

## DEVELOPMENT AND DEPRIVATION IN KERALA: THE NEED FOR INCLUSIVE GROWTH

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### Abstract

India has been one of the fastest growing economies in the world during the past two decades. Amidst this unprecedented rate of economic growth, the incidence of poverty, illiteracy, gender discrimination and social exclusion continue to be widespread and persistent, especially among the Scheduled Tribes. This is largely attributed to lack of education and health and hence lack of capabilities or empowerment of the people. The Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan, Bihar, Odisha and Jharkhand are the most backward tribes in the country compared to other states in India. This paper analyses the development experience of Scheduled Tribes in India in comparison with the general population with special reference to Kerala. The key objective of the study is to make a revisit to the issue of outliers in the Kerala model of development and understand whether the high growth phase of Kerala economy is inclusive in terms of accommodating this outlier community. This study to reexamine the outlier hypothesis draws the data from Census of India for the years 2001 and 2011. The Scheduled Tribes in Kerala falls behind the general population and SC population in all parameters. Scheduled Tribes in Palakkad district is the most deprived tribal community in the state with low levels of educational attainments and experiencing deprivations in most of the basic amenities.

**Keywords:** Deprivation, Literacy, Scheduled Tribes, Years of Schooling, Outlier, total population.

### Introduction

Scheduled Tribes are a marginalized social group whose development has been tardy, in spite of special provisions in the Constitution of India. The key factor which deters Scheduled Tribes from enjoying the fruits of development is the prevalence of high levels of poverty in the country. Unequal access to and unequal distribution of the human capital indices results the existence of vicious circle of hunger. Amartya Sen (2001)<sup>1</sup> says “there are good reasons for seeing poverty as a deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as low income. There is no automatic relationship between economic growth and human content of development (UNDP, 1996). According to World Bank (2005), poverty is pronounced as deprivation in well-being and comprises many dimensions. It includes low incomes and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice and insufficient capacity and opportunity to better one's life.

The technocratic model of economic growth based on ‘trickledown hypothesis’ has proved to be inefficient and inadequate in percolating down the benefits of economic growth and improving the socio-economic well-being of the weaker sections of the society, more particularly, SCs/STs (Biradar, 2012)<sup>2</sup>. The socio economic development achieved in the Indian context is highly skewed, mainly when we study the progress achieved by the Scheduled Tribes. Kerala, which ranks first in

Human Development Index in the country with a score of .779 (2018) comparable to that developed countries in the world, the situation is no different.

It is in this context, an attempt has been made to examine the multiple deprivations prevailing in tribal communities in the country. The key objective of the present study is to know whether the high economic growth and human development, especially that of Kerala, is inclusive in terms of accommodating this outlier community. The study is based on computations from the Census data of 2001 and 2011 to examine the outlier hypothesis in terms of development indicators such as education and living standards.

The paper is divided into two sections. Section I analyses the changes in literacy rate, years of schooling and basic amenities of life over the decade in respect of STs as well as total population among major states in India. Haryana and Punjab are not considered as no community has been specified as Scheduled Tribe in these two states. The second section deals with the development experience of STs as well as total population in different districts of Kerala.

### **Section 1**

According to Census of India 2011, a total of 645 distinct tribal communities have been notified in the list of Scheduled Tribes in India with a total population of 104.28 million, which constitute around 8.6 percent of the total population in the country. Majority of the tribal population is concentrated in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Jharkhand and Gujarat. In certain North Eastern states and Union Territories, majority of the population belongs to the Scheduled Tribes. The decadal growth rate of population among Scheduled Tribes is 23.7 percent during the period 2001-11 as compared to 17.64 percent for the total population. This shows that the rate of growth in tribal population is comparatively higher and hence the issues faced by them needs added attention.

### **Educational Attainments**

The key factor to attain social development is through literacy. UNESCO (1997) defines literacy as an activity embedded in social and cultural practice aimed at bringing social and cultural transformation. Even though the number of educational institutions has increased fivefold during the period from 1951 to 2011, education is still a distant dream for a large number of people in the country, more particularly for the tribal communities.

Table 1: State-wise Literacy Rates of STs and General Population

	Literacy Rate ST 2011			Literacy Rate All 2011			Point Difference Between General and ST Literacy 2011			Point Change Between 2001 and 2011 For ST		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
	INDIA	59.0	68.5	49.4	73.0	80.9	64.6	14.0	12.4	15.3	11.9	9.3
HIMACHAL PRADESH	73.6	83.2	64.2	82.8	89.5	75.9	9.2	6.4	11.7	8.1	5.5	10.9
UTTARAKHAND	73.9	83.6	63.9	78.8	87.4	70.0	4.9	3.8	6.1	10.7	7.2	14.5
RAJASTHAN	52.8	67.6	37.3	66.1	79.2	52.1	13.3	11.6	14.8	8.1	5.5	11.1
UTTAR PRADESH	55.7	67.1	43.7	67.7	77.3	57.2	12.0	10.2	13.5	20.5	18.6	23.0
BIHAR	51.1	61.3	40.4	61.8	71.2	51.5	10.7	9.9	11.1	22.9	21.6	24.8
ASSAM	72.1	79.0	65.1	72.2	77.8	66.3	0.1	-1.1	1.2	9.5	6.6	12.7
WEST BENGAL	57.9	68.2	47.7	76.3	81.7	70.5	18.3	13.5	22.8	14.5	10.8	18.6
JHARKHAND	57.1	68.2	46.2	66.4	76.8	55.4	9.3	8.7	9.2	16.5	14.2	19.0
ODISHA	52.2	63.7	41.2	72.9	81.6	64.0	20.6	17.9	22.8	14.9	12.2	17.8
CHATTISGARH	59.1	69.7	48.8	70.3	80.3	60.2	11.2	10.6	11.5	7.0	4.6	9.4
MADHYA PRADESH	50.6	59.6	41.5	69.3	78.7	59.2	18.8	19.2	17.8	9.4	6.0	13.0
GUJARAT	62.5	71.7	53.2	78.0	85.8	69.7	15.6	14.1	16.5	14.7	12.5	17.1
MAHARASHTRA	65.7	74.3	57.0	82.3	88.4	75.9	16.6	14.1	18.8	10.5	7.3	13.9
ANDHRA PRADESH	49.2	58.3	40.1	67.0	74.9	59.1	17.8	16.5	19.1	12.2	10.7	14.0
KARNATAKA	62.1	71.1	53.0	75.4	82.5	68.1	13.3	11.3	15.1	13.8	11.5	16.4
GOA	79.1	87.2	71.5	88.7	92.6	84.7	9.6	5.5	13.1	23.3	23.7	24.2
KERALA	75.8	80.8	71.1	94.0	96.1	92.1	18.2	15.3	21.0	11.5	10.0	13.0
TAMIL NADU	54.3	61.8	46.8	80.1	86.8	73.4	25.8	25.0	26.6	12.8	11.7	14.0

Coefficient of variation All, 2001 =0.15 Coefficient of variation ST, 2001 =0.27 Coefficient of variation All, 2011 =0.11 Coefficient of variation ST, 2001 =0.18
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Source: Computed from census 2001 and 2011

From Table 1, it is evident that Scheduled Tribes lag behind the general population in literacy. Even after introducing many special programmes for tribal education, the gap in literacy between the Scheduled Tribes and general population is still 14 per cent in 2011. In largely tribal populated states such as Jharkhand, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, the tribal literacy is below the national average of 59 per cent. However, in the case of most of the North Eastern States, tribal literacy rate is higher than the rest of the population and where tribal population constitutes the majority. Tribal literacy is the lowest at 50.6 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, followed by Bihar (51.1 per cent) and Odisha (52.2 per cent). The gap in total literacy and tribal literacy is the highest in Tamil Nadu (25.8 per cent). In states such as Kerala, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal, this gap is in the range of 18 to 20 per cent.

The gap between male and female literacy is not uniform throughout the country. The gap is minimal in Kerala, Mizoram and Goa which serves as a proxy indicator of the status of women in education. The literacy rate of Scheduled tribes in Kerala is 75.8 percent, which is much higher than that of the Scheduled Tribes for the entire country (59 per cent) with a gap of 16.8 per cent. The gap in literacy rate between total population and ST population in the state is even more (18.20 percent). Female literacy is lower than male literacy throughout the country. Whereas the male- female literacy gap in respect of both general population and ST population more or less follow a uniform pattern for the entire country, in Kerala, the gap in male female literacy rate is more than double as between the general population (4) and ST population (9.7). The Coefficient of variation for Scheduled tribes has fallen from 0.27 to 0.18 between 2001-2011 and for general population it has fallen from 0.15 to 0.11, which shows that the inequality between states in terms of literacy is falling and this is a good sign.

Being literate only shows the ability to read and write, it doesnot mean that the person has undergone any formal education. A better way of understanding a person’s level of knowledge is through the average years of schooling the person has undergone. The method used to determine average years of schooling is by taking the educational level up to higher secondary as a proportion to the total population above the age of six years. For considering the average years of schooling, persons with educational level above higher secondary is incorporated into higher secondary category as optimum level of schooling is considered to be 12 years. The formula used to calculate average years of schooling is

$$(P_n \cdot 4 + UP_n \cdot 7 + S_n \cdot 10 + HS_n \cdot 12) / N \quad \text{where}$$

$P_n$  = Number of persons with primary education

$UP_n$  = Number of persons with upper primary education

$S_n$  = Number of persons with secondary education

$N$  = Total Number of persons excluding minors (0-6)

Table 2: State-wise Average Years of Schooling of STs and General Population

	Years Of Schooling ST			Years Of Schooling All			Point Difference Between General and ST Schooling, 2011			Point Change Between 2001 and 2011 for ST		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
INDIA	2.7	3.2	2.1	4.4	5.1	3.7	1.7	1.8	1.6	0.9	0.9	0.9
HIMACHAL PRADESH	4.7	5.5	4.0	5.9	6.5	5.2	1.1	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.6
UTTARAKHAND	4.6	5.4	3.8	5.4	6.1	4.6	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.7	1.6	1.8
RAJASTHAN	2.4	3.3	1.4	3.6	4.6	2.5	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.9
UTTAR PRADESH	2.7	3.4	1.9	4.0	4.8	3.2	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4
BIHAR	2.0	2.7	1.3	3.1	3.9	2.3	1.1	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.7
ASSAM	4.0	4.5	3.5	3.9	4.3	3.5	-0.1	-0.2	0.0	0.9	0.8	1.0
WEST BENGAL	2.2	2.8	1.7	4.1	4.5	3.6	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.0	1.0	1.0
JHARKHAND	2.6	3.3	2.0	3.6	4.4	2.8	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8
ODISHA	2.0	2.6	1.5	4.0	4.6	3.3	1.9	2.0	1.8	0.7	0.7	0.7
CHATTISGARH	2.6	3.3	2.0	3.8	4.5	3.0	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
MADHYA PRADESH	1.8	2.3	1.4	3.7	4.4	2.9	1.9	2.1	1.6	0.8	0.8	0.8
GUJARAT	2.8	3.3	2.3	4.4	5.1	3.7	1.6	1.8	1.4	0.8	0.7	0.8
MAHARASHTRA	2.8	3.4	2.2	5.2	5.9	4.5	2.4	2.5	2.3	0.8	0.7	0.8
ANDHRA PRADESH	2.5	3.2	1.9	4.3	5.0	3.5	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.3	1.4	1.2
KARNATAKA	3.2	3.9	2.6	4.8	5.5	4.2	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.3
GOA	4.5	5.2	3.8	6.2	6.7	5.7	1.7	1.5	1.9	1.4	1.2	1.8
KERALA	3.9	4.1	3.8	6.5	6.7	6.4	2.6	2.6	2.6	1.1	1.1	1.2
TAMIL NADU	2.9	3.4	2.4	5.6	6.2	5.0	2.7	2.8	2.6	1.2	1.3	1.2

Coefficient of variation All, 2001 =0.27

Coefficient of variation ST, 2001 =0.38

Coefficient of variation All, 2011 =0.21

Coefficient of variation ST, 2001 =0.29

Source: Computed from census 2001 and 2011

As revealed from Table 2, an average Indian male is having only 5.1 years of schooling, where as in the case of females, it is only 3.7 years. Only Kerala, Goa and few union territories have average years of schooling more than 6 years. The situation of Scheduled Tribes is worse than the general population. The average years of schooling for tribes is less than 3 years (3.2 years female and 2.1

years for female). In states such as Rajasthan, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh the average years of schooling for female ST population is even less than 2 years.

The major reason for low level of educational attainment among Scheduled Tribes relates to inadequate transport facilities due to remoteness of tribal hamlets. As majority of the Scheduled tribes are living in hilly areas and forests, accessibility to schools is rendered difficult. However, one can notice that average years of schooling have improved around one year for Scheduled Tribes during the period 2001 to 2011. The coefficient of variation has dropped for Scheduled Tribes as well as for the population as a whole, which is an indication that inequality between states is dropping. Poverty, inadequate number of educational institutions in tribal areas, poor enrolment and high dropout ratios are factors which are negatively affecting the tribal education in India.

**Index of Deprivation**

Economic backwardness is a major factor contributing to the sluggishness in educational attainments. Economic backwardness encompasses deprivation of basic human needs which commonly includes food, water, sanitation, shelter, health care and education. A person or a community deprived of these basic requirements cannot have a quality life and will be entrapped into the vicious cycle of poverty. To have a clear understanding about deprivations existing among different categories of population, a deprivation index has been prepared in accordance with the UNDP methodology adopted in the Human Development Report of Kerala(2005). The following four indicators are used for calculating the Index of deprivation.

- a. Deprivation in owning a house (d1) ,measured through percentage of households who do not have own house
- b. Deprivation in access to water (d2), measured through percentage of households whose source of drinking water is away from the habitat. In the case of urban areas, the source of drinking water is considered away if the source is located beyond 100 metres from the premises of the house. In the rural area, source is considered away if the households have to cover a distance of more than 500 metres to fetch the water.
- c. Deprivation in good sanitation (d3), measured through percentage of households who do not have water closet latrine.
- d. Deprivation in electricity as a source of lighting (d4), measured through percentage of households who do not have electricity as a source of lighting.

The calculation of this index is based on the following formula:

$$\text{Index of Deprivation} = [ \frac{1}{4}(d1^\alpha + d2^\alpha + d3^\alpha + d4^\alpha) ]^{1/\alpha}$$

In the above formula, ‘α’ is the weightage. If α=1, the index of deprivation is the average of its indicators. As ‘α’ increases, higher weight is assigned to the indicators in which there is the most deprivation. Like Human Poverty Index, a value of α=3 is chosen for computing the index of deprivation as adopted in Kerala Human Development Report 2005.

Table 3 shows the deprivation index for SCs, STs and total population based on Census 2001 and 2011. The data reveals that in 2011, nearly 37 percent of the total population is deprived of basic amenities whereas in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it is almost 45 percent and 53 percent respectively. This, by itself, shows the wide gap between the general population and the outlier community. In states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Maharashtra there is an increase in the percentage of population who are deprived, whereas states such as Kerala, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand shows considerable improvement in the Index during the decade.

Table 3: Deprivation Index and its Improvement over a Decade

		Index of Deprivation 2001			Index of Deprivation 2011			Percentage Point Change		
		ST	SC	All	ST	SC	All	ST	SC	All

INDIA	68.13	57.24	41.52	53.02	44.77	36.57	15.11	12.48	4.95
HIMACHAL PRADESH	55.28	57.79	41.15	25.01	24.05	20.23	30.27	33.74	20.92
UTTARAKHAND	49.13	53.69	37.75	34.04	35.63	23.27	15.09	18.06	14.48
RAJASTHAN	75.66	59.22	44.99	62.08	49.96	43.64	13.58	9.26	1.35
UTTAR PRADESH	48.84	58.29	47.27	49.88	59.82	49.68	-1.04	-1.53	-2.41
BIHAR	73.72	66.24	59.33	66.94	68.79	61.71	6.78	-2.55	-2.38
ASSAM	63.94	51.31	53.16	55.96	45.57	47.61	7.98	5.74	5.55
WEST BENGAL	72.36	55.50	50.09	57.44	45.15	36.13	14.92	10.35	13.96
JHARKHAND	80.81	66.70	59.68	64.40	59.62	53.17	16.40	7.08	6.51
ODISHA	81.82	69.01	59.48	69.47	61.13	54.86	12.36	7.88	4.61
CHATTISGARH	74.38	67.71	52.29	55.55	51.61	47.75	18.83	16.10	4.54
MADHYA PRADESH	72.07	65.06	47.17	59.62	51.52	46.17	12.45	13.54	1.00
GUJARAT	68.04	46.43	33.49	47.29	27.07	27.07	20.75	19.36	6.43
MAHARASHTRA	58.99	50.20	30.19	46.26	35.59	30.46	12.73	14.61	-0.28
ANDHRA PRADESH	71.30	62.09	43.67	50.63	41.80	32.90	20.67	20.29	10.77
KARNATAKA	62.92	62.33	42.68	44.89	43.05	32.17	18.02	19.28	10.51
GOA	42.17	43.73	25.04	26.24	30.77	16.77	15.94	12.96	8.27
KERALA	49.44	46.84	22.70	28.55	13.58	7.40	20.89	33.26	15.30
TAMIL NADU	59.16	65.09	45.08	41.06	45.37	33.45	18.10	19.72	11.63

Source: Computed from census 2001 and 2011

Even though there is some improvement in Index over the decade, more than one half (53.02 per cent) of the tribal population in the country is deprived of basic amenities. This is more pronounced in states such as Odisha (69.47 per cent), Bihar(66.94 per cent), Jharkhand(64.40 per cent)Rajasthan (62.08 per cent). Among the four parameters of index of deprivation, it may be noted that most of the Scheduled Tribes possess own houses due to government intervention, but it doesn't mean that the house is of good condition. Lack of sanitation facilities and clean drinking water may adversely affect the health of the population and the tribes are likely to be exposed to many waterborne diseases.

On comparing Scheduled Castes with Scheduled Tribes, it is seen that Scheduled Tribes are in a worse position in terms of the deprivation index. They are also far behind the general population in deprivation index which is an indication of their pitiable living conditions. In Kerala, Goa, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, the deprivation index of Scheduled Tribes is better than that of the deprivation index of total population in the country. Yet in these states, they are behind the Scheduled Castes and general population on the basis of deprivation index.

## Section II

According to Census 2011, there are 4, 84,839 Scheduled Tribes in the state comprising of 35 different communities. The ST population constitutes around 1.5 % of the total population in the state. Based on the traditional economic activity, the Scheduled Tribes of Kerala can broadly be placed under four categories, namely, hunters and gatherers, agricultural labourers, shifting cultivators and settled agriculturists. Waynad, Idukki and Palakkad districts constitute more than half the tribal population in the state and Wayanad alone account for 31 percent. Out of 14 districts in the state, 8 have

tribal population less than 1 per cent and Waynad is the most tribal dominated district (18.5 per cent). The Scheduled Tribes are overwhelmingly rural as 89.3 percent of them live in villages. Tracing the demographic transition cycle, it can be seen that Kerala is passing through the post-transition period which is characterized by low birth and low death rates. From Table 5, it is evident that growth rate of both general as well as Scheduled Castes population is falling over the last three decades and for Scheduled Castes, it is showing negative growth rate.

Table 4: Growth rate of Population: 1981-1991, 1991-2001, and 2001-2011

Social Groups	2001-2011	1991-2001	1981-1991
ST	24.88	13.47	22.75
SC	-2.77	8.23	13.22
Excluding SC/ST	5.11	9.51	14.35
All Population	4.68	9.43	14.32

Source: Census of India 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011

Table 4 also shows that the during the period 1991-2001, growth rate of Scheduled Tribes has fallen around 10 percentage but eventually it has increased by nearly 12 percentage in 2011 and witnessed highest growth rate over the past three decades. STs in Kerala are still in the pre-transition or early transition period and the general population is in the advanced phase which shows that the Scheduled Tribe population is not moving in tandem with the growth in general population which results in their backwardness. This is also an indication of the outlier nature of Scheduled Tribes on the growth trajectory of Kerala.

**Educational Attainments of Kerala**

Although Kerala is the most literate state in the country Scheduled Tribes are far behind the general population in this respect. From Table 6, it is observed that the gap in literacy between total male population and Scheduled Tribe male population is 15 percent and in the case of females it is at a higher level (21 percent). The average literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes in the state is 75.8 percent and is the lowest in Palakkad at 61.5 per cent as against 94 per cent for the entire population in the state.

Table 5: District-wise Literacy Rates of ST and General Population -2011

State/Districts	ST			All			% Point Difference		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
KERALA	75.8	80.8	71.1	94.0	96.1	92.1	18.2	15.3	21.0
Kasaragod	73.0	78.6	67.8	90.1	94.0	86.5	17.1	15.5	18.7
Kannur	77.9	83.4	72.7	95.1	97.2	93.3	17.2	13.8	20.6
Wayanad	70.5	77.0	64.3	89.0	92.5	85.7	18.5	15.5	21.4
Kozhikode	85.3	89.1	81.7	95.1	97.4	93.0	9.8	8.3	11.2
Malappuram	76.3	80.2	72.6	93.6	95.8	91.6	17.3	15.6	19.0

Palakkad	61.5	67.0	56.1	89.3	93.1	85.8	27.8	26.1	29.7
Thrissur	83.6	86.4	81.2	95.1	96.8	93.6	11.5	10.4	12.4
Ernakulam	85.4	88.3	82.5	95.9	97.4	94.5	10.4	9.0	11.9
Idukki	76.6	82.3	70.9	92.0	94.6	89.5	15.4	12.3	18.5
Kottayam	94.3	95.1	93.6	97.2	98.0	96.5	2.9	2.9	2.9
Alappuzha	90.0	92.6	87.5	95.7	97.4	94.2	5.7	4.8	6.7
Pathanamthitta	89.6	91.6	87.8	96.5	97.4	95.8	6.9	5.7	8.1
Kollam	85.7	88.5	83.2	94.1	96.1	92.3	8.3	7.6	9.1
Thiruvananthapuram	89.2	91.5	87.2	93.0	95.1	91.2	3.8	3.6	3.9

Source: Census 2011

Female literacy rate in Palakkad district is a matter of grave concern which stands at 56 percent compared to the overall female literacy of 92 percent for the state as a whole. This means that nearly one half of the tribal females in the district are still not able to read and write. Moreover, the gap between female literacy rate of general population and female literacy of ST population is around 30 percent in Palakkad. Even though Kottayam district constitute only 4.5 percent Scheduled Tribes in the state, the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes is comparable with the literacy rate of the total population in the state and the gap in literacy rate between ST and general population is less than 3 percent.

Table 6: District-wise Average Years of Schooling, 2011

State/District	ST			All			% Point Difference		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
KERALA	3.9	4.1	3.8	6.5	6.7	6.4	2.6	2.6	2.6
Kasaragod	3.4	3.6	3.3	5.7	6.1	5.4	2.3	2.5	2.1
Kannur	3.9	4.0	3.7	6.7	6.9	6.6	2.8	2.9	2.8
Wayanad	3.1	3.3	2.9	5.5	5.7	5.4	2.4	2.4	2.5
Kozhikode	4.9	5.0	4.8	6.5	6.7	6.3	1.6	1.6	1.5
Malappuram	3.8	4.0	3.6	5.7	5.8	5.6	1.9	1.9	2.0
Palakkad	2.9	3.1	2.6	5.8	6.0	5.6	2.9	2.9	3.0
Thrissur	4.8	4.8	4.7	6.7	6.7	6.7	1.9	1.9	1.9
Ernakulam	5.6	5.6	5.6	7.1	7.2	6.9	1.5	1.5	1.4
Idukki	4.0	4.2	3.9	6.1	6.3	5.9	2.1	2.1	2.1
Kottayam	5.9	5.9	5.9	7.1	7.2	7.1	1.2	1.3	1.1
Alappuzha	5.8	5.9	5.7	6.8	7.0	6.6	1.0	1.0	0.9
Pathanamthitta	5.6	5.6	5.6	7.2	7.3	7.2	1.7	1.7	1.6



Kollam	5.1	5.2	5.0	6.7	6.9	6.5	1.6	1.7	1.5
Thiruvananthapuram	5.8	5.9	5.6	6.9	7.1	6.8	1.2	1.2	1.1

Source: Computed from Census 2011

Table 6 presents the average years of schooling of Scheduled Tribes and total population in the state. It is observed that there are considerable variations in average years of schooling as between Scheduled Tribes and total population in the state. On an average, total population is having 2.6 more years of schooling than the Scheduled Tribes. Wayanad and Palakkad, which account for more than 40 percent of the tribal population in the state, is far below the state average in terms of average years of schooling of Scheduled tribes. There is a gap of almost 3 years of average schooling between Scheduled Tribes and general population in Palakkad. As in the case of literacy rate, Kottayam district tops in terms of average years of schooling both for ST and total population.

Table 7: District wise Deprivation Index 2001-2011 and its Improvement over a Decade

State/District	Index of Deprivation 2001			Index of Deprivation 2011			Percentage Point Change 2001-11		
	SC	ST	General	SC	ST	General	SC	ST	General
KERALA	40	52	22	14	29	8	26	23	14
Kasaragod	59	57	31	25	36	11	34	21	20
Kannur	39	53	23	12	27	7	27	26	16
Wayanad	49	59	38	20	35	16	29	24	22
Kozhikode	44	46	24	15	17	7	29	29	17
Malappuram	43	53	23	13	26	6	30	27	17
Palakkad	49	66	31	14	42	8	35	24	23
Thrissur	34	33	16	9	12	6	25	21	10
Ernakulam	32	36	17	10	17	8	22	19	9
Idukki	50	62	42	31	38	22	19	24	20
Kottayam	41	41	21	16	18	10	25	23	11
Alappuzha	40	34	23	18	13	9	22	21	14
Pathanamthitta	40	47	19	17	22	7	23	25	12
Kollam	38	39	18	14	17	7	24	22	11
Thiruvananthapuram	35	41	18	13	23	8	22	18	10

Source: Computed from Census 2001 and 2011

Over the decade, there is substantial improvement in deprivation index for all the population groups taken together. However, Scheduled Tribes falls behind the general population in this respect. On an average, 29 percentages of the Scheduled Tribes are still deprived of basic amenities of living in

2011. This is nearly four times higher than that of the total population (8) which is a pointer to the deplorable living conditions of the Scheduled Tribes as compared to the general population. Most deprived Scheduled Tribes are in the districts of Palakkad (42), Idukki (38), Kasaragod (36) and Wayanad (35) which together account for nearly two thirds of the Scheduled Tribes in Kerala. Thrissur and Ernakulam districts have recorded the maximum improvement in index among the ST population during the decade.

On a comparison of the Index of Deprivation of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala with that of the country, it is observed that tribes in Kerala fare better than their counterparts at national level. Index of Deprivation is 29 among STs of Kerala whereas it is 53 for STs at country level in 2011. Though this shows that the extent of deprivation is very low for STs in Kerala, it is important to know that the Index of deprivation for the total population in Kerala is only 8 per cent. In other words, Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are nearly four times more deprived than the total population. Thus, it is very clear that Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are left out in the Kerala model of development and they have not received their due share of the development cake.

### Conclusion

The study analyses the development experience of Scheduled Tribes in India, with special reference to Scheduled Tribes in Kerala. It is observed that Scheduled Tribes in the country lag behind the Scheduled Castes and general population in terms of literacy rate and average years of schooling. The deprivation among Scheduled Tribes is much more than other population groups in India. Majority of the Scheduled Tribes are deprived of good sanitation, clean drinking water and electricity. The Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan, Bihar, Odisha and Jharkhand are the most deprived tribes in the country as compared to other states in India. However, the Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are relatively better than their counterparts in the country. But when compared to the general population and SC population within the state of Kerala, Scheduled Tribes are far behind the general population in all parameters. Scheduled Tribes of Palakkad district is the most backward tribal community in the state with low level of educational attainments and experiencing deprivation in most of the basic amenities. Thus, it can be concluded that even though the Scheduled tribes in Kerala fare better than their counterparts in other parts of India, they still have absolute disadvantages on many development parameters and they could not be made active participants in the overall process of development and consequently they remain as outliers even after a quarter century of high economic growth in Kerala.

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