kerala, 2011

Source: Generated from Census 2011, Registrar General of India

Table 4: Proportion of Population, Sex Ratio and Literacy Rate among STs in Kerala, 2011

	Total ST Population	Proportion to Total Population	Proportion to Total ST Population	Sex ratio	Literacy rate Total	Male	Female
Kasaragod	48857	3.7	10.1	1040	65.1	69.5	60.9
Kannur	41371	1.6	8.5	1054	69.1	73.6	64.9
Wayanad	151443	18.5	31.2	1033	61.9	67.2	56.7
Kozhikode	15238	0.5	3.1	1050	76.3	79.1	73.4
Malappuram	22990	0.6	4.7	1040	65.3	68.1	62.6
Palakkad	48972	1.7	10.1	1014	54.0	58.6	49.5
Thrissur	9430	0.3	1.9	1162	74.4	76.4	72.7
Ernakulam	16559	0.5	3.4	983	76.6	78.9	74.4
Idukki	55815	5.0	11.5	994	69.3	74.2	64.4
Kottayam	21972	1.1	4.5	1002	86.2	86.4	86.0
Alappuzha	6574	0.3	1.4	1071	82.4	84.0	80.9
Pathanamthitta	8108	0.7	1.7	1054	81.2	83.0	79.6
Kollam	10761	0.4	2.2	1071	76.6	78.5	74.7
Thiruvananthapuram	26759	0.8	5.5	1120	80.4	81.7	79.2
Kerala	484839	1.5	100.0	1035	67.3	71.3	63.4

Source: Compiled from Census 2011

6. Literacy and Education

As in the general population, the literacy rate among STs is highest in Kottayam (86.2 per cent). There is no significant gender disparity in the literacy rate of STs in Kerala. However, the inequality is higher in Wayanad, Palakkad, Idukki, Kannur and Kasaragod which are the major ST-concentrated areas in Kerala. So it can be concluded that there is a representative number of females are still illiterate among STs in Kerala compared to their male counterparts (Table 4).

The overall literacy rate of the Scheduled Tribes has increased from 57.2 per cent recorded in the 1991 Census to 67.4 per cent in the 2011 Census (Fig.2). Though it is higher than the national average of 47 per cent in respect of the total STs, the gap in the literacy rate between the general population (94.1 per cent) and the tribal population is 27 points in Kerala. However, the disparity between the general and ST population in terms of literacy level is found to be decreasing over the years (it fell from 0.53 in 1961 to 0.16 in 2011).

As far as the levels of education are concerned, Census 2001 reported that about 33.5 per cent of tribal literates have attained education below the primary level. The proportion of literates that attained education

up to the primary level is 29.3 per cent. Persons educated up to metric / secondary / higher secondary levels, etc., constitute only 12.4 percent of the total literate population. 'Graduates and above' make up only 1.2 per cent and the non-technical and technical diploma holders constitute a meagre 0.8 per cent.

Figure 2:
Source: Generated from various Censuses, 1961-2011

Table 5: Standard-wise Strength of SC/ST Students in Kerala: 2013-14

Standard	Government Schools			Private Aided Schools			Private Unaided Schools	
	Others	SC	ST	Others	SC	ST	Others	SC
I	79.9	15.9	4.1	86.4	11.6	2.1	94.7	5.0
II	80.4	15.4	4.2	86.9	11.2	1.9	94.7	5.1
III	80.9	15.1	4.1	87.0	11.1	1.9	95.1	4.6
IV	81.3	14.9	3.8	87.1	11.1	1.8	95.1	4.6
V	82.0	13.6	4.4	87.5	10.9	1.7	96.3	3.4
VI	83.0	12.8	4.2	87.4	11.0	1.5	96.3	3.3
VII	82.9	13.3	3.8	87.8	10.9	1.3	96.4	3.2
VIII	83.5	13.2	3.3	89.0	10.0	1.0	96.6	3.0
IX	83.6	13.0	3.4	89.0	10.0	1.0	96.8	2.8
X	84.8	12.7	2.5	88.4	10.8	0.8	96.5	3.1
Total	82.5	13.8	3.7	87.8	10.8	1.4	95.8	3.9

Source: Economic Review 2013, Kerala State Planning Board

The school enrollment rate among STs is about 2 per cent in the year 2013-14 (Economic Review, 2013). The standard-wise representation of school enrollment rate for the academic year 2013-14 is described in Table 5.

The percentage of ST students enrolled in government schools, private aided schools and private unaided schools are 3.7 per cent, 1.4 per cent and 0.3 per cent respectively in 2013-14.

7. Rationale

The state of Kerala, with certain historical advantages, has achieved considerable social transformation and is now known for its higher human development index, universal literacy and demographic advancement. It holds the top position among other states in all levels of school education, though disparities are present at the higher education level across communities and regions and between genders. Unlike the trend in the general population, the literacy level and level of education of the STs remain low in Kerala. Also, the enrollment ratio of the ST students in schools and colleges is low and the dropouts are very high. Despite Governmental support, the majority of the ST population is unable to utilise the available provisions, much concerted effort is required to

bring them into the mainstream of development. In order to understand their basic socio-economic drawbacks and to suggest meaningful remedies, a survey on the performance of ST students and economic status of their households which are largely located in the hill taluks or elsewhere in the state was carried out. This paper seeks to identify the reasons behind their poor performance.

8. Objectives

·   To examine the level of Educational performance and,

·   To assess the reasons for poor performance

9. Sampling and Methodology

The Centre for Development Studies carried out a study earlier about the educational attainment and challenges among Scheduled Caste in Kerala funded by ICSSR. The inspiration hatched from this study forced the Centre to taken up a similar study among the scheduled tribes in Kerala. This study covers the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of scheduled tribe students as well as households in Kerala. The survey took a span of three months period, starting from January 2014 to March 2014. The samples were selected from Census 2011 on the basis of highest ST population concentration. The data suggests that the highest per cent of ST population is in Wayanad district (31.1 per cent) followed by Idukki (11.5 per cent), Palakkad (10.1 per cent), Kasaragod (10.1 per cent), Kannur (8.5 per cent) and Thiruvananthapuram (5.5 per cent). All other districts have below 5 per cent of ST population. So the samples were selected from these six districts. In Wayanad district, four villages were selected from two taluks. In Idukki, it was very difficult to conduct interviews of the local people because of geographical issues. So the sample is confined to two villages. Two villages from Palakkad and Kasaragod and one each from Kannur and Thiruvananthapuram were selected for the survey. From each of these villages, 25 SC households and 10 non-SC households were selected for the household survey. Thus a total of 275 ST households and 110 NST households were surveyed (Table 6).

Table 6: Samples selected for the ST Study, 2014

	Number of Household		Number of HS Students		Number of UP Students		Number of College Students
	ST	NST	ST	NST	ST	NST	ST
Wayanad	100	40	108	36	108	36	94
Idukki	50	20	27	9	18	6	41
Palakkad	50	20	54	18	54	18	54
Kasaragod	50	20	54	18	54	18	54
Kannur	25	10	27	9	27	9	16
Thiruvananthapuram	25	10	27	9	27	9	27
Total	300	120	297	99	288	93	286

The survey was conducted in schools where students of all the communities study. It was very difficult to identify the ST students in unaided schools. Also, the target number to take (nine ST students per school) from one school was very hard. The total sample of 297 ST students and 99 NST (Non-Scheduled Tribes) students was taken from the high school classes and from the primary classes. The final sample size for high school students is 288 ST and 99 NST. However, in colleges, it was very difficult for the survey to meet the target. The final sample of college-going students consists of 286 ST and 87 NST.

Analyses of univariate and bivariate distributions with the variables related to educational performance of the students have been carried out. A comparison of ST and NST households as well as students has been done to assess their achievements and hardships. The three important factors crosschecked with the survey data are educational background of the household members, students' performance in the examinations together with parents' attitude towards education, and coverage of affirmative action schemes. The results of the analysis are described in the following section.

10. Educational Background of the Household Members

Table 7 describes the educational background of the scheduled tribe household members. There is a lower percentage of uneducated among the students studying in primary classes. The younger generations are more inspired by educational benefits. The percentage of uneducated

persons is higher among the family members of college going students. That means they may be the first generation getting educational benefits. There is a higher per cent of uneducated persons in the ST households compared to the NST households. Only one fourth of the Scheduled Tribes are in high schools. This percentage has increased among the family members of students varying from college to primary classes. The number of degree holders among the STs is very low (less than 5 per cent) and insignificant.

As in general the first generation (students), of STs is more enthusiastic about getting education. Third generation (grandparents) of primary students is more educated compared to students in higher class. The scheduled tribes are persevering in a first generation educational episode. However the plight of the STs is quite dismal compared to the others.

Table 7: Educational Background of the Household Members, 2014

Table 7: Educational Background of the Household Members, 2014

| | Household | | | HH Members of Students | | | | | | | |
| | | | | College | | | Primary | | | High School | |
	ST	NST	Total	ST	NST	Total	ST	NST	Total	ST	NST
No Education	18.8	8.5	15.8	17.9	6.0	13.5	8.3	5.2	7.6	13.4	4.0
Primary	23.1	17.4	21.4	18.7	13.7	17.7	21.6	16.5	20.4	19.7	14.0
Upper Primary	21.2	18.7	20.5	21.5	18.3	20.8	20.0	19.0	19.8	22.6	18.7
High school	25.5	34.6	28.1	30.4	32.4	30.8	37.7	36.5	37.4	32.1	33.1
Secondary Education	7.3	13.5	9.1	8.8	17.6	10.6	5.4	12.3	7.0	9.3	18.0
Above Degree and Others	4.0	7.4	5.0	2.6	12.0	4.6	6.9	10.6	7.8	2.8	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Exclusionary trends in education, particularly in higher education and professional education for the tribes are mainly due to strengthening of non-financial entry barriers and inadequate attention to the problems of the disadvantaged groups. The increasing private cost of education and underinvestment of the state in education stand as barrier in the attainment of education for tribes.

Knowledge of the English language is an indication of the attainment of higher levels of learning. That the household members speak English

leads to one major conclusion — children in the household at primary, secondary and college levels are the first generation in the process of learning the English language. Up to 69 per cent of the ST households and 78 per cent of the other households have persons at home who know English. They can assist the younger generation in learning English. There is no doubt that the youngest age groups are more comfortable with using English. A child's welfare and development depends on the upliftment of the parents and siblings. They too are influenced by the present youngsters towards speaking English

11. Parents' Attitude and Support

Parents' attitude towards education is one of the major influencing factors that help children reap the benefits of education. No other factor plays an important role as parental support to the children in building their future. The father is the main source of support for students in the primary classes - financially, morally and academically. However, mothers are seen to be more supportive in the academic and moral arena than the fathers. About 7 per cent of fathers and 5 per cent of mothers do not provide any kind of support for the education of their children. Many children receive support in the form of educational guidance from their brothers and sisters. At the college level, about 17 per cent of the teachers are not supportive. However, teachers are very supportive in the primary and high school classes, and this kind of support is seen to gradually decrease at the college level. This has resulted in making the ST students more vulnerable at the higher educational levels. As they are the first generation attaining higher education and nobody in their community can support them at the academic level, it is the teachers who should act as the backbone of their academic future.

More than 80 per cent of the ST parents attend the school/college meetings and monitor their children's progress at school. Their ambition is to help their children get a government job. They wish to see their children become educated people with good jobs. They think that education can give their children a better livelihood. In the sample households, 88 per cent of the children wished to pursue their higher education and their parents are aware of affirmative actions at their educational level.

12. Academic Performance of Students

It is interesting to note that about one fourth of the ST students got first class in the annual examination, though the proportion is lower in comparison with the NST students. At the college level, most of the ST students passed their examination, securing second class. There is relatively higher percentage of failed student among the ST students,, while the proportion of failed students in NST category is negligible. Most of the ST students passed with third class. Thus on evaluating the overall performances of the students, it can be concluded that the performance of ST students consistently lagged behind the NST students.

Table 8: Performance of Students in the last year's Examination, 2014

Division	Primary			HS			College	
	ST	NST	Total	ST	NST	Total	ST	NST
Failed	1.7	0.0	1.3	5.8	1.5	4.9	2.1	0.0
First	22.3	40.5	26.8	19.5	30.9	22.0	25.9	45.3
Second	16.0	8.9	14.2	19.1	16.2	18.4	42.3	40.6
Passed/Third	60.1	50.6	57.7	55.6	51.5	54.7	29.6	14.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

There are many reasons for the poor performance of the student in the examination. Most of the students generally answered that they did not spend much time on studies. The students in high school and college classes said that they found the examination questions very difficult toanswer. Among the high school students, some said that they could not grasp the subjects and could not recollect what they studied. In the primary classes, some said that they did not get proper guidance or tuition. Another factor that attributed to their poor performance is poor health condition. Some of them could not write the examination because of ill health.

About 9 per cent of college ST students and 15 per cent of high school ST students had failed once in their school life. Many of these college students failed in the higher secondary classes. The major reasons given for their failure are: they could not follow the lessons, the courses were difficult to follow, and seasonal migration of the family which led to irregular class attendance. None of NST students in the sample taken for the study had failed.

About 6 per cent of College ST students and 8 per cent of high school ST students were thinking of dropping out from their institutions. High school students gave no specific reason for this, but a few of them shared

their bitter experiences about the punishments meted out to them by their strict teachers. Some of college students thought of dropping out because of lack of financial support. One student said that nobody in the family was educated, which was as a barrier in his pursuing higher studies. About 4 per cent of NST college students were thinking of quitting their studies. Though the percentage is very low, it is noteworthy that there is still a tendency among ST students to quit from their academic intentions.

The education of scheduled tribe children is important not only because of constitutional obligations but also because it is a crucial input for the overall development of tribal communities. There is a need for a mother tongue as the medium of instruction for the tribal children because the failure or drop out issues is attributed to problems relating to medium of instruction (Gautam, 2003). They are familiar with Dravidian languages and the current educational curriculum poses problems for the tribal students at every stage of their education.

The analysis highlights the disproportionate nature of socio-economic indicators within the tribes in Kerala owing to the failure of governmental schemes and assistances meant for their empowerment. A similar study conducted among the SC students in Kerala highlighted the various issues which acted as a barrier in their educational upliftment. In that study, the students unanimously opined that their course is so heavy and hectic that they have to spend most of their time on their studies. Students also say that they initially find it difficult to follow the syllabus of their course. The enquiry revealed that the educational advancement of the scheduled caste students in the state is handicapped by the inadequacy of the support systems they depend upon, such as their own households, the teaching community, their peer groups and the government. This study on ST students also revealed that these factors act as hindrance in the attainment of higher education.

The Government has to focus on making policies for the upliftment of these marginalised sections. The meagre financial aid provided is not sufficient to meet their educational requirements. The Government should plan and develop policies to help the students successfully complete their studies.

13. Coverage of Affirmative Action Schemes

Special programmes currently included in the welfare schemes for ST students are: i) free supply of text books and stationery ii) free uniforms to children in government hostels and Ashrams iii) pre-matric stipends and scholarships iv) ashram schools for tribal children started with the intention of overcoming the difficulties of provision in remote regions and also rather patronisingly to provide an environment "educationally more conducive" than the tribal habitat.

Since the scholarship for scheduled tribe is universal, there are some weaknesses which have to be noted carefully. Around 90 per cent students know about their affirmative schemes and have utilized one or other type of benefit from the government. The remaining students are not aware of the schemes or they are failed to produce the related documents or have insufficient information for application. Less than 60 per cent of the ST students got the merit-cum-means (MCM) scholarships. Even though a majority of Scheduled Tribes benefit from the assistance given by Government, there is still a gap when it comes to acquiring educational benefits. It is very important to fill this gap and make sure that every student gets the educational benefits he or she is entitled to. The Government provides assistance to the STs, but most of them could not get the benefits because of the lack of awareness about them.

14. Conclusion

The Scheduled Tribe population in Kerala is very small. However, they have an influence on the overall performance of the state. So it is high time that the state takes measures to improve the status of the Scheduled Tribes without confronting their natural homogeneity. Numerous programmes have been initiated by the government to edify the Scheduled Tribes, but majority of them remain unutilized due to their ignorance about them. So the first step to uplift the tribes is to make them aware of various schemes available for them and the steps or initiatives to be taken to take advantage of the benefits. The goal should be to make sure that the benefits are given to the right persons at the right time.

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COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE TRIBALS IN KERALA : AN OVERVIEW

Jose.R

The tribal population is an integral part of India's social fabric and has the second largest concentration after that of the African continent. It is more than the total population of France and Britain and four times that of Australia [1]. The tribal people are the original inhabitants of the country known as the "sons of the soil." People living in specific geographical isolation with distinct language, territorial distribution and cultural practices may be termed 'indigenous'. The other term used to identify them is "tribal" or 'adivasi'.[2] ('Adi' means original, 'Vasi' means inhabitant). Scheduled Tribe is an administrative term used for the purpose of administering certain specific constitutional privileges, protection and benefits for the tribal people, historically considered disadvantaged and backward. Tribal communities live in about 15 percent of the country's area, in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains, forests, hills and inaccessible areas[3]. About 80 percent of them live in remote forest areas and hill tracks without any access to modern socio-economic inputs. Although there are ethnographic variations in terms of their anthropological identity, most tribals share certain basic characteristics: tendency for subsistence, illiteracy, economic backwardness and social deprivation. Their standard of living, judged by any standard: income, position, calorie intake, nutritional norms, educational level and Physical Quality Life Index (PQLI) does not come anywhere near the minimum set by the Planning Commission of India.

The word 'tribal' on 'adivasi' brings to our mind a picture of half-naked

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men and women, with arrows and spears in their hands, feathers on their heads and speaking an intelligible language, their lives often combined with myths of savagery and cannibalism. Even when majority of the communities on the world kept changing their life-styles, competed with each other and developed materialistic interest to keep pace with the progress of the world, there were communities still living in line with their traditional values, customs and beliefs. The exploitative mindset of mainstream society made these communities recede often into forests and high altitude mountains, where they could continue to live in peace with nature and their unpolluted surroundings. As the so called civilized communities of the mainstream society neither could comprehend the values and ideals of these communities nor had the patience to understand their lifestyles, the mainstream would branded them variously as natives, uncivilized people, aboriginals, tribes, indigenous people[4] etc.

DEFINITION

There is no precise definition for the term 'tribe'. It is generally used for a socially cohesive unit, associated with a territory, the member of which regard them as politically autonomous. According to Mujundar, a tribe is "a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well-assessed system of reciprocity and mutality of obligation[5]". According to the International Labour Organization, indigenous and tribal peoples are those peoples whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations[6]." L.P. Vidhyarthi defined the tribe as a "social group with definite territory, common name, common culture, behavior of an endogamous group, common taboos existence of distinctive social and political systems, full faith in leaders and self-sufficiency in their distinct economy".[7]

In India, the term tribe is more functional in nature. By definition, the Scheduled Tribes in India are those social groups who 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 purpose of this Constitution[8]." This delineation shows that there is no characteristic definition regarding tribal groups. But it is

generally accepted that on selecting the tribal people, the following characteristics are taken as some sort of priority : indications of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with community at large and socio-economic backwardness.

Indian Tribes and Tribal Areas

According to the Anthropological Survey of India, a total of 4,635 communities are now to be found in India. Out of this 732 are considered as tribal or indigenous communities [11]. The largest concentration of indigenous peoples are found in seven States of North-East India and the so called "Central Tribal belt" stretching from Rajasthan to West Bengal. The Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development. The tribal people cover about 15% of the geographical area of the country. The tribal population of the country as per 2011 census, is 10.42 crore constituting 8.6 percent of the total population. The proportion of STs has been increasing over the years because more tribes are being included on the ST category and partly

Table 1 Tribal Population of India

Year	Tribal Population	Percentage to total tribal population	Decadal growth rate
1951	19, 111, 498	5.29	41.19
1961	30, 130, 184	6.86	33.84
1971	38, 015, 162	6.94	24.80
1981	51, 628, 638	7.83	24.69
1991	67, 658, 638	8.08	23.79
2001	84, 326, 240	8.20	22.7
2011	10, 43, 000, 00	8.61	23.7

Source : Census of India from 1951 to 2011, Govt. Of India[13].

More than half of the Scheduled Tribes inhabit the central or the mid-Indian region and they form an over whelming majority of the population in some of the North-Eastern States. The proportion of STs to the total population in States and Union Territories is the highest in Lakshadweep (94.8%), Mizoram (94.4%), followed by Nagaland (86.5%). The lowest proportions are in U.P, (0.21%), Kerala (1.1%) and Tamil Nadu

(1.07%)[14]. Of the 29 states and seven Union Territories, Scheduled Tribes are notified in all the states except Punjab, Chandigarh, Haryana, Delhi and Pondicherry. There are over 533 tribes as notified under Article 342 of the Indian Constitution. Of which 62 are located in the State of Orissa.[15]

The tribal groups in India faces a number of problems. The Planning Commission of India in its Eleventh Five Years Plan, 2007 -2012, observed that the Scheduled Tribes are mainly landless poor forest dwellers and pastoral and nomadic herders. The ST population mainly depend living on agriculture. The incidence of poverty among STs continues to be very high at 47.30% in rural areas and 33.8% in urban areas compared to 28.3% and 25.7% respectively in respect of the total population in 2004 – 2005.In Orissa, almost 75% of ST household fell below poverty line. A large number of STs who are living below the poverty line are landless, with no productive assets and no access to sustainable employment and minimum wages. The women belonging to these groups suffer even more because of the added disadvantages of being denied equal and minimum wages. Literacy rate among them has increased from 29.62% to 47.10% during the period from 1991 – 2001. Literacy rate among ST male increased from 40.65% to 59.20% and the ST female literacy rate increased from 18.20% to 34.80% during the period from 1991 – 2001. The female literacy is lower by approximately 20% as compared to the overall female literacy rate of the general population. [16]

Constitutional Safeguards for Tribes

The status of the tribes in the pre-independence period was unsatisfactory. There was a policy of neglect and exploitation. Due to this, their land and forests were slowly and gradually grabbed by the rich people like landlords and money lenders. They were turned into bonded laborers, leading a life of poverty and misery. The excessive encroachment on their rights in the forest land led to an expression of anger in the form of riots. Thus, independent India inherited a complex tribal problem from the British colonial system. The major thrust of the founding fathers of our Constitution was to solve the tribal problem in view of our commitment to the objectives of justice – social, economic and political, equality of status and opportunity as enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution of India; Besides the Preamble, there are many provisions in the Constitution providing safeguards to the sons of the soil.

Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth. It also permits the state to make special provisions for the advancement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 16 guarantees equality of opportunity in public employment. It also empowers the state to make protective discrimination in favour of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 17 abolishes untouchability and the practice of it in any form was made a punishable offence. Traffic in human being; beggar or forced labour is prohibited by Article 23 of the Constitution. Further, Article 46 says, "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of weaker sections of the people, and in particulars, of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 244 deals with the administration of Tribal Areas. Article 330 provides reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of People (Loksabha) and Article 332 guarantees the same to State Legislative Assemblies. Besides these, there are provisions for the establishment of a National Commission for SC / ST (Article 338, 338A) at the National level and State Commissions at the state level. Article 342 empowers the President of India to include or exclude any community in the list of Scheduled Tribes.[17]

According to the fifth schedule, Union Executive is given the power of giving direction to the states in matters relating to the administration of Scheduled Areas. The sixth schedule designates tribal areas in Assam and Meghalaya where autonomous district councils and regional councils have been constituted with powers to make laws for management of land, forests, shifting of cultivation, inheritance of property, social customs and matters relating to village or town administration. Article 275 (1) of the Constitution provides for grant – in – aid from the Union to the states for promoting welfare of administration of Scheduled Areas. The Parliament and various state legislative Assemblies have also passed a plethora of laws aimed at protecting the interests of the Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, the Center and State governments are implementing various welfare measures for the advancement of the STs. Thus, tribal development in the true sense and on the present context of India is in fact a post independence concept and draws the spirit from the Constitution of India.

Tribes in Kerala

Kerala has one percent 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 2011 Census[18]. Kerala holds a unique position in the tribal map of India. Most of the tribes in Kerala belong to the family group of Dravidians. Tribals in Kerala, commonly called 'adivasis', are the indigenous population found on the dense forest and mountains of Western Ghats mainly bordering the states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu[19]. Adivasi constitute only 1.1 percent of the total population of the state. There are 36 tribal communities in Kerala and "Paniya" tribes are the biggest tribe followed by "Kurichiyans". The 2011 Census Report records the overall tribal population in the state as 4, 84, 834 as against 3, 64, 139 in 2001. Every District in Kerala has some tribal population. However, the highest concentration of tribal population is seen in Wayanad District (37.36%) followed by Idukki (14%) and Palakkad (10.8%)

Table 2 :Distribution of tribal population in the Districts.

Sl.No	Name of the District	Percentage Distribution among the District	Percentage of total population
1	Kasargode	8.33	2.52
2	Kannur	5.48	0.83
3	Wayanad	37.36	17.43
4	Kozhikode	1.63	0.21
5	Malappuram	3.36	0.34
6	Palakkad	10.89	1.52
7	Thrissur	1.33	0.16
8	Ernakulam	2.76	0.38
9	Idukki	14.00	4.51
10	Kottayam	5.04	0.94
11	Alappuzha	0.86	0.15
12	Pathanamthitta	1.80	0.53
13	Kollam	1.43	0.20
14	Thiruvananthapuram	5.74	0.65

Souce : Human Development Report, 2005, Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.

The tribal communities in Kerala have been historically marginalized and oppressed by various development factors and forces. The policies and schemes implemented by successive governments at the Centre and State have further worsened the situation. Their customary rights over natural resources such as forests, cultural identity and traditional knowledge including intellectual property rights, cultural heritage and traditional wisdom have been continuously at stake due to the interplay

of various forces. But if one compare the tribes on the socio-economic or quality or life indicators, it is true that the tribal groups from Kerala will appear to be far more better than many other States[21]. The literacy rate among the tribal population in Kerala is high both in the case of general (64.35 percent) and female (58.11 percent) population when compared to their counterparts at the national level. The sex ratio of the tribal communities is also favorable for women in Kerala where as that is not the case at the national level. At the national level, nearly half of the tribal population lives below poverty line where as in Kerala, the corresponding figures is only less than one-forth. But when these figures are compared with the rest of the Kerala Society, it is interesting that they left as the lest developed within the state. One of the big criticisms against the Kerala model of development was that it was not inclusive to the Tribals. [22]

Table.,3 : Status of STs in India and Kerala.

Sl.No.	Items	India	Kerala
1	Population (in lakhs)	836	3.64
2	Percentage of total population	8.15	1.1
3	Decadal growth rate	23.30	13.75
4	Child population to the total population	18.43	13.70
5	Sex ratio	948	1027
6	Literacy rate (general)	47.08	64.35
7	Literacy rate (female)	34.75	58.11
8	Poverty as per (55thround)	45.80	24.20
9	Percentage of population living in slums	2.40	0.20

Source : Census, 2011

The tribal community in Kerala faces numerous problems. State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala has identified 17 alarming issues in the tribal community. They are (1). Extreme levels of poverty, deprivation and vulnerability; (2).High levels of exclusion both developmental and social (3).Extreme low levels of empowerment (political, social and economic); (4).Rapid marginalization due to unfair, unequal and exploitative relations of production; (5).Practically zero participation in development matters with no autonomy in any form of decision-making; (6). Abnormally huge simphoning of developmental resources and benefits meant for tribal people by middlemen; (7). Low level of access to entitlements (8).Poor human development with low levels of literacy and access to health

care; (9).Rapid alienation of assets like land; (10).Alarming depletion of social capital, especially traditional forms of organization and leadership; (11).Quick deterioration of traditional knowledge systems and cultural attainments, (12). Fast – increasing tendency to use tribal people as cat's-paws in criminal activities like illicit distillation, cultivation of narcotic plants, stealing of forest wealth, (13). High level of exploitation of women by outsiders (14).Weak delivery systemsof public services (15). Dependency – developmental programmes relying on distribution of benefits, rather than building up of capabilities, (16). Implementation of adhoc and stereo-typed developmental programmesin the absence of proper planning and (17).Very weak monitoring systems.[23]

Crimes / atrocities against scheduled tribes are on the rise despite the enactment of special laws – Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989. There are also laws for the protection of scheduled tribes but crimes against the tribals, especially against women and children continue to be very high. According to the National Crime Records Bureau, a total of 5,885 cases of atrocities against tribals were reported in the country during 2011 as compared to 5,425 cases in 2010, showing an increase of 8.5% over the year[24]. Also, a large number of crimes committed against scheduled tribes remain unreported because of their isolation and their reluctance due to fear and apathy of the enforcement machinery. The lengthy judicial process in the country is also not favourable to the tribals. A large number of tribal women face extreme forms of social exclusion and discrimination in the public sphere of life[25]. It is reported that tribal women in Wayanad are victims of sexual exploitation and physical harassment. Their innocence and simplicity have been misused by the mainstream community. Most ofthem are victims of direct sexual exploitation or false promise of marriage. All these resulted in growing number of unwed mothers among the tribals in Kerala. There are laws prohibiting the sale or transfer of tribal lands to non-tribal and the restoration of alienated tribal lands to the tribals. But the laws are either not properly implemented or they are manipulated to facilitate the transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals.

As a result of all these, there has been increasing unrest among the tribals in the recent past. Radical / extremist movements began to take root in some parts of the tribal areas in the state,mainly due to the dissatisfaction of the tribals to the government machinery. These

organizations are spreading a feeling of hatred against the state. Some of the organizations have succeeded in winning the hearts of some tribal people. This should not be allowed to flourish and nipped in the bud. For this, the community policing movement can do a great deal by educating and occasionally visiting their houses and finding out remedies to their problems.

Community Policing in the tribal areas of Kerala

Community policing as an alternative policing strategy revolves round the principle of proactive policing through people-friendly policing practices, community participation and problem-solving leading to crimeprevention, maintenance of order and improvement in the overall quality of life in the neighborhood. Community policing allows the law enforcement to get back to the principles upon which it was founded, to integrate itself into the fabric of community so that the people and the police collaborate even before a serious problem arises. Here, police act as a catalyst in the social engineering experiment. To state succinctly community policing is a useful holistic and proactive concept and a tool to transform the police image, strengthen the force and create attitudinal changes both within the force and among the public[26]. In its strategic dimension, it contributes to the individual, state and national health and as such reduces social pathology. Community policing provides decentralized, personalized police service to the community. It recognizes that the police cannot impose under on the community from outside, but that people must be encouraged to think of the police as a resource that they can use in helping to solve contemporary community concerns. It is not a tactic to be applied and then abandoned, but a new philosophy and organizational strategy that provides the flexibility to meet local needs and priority as they change over time. And some of its objectives are to prevent and reduce crime, reduce fear of crime, improve the physical condition of the community and increase feeling of safety among community members[27]. Community policing, therefore, is a philosophy of policing based on the idea that if the police and citizens in the community work together in creative ways to fight and prevent crime, then crime related problems of the community would be solved, fear of crime would be reduced, community residents would feel safer, and the physical conditions as well as quality of life in the community would be better. As Sparrow put it, "the concept of community policing envisages a police department striving for an absence of crime and disorder and concerned

with, and sensitive to, the quality of life in the community[28]. Here, the community is perceived as an agent and partner in promoting security rather than a passive audience.

It is an accepted fact that the basic ethos of Indian police was shaped by the British to maintain their supremacy in India through the Police Act of 1861 enacted by the British Parliament. Even after independence, there was not much change to the attitude of police towards the public. The image of police created by the British as an instrument of oppression and suppression and a strong arm of the government to implement their designs continued even after independence. The police was looked as an agency to be feared and the political class used the police in several ways to maintain their power. As a result of this police became unpopular and anti-people. In Kerala also the situation is not much different from other parts of India. But here, some individual officers had attempted and succeed to a great extent in involving the community in policing. But all these were local initiatives and it will fade away immediately after the transfer of the officer who took lead in initiating the programme.

In this background that Justice K.T.Thomas Commission, appointed by the Government of Kerala to suggest police reforms, recommended the adoption of community policing in Kerala. The recommendation was accepted by the Government and asked the Police Department to prepare and submit a draft scheme. The draft scheme submitted by the Department in 2007 was discussed elaborately at various levels and based on suggestions/recommendations by various persons and bodies; a final project was prepared by the police Department[29].

The Community policing scheme of Kerala police is known as 'Janamaithri Suraksha' project and it was officially launched in March 2008. The project was initially introduced in 20 selected police stations across the state on experimental basis. It was extended to 23 more police stations in the year 2009. The year 2010 witnessed an expansion of the same to yet another hundred police stations. It was further extended to 100 police stations and now almost 50% of the police stations in Kerala are being covered by the project. Out of the 248 police station, 50 are tribal police stations spreading across the state.   The project is structured so as to facilitate greater community involvement in policing. The project aims to achieve the following objectives.

· To prevent crime.

· Co-operation of police and the public in security matters.

·To ensure mutual co-operation of members of the public in the domain of security[30]

To achieve the objective, the project envisages the following;

Beat Officer

The project centered around beat officers who were the civil Police officers/ senior civil police officers/ Assistant Sub-inspectors, specially selected and trained. They were appointed by the District Police Chief on the recommendations of the Station House officer. The beat officer is in charge of a beat area usually conversing 500 to 1000 houses.[31] The Beat officer is assisted by an assistant Beat officer,usually a Women Civil Police Officer/Senior Civil Police Officer. The first thing a beat officer undertakes is a comprehensive survey of his beat area. For this he visits each and every house, business establishments, officers, schools, etc and collects the details of persons who are living in his beat area and interacts with the public. The idea is that within a period of three months, a beat officer should know at least one person from each family in his beat, all the roads and by-lanes in the area, the working habits of local people, the socio-economic background of the people, strategic institutions, problems of the area etc.

In tribal areas house visits is not an easy task. It is not ideal to include 1000 houses in one beat. Here the ideal figure is below 500 houses. The beat officer must be ready to walk long distance to meet the tribal people. Sometimes he may have to visit the same house repeatedly to meet the members of the house. Similarly, they will not open up in front of a stranger like the beat officer. So necessary rapport must be created before starting the conversation. There may be Non-Governmental organizations working in the tribal areas and at first beat officers can seek their assistance in approaching the tribals. The beat officer should understand the problems faced by the tribals in his area after creating awareness through dramas, and should co-ordinate various departmental agencies to solve their problems. There are a lot of welfare measures to the tribal people being implemented by the state and central Govt and the poor adivasis are not aware of these. At first, the beat officer can channelize all these measures and after winning their harts he should occasionally visit their houses/ areas. The people living in the tribal belt have an emotional relationship with forests and its natural environment, not willing to abandon their centuries old life style and culture. So their development as well as welfare programs have to be

implemented in keeping this aspect in mind. It is not a secret that in many tribal areas, illicit brewing, growing of narcotic plants etc are common. The beat officer should adopt a watch and wait policy for the eradication of the above evils. If he act in a haste, people will ran away when he approach them. After creating awareness through dramas, magic shows and classes that the beat officer be able to concentrate on the evils prevailing in the tribal society. Lack of trust on police and other Governmental agencies will lead to greater reliance of these innocent people to agencies spreading hatred against the established order. So in a tribal area, the beat officer should adopt a different method in ensuring community participation in policing.

The traditional duties assigned to a beat officer are-service of summons, passport verification, petition enquiry, serving of notices, festival duties, collection of information from the public etc. A beat officer of tribal area should also perform all the above functions. Further, he may be able to help the people in case of every need such as natural calamities, diseases, outside interference etc. He should act as a friend of the people and co-ordinate various agencies, both Government and Non-Governmental, aimed at tribal welfare. He has an additional responsibility of saving the sons of the soils from easy prey in the hands of insurgent elements like Maoists. He should watch carefully, the movement of strangers in the area and report to the higher ups immediately after its notice. It is easily possible if he be able to win the trust of the adivasi people. The project also envisages the convening of beat meetings periodically in different locations of the beat. His beat diary must contain, in addition to details of people of the area, various organisations which work among the tribals, the name and address of leaders of such organisations, tribals who frequently contact such leaders, their criminal background, if any, and details of strangers who visit the locality.

The beat officer must be able to inspire confidence among the people over a period of time. The public should be comfortable in bringing to the notice of the beat officer any policing issue. The beat officer should be able to respond quickly and effectively. Experience shows that people tend to bring to the notice of the beat officer even those issues which are not directly related to the police. Even in such instances, the police response has to be positive and helpful in solving the problem for the community, to the extent possible. As a competent police officer, the beat officer must be able to work with the people, constantly keeping in mind the requirements of preventing crime and promoting peace and

order in the neighbourhood[32].

The project also envisages the convening of beat meetings periodically in different locations of the beat area. In urban and semi-urban areas ensuring of community participation in such meetings is not very difficult. But in tribal areas, the beat officer has to work very hard. Here also a different approach may be adopted. There are a lot of people who are willing to contribute generously for the cause of the poor. A beat officer should identify such people, medicines, cloths, note books etc and it should be distributed to the poor during beat meetings. Gradually, people began to attend such meetings convened by the beat officer. And the beat officers in such tribal areas, under no circumstances, be utilized for other duties.

Janamaithri Susraksha Samithi

Janamaithri Suraksha Samithi is a body constituted at the police station level to assist the project function smoothly. With the help of the Station House Officer, the Circle Inspector suggests the names of persons to be included in the Samithi. The Sub-Divisional police officer scrutinizes and submits the list before the Superintendent of Police who ultimately sanctions the formation of the Samithi. The Samithi should have representation from scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women etc. Respectable citizens from the locality who are active in the educational and cultural field should be included in the committee. High School headmaster, College Principal, Teachers, retired Government servants, ex-service men, members of Panchayats, Municipalities/Corporations, merchants, members o0f Non-Governmental organisations, office bearers of Resident associations, Kudumbasree workers etc may be included in the Samithi.[33] Representatives of political parties, caste and communal organisations etc should not be represented in the Samithi. People with criminal background should also be kept out of the committee. The structure of the Samithi should be in such a way that ordinary citizens with civic sense and sense of social responsibility get an opportunity to utilize their talents for the greater safety of society at the local level. A Samithi consist of 10 to 25 members. The Samithi is an advisory body without any statutory powers. The Circle Inspector convenes the meetings of the Samithi and Station House Officer serves as its secretory. The Samithi is required to meet at least once in a month at previously notified place, and any member of the public, residing within the local area of the police station may also attend the meeting to give suggestions or

complaints. The meetings are presided over by one of the members of the Samithi on rotation basis and decisions are taken on the basis of consensus. No criminal cases under investigation or trial, however, can be discussed in the Samithi. Similarly no discussion can be made of arrests or any other statutory functions of the police.

The same principle is followed in the formation of Janamaithri Samithi in tribal police stations. In most of the tribal police stations, it is seen that, the members of the Samithi were taken from the well-to-do sections of the community and the representation of tribal people is very low. A tribal police station may have non-tribal areas but the Samithi members should not be selected solely from that area. There may be initial hesitation from the members of the tribal community to be included in the Samithi.In a tribal police station majority of the members must be from the tribal area giving due representation to women, youth, etc. The activists of Non-Governmental organisations should find a place in the Samithi. Samithi members should also be given some sort of training about the aims and objectives, functions and responsibilities of the Samithi and about Janamaithri Suraksha Project and the need to work along with the police.

Activities of the Samithi

The Janamaithri Suraksha Samithi formulates and implements, depending upon the local need, the following types of plans for betterment of policing and crime prevention in the concerned area. Formulation of joint police-community patrols to prevent thefts and street crimes in residential areas; identification of strangers and migrants to the area, to help the police ascertain their identity and antecedents; co-ordination with private security establishments and installation of security devices in houses, flats shopping complexes etc; identification of the needs of disabled and senior citizens, weaker sections and devise plans for their security; psychological counseling for victims of crime, disaster, suicide prevention, provision of accurate and timely information on faculty signal, systems, street lighting arrangements, poorly maintained roads, and so forth, to the concerned authorities;organisation and encouragement of blood donation camps, as well as eye and other organ donations, by willing donors in the local communities; development and implementation of plans for improved traffic regulation in the area, including co-ordination and management of traffic wardens; development of plans to give training to youth in first aid and trauma care, palliative care, self-employment and so forth; and

to involve the youth in the community oriented projects, formation of Jagratha Smithies for women and for School/College students to arrange legal aid, counseling and so on;organisation of legal awareness classes, traffic awareness programmes and so forth; setting up of a special program for security of taxi drivers and others involving road accident victims, highway Suraksha Jagratha Samithis;organisation of volunteers to protect the environment, establishment of victim support cells etc[34].

Almost all the above programmes with the exception of one or two can be implemented in tribal areas. But in addition to that considering the hardships faced by the tribal people in reaching police stations and courts due to the absence of quality roads and transportation facilities, mobile courts, mobile police stations, out posts etc can be introduced. Janamaithri beat officers can play a vital role in spreading awareness about the legal rights and provisions by engaging SC/ST promoters, department of SC/ST etc. The Thrissur model can be worth emulating. In Thrissur District, tribal colonies have been grouped into clusters and cluster level monitoring committees have been formed under Circle Inspectors of police with representation from various colonies. Cluster level meeting is convened every month where petitions are received and send to respective departments for necessary action, action taken on previous petitions are reviewed and awareness classes are taken. In addition, a District level monitoring committee under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of Police is convened once in three months. This multi-tier system under the aegis of Janamaithri project has gone a long way in addressing the needs of the tribal people. Adalaths should also be conducted at tribal colonies with representatives from various departments like health, education, labour, SC/ST development, excise, revenue, forests etc. Alienation of land is one of the most important problems faced by the tribal community in Kerala. The Janamaithri beat officer can do a great deal in educating the people about this and preventing sale of land to outsiders for liquor and narcotics. As stated earlier, in most of the colonies tribal people used to make illicit liquor, grow narcotic plants etc. Arrest and legal remedies should not be resorted to in the first instance. People should be given awareness about the consequences of these illegal activities and educate them about the harsh punishments from the legal system and the need to stop these acts. The beat officer should give special attention to watch the movement of strangers in the backdrop of maoist activities in some parts of the tribal areas of Kerala. Programmes aimed at identification of strangers and the bitter experience of people

who fell prey to such strangers may be taken up. The crimes committed on adivasis is on the rise in Kerala especially sexual exploitation of adivasi women. As a result, in Wayanad District, there are large number of unwed mothers and children who do not know their fathers. A large number of crimes committed against scheduled tribes remain unreported because of their isolation and their reluctance due to fear and apathy of the enforcement machinery. The Janamaithri project can take up such cases, educate the people the need for reporting such cases and helping the police to find out the culprits. The tribal panchasheel enunciated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru must be kept in mind while working among the adivasis. Every department have their role in tribal development but there is no substitute for a meticulous and empathetic Janamaithri beat to tribal areas which forms the foundation over which the innovative edifices of monitoring committees and adalaths could be built.

District Advisory Samithi

The District Police chief is required to constitute a District Advisory Samithi, a committee comprising the local Member of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assemblies coming under the District, Mayor/ Municipal chairpersons and also other representatives nominated by the District Police Chief. The Samithi has 10 to 20 members and is convened once in three months by the Superintendents of Police/Commissioners of Police. This committee acts in a supervisory manner and reviews the activities of the Janamaithri Suraksha Samithi and functions for the successful implementation of the community policing scheme. [35]It is desirable to include at least one member from the tribal area in the District Advisory body

Janamaithri Kendram

To popularise the project, community centres were opened in some places. These centers help people to come and learn about traffic safety, seek career guidance, and other helpful activities. Janamaithri Kendramhave begun functioning in some of the Districts and in police battalion headquarters. The main objectives of the Kendrams are to function as an information developing Janamaithri Yuvakendram, to provide sports and youth training facilities and counseling facilities for women, giving career planning and self-employment training, anti-drug campaigns, palliative care training and to have a traffic education center/ traffic park and other activities facilitating community interface to serve the community in a better manner. In tribal areas, special attention should

be given to imparting awareness classes, training to youths etc through these centers.

Conclusion

Barriers and constraints to implementing community policing in tribal areas is numerous. Implementation is particularly challenging because of the peculiar nature of the tribal community. Without understanding and respecting the culture, customs and traditions of the tribal community, the police cannot make any in-roads in the tribal settlements. Recent reviews of the evidence suggest that community policing is most effective when efforts are targeted and include community involvement in priority setting or focus on improving police legitimacy. Door-to-door visits, for example, are found to be effective in reducing crime and disorder. The Project 'Pahari' a tribal community policing experiment launched among the villagers in Assam in the backdrop of killing of five innocent people in the name of witchcraft was a great success. Similarly, "Police mee Kosam" (Police for You), another tribal community policing scheme introduced in 2001 in the Naxal hit areas of Andhra Pradesh, succeeded to control the naxalmenace to a great extent. More than six years have lapsed since the inception of Community Policing Project in Kerala and several micro level studies were conducted to find out the impact of the programme on Kerala society and most of the studies suggested that community policing improves citizen satisfaction with Police and decreases citizen's fear of crime and perceptions of disorder, research supporting the model's impact on aggregate crime trends remains inconclusive. The project succeeded in creating a positive attitude of the people towards the law enforcement machinery in Kerala and an attitudinal change of the police personnel towards the community. Clearly, in areas where police organizations have adopted a more "social work" approach to developing partnerships with local residents, it appears that community support for regular policing efforts flows naturally. The indigenous people are peculiar in many respects and their way of life, customs, traditions and culture are in no way inferior to the mainstream community and it is high time to adopt special community policing projects for the 'sons of the soil'.

**KERALA POLICE PLAN STATEMENT
FOR IMPLEMENTINGAND INTERNALISING
THE COMMUNITY POLICING STRATEGY**

Mission Statement:

The Kerala Police is committed to develop partnership between the public and the police so as to ensure safety and security in Kerala to the best possible extent and also prevent crime without affecting the rights of citizens, at the same time upholding the human rights of each citizen (as envisaged in section 3 of Kerala Police Act). We are dedicated to serve and protect and will continue to strive for strong Community relationship while providing a safe environment and thereby enhance the quality of life of the people.

MOTTO:- Kerala Police is committed to People Police Partnership for Security.

Our Vision Statement:

The Kerala Police shall develop a trusting working relationship based on mutual trust and respect with the Community so that each and every citizen and our visitors enjoy the highest possible quality of life

strengthened by a sense of meaningful and democratic security.

Our Operational Strategy:-

1. Leadership

· The leadership will be committed to the philosophy of Community Policing and will formulate Community Policing goals as core Policing strategy.

· The leadership is committed to provide technological and financial aids for the Community oriented activities.

· The leadership will encourage all it's members to become leaders within the sphere of work of each and will adopt policies which inculcate and encourage problem solving and decision making capabilities among all officers.

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       The District Police Chiefs will be responsible to encourage subordinates to be creative with problem solving techniques and implement the projects taking responsibility for the physical and operational aspects of the project.

·   The Inspectors and SDPOs will be responsible for ensuing house visits and arranging regular training programmes for the Community members and police personnel with the philosophy of Community Policing.

·   Beat Officers, CROs and SHOs will be responsible to make house visits and meet regularly the Janamaithri Suraksha Samithi members.

·   Community Policing will emerge as the core policing strategy.

2. Decentralization and Empowerment

Every Police Station area will be divided into Beats as envisaged in section 64 of the KIP Act. The Beat Officers will be in charge of their own small area and they will be empowered to forge partnership with the Community. The SHO will be responsible for extending the Operational support to the Beat Officers and CROs and thus implementing the project in partnership with the Community.

3. Community Empowerment

The community of citizens shall recognize that the security of the community can be improved by co-operating with the Police and citizens must come forward to work together with the Police in solving security problems. To facilitate this, programmes will be held by the Police to create awareness within the community and to instill confidence among the public regarding their role.

We will continuously and conscientiously strive to develop a positive relationship with the community, as envisaged in Section 63 of the Kerala Police Act.

We will scale up our efforts to forge partnerships with poor, downtrodden, Scheduled Caste & Scheduled Tribes communities for ensuring their safety and security and to encourage them for a fearless quality life.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

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The journal welcomes contributions in respect of theoretical and practitioner perspectives, empirical studies, critiques, brief write ups in respect of recent good practices in Democratic Policing, comparative studies, book reviews, cartoons, etc; that is of relevance to the policing world in developing and transitional societies. The journal particularly encourages contributions, in respect of current policing innovations, backed by rigorous quantitative analysis. Argumentative essays dwelling on the core thoughts in Police sciences are also welcome. The journal also publishes news of advances in democratic policing in Police forces across the world. Academic articles/ essays should ideally not exceed 6500 words, and practitioner notes should not exceed 1500 words. Contributors are also also requested to include an abstract of 100 words, as well as a brief biography of not more than 50 words. Submissions may be made electronically to janamaithri.pol@kerala.gov.in, or janamaithri.journal@gmail.com or by regular mail to the Editors*, 'Janamaithri'- A Journal of Democratic Policing,* Community Policing Research Centre, Police Headquarters, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, India- 695003.

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