



Government of Kerala

**INADEQUACY OF EXISTING DATABASE ON THE SOCIO ECONOMIC
CONDITION OF ST FAMILIES IN KERALA – A CASE STUDY BASED ON
CENSUS DATA 2001,2011 AND ST SURVEY DATA 2008**

**STATE PLANNING BOARD
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1. Introduction

Kerala is one among the tribal minority States in the country. The Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India, National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), State Economics & Statistics Departments are the major sources of socio-economic data pertaining to tribal characteristics in the country. Besides these, the Nodal Departments for the Welfare and Development of the STs also provide a lot of information, especially those related with the development programmes being formulated and implemented for the holistic development of the tribal communities in various states, after independence of the country. However, there exist several limitations on the part of these Agencies in providing information needed for the formulation, implementation and monitoring of welfare and development programmes for the tribal communities.

Census being a 100 per cent household based data collection programme which recurs once in 10 years, it has several limitations in collecting information concerned with all the tribal characteristics, mainly the socio economic conditions of tribal families at regular intervals of time. Even then, nowadays it includes items like basic amenities namely housing, electrification, drinking water, sanitation; occupation and employment; literacy status and education etc. also to a certain extent, along with population particulars. The Central and State Governments solely depend on Census data for important policy matters like fixing of criteria for the devolution of various Central Assistances & Special Central Assistances from Centre to State, distribution of Plan funds, including allocation of Tribal Sub Plan funds to Local Governments, formulation of projects for the development of tribals by Local Governments and other line departments etc. In fact, tribal data provided by Census is insufficient for decentralized planning.

The NSSO, Government of India, the largest source of socio-economic, industrial, agricultural and other database in the country also has its own limitations in providing tribal data on a regular basis. The NSSO conducts sample surveys on various topics at regular intervals in the form of rounds. In each round, various topics like consumption expenditure, unemployment and employment, debt and investment, consumer prices, health and sanitation, and various other social and economic topics needed for planning and policy formulation in the country are included. As majority of the subjects undertaken by NSSO are those in which a census type of enquiry and data collection are not possible, there exists a lot of limitations in carrying out exclusive sample surveys among the tribal communities with heterogeneous nature of problems. The tribals themselves differ from one community to other and also with respect to their geographical habitations, which are either in forest areas or adjacent to the forests or in remote pockets. Due to these factors the tribal data and benchmarks/indicators estimated through sample surveys also cannot provide us a realistic picture of the tribal communities. For example the Proportion of Tribal Ailing Persons (PAP), Tribal Infant Mortality Rates, Tribal death & birth rates estimated through

sample surveys always show high variance with the actual situation. In these circumstances, it would be difficult to generate Panchayat level tribal database (for micro planning at Local Government level) through sample surveys.

2. Early Attempts to Undertake Exclusive Tribal Surveys in Kerala

It was in this context that the ST Development Department (Nodal Department for the Development of STs in Kerala) attempted a comprehensive survey of the ST families in Kerala during 1976-78 through the State Economics and Statistics Department. In spite of the limitations like non-availability of advanced data processing and computing techniques in those days, the E&S could publish the survey Report in 1980 without many shortcomings. The Survey Report contains a comprehensive database relating to the STs both community-wise and district-wise, including a blueprint of their cultural aspects. The report also presents a lot of specific problems being encountered by the tribals. The Survey could yield good results and served the purpose of base line data for the formulation of Tribal Sub Plan Strategy, which was introduced in the Country during 1974-75.

Thereafter the ST Development Department carried out a bench mark survey in ITDP areas of Kerala through the State Economics and statistics Department in 1982 for fixing benchmarks for the development of STs living within Integrated Tribal Development Project Areas (ITDPs). As the then ITDPs contained only 40 per cent of the ST families in the State, the survey was an underestimate of actual tribal situation prevailing in the tribal concentrations and other tribal cluster areas in the State during 1982(the ITDP areas reconstituted in Kerala during 1989 contains 70 per cent of the ST population in Kerala) .

During 1996-97 the ST Development Department attempted a survey of the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal communities (PVTGs) in the State (Kattunaikan, Cholanaikan, Kadar, Kurumbas, Koragas) by themselves through the Project Officers of ITDPs and Tribal Development officers of the Department. Though the Survey could throw light upon the living conditions of PVTGs seen in tribal concentrations to some extent, it could not cover the PVTGs with nomadic nature and those living in isolated and scattered areas.

Research Organizations like Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development of SCs and STs (KIRTADS) have made specific studies among certain tribal communities including PVTGs by collecting data by themselves. Such studies were specific to a situation or related to one community or a specific group like PVTG. Hence the State was feeling the inadequacy and absence of crucial data needed for the comprehensive and holistic development of the STs after the ST Survey in 1976-78. The gap was mostly felt soon after the launching of Decentralized planning in the State from 1996-97.

The SC/ST Development Department, Government of Kerala issued orders in 1999-2000 for conducting a comprehensive survey of SC/ST families in the State by ensuring 100 per cent field coverage of the families. Unfortunately, under the impression that the survey was intended to introduce creamy layer system in the State among SC/ST families, a prominent community organization intervened before launching the survey and consequently, the State was forced to stop forthwith the already started preliminary activities of the survey during 1999-2000.

3. Tribal Survey Conducted in the State During 2008 jointly by Local Government Department and Scheduled Tribe Development Department in Collaboration with Economics and Statistics Department, KIRTADS and KILA

It was noticed by the State during 11 th Plan period that one of the reasons for poor performance of the Local Governments in implementing Tribal Sub Plan Schemes during the past two plan periods was absence of reliable grass root level data relating to the socio economic status of ST families in the State. In view of this, the Local Government Department initiated action during 2008 in carrying out a comprehensive ST survey in the State jointly with ST Development Department, ensuring the technical collaboration of Economics and Statistics Department and KIRTADS with nodal role to Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA).

The survey was duly organized and executed during 2008-09 with all precautions and preliminary steps needed for organizing large scale surveys. The involvement of the Local Governments also was ensured. At District Level the Dist Planning committees monitored the progress of the Survey with District Collector as Chairman and the District Officer of Tribal Development as convener. Unlike other conventional surveys the field operations were carried out by specially trained survey groups in each district. At State Level 1026 survey groups having 3077 personnel undertook the survey with utmost care. For eliciting information pertaining to the tribal habitations or settlements, expert focus groups were formed and discussions held with Tribal chieftains and other knowledgeable persons in the settlement areas. The Survey targeted (100 per cent coverage) all tribal families in the State.

In each district the Project Officers of ITDPs /Tribal Development Officers supervised the collection of data; schedules were scrutinized using the services of experts from Economics and Statistics, KIRTADS and ST Development Department; the data processing, analysis and presentation of data were done centrally under the supervision of KILA. Most of the Reports including Local Government-wise reports were ready during April 2012.

Even after such large scale arrangements at various levels, the ST survey 2008 could not yield the intended results due to missing of a large section of tribal families(non coverage) in Southern Kerala(said to have been non-co-operated in furnishing information), particularly communities like kanikkar and malayaraya, the two tribal communities in Kerala with relatively better socio economic status. In districts like Kozhikode, Kannoor and Kasaragode the ST population 2008 shows very high growth rate compared with Census 2001 due to the inclusion of certain communities in the main ST list during 2003(*list given as Annexure*). *But in Districts like Alappuzha, Kollam,Ernakulam, Malappuram and Kozhikkode the ST Survey results 2008 show unjustifiable large scale deviation with Census 2011 figures, without assigning any reason.* Unless we know carefully the reasons for the drawbacks of the ST survey 2008, as compared with the Census data 2001 and 2011 on tribals of Kerala, we would be lead to fallacious conclusions while this data is utilized for the formulation of specific purpose projects for the development of tribals. The Local Governments in the affected districts cannot use this data for the formulation of projects under their

Annual Tribal Sub plan. Similarly this data cannot be utilized at State Level and district levels for the formulation of State/District level Tribal Sub Plan and projects with confidence.

4. Shortfalls, Limitations, Large Scale Deviations and Inconsistencies of Tribal Survey Data 2008 in Comparison with Census Data

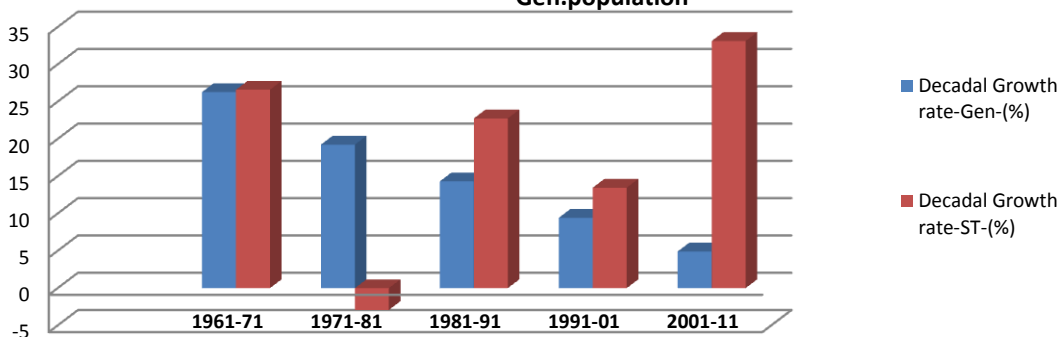
A. Trend of Growth in Tribal Population Compared to General Population in Kerala from Census 1961

On analysis of Census data from 1961 to 2011 it is seen that the per centage of ST population compared to the total population in the State varies between 1 per cent and 1.45 per cent due to various reasons; the maximum (1.45 per cent) being found in the last decade. While the ST population in India constitutes 8.6 per cent of the total population of the country, the ST population in Kerala is only 1.45 per cent (all time high) of the State's population during 2011. The general population in Kerala shows a uniform decreasing trend in growth rate from 1961, whereas the ST population depicted an irregular trend mainly due to the addition and deletion of certain ST communities from the ST list during the period from 1961 to 2011. The following table & figure show the growth and decline of ST population in Kerala from 1961, as compared to total population of Kerala from Census 1961 to Census 2011.

Table 1

Year	Total Population Kerala	Decadal Growth rate (per cent)	ST Population Kerala	Decadal Growth rate-ST- (per cent)	per cent of ST population in Kerala	per cent of ST Population in India	Remarks
1961	16903715		212762		1.259	6.9	3 ST Communities
1971	21347000	26.286	269356	26.600	1.262	6.9	were excluded,
1981	25454000	19.239	261475	-2.926	1.027	7.8	5 major & 4 minor
1991	29098518	14.318	320967	22.752	1.103	8.1	Communities were
2001	31841374	9.426	364189	13.466	1.144	8.2	included in the ST list
2011	33406061	4.914	484839	33.128	1.451	8.6	between 1961 and 2011

Figure 1
Irregular Decadal Growth of ST population in Kerala from 1961 to 2011 as against Gen.population



The above Census data showing the growth and decline of ST population in the State from 1961 to 2011 naturally leads us to think that the ST population growth in Kerala has no concomitant variation with the growth of general population in the State. Statistically the two set of growth rates give us a correlation coefficient of (-) 0.260. This implies that the two growth rates are in different directions to a certain extent, ie.(-)26 per cent. But it is quite easy to ascertain that if there were no addition to or deletion from the ST list in the decades 1971-81 and 2001-11, the tribal growth rate would have correlated positively with the general trend of population growth and decline in Kerala. *(If we examine Kerala's total population growth rates from 1911 to 2011 in comparison with India's population growth in the same period, it is seen that there exists positive correlation (+0.35) between the growths, which give us the conclusion that both rates are in the same direction though the relationship between the two set of rates is not much stronger (only 35 per cent). It is true that both Indian and Kerala Population rates show a declining trend after 1971, but it is more rapid in respect of Kerala.)*

B. Reasons for the Discrepancy of ST Survey 2008 with Census 2001 and 2011

While we analyze the ST Survey data 2008 in comparison with Census data 2001 and 2011 (ST population) it is seen that the ST population in Kerala increased from 364189 in 2001 to 426208 during ST Survey 2008, showing a ST population growth of 17.03 per cent. During 1991-2001 the decadal growth of ST population in the State was 13.466 per cent only, which is definitely a realistic decennial growth rate as no new community was added to or omitted from the existing ST list in Kerala. But the ST population growth rate of 17.03 per cent during 2001-2008 is obviously a bit high growth rate since the estimated size of the deleted/non-co-operative ST population (74767) is slightly more than the included population(68218). Hence the 7 year growth rate of ST population from 2001 cannot go beyond 10 per cent. Another unjustifiable drawback seen between the ST survey 2008 and Census 2011 is the unrealistic high growth rate of ST Population in Census 2011 as compared to 2008. It is significant to note that the ST population in Kerala cannot show a growth rate of 13.76 per cent in 3 years (from 2008 to 2011), without the inclusion of new communities in the ST list, as done in 2003. But no new community was added to the ST list after 2008. *Even if all the uncovered ST persons of ST survey 2008 were included in the Census 2011, the three year growth rate of 13.76 per cent from 2008 is impractical.*

The above shortfalls naturally lead us to the following hypothesis

- 1) the ST survey 2008 failed to collect information from a portion of ST families
- 2) the Census could not include all the newly added ST communities in the Census list 2011
- 3) due to the addition of new communities, families belonging to other communities would have entered in the Census data 2011 in certain districts, with wrong community claim as STs.

When we examine the ST survey data 2008 in comparison with Census data 2001 and 2011, *district-wise*, it is easy to prove that the first two hypotheses are true. In respect of the third one there exists chances, but a detailed study of sample families from the suspected districts can only prove it. Till then the third question/hypothesis will remain unanswered.

C. District-wise Analysis of ST Survey 2008 in Comparison with Census 2001 and 2011

The following table (table 2) gives the district wise distribution of ST population during Census 2001, ST Survey 2008 and Census 2011. Based on the decadal growth rate of ST population in the period 2001-11, ST population growth rate between Census 2001 and ST Survey 2008, ST population growth rate between ST survey 2008 and Census 2011, statutory addition of communities to the ST list and deletion of Communities from the ST list in each district, inability of ST survey to cover a portion of malayaraya and kanikkar families in southern districts of Kerala etc, a district wise analysis aimed at unveiling the likely reasons for the shortfalls in the data sources is given below.

Table 2

District -wise distribution of ST Population in 2008 (ST Survey 2008) versus ST Population during Census 2001 & 2011									
Name of district	ST Popln**- Census 2001	per cent of ST Popln - Census 2001	ST Popln- Survey 2008	per cent of ST Popln -Survey 2008	ST Popln growth during 2001-2008 (per cent)	ST Popln Census 2011	per cent of ST Popln - Census 2011	ST Popln growth during 2008-11	Decadal growth of ST Popln 2001-11
1.Thiruvananthapuram	20893	5.74	16988	3.99	<u>-18.69</u>	26759	5.52	57.52	28.08
2.Kollam	5190	1.43	4484	1.05	<u>-13.60</u>	10761	2.22	139.99	107.34
3.Pathanamthitta	6549	1.80	5970	1.40	<u>-8.84</u>	8108	1.67	35.81	23.81
4.Alappuzha	3131	0.86	2983	0.70	<u>-4.73</u>	6574	1.36	120.38	109.96
5.Kottayam	18340	5.04	16588	3.89	<u>-9.55</u>	21972	4.53	32.46	19.80
6.Idukky	50973	14.00	52565	12.33	3.12	55815	11.51	6.18	9.50
7.Ernakulam	10046	2.76	8757	2.05	<u>-12.83</u>	16559	3.42	89.09	64.83
8.Trissur	4826	1.33	5498	1.29	13.92	9430	1.94	71.52	95.40
9.Palakkad	39665	10.89	46658	10.95	17.63	48972	10.10	4.96	23.46
10.Malappuram	12267	3.37	14391	3.38	17.31	22990	4.74	59.75	87.41
11.Kozhikode	5940	1.63	10508	2.47	76.90	15228	3.14	44.92	156.36
12.Wayanad	136062	37.36	152808	35.85	12.31	151443	31.24	<u>-0.89</u>	11.30
13.Kannoor	19969	5.48	37642	8.83	88.50	41371	8.53	9.91	107.18
14.Kasaragod	30338	8.33	47603	11.17	56.91	48857	10.08	2.63	61.04
Others	0		2765	0.65	0.00	0		0	
TOTAL	364189	100.00	426208	100.00	17.03	484839	100.00	13.76	33.13

**** Popln=Population**

1) Thiruvananthapuram

As per the ST Survey Report 2008, 99 per cent of the ST families and 97.62 per cent of the tribal population in Thiruvananthapuram belong to the community – kanikkar. The remaining few families are from the communities viz. malayarayan, malavedan, mannan, irular and ulladan. After 2001, no community was added to or deleted from the list of tribal communities in Thiruvananthapuram district.

ST population in the district during Census 2001 was 20893. During the ST survey 2008, the ST population decreased to 16998, thereby showing a rate of decrease of (-) 18.69 per cent (negative growth) from 2001 to 2008. Whereas the ST population shows a growth rate of 57.52 per cent in three years from 2008, when we compare ST data 2008 with ST population during Census 2011 (26759). The decadal growth rate of ST population in Thiruvananthapuram during 2001-2011 being 28.08 per cent, the high growth rate of 57.52 per cent during 2008-11 as against the negative growth of (-) 18.69 per cent in 2001-08 clearly infer that large scale non coverage of families is the major reason for the failure of ST Survey 2008 in the district. The District ST Survey Report 2008 on Thiruvananthapuram has stated this drawback clearly. It says that 40.79 per cent of the ST population (9770 persons) could not be covered in the Survey due to the non-co-operation of these people (all belong to kanikkar community) at the time of survey. The decadal growth rate of 28.08 per cent itself being slightly high, there exists a small chance for the inclusion of fraudulent non-ST families claiming kanikkar status in the Census data 2011.

2) Kollam

According to the ST Survey Report 2008 for Kollam District, kanikkar, malaipandaram, malavedan, malayaraya and ulladan are the 5 tribal communities seen in Kollam district. Kanikkar (52.7 per cent) followed by malaipandaram (22.65 per cent) and malavedan (16.38 per cent) are the prominent communities. ulladan (4.85 per cent) and malayaraya (3.42 per cent) are minority communities in the district. No addition or deletion done after 2001 as far as tribal community list in Kollam district is concerned.

ST population in Kollam district during Census 2001 was 5190. This decreased to 4484 during ST survey 2008 (by 13.60 per cent). Interestingly the ST population increased quickly from 4484 in 2008 to 10761 during Census 2011 (139.99 per cent). It is unbelievable to note that the ST population doubled in Kollam district in the decade 2001-11 with a growth rate of 107.34 per cent (from 5190 to 10761). In this case it is highly doubtful if the Census figures have gone wrong by including non tribal families who claimed ST status by themselves (illicit ST claimants) during the enumeration process of Census 2011. Although the ST survey report does not mention anything about non coverage of ST families in Kollam district, it is quite natural to presume that a portion of the kanikkar and malayaraya families in Kollam also have avoided the survey 2008, whereas they all might have co-operated in Census 2011. Since the ST Survey Report as well as Census is silent about the deficiency, a detailed study only can reveal the exact reasons for this grave mistake in the district.

3) Pathanamthitta

The Survey Report 2008 for Pathanamthitta states that there are 7 ST communities in the district. Among them, ulladan(35.82 per cent),malavedar(33.88 per cent), malayarayar(15.02 per cent) and malapandaram(8.68 per cent) are the major communities. The other three minor communities are kanikkar,malayan and mudugan. The ST survey Report also declares that the survey team has excluded all illicit tribal claimants (non-tribal families) while they carried out the survey in Pathanamthitta district. There was no addition to or deletion from the approved ST list of Pathanamthitta District after 2001.

The ST population in Pathanathitta during Census 2001 was 6549. This decreased to 5970 in the ST Survey 2008, by showing a declination rate of (-) 8.84 per cent in seven years. This is justifiable to some extent in the light of the exclusion of illicit ST claimants who would have been in the Census population 2001. However, it is doubtful whether it is possible for such huge number of persons (579 persons) to enter the census population 2001. During Census 2011 the ST population was 8108 in Pathanamthitta as against the ST Survey population of 5970 in 2008. The three year ST population growth rate of 35.81 per cent between ST Survey 2008 and Census 2011 is impractical. The reason for this is clear- the Census authorities might not have excluded the illicit claimants during Census 2011. Here the lapse is on the part of the ST Development Department/KIRTADS – they would have intimated the list of deleted illicit claimants to Census of India through the Revenue Authorities of the State. The decadal growth rate (23.81 Per cent) of ST population 2001-11 shown by Census itself is not fully acceptable, as it may contain the usurper non-tribal persons to a certain extent. This aspect needs careful examination in the context of the fact that the Pathanamthitta district witnessed negative decennial growth of (-) 3.12 per cent in general population, including tribal, during the decade 2001-11.

4) Alappuzha

Ulladan, kurumar, malayarayar,malaivedan and vettakuruman are the 5 ST communities seen in Alappuzha district. Among them 98.5 per cent families belongs to ulladan. The other 4 communities altogether constitute only 13 families. It is stated in the Report of the ST survey 2008 for Pathanamthitta that Kondareddy community was excluded from the tribal list during 2003. Moreover, a group of non tribal families who claimed ST community status of Malayaraya and kattunaikan were also omitted while the ST survey was carried out in 2008.

It is seen that the ST population of Alappuzha has decreased to 2983 in 2008 from 3131 during 2001. Even though this decline in population can be attributed to the omission of the communities mentioned above, there is no justification in the fact that the ST population during Census 2011 increased by 120.38 per cent from 2008. Likewise, we cannot assign any reason for the doubling of ST population in the decade 2001-11 in Alappuzha. It increased from 3131 in 2001 to 6574 in 2011(decennial growth of 106.96 per cent). In this case we can suspect that the Census 2011 might have covered a sizable group of illicit ST claimants also. A detailed study of the problem only can reveal the real facts/ reasons behind the shortfall.

5) Kottayam

Malayarayan, ulladan, malavedan and malaipandaram are the four ST communities seen in Kottayam District. Malayaraya forms the major group (50 per cent). The District ST Survey Report 2008 says that nearly 50 per cent of the Malayaraya families evaded the survey. The uncovered families belong to the malayaraya community seen in the grama panchayats of melukavu, moonnilavu, Poonjar thekkekara and Thalanadu in Erattupetta Block panchayat; Koruthodu, Erumeli, Koottikkal and Mundakkayam grama Panchayats of Kanjirappally Block Panchayat.

As per the State Level ST Survey Report 2008, the ST population in Kottayam District is shown as 16588. Whereas it is given as 11500 in the District Level Report. It is seen that the ST population in Kottayam has decreased to 16588 in 2008 from 18340 in 2001 (declination rate of (-) 9.55. This rate is justifiable on account of the missing of malayaraya families in the survey. The ST population growth rate of 32.46 per cent in 2008-2011 and the decadal growth rate of 19.80 per cent for 2001-2011 clearly indicate that the main shortfall of the ST survey in 2008 is missing of malayaraya families as mentioned in the District Report of ST Survey 2008.

6) Idukky

Muthuvan, mannan, malayarayar, urali, hill pulaya, ulladan and paliya are the aboriginal ST communities of Idukky district. Among them muthuvan forms majority. Irular, kanikar, kattunaikan, malampandaram, malavedan and malayan are migrant communities and their population is small. After 2001, no new community was added to the ST list and no deletion done from the ST list in Idukky.

Census population of STs during 2001 was 50973 in Idukky district. During ST survey 2008 the ST population increased to 52565, showing a marginal unrealistic growth of 3.12 per cent (growth in 7 years) from 2008. Whereas during 2008-11, the ST population shows an increase of 6.18 per cent (growth in 3 years) in contradiction with the growth seen for 7 years. But the ST population of 55815 during Census 2011 is more or less realistic as it gives a decadal growth rate of 9.5 per cent from 2001.

As far as Idukky district is concerned, it is quite easy to establish that there exist no drawbacks in the Census figures of ST population during 2001 and 2011. As it is clearly mentioned in the District ST Survey Report 2008 of Idukky district that the ST Survey could not cover the ST families in 18 Grama Panchayats in the jurisdiction of 6 ST dominated Block Panchayats (altogether 5023 families missed—mostly from malayaraya community), the low growth rate of 3.12 per cent in 7 years from 2001 and the three year growth rate of 6.18 per cent from 2008 are admissible to a certain extent. It is unambiguous to state that the decennial growth rate of ST population (9.5 per cent) from 2001 to 2011 is more or less real as it is not much significantly different from the negative decadal growth of general population (-)1.92 per cent in Idukky during 2001-11. While we see that the general population including ST population witnessed negative growth in the decade 2001-11, it is true that this rate has natural relationship with the ST decennial rate. Thus an empirical analysis of the ST survey 2008 and Census data in Idukky would definitely reveal that non-coverage of nearly 33 per cent of the ST families in Idukky is the only discernible drawback of the ST survey 2008 in the district. But this lapse is grave as any of the Grama Panchayats or

the Block Panchayats, where such large scale missing of families occurred, cannot use the ST survey data 2008 for their plan and project preparation with confidence.

7) Ernakulam

Ernakulam district has a prominent role in ST development after 1997, during which the ST dominated Panchayat, Kuttampuzha was added to Ernakulam district from Idukky. Ulladan, muthuvan, malayan and mannan are the indigenous ST people of Ernakulam. Ulladan families constitute nearly 50 per cent of the ST population in the District. Ulladan-muthuvan-malayarayar-malayan-mannan is the order of these communities according to their quantum of population. Malayan, mannan and muthuvan have their settlements within deep forest. As per the district ST survey report 2008, a portion of malayaraya community eluded the survey. The report also states that the survey team has excluded all illicit tribal community claimants from the survey.

The ST population in the district has decreased to 8757 during 2008 from 10046 in 2001, registering a negative growth of (-) 12.83 per cent. As stated above, the reason for the declination is non-coverage of malayaraya families and exclusion of illicit ST claimers. It is not clear if the list of omitted usurper families was forwarded to the Census Authorities by the ST Development Department.

During Census 2011 the decadal growth rate of general population including STs was only 5.6 per cent. Whereas the ST population shows a decennial growth rate of 64.83 per cent from 2001. The ST population during Census 2011 rose to 16559. This impractical growth is unjustifiable; we can legitimately suspect the presence of illicit tribal claimants in the ST population in Ernakulam district furnished by Census 2011. Detailed field studies only reveal the truth.

8) Trissur

Malayan, kadar, ulladan, muthuvan, mannan, malayarayar and malavedan are the 7 tribal communities seen in Trissur district. Among them malayan forms the majority (51.92 per cent). Malayan, kadar and ulladan are indigenous people.

Kadar community is one among the 5 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) seen in Kerala. 59 per cent of the kadar tribals of the State are seen in Trissur district.

After 2001 no new community was added to the existing ST list or no community was deleted from the list as far as Trissur District is concerned.

It is seen that the ST population in Trissur has grown from 4826 in 2001 to 5498 in 2008, registering a growth rate of 13.92 per cent in 7 years. As the general population growth rate of Trissur during the decade 2001-11 is 4.58 per cent, the above ST rate of 13.92 per cent is not significantly much different from the general growth in the 7 year span.

Whereas, the ST growth rate of 71.52 per cent seen in the three year period from 2008 to 2011 is quite abnormal. It is unbelievable to see that the ST population rose to 9430 in 2011 from 5498 in 2008. Moreover, the decadal growth rate of 95.40 per cent (ST population almost doubled without assigning any

reason) also is incredible. Here also there exist chances that the Census 2011 might have included a lot of illicit ST community claimers during the enumeration process in Trissur district, unknowingly.

9) Palakkad

Palakkad district is the third most populous tribal district in the State. But it stands first in the State so far as the ever increasing incidence of tribal problems are concerned. The 6 communities irular, mudugar, iravalan, malasar, malayan and paniyan together constitute 90.74 per cent of the ST population in the district. Kurumbas, kadar and kattunaikan are the 3 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTGs) and they form 8.1 per cent of the ST population in the district. Malavedan, kuruman, malayaraya, mahamalar and muthuvan are the 5 minority communities forming only 1.16 per cent.

Even if the irulas form 56.47 per cent of the ST population in the district their socio economic condition is relatively poor when compared with other communities. The case of the PVTGs is also similar to that of the irulas. The ST population proportions of other prominent communities in the district are - mudugas(9.92 per cent), iravalan(9.39 per cent), malasar(8.95 per cent), malayan(4.32 per cent), paniyan(1.56 per cent), kurumba(4.79 per cent), kadar(1.63 per cent), and kattunaikan(1.68 per cent).

Nearly 90 per cent of the ST population of Palakkad is seen in the 4 Block Panchayat areas of Attapady, Chittoor, Kollengode and Mannarghat. It is important to note that 65 per cent of the District ST population is distributed over the 3 Grama Panchayats Agali, Puthoor and sholayur in Attapady block.

It has been stated in the ST Survey Report 2008 of Palakkad district that due to the inclusion of malayan community as ST in Malabar also the ST Survey has included 2029 persons of this community in the survey. During 2001 census, only 119 Kattunaikan could be included, whereas the ST survey 2008 could enlist and include all the 787 Kattunaikans in Palakkad district. The malasar community seen in different names was named as malasar. Accordingly, the survey could find 4201 persons belonging to malasar community during 2008.

As advised by KIRTADS, the ST survey 2008 has excluded 345 ST persons in Palakkad who were in the Census data 2001 with the community name "malaipandaram". But the Census 2011 could not exclude these 345 ST persons because of the non-receipt of this information from the ST Development Department / KIRTADS / Revenue Authorities.

During Census 2001, the ST population in Palakkad district was 39665. It increased to 46658 during the ST Survey 2008, showing 17.63 per cent increase in 7 years. This growth rate can be justified in the light of the inclusion and omission of communities/families during the period.

The decadal growth rate of ST population during 2001-11 is 23.46 per cent, which appears normal while we consider the inclusion of malayan and malasar communities as stated above, barring the inability of Census 2011 in excluding 345 families who made illicit claim of malaipandaram status in Palakkad District. Moreover, in the context of the decennial growth rate of 7.39 per cent for general population, including ST population, during 2001-11, it is clear that the deviation of the tribal decennial growth rate

from the general growth is not highly significant compared with the unbelievable tribal decennial growth rates in the districts like Kollam, Alappuzha, Ernakulam, Trissur etc. Hence the census 2011 figure of 48972 ST persons in Palakkad is more or less acceptable.

10) Malappuram

As stated in the district ST Survey Report 2008 of Malappuram, the ranking of the ST communities in the district according to their population is : paniyan (51.86 per cent), muthuvan (19.73 per cent), kattunaikan (14.03 per cent), kurumar (2.21 per cent), cholanaikan (2.84 per cent). Only one family each was found from the communities – irula, malayaraya, ulladan and karimpalan.

Till 2003, the cholanaikan was enumerated as a sub-community of kattunaikan. Hence the Census 2001 did not have the name 'cholanaikan' in the ST List. But after the amendment in 2002 Cholanaikan has been added to the main ST list during 2003.

The community 'malapanikar' was added to the ST list of Malappuram during 2003, (982 persons). Besides them, 487 kattunaikans who could not be found during Census 2001 were included in the ST Survey 2008.

According to Census 2001, the ST population of Malappuram was 12267. It rose to 14391 during 2008, showing a 7 year growth rate of 17.31 per cent. This rate is acceptable considering the addition of communities mentioned above.

In contradiction to this, the Census 2011 shows a totally unacceptable ST population of 22990, registering a decadal growth of 87.41 per cent from 2001 and a 3 year growth rate of 59.75 per cent from 2008 to 2011. Here also we can suspect the inclusion of illicit ST claimants during Census 2011. An in-depth study only can reveal actual reasons for the abnormal growth.

11) Kozhikode

There are 13 ST communities in Kozhikode district now – adiyar, kadar, kanikar, kattunaikan, kurichian, kuruman, malayarayar, muthuvan, paniyan, ulladan, thatchanadan, Karimpalan and vettakuruman. kattunaikan, kadar, kurichian, muthuvan, paniyan and karimpalan are indigenous people. Others are migrants from other districts.

Karimpalan (44.74 per cent), paniyan (26.88 per cent), kurichian (14.84 per cent), muthuvan (10.97 per cent) are the major ST communities. Kadar seen in Kozhikode and Wayanad are not Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG).

The karimpalan community with 1199 families and 4581 persons were added to the ST list during 2003. The ST Survey Report 2008 for Kozhikode claims that 732 persons who were included in Census 2001 by mistake were excluded from the survey 2008.

Koduvaly (22.01 per cent), chelannur (17.57 per cent), Balussery (17.31 per cent), Kunnamanglam (15.48 per cent), Thaneri (15.45 per cent), Perambra (6.16 per cent), Kunnummal (5.31 per

cent) are the 7 Block Panchayats with ST concentration in Kozhikode. Among the Grama Panchayats, Chelannur stands in the first position, covering 12.35 per cent of the ST population in Kozhikode district.

Vide Census 2001, the ST population in Kozhikode was 5940 only. But during ST Survey 2008, it increased to 10508, with a 7 year population growth rate of 76.90 per cent. The growth rate is quite admissible in the light of the inclusion of Karimpalan community in the ST list.

Whereas the Census 2011 gives a totally unacceptable figure of 15228 ST persons. The corresponding 3 year growth rate of 44.92 per cent from 2008 to 2011 and the decennial growth rate of 156.36 per cent are miraculous. As in the case of Malappuram, we can suspect the presence of usurper families with illicit ST claims. A detailed study can only reveal the actual situation.

12) Wayanad

Nearly 33 per cent of the ST population of the State is in Wayanad. There are 11 ST communities in the district. Paniayn(45.12 per cent), kurichian(16.49 per cent), kuruman/mullukumman(13.7 per cent), adiyar(7.31 per cent), vettakuruman(4.23 per cent), Kattunaikan(11.13 per cent) are the major communities. Wayanadan kadar, malayaraya, karimpalan, ulladan and thatchanadan moopan are minority ST communities in Wayanad. As per ST Survey 2008, the distribution of ST population in the 4 Block Panchayat areas of Wayanad is – Manathavady(29.46 per cent), Sulthan Batheri(25.09 per cent), Kalpetta(19.07 per cent), Panamaram(24.20 per cent). The Municipal area of Kalpetta contains 1.93 per cent tribals.

Wayanadan kadar(174 families), Karimpalan(39 families) and thatchanadan mooppan(390 families) were included in the ST list of Wayanad during 2003.

The ST population in Wayanad during Census 2001 was 136062. It increased to 152808 in 2008 showing 12.31 per cent growth rate in seven years. Considering the fact that the newly added communities altogether have only a population of 2100, the growth rate seen during 2001-08 is not too low. Whereas the growth rate turns negative (declination) by (-) 0.89 per cent during 2008-11, showing the decrease of ST population to 151443 in Census 2011 from 152808 during ST Survey 2008. However, the decadal ST population growth rate of 11.3 per cent during 2001-11 is justifiable to a great extent, while we see the decennial growth of 4.60 per cent in respect of the general population (including STs) in Wayanad during 2001-11. Even then, as the ST population shown a decrease of 1365 persons from 2008 to 2011, we have to examine if a certain group of ST families was left uncovered during Census 2011, through studies in the area.

13) Kannur

Paniyan (33.24 per cent), karimpalan(26.56 per cent), mavilan(12.21 per cent), kurichiyan(23.96 per cent), malavettuvan(3.61 per cent) are the major tribal communities of Kannur. Kanikkar, muduga and the other marginal communities constitute only less than 0.50 per cent of the ST population of Kannur. Peravoor(28.28 per cent of district ST population), Thaliparamba(20.05 per cent), Iritty(19.32 per cent),

Irikkur(17.16 per cent), Koothuparampa(7.89 per cent), Payyannur(6.2 per cent) are the five ST dominated Block Panchayats of Kannur district.

As per the ST survey Report 2008 of Kannur district, the mavilan and karimpalan communities seen in Kannur and Kozhikode were included in the ST list of Kerala during 2003. These two communities together had a population of 14643 persons in 2008. Malavettuvan community, which was in the OEC list of STs, was also included in the main list of STs during 2003.

The ST population of Kannur during Census 2001 was 19969. This increased to 37642 during ST Survey 2008, showing a population growth rate of 88.50 per cent in seven years. This growth rate is genuine in the context of inclusion of 3 ST communities in the ST list after 2001. The ST Survey Report 2008 says that the actual growth rate would have been only 13.92 per cent during 2001-2008 unless there was addition of ST families in the district.

During Census 2011 the ST population was 41371 in the district. The decadal growth rate of ST population (107.18 per cent) from 2001 to 2011 is acceptable to a great extent, considering the facts stated above. However, as the ST population shows a slightly higher rate of 9.91 per cent from 2008 to 2011, compared to the seven year growth rate of 13.92 per cent and the decadal growth rate of general population (4.84 per cent) in the district from 2001 to 2011, there exists a small chance of including illicit ST claimants in the Census 2011 data. This can be confirmed only through research studies in the area.

14) Kasaragod

Mavilan, malavettuvan, koraga, kudia/melaykudi, malaiarayan, and ulladan are the 6 ST communities seen in Kasaragod now. Among them Koraga, kudia/melaykudi, malavettuvan and mavilan are indigenous to Kasargod district.

According to the ST Survey Report 2008, 61.77 per cent ST families of Kasaragod district are seen in Parappa Block Panchayat area, followed by Karadukka(19.22 per cent) and Kanjangad (11.46 per cent) Block Panchayats. Manjeswaram(3.81 per cent), Nileswaram(1.06 per cent) and Kanjangad municipality(1.26 per cent) have only sparse presence of ST population. Among the Grama Panchayats, Kodambelur Grama Panchayat in Parappa Block Panchayat area stands first with an ST population content of 13.57 per cent of the district during 2008. This is 21.76 per cent of Parappa Block.

During 2003, 26554 persons belonging to mavilan community were added to the ST list in Kasaragod. Besides them, the families of malavettuvan, who were in the OEC list of STs, were also added to the ST list during 2003(18364 persons).

The marati community, which was in the ST list during Census 2001, was excluded from the list during 2003 (27824 persons). But this community has been included the ST list again during 2013.

The ST Survey Report 2008 says that the ST Survey could not find 298 persons belonging to adiyar community and 448 persons belonging to kattunaikans, who were seen in the Census 2001 data. Whereas, the koraga population seen increased to 1644 in 2008 from 1152 in 2001 and the kudia/melaykudi population increased to 911 from 447 in the same period. In the view of this, there exists a chance that a

portion of the koraga and kudiya/melaykudi population would have been listed as adiyar and kattunayakan during Census 2001. This can be confirmed only through in-depth field studies.

During the Census 2001, there were 30338 ST persons in Kasaragod district. This increased to 47603 during 2008 with a population growth of 56.91 per cent in 7 years. The growth is almost real due to the net addition of 17094 families as stated above.

It is worthwhile noticing that the 3 year growth rate of ST population in Kasaragod from 2008 being 2.63 per cent, the real decennial growth of the ST population in the district can be estimated as 13.15 per cent, although the decennial growth seen now in the decade 2001-11 is 61.04 per cent due to inclusion of new ST communities in the list. The decennial growth rate of general population in Kasaragod during 2001-11 being 8.18 per cent, the estimated real decadal ST population rate of 13.15 per cent is highly correlated with the general rate. In the light of these findings, we can conclude that the ST data in Kasaragod district, both ST Survey Data 2008 and Census data 2001 & 2011 are acceptable, barring a few shortcomings.

5. Summary of Findings

- 1) The growth rate of ST population in Kerala during the 7 year period 2001-2008 offered by Census 2001(364189 STs) and ST Survey 2008 (426208 STs) is 17.03 per cent. This rate is not realistic, though it appears as real, because this growth rate contains the combined effect of non-coverage of ST communities in South Kerala during ST Survey 2008 and inclusion of ST communities during 2003 in some districts (statutory inclusion), mainly northern Kerala. While statutory inclusion is justifiable and acceptable, omission of ST families due to non-coverage cannot be justified.
- 2) The ST population during ST Survey 2008 being 426208, the ST population obtained through Census 2011 (484839 persons) naturally gives a growth rate of 13.76 per cent in 3 years from 2008. As no new community has been added to the ST list during 2008-2011, this high growth rate is impractical. If this rate is true the decadal growth of ST population during 2001-11 must be 45.87 per cent, which will never happen even if all the estimated (45866 persons) ST families who kept aloof from ST survey 2008 also have been covered in the Census 2011. The reason for this volatile growth may be due to the listing of illicit ST claiming families during the enumeration process of Census 2011. The Census Authorities 2011 might not have verified the community status of families while they noted the name of the community in the census schedule.
- 3) As happened in the case of the ST population growth during 2001-08, the decennial growth rate of ST population during Census 2001-11 (33.13 per cent) also is inadmissible, considering the omission and commission of ST families in the decade and due to the statutory inclusion of ST families in the list during 2003. The decennial growth rate of general population in Kerala during 2001-11 being 4.92 per cent only, the ST decennial growth of 33.13 per cent in the same period is

not at all acceptable, as the ST rate cannot deviate from the general trend of population growth, beyond a certain limit. Since the net addition of ST persons to the ST list during 2003 was 39317 only, the decennial growth rate of ST population 2001-11 cannot be more than 23 per cent (10 per cent more than the rate of past decade) The above facts lead us to conclude that both sources – Census data 2011 on STs and ST Survey data 2008 have several inadequacies and are not comparable.

- 4) The gravity of drawbacks/source-wise deviation of both Census 2011 data on STs and ST Survey data 2008 is fully revealed only when we attempt a district wise analysis of these two sources. It is seen that lack of coverage of targeted ST families, purposeful omission of ineligible families during ST survey 2008, statutory inclusion of several communities in the ST list during 2003, unreasonable and impractical tribal population growth during the decade 2001-11 and during 2008-11(the presence of illicit ST claiming families, especially during Census 2011, can be suspected) are the major reasons for the shortfalls and source wise unacceptable variation. Accordingly a grouping of the districts in Kerala on the basis of these reasons is given below.

(a) Non coverage of ST Families in ST Survey 2008:-

In Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, kottayam, idukky and Ernakulam a portion of the communities viz. malayaraya and kanikkar purposefully avoided the survey for fear of the false notion that the findings of the survey may be used in curtailing their existing benefits. Here the survey team, ST Development Department in particular failed to take the families into confidence (non-coverage of around 10 per cent of the ST families in the State).

(b) Statutory Omission of Ineligible Communities in ST Survey 2008:-

Although this action by the ST survey 2008 team was to ensure the quality of data being collected by eliminating the infiltration of others to the ST list, it naturally brought in large scale deviation of ST survey 2008 with Census 2001. As this was not properly communicated to Census Authorities immediately, Census Authorities could not incorporate the changes to the full extent during Census 2011. Pathanamthitta, Alappuzha(kondareddy community omitted in Alappuzha), Ernakulam, Palakkad(malaipandaram omitted by ST survey, but the Census could not omit them in Palakkad), Kozhikode, and Kasargod(marati community of kasaragod omitted in 2003)are the districts where ineligible families were omitted from the ST list while ST survey was launched in 2008.

(c) Statutory Inclusion of ST families in 2003:-

As per the Constitutional Amendment in 2002, 5 major communities and a few other communities in the OEC list were added to the ST list of Kerala during 2003. The districts where the addition was done were:- Palakkad(malayan, malasar), Malappuram(cholanaikan and malapanickar),Kozhikode(karimpalan),Wayanad(wayanadankadar, Thatchanadam mooppan, karimpalan), Kannur(mavilan, karimpalan and malavettuvan) and Kasaragod – mavilan, malavettavan(OEC-added)

(d) Unreasonable Tribal Decennial Growth Rates during 2001-2011 and in the Period 2008-2011:-

In majority of the districts(except four) the Census decadal growth rate of ST population and the ST population growth rate between ST survey 2008 and Census 2011 show highly significant deviation. Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Pathanamthitta, Alappuzha, Ernakulam, Trissur, Palakkad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Kannur(only marginally) are the districts where this shortfall is seen.

- 5) There exists lack of co-ordination between the organizers of ST Survey 2008 and Census 2011. Census authorities have not been fully intimated about the inclusion of ST families in the ST list during 2003 and also regarding the exclusion of certain groups of families, who claimed illicit ST community status, while ST survey was carried out in 2008. Owing to this lapse, the Census enumerators noted the community status without any ID verification. This naturally would have paved way for false ST community claimants for being listed in the Census 2011 records. The reason for the high unexplained decadal growth rates of ST population in the 9 districts of Kerala during 2001-11 may be due to the presence of fraudulent non-ST families.

6. Suggestions for Improving the Scenario

- 1) Due to the shortfalls of omission and commission found in both ST Survey 2008 and Census 2011, these two sources of ST data cannot be used with high confidence particularly at micro levels for the formulation of Tribal Sub Plan(TSP) under decentralized planning. Hence the Grama Panchayats and Urban Bodies may be directed to procure the softcopy/hardcopy of the ST Survey Report 2008 from the ST Development Department and update/correct the existing tribal data related to them, utilizing the services of kudumbasree SHGs/ saksharatha preraks/ tribal promoters/anganwadi workers. Thereafter updating may be done every year till a new source of ST Survey Report is available.
- 2) The Local Governments concerned with tribal development may also be given permission to carry out fresh ST surveys in their jurisdiction, analyse and prepare ST Survey Reports of their own sufficiently in advance, utilising the services of the Economics & Statistics Department so that the results can be used for the formulation of TSP projects from the first year Annual Plan itself of a Five Year Plan. It is a mandatory duty of District Statistical Officer to provide the needy database for the preparation of plan & projects of Local Governments in the district. This exercise may be done under the supervision of the DPCs in each district. The same survey schedule used for ST Survey 2008 may be utilized for the proposed fresh tribal survey by LGs (Grama Panchayat & Urban Bodies). This survey may be made mandatory once in five years, before the preparation of Five Year Plans by Local Governments.

- 3) When the Local Governments try to undertake ST Surveys, they naturally show a tendency to inflate the number of ST families with the intention of getting more TSP funds on the basis of ST population. This is true in the light of the findings of the “Study on Tribal Development in Kuttichal Panchayat” undertaken during 2013. (ST population in Kuttichal as per ST Survey 2008 was 1205, whereas the Census 2011 shown a population content of 1477 in Kuttichal. The Kuttichal Panchayat themselves estimated the ST Survey population as 1810 in 2011 for the preparation of their 12th FYP and Annual plan 2013). When the District Economics & Statistics Officer supervises the data collection, under the guidance of DPC, similar mistakes of omission and commission, inflating tendency etc. can be avoided.
- 4) KIRTADS, the Tribal Research Institute, is the ultimate authority in Kerala to confirm the community status of any community while they claim ST status. Similarly they are well aware of the areas and families that were omitted while the ST Survey was conducted in 2008. In the light of this, all LGs attempting ST Survey may seek the advice of KIRTADS prior to actual launching of the surveys. This will help them to elude the entry of non-tribal usurpers in the survey.
- 5) After completing the ST Survey in Grama Panchayats and Urban Bodies, it is quite possible to generate block-wise, District-wise and State-wise results and reports. The cost of the survey would be much low when compared with the expenditure of ST Survey 2008, which was a state wide endeavour. The ST Development Department and their District Officers may also be involved in the proposed survey by LGs. In case the tribal promoters are utilised as investigators, they should be given needy training before the survey. In spite of the presence of large number of tribal promoters in the State, they failed to motivate the malayaraya, kanikar and other families in co-operating with the ST Survey 2008.
- 6) ST families should be apprised of the fact that statistical surveys undertaken among them are not supposed to cut short the benefits being received by them. The ST promoter is liable to propagate this message among the ST families. As he failed to do this, the ST Survey 2008 could not include nearly 10 per cent of the ST families of the State (from Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Kottayam, Idukky and Ernakulam districts). As a first step, the Oorukkootams & Forest Right Committees should be given orientation training so that these two bodies can also canvass the families easily for involvement in the survey.
- 7) Like the Census, which is being done once in every ten years, the State Level ST Survey also may be carried out by the ST Development Department once in ten years, preferably in the same Census year, so that it becomes comparable with Census data (*next Census due in 2021*). Since the State Level ST Survey covers all sectors related to the holistic development of STs, it has to be repeated once in ten years covering the entire tribal population in the State. The proposed ST survey data being generated by local governments once in five years, the State Level survey data being generated by ST Development Department once in ten years and the Census data (mainly demographic particulars of tribals and their basic amenities) will naturally generate a time series data for future ST development. The Economics & Statistics Department may be given more role

in the State Level ST Survey. ST Development Department may ensure administrative and field level support and advice. KIRTADS's involvement is inevitable for avoiding the errors of commission and omission. The technical collaboration and policy advice of State Planning Board and the involvement of Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA) to be ensured as done during the last ST Survey 2008.

- 8) The KIRTADS may carry out object oriented studies in all the problem districts, aimed at revealing the real reason for the unfeasible decadal growth rate of ST population. They only can investigate, analyse and prove the presence of infiltrated non ST families usurping the benefits of ST families.
- 9) The Census Authorities should record the ST community status of a family in the census schedule only on production of a valid ID proof by the family (eg: community certificate issued by the Revenue Authorities, page of the SSC/SSLC book depicting the community of the family member/head of household etc). In case the ST claiming family is not in a position to produce an ID proof, the community status can be verified and confirmed by interrogating the neighbour households, if the location of the household is a rural area. In the urban areas, however, there are practical difficulties in ascertaining the community status. The ST Development Department also may follow the same procedure while the State Level ST Survey is executed (as the ST survey 2008 was carried out ensuring a participatory process, the chance for fraudulent ST families in the ST data generated is negligible)
- 10) KIRTADS should report the addition and deletion of ST communities to Census Authorities, Revenue Department, Department of Economics and Statistics, State Planning Board, Local Government Department, Local Governments with ST population, ST Development Department etc. as soon as the Government of India issues orders in this regard.

Annexure

List of ST communities included / excluded from the ST list of Kerala by Government of India, Ministry of Tribal affairs, New Delhi, consequent on the Constitutional Amendment during 2002 (Act No.10 of 2003)

Excluded in 2003(after Census 2001)	Included in 2003(after Census 2001)
1) <i>Konda Reddy</i> (Alappuzha District)	1) <i>Malayan</i> of Malabar Region (Palakkad District)
2) <i>Malai Pandaram</i> of Palakkad District	2) <i>Konda Malasar</i> of Palakkad included in the list of <i>Malasar</i>
3) <i>Marati</i> of Kasaragod District@@	3) <i>Malapanikar</i> of Malappuram District
	4) <i>Cholanaikan</i> of Malappuram
	5) <i>Karimpalan</i> of Kozhikode
	6) <i>Karimpalan</i> of Wayanad
	7) <i>Thachanadan Moopan</i> of Wayanad
	8) <i>Thachanadan Moopan</i> of Kozhikode
	9) <i>Wayanadan Kadar</i> of Wayanad
	10) <i>Karimpalan</i> of Kannoor
	11) <i>Mavilan</i> of Kannoor and Kasaragod
	12) <i>Malavettuvan</i> of Kannoor and Kasaragod

@@This community has been included in the ST list again during 2013.

Reference

1. Census Reports from 1951
2. ST Survey 2008 –State Level, District-level and Local Government- wise Reports.
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4. Bench Mark Survey of ST families in Kerala 1982
5. Socio economic Survey of Tribals in kerala 1976-77
6. Annual Reports of Ministry of Tribal affairs, Government of India.

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