
CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

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need to differentiate sub groups based on habitat

Society consists of various sub-groups. These sub-groups may be seen in terms of caste, region, religion, language, habitat etc. When the society is divided in social sub-groups based on habitat, scheduled tribes emerge as a typical group which is unique and characteristic in many ways. India, which is the second largest human habitat, houses more than fifty million tribals, as recognised by the Government of India, under Article 341 of the Constitution. These scheduled tribes are divided into some 150 groups and sub-groups and are distributed over a vast geographical expanse; from the foot-hills of Himalayas to the lands tip of the Lakshadweep and from the plains of Gujarat to the hills in North-East.

Geographical Distribution of Tribals in India:

Broadly, the anthropologists have divided the country into three tribal Zones:

- I - North-Eastern Zone:- This zone includes the tribes such as Nagas, Charsi, Limbu, Kachari, Kululashaya, Rabha, Left, Gurung, Mishmi, Michar, Goroachakum, Bhoiya, Dalfa, Abhoramiri etc., in East Punjab, East Kashir, Himachal Pradesh, Northern U.P., Assam, Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur.
- II- Central Zone:- This Zone includes the tribes such as Baiga, Gond, Ho, Bhil, Bhoonij, Kharia, Birhor, Bhooyeyan, Kandh, Maria, Koli etc., in Southern U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

III - Southern Zone :- This Zone includes the tribes such as Toda, Badaga, Chenchu, Irula, Soliga, Kadmuruba, Jenu, Kuruba, Mithuvan, Karikar, Chetti, Gadabha, Kadar, Yarana, Kudiyu, Pardhi, Advichencha, Hornashikari, etc., in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Kerala and Karnataka.

Mostly these tribes live in forests in harmony with nature. They vary widely in their level of socio-economic development, cultural background and heritage, traits, psyche and so on; and constitute perhaps, the least economically developed segments of the country's population.

Though the Scheduled Tribes are inhabited in different parts of the country and are located far apart from each other; yet, as ethnic minority groups, they live in physical conditions devoid of modern facilities. Due to their closed culture, typical language, difficult terrain, migratory trends and spreadout population, they could not be given due attention for a substantially long period. As a result they remained ignored, isolated and underdeveloped, and could not be drawn into the national mainstream. But before analysing the causes of their backwardness and problems in conglomeration with non-tribals, it would be worthwhile to know the genesis of the term tribe.

On the Conception of 'Tribe' :

The term tribe is derived from the Latin word 'tribus'. Originally it was used to imply three divisions among the early Romans. Later on, it was used to mean the poor or the masses'. In English language, the word appeared in the sixteenth century and denoted a community of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor. But the popular notions of tribe emerged only with the expansion of colonialism in Asia and Africa.

In ancient Indian literature, there seems to be no equivalent word for the English term 'Tribe', except for the Sanskrit word 'Janah' denoting an agglomeration of individuals forming a large group of non-monarchical type with a definite territory, kinship, common ancestry, common cultural pattern (Choudhury, 1977). In post independence India the term tribe ^{came to have} has legal and administrative connotations. British census officials and anthropologists first used their term 'tribe' for the purpose of enumerating social groups in India. From the 1881 to the 1931 census, (it was evident that) the tribals were classified as a community like the Hindus and Muslims. The Government of India Act, 1935, used the term 'backward tribe' ^{and}. The Indian Constitution has retained the terminology ^{but} using 'scheduled' in place of 'backward'. Article 341 and 342 of the Constitution of India vested the power with the President of India to specify certain groups as 'scheduled tribes'. Article 366(25) has defined ('scheduled tribes' as) 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. By the Scheduled Tribe Order of 1950 issued by the President, 212 ^{groups} have been declared to be Scheduled Tribes in India. Later, by an Act of Parliament, some other groups were also included in the schedule. Over the years, the number of Scheduled Tribe groups have more than doubled from 212 in 1950 to 427 in 1971. Now their number has gone to 546 (1981, Census).

a more objective definition

In formulating ~~the~~ scientific concept of 'tribe' various criteria are taken into consideration. The chief among them are: ^{that} primitive technology, ^{that} cohesive social organization, ^{that} preliterate language, and community life limited with a small area and ^a small population. These criteria

lack universal applicability. ^{which provides} In India, the caste system provides an additional social criterion, ^{a clearer} identification of the tribes. If a certain group is outside the fold of caste society and does not subscribe to the faith of any major religion, then it is identified as a tribe. The parameter of these factors make the ~~concept~~ of tribe somewhat controversial (Rout, 1989).

Notwithstanding the controversial criteria, the politico administrative connotation has been taken into consideration for understanding the term 'scheduled tribe' in this study.

Need for Education of Tribals:

Education helps in shaping the personality of an individual by creating conditions which sharpen his ^{her} mental abilities and intelligence. It helps ^{to} in creating ^{a more} an insight ^{greater} through rational understanding into ^{of} the social phenomenon. At the pragmatic individual level, education equips and trains a person to perform ^{his/her} one's own professional role adequately. At the societal abstract level, education helps in creating general ethos of enlightenment. At the societal pragmatic level, education is an important factor in the status determination in the contemporary society. Education provides one of the status indices to objectively assess the status mobility of an individual in a social system.

Keeping the above observations in mind, if we examine the contemporary social reality of the tribals in India, a gloomy picture emerges from there. The vulnerability of tribal population to minor government officials, as well as money-lenders, landlords, and other agents of vested interests, can largely be traced to their illiteracy and ignorance of the world outside the narrow confined of their

traditional environment. Their inability to cope with the many novel forces impinging ~~now-a-days~~ on tribal villages and on an economy which had remained virtually unchanged for centuries is by no means due to any innate lack of intelligence. As long as they operate within their familiar atmosphere, tribals evince as much perspicuity, skill, and even true wisdom, as any other population, but as soon as they become insecure they often behave in a manner detrimental to their own interests. Brought up in a system in which ~~all~~ communication ^{is mainly} ~~are~~ oral, and hence used to trusting verbal statements, they get confused by constant reference to documents and written rules, which increasingly determine all aspects of rural life at present. Unable to read even the receipt given by an official and obliged to put their thumb impressions on documents which they cannot understand, they are easy victims of any fraud or misinterpretation which more educated exploiters are likely to device (Haimendorf, 1985).

They are dealing with matters outside their formal jurisdiction

It is obvious, therefore, that a modicum of literacy is indispensable as a first step towards enabling tribals to operate within the orbit of the advanced ~~communities~~ ^{communities} dominating the economic and political scene. The disadvantages under which the illiterate tribals labour are multiplied in the case of those who do not even speak and understand the language of the dominant population, and hence cannot communicate with officials except through better-educated tribesmen or with any other non-tribals acting as interpreters. At this point it would not be out of place to quote a recent UNESCO report which mentions that "the first and foremost emphasis of Asia and Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL) is the fact that basic literacy and numeracy are sine-qua-non for every individual to function as a human being". It further mentions, "Research Studies on human cognitive development

have indicated that literacy enhances peoples' thinking power and cognitive faculties. The list of characteristics that accrue from literacy includes ^{increased} objectivity, capacity for logical analysis and content, independent abstract thinking, holding individual opinion, and a sense of history (and universalization). Literacy certainly includes reading, writing, and arithmetic skills, but literacy is something ^{larger} bigger and deeper than mechanical skills in reading and writing. Literacy is a potent form of consciousness. It makes us better human beings. It frees us from the confines of ignorance and prejudices, and allows our creative energies to flow unencumbered towards a search for the true meaning of our existence. That is why the United National Charter has recognised literacy as a human right as well as a basic human need" (UNESCO Report, 1987).

Indian Constitution and the Tribals:

The anxiety to develop the so-called weaker section of India's population found expression ⁱⁿ (while framing) the Constitution for the Republic of India. The Constitution of India provides: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Article, 46). In the first instance a period of ten years was given to achieve the goal, but as the problem was not ^{of} a simple nature (to be solved in a single decade) it has evidently persisted ^{up to this day,} through decades.

The Constitution provides under articles 19(5); 29: 244, and 342 the following, safeguarding the interests of tribals and other weaker sections.

- i) To protect them from exploitation by making special laws for controlling transfers of land, money, lending, etc.
- ii) To protect their interest as minorities with respect to language, culture, education, etc., and to enable them to receive grants out of State funds on grounds of religion, race, caste, language, etc.
- iii) To control and administer the scheduled areas, where majority of tribals live.
- iv) To notify certain groups as specified tribes so as to enable them to enjoy special facilities and privileges extended to them.

Articles 16 and 35, ^{make} provide that it ~~is~~ obligatory on the part of the state to consider their claims in appointments to public services and reserve appropriate quotas for them in such services.

Article 330 and 332 provide for reservation of seats for them in the parliament and state assemblies and Article 164 further states that in the State of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa a minister should be appointed to be in charge of the welfare of the SCs and STs and other backward classes.

Articles 339 and 340 provide for the appointment of a Commission by the President of India to report from time to time on the administration of the scheduled areas and the welfare of the STs in the state.

Further, Article 338 empowers the President to appoint special officers for SCs and STs to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided to the SCs and STs and submit reports for necessary action.

Administrative Set-up for Tribal Development:

The constitutional provisions have led to the development of an administrative structure suitable for safeguarding the interests of the tribals and accelerating the tempo of social and economic change. The present structure of the administrative ~~set-up~~ for tribal welfare has evolved through interactions among the ^{own} natural leaders, social workers, tribal leaders and applied anthropologists. The President of India is primarily responsible and has been given powers to safeguard the interests of these communities, and he has been empowered to appoint a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at ^{the} national level with ^{the} special duty of investigating all matters ^{pertaining} to safeguards given to these tribal people. The Director general of Backward Classes, with the help of the Regional Deputy Directors, guides all the tribal welfare activities. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes submits his report annually to parliament through the President.

At the State level, the Governor has been given the responsibility to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and on his behalf the Chief Minister and the Welfare Minister are in-charge of the special schemes to be implemented in the tribal areas. It does not, however, mean that the general development work is dropped. ^{But} It takes its own course in tribal areas ^{of the} States as well. The welfare Ministry is advised by two bodies; the Tribes Advisory Council and the Tribal Research Institutes in framing the policies and programmes for tribal welfare. ^{own} A Deputy Director of Backward Classes is posted at the State level by the Centre and acts as a liason between the Central and State Governments.

Tribals at the Dawn of Independence:

Prior to Independence, the scheduled tribes were socially, economically, politically and educationally backward as compared to their non-tribal counterparts. The disparity that existed between the advanced sections of the society and the tribal communities necessitated the framers of the Constitution to make provisions for the tribal people, with a view to protecting their interests and fostering their all-round development. Moreover, it was also realised that freedom would be futile, if the fruits thereof were not made available equally to every citizen of India. Hence, special provisions have been made in the Constitution and in the Five-year Plans to remove their backwardness.

When India attained independence, she faced an uphill task for nation building, because of the damages that were caused by the colonial rulers. They had not only kept India an under-developed state, but also created uneven level of development between and among different sections of Indian society. The top-most sufferers were the scheduled tribes who constituted the lowest strata of Indian society. In order to overcome underdevelopment and uneven development, the spread of education has been considered as an essential pre-requisite to the all-round development of tribal people, as of any other backward sections of society. Therefore, educational development has been given top priority in the programmes of tribal development as education is considered to be a potent agent, not only for social and psychological changes, but also in influencing productivity and economic development.

Despite the serious attempts both by the Centre and State governments, the ^{marginalised position} pathetic situation of the tribals has not changed much. They still need various special

^{help will be. Discredit... common reference}
 provisions for their upliftment. Therefore, let us examine where we have gone wrong. But before undertaking an examination to educational development it would be appropriate to briefly and critically discuss some of the prevailing sets of ideas and analytical frameworks used by educationists, sociologists and social anthropologists in their studies on education and economic development, and social change. Such an examination will lead clearly and rigorously to the analysis and understanding of the problems of educational development of tribals.

Theoretical Considerations on Development: Contending Perspectives :

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 There are a number of contending theoretical perspectives, which attempt to explain the process of social change, ranging from Sponsors' ideas of social evolution, Durkheim's division of labour, Marx's theory of class struggle and conflict, to more recent theorists who exclusively stress that changes in the level of technology result in major changes in the social super structure. Change is a social process and development suggests change in a given direction, and it is generally assumed that there is a wide degree of community participation in determining the direction and means of change (Jarvis, 1988). This idea gives rise to a pertinent question, especially in the Indian context where nearly eighty per cent of the population is agrorural based, characterised by abject poverty and mass illiteracy, rigid and static societies with strong resistance to change, etc. ^{and their social conditions are} ^{in addition to rural} ^{have remained rural, static} ^{the question is} how to approach the problem of development? At this juncture it would be worthwhile to examine some of the theoretical approaches to development.

The Modernization Approach to Development:

According to this approach development is a process of societal transformation from a traditional society to a modern society, and such a transformation is known as modernization. This means that a developed society is a modern society. What is a modern society? A modern or 'developed' society is that ^{one} which is in contrast to traditional one. ~~A~~ traditional society is characterised by rigid social structure, ^{in which the people tend to} people obeying certain common rules and regulations, believing in authoritarianism, ^{and} resistant to scientific and technological change, ^{and} inflexible system of social stratification etc. On the contrary, a modern society is characterised by a flexible social structure, open to possibility of changes, especially of technical and economic innovations, and ^{strong} belief in democracy. In this regard Dube (1967) has listed some of the attributes that characterise a modern society such as, empathy, mobility; high participation, interest articulation; interest aggregation; institutionalised political competition; achievement orientation; rational ends-means calculations; new attitudes to wealth; work, saving and risk taking; faith in the desirability and possibility of change; social, economic and political discipline; and capacity to put off immediate short-run satisfactions for higher satisfaction in the long run. Taking such attributes into consideration, if both the societies ^{thus} ~~are~~ ^{no easier to} traditional and modern ^{societies} are compared, it would perhaps point out certain indicators of development more clearly and thereby clarify certain goals for development for which the society can strive. While the salient features identified for the former constitute the norms for the developed society, they act as the high ideals to be attained by the developing societies.

Furthermore, a micro analysis of the concept of modernization shows, that on an individual level, it implies the acceptance of occupational and geographical mobility and meritocracy, tolerance of impersonal working conditions, an outlook oriented more to the present and future than to the past, and a greater desire for a nuclear rather than extended family.

On a social level, it is a process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken, and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour modification.

On a political level, it implies replacement of a large number of traditional, religious, and ethnic authorities by a single, secular, national authority.

On an economic level, development is seen as part of a much broader process of social change described as modernization. According to Lerner "Modernization is a process of social change in which development is the economic component. Modernization produces the societal environment in which rising output per head is effectively incorporated, For effective incorporation, the ^{potential} heads that produce ~~and~~ consume ~~raising output~~ must understand and accept the new rules of the game, deeply enough to improve their own productive behaviour and to diffuse it throughout their society. This transformation in perceiving and achieving wealth oriented behaviour entails nothing less than the ultimate reshaping of all societal values, such as power, respect, rectitude, affection, well-being, skill and enlightenment" (Daniel, 1968). The emphasis on development as modernization, is thus on how to ^{improve} ~~include~~ production oriented behaviour.

✓ Changing Concept of Development:

In the literature the primary role of economic forces in bringing about the development of a society has often been taken as axiomatic so that development and economic development has come to be regarded as synonymous. The conventional model of economic development, with the assumption that sustained increase in rates of economic growth, and of GNP which it symbolised, will automatically lead to the percolation of economic gains to all sections of society, has not proved to be correct. The distribution of economic gain has not been equitable. The disparity in consumption levels, which follow from disparity in incomes, have continued and grown sharper. Many segments of the population and many spatial tracts have been bypassed by economic growth. Tribal areas have particularly suffered the most. In fact, the achievement of conventional goal of development, the increase of GNP, is often accompanied by structural polarization, inequitable distribution of wealth and power and structural dependency (Moeligarto, 1982). The traditional elite are often able to corner whatever benefits accrue from public investments, because of the political and other resources that they possess and can muster. In many areas, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened. Large sections of the people in tribal areas, ^{often more than 50% of the population} rural areas and those living in urban slums live below the poverty line. (In other words more than fifty per cent of such people live below the poverty line) Notwithstanding the unidimensional definition of per capita growth, being widely ~~invague~~ ^{invogue} because of its objective nature of measurability, it has come under increasing "pressure" of criticism in recent years. The development debate of the last two decades has thrown up several new formulations regarding alternative designs for living, and brought into sharp focus a number of

new concerns. The accent now is on human-centered development, not on growth rooted in indicators of GNP and national income. This concept of development emphasizes the quality of life, not the pursuit of wealth; it takes note of deeply held cultural values, and seeks to promote endogenous creativity. The new concerns, among others, are focused on environment, energy, and food security, all three being inter-connected and interdependent.

The strategies of tribal development adopted in India appear to bypass most of these pivotal issues or at best pay only lip service to them. In consequence as Dube puts it, "weak and vulnerable tribal groups undergo a loss of identity and erosion of cultural values, sink deeper into the quagmire of distitution and dependence, and gradually lose the zest for life. Some groups take to diverse forms of protest; others languish in a life without hope (Dube, 1987). It is therefore, necessary to define clearly the word development due to the change in its conceptual meaning over the decades. As Myrdal (1960), puts it, development can be seen as the upward movement of the whole social system involving levels of living, institutions, attitudes and policies, besides production and its mode of distribution of the produce. But nonetheless, Myrdal admits in saying that it is practically impossible to work out an idea of development in any social system, as there are causal interactions among all the above mentioned factors and the coefficients of the interactions are largely unknown all over the globe (Myrdal, 1968).

Accepting the fact, that the conventional model of ~~(development in terms of)~~ economic growth and per capita income does not necessarily lead to development, it should

be considered as a means rather than as an end to development. As Curle puts it "Development should be looked upon as the way of achieving a society having certain basic qualities, rather than merely offering a degree of affluence that is accepted, often mistakenly, to produce such qualities," (Curle, 1970). These are; security, which implies low level of violence, both physical and administrative; sufficiency, denoted primarily by absence of want in terms of the standards that would be considered adequate in the society concerned; satisfaction, means that life should offer, in general terms, enjoyment. In particular, sufficiency should not be attained at an excessive ^{ne}psychic and cultural cost (of anomie, alienation, and the like); stimulus, emphasizes the importance of growth and change, and of individual opportunity. Stimulus implies the chance of individual human being to grow to his full stature, through education and comparable means and the establishment of social order that will permit and encourage him to take an appropriate place within it (Curle, 1970).

Curle has emphasized ^{placed more} more on ^{the} social, ^{and} political aspects ^{rather than} notwithstanding the economic aspect; Like Curle ^{of development}

~~statement~~ Behrendt also emphasizes the socio-political aspect and he states: "Development is very generalised - a directed, dynamic cultural change in a society, tied with increasing participation of more and more of its members in the promotion and direction of this change and in sharing of its results..... Development thus implies promotion of all and by all, particularly those disfavoured in earlier periods (Behrendt, 1905).

The indicators used hitherto for ^{development} economic growth - GNP, GNP per capita - are however ^{of} doubtful ^{u/20} today. In these indicators several points were ignored or not

quantified; these are sectoral composition of GNP, share of subsistence procedures and those dependents on markets in the population, stratification of social difference and of income, social costs of production, scepticism against fake progress in technology, etc.

The meaning of the term development is so elusive that frequently varied interpretations are coming out in different phases of human history. This is perhaps best illustrated by quoting Dudley Seers (1969), who conceived development as involving not only economic growth but also conditions in which people in a country have adequate food and jobs and the income inequality among them, is greatly reduced. Furthermore, Seers (1977), adding one more dimension i.e., self-reliance to his earlier definition writes, the addition of this new element entails that the main emphasis on development would no longer be an overall growth rate or on patterns of distribution. The crucial targets from now onwards would be, "ownership as well as output" in the leading economic sectors; consumption patterns that economise foreign exchange; institutional capacity for research and negotiation; and cultural goals of the country.

A similar idea with a different interpretation *that places more* stressing more on the power structure *with* given by Abdul Mayeed, (1982), states that "Development is no longer considered a politically neutral process based on social science theories as applied to the automatic integration of various socio-economic forces. It is largely the result of the political will of the power structure, to initiate desired changes. It really means disturbing the status-quo, aiming at the amelioration of the condition of the rural poor, but at the same time maintaining harmony and a spirit of co-operation within the community". Mayeed's statement points specifically to the fact that certain forms of development are a

^{those who control} direct result of the wishes of ^{the power structure} the power structure. The implications of Mayeed's statement are, that social change for development depends on the will of the upper classes, and he suggests that they might undertake the altruistic exercise of ameliorating the conditions of the rural poor. ^{How?} Might not such social change be initiated by the rural poor themselves, provided that they are given the opportunity? Yet if they do seek to improve their conditions, it might actually bring them into conflict with the state. Some Marxists would suggest that change only occurs through struggle between ^{the oppressed} haves and have-nots, ^{the oppressed} and that ^{the} distribution of wealth in a society ^{through class struggle}, so ^{that} development might occur only as a result of class struggle. By contrast other scholars might seek to argue that wealth is not a fixed commodity within a society ^{and} if a society can generate more wealth, there will be more to be distributed to the poor - hence the need to industrialize.

In either case, development is not, as Mayeed recognised, a neutral process; it is ideological and political and ^{it} there are always implications ^{of} political power and the distribution of scarce resources.

Redefining the Concept of Development :

The use of the term development in its current sense began with the emergence of the nations of Third World. Though development is ~~not~~ frequently identified with economic growth - and the tendency to interpret it so still persists - ^{generally} it is recognised as a multi-dimensional concept by ~~the developing nations and the developed nations~~. To overcome the controversies over the meaning of the term development, the U.N. General Assembly in 1971 has clearly spelt out seven principal objectives of development viz.,

(1) a minimum standard of living consistent with human dignity; (2) sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual; (3) sharing of benefits by all; (4) more equitable distribution of income and wealth; (5) a greater degree of income security; (6) expansion and improvement of education, health, nutrition, housing, and social welfare; and (7) the safeguarding of the environment" (International Development Strategy, 1971).

These objectives of development embrace the whole gamut of a nation's economic, social and cultural life, and progress towards their realisation, cannot be measured entirely by the rate of economic growth or by any other single indicator. In this connection, a more recent conceptualisation of development by UNDP is as follows, "Development is increasingly seen as a process that should be geared to the human factor, both as the agent and the beneficiary of development, should be endogenous involving the autonomous definition by each society of its own values and goals, should rely primarily on the strength and resources of each country, should encompass the transformation of obstructive structures both national and inter-national, should be in harmony with environment and respect ecological constraints", (UNDP, 1981).

In the light of the discussion above regarding the controversies over the meaning of the term development, the operational use of the term development is presented hereunder ^{as an effort} to consider the related role of education in the context of ^{its} the overall objectives and dynamics of ~~development~~. Development refers to ^a process of change, particularly of a structural nature, aiming towards the enhancement of people's socio-economic welfare and the average individual's scope for self-fulfillment. It involves the society's transformation through its institutions, organizations, social rules, customary usages and attitudes to an extent that makes the

society more and more positively responsive to socially desired changes. Thus it implies not only economic growth but also qualitative and quantitative changes in the level of living towards improved quality of the average individual's life.

Aspects of Development :

The preceding discussion so far, indicates that development always remains the constant goal for society and thus it has to continuously renew some criteria through which the goals can be achieved in certain specific aspects of the society. Owing to heterogeneity in all spheres of life, goals differ to a large extent from one society to another. While changing from electronics to computer based technology becomes a goal for a particular society, changing from tradition bound society to modernity becomes the goal for the other. So, development remains the main goal while its connotation changes across time and across society. Having attained these ~~periodic~~ goals, further goals are set for development. In this way constant ^{changing} ~~periodic~~ goals are sought in every aspect of people's life.

While individual ~~development~~ and social progress becomes a target for development, it becomes necessary to operationalise these targets with regard to specific functional areas such as economic social, political, etc., This would mean specifying the indicators for development in each of these areas. As the nature of each aspect of the system is different, the specific developmental indicators sought to be achieved will also be varied. For instance, in the field of economy, development would refer to the exploitation of all productive resources by a country in order to expand real income, continuous process of

capital accumulation to increase the productive equipment available to it; possession of technical skills; opportunity for improvement in real income and purchasing power, increase in life expectancy, a civilization assigning high priority to its scale of values to material well being and possession etc. Thus, all these indicators of economic development imply both qualitative and quantitative aspects. While the specific expected behavioural changes are qualitative in nature and cannot be measured in terms of quantitative indices, the increase in the national real income i.e., per capita, GNP etc. indicate quantifiable measures. A corollary view is that economic development can be best measured in terms of quantifiable things, however, qualitative aspects also determine, the quantitative tangible products. Therefore, both these aspects are closely interwoven, and we cannot put them in water-tight compartments. An example will best clarify this interaction. Let us take the indicator, 'the exploitation of all productive resources'. Productive resources can be ^{seen} in terms of human beings and of machine ~~man~~ power (being the input, put to the process i.e., machines for finished products for the desired output in terms of tangible things.)

On the ^{other hand} contrary, in other fields like social and political, any set of indicators ^{of} would be in terms of human attributes and characteristics of both of which are entirely qualitative. That is to say development in these fields is not in terms of 'how many' but rather, in terms of 'how well'. Such qualitative changes will have to become perceptible with respect to some of the social, political characteristics, That is social-political developmental indicators in the developing society would be with respect to the following and the extent to which they reflect a coordinated operation would decide the level of development: (i) the ideology society holds such as democratic, autocratic, etc., (ii) the social

structure that obtains therefrom reflecting the social stratification and nature and extent of social mobility, (iii) nature and directions of role specifications within and across social sub-system, (iv) extent of coordinated interactions between and among social sub-systems; (v) the power structure; (vi) the system of social values evolved through time; (viii) attitude towards change, motivation for social action and social awareness and such other attributes. That is to say, development is possible for an ideal limit of coordination in various aspects of qualitative indicators, that is, changes in any one indicator do not necessarily and automatically bring in changes in other aspects. In India, for instance, the socio-political ideology is democracy, which implies that it accepts secularism, social justice, equality, fraternity, etc. Making them a reality is the good for development. To be able to attain these broad goals, sub-goals are stated as the tolerance for different castes and religions, high social mobility which would mean there is scope for every person to form his own aspirations, active participation of the individuals in social political affairs with awareness and responsibility, an attitude for critical assessment of the social practices, and an openness of mind to not only accept innovations but also to reject those that are irrelevant and so on. Obviously enforcing the democratic ideology does not seem to have brought about perceptible changes in respect of all these indicators. Most of the present social political problems in India originate largely in the inability of the society to bring about changes in the masses as desired, and as a result of the vast discrepancies between and among the aspects of development.

The above explanation of development in terms of its indicators in the functional areas emphasizes that development concerns not only material needs, but also the improvement of the social conditions of life. Development is

therefore, not only economic growth, but growth plus change, social, political, cultural and institutional. A society like ours wherein causal interactions between and among various aspects of life are yet unclear, it becomes difficult to set some uniform developmental goals for all, because what may be the development for one may not be so for others. In other words, clearly defining or specifying developmental indicators, in as clear term as possible both in qualitative and quantitative ways which operate mutually, in co-ordinated way and balancing them, becomes an issue for operating the process. Moreover, it is so because of the scientific and technological advancement and the speed of changes that are taking place in the society, are greatly influencing the needs of the people in various ways. This only means that in order to realise, economic development, there is a need for evolving the necessary socio-political conditions. Similarly, if the socio-political indicators have to be effectively achieved, there is need for a second economic base, because they are constantly influenced by the factors and processes in the society at large. Naturally in such a situation to fix certain developmental goals and specifying certain indicators in order to strive for those goals is a cynosure for all the planners. Therefore, planners in all the developing countries are placed in a delicate position in the sense that they have to maintain equilibrium between the demands of social change and the availability of resources at their disposal. In conclusion it can be said here that development is a dynamic process characterised by comprehensiveness and poses several problems.

In this context it has been increasingly felt that if at all the planned goals are to be achieved alongwith the political support or provisions, an active and willing participation of all people in the social activities becomes necessary. This has not been achieved by and large, due to

the lack of awareness regarding individual responsibility towards society. Education as a social process is expected to develop such awareness, make individuals responsible to developmental needs, to equip them with necessary knowledge and skills. It is in this context education has been looked at.

Education and Development

Functions of Education:

Duruheim considers education as a social institution that functionally promotes consensus and social integration in new generation through cultivation of those personal qualities that can further it as a social process. Education is a potent agent not only for the social and psychological changes but it may influence productivity and economic development also, and that is the reason why, in the recent years, there has been much talk about the relationship between education and economic development and about education as investment (Rao, 1966). Education influences economic and social development by inducing change in technology through the systematic application of scientific and other knowledge, in skills and specialised knowledge for specialised tasks as a consequence of their division and differentiation, and in values and attitudes to provide the necessary incentives for increasing productive efficiency. The net change in growth is the result of the productivity of the new technology and skills, assisted by changes in values and attitudes and reduced by the dysfunctionality that is caused by obsolescence in both technology and skills (Huq, 1975). Apart from the physical investment, non-physical factors such as health, research, knowledge, organization, administration etc., play an important role in change and development.

Education will help in the socialisation of a child and the development of human personality, social mobility, occupational change and the rise of professions, it may increase productivity and economic development, as pointed out by Strumlin (1924), Young,(1967), Schultz (1964), and Dube (1968).

It is not surprising then, that in a developing country like India, whose goal at present is socio-economic development and modernization, is faced with unique educational problems. The wisdom of past generations is no longer sufficient to meet the crisis encountered. In order to cope with the rapidly expanding body of social thought, political action, technology, science and philosophy at international level, education must draw upon a worldwide fund of knowledge much of which is intrinsically alien to traditional ways of thinking.

Over the years, it has been seen that the developmental effort tends to import foreign ideas combining them with local ideas in order to improve welfare at home. Thus the function of education expands greatly beyond that is required of a society in equilibrium. In order to widen the scope of education more allocation of funds will be needed. This becomes a hard task before the government, because there are equally important sectors other than education. Moreover, on the one hand, there is scarcity of resources, and shareholders are many on the other. This exacerbates the problem to deal with, in equilibrium before the government. Nevertheless within the scope, the educational system must equip the individuals enough to grasp the opportunity available to them, so as to meet the growing demand outside the society. 7

Inspite of careful planning at the national level, there seems to be an inherent danger in a situation, where

resources are scarce. If the planning perceptions are well balance by an overview, the application of resources would try to avoid the neglect of any sector. For example, the total share of education in the Seventh plan is a little less than three per cent. This allocation has been almost constant in the last thirty years. This level of investment ~~neither~~ has universalised education, nor has it succeeded even in giving the basic minimum infrastructure to the vast majority of schools. Over forty per cent primary schools are without a building a black board, or any semblance of furniture.

The National Policy on Education (1986), aims at ^{to} improve -ment in ^{educational} quality, which includes modern teaching aids to be given to selected schools. A Computer for one school means the denial of blackboards to a hundred schools. Opening one more technical college means a thousand primary school aborted. Unless there is a major upward shift in the for education, can we afford to upgrade only a selected few schools?

If the allocation for education is to be increased, in which sector a cut will be applied? Unless these questions are raised and satisfactorily answered, the immediate implementation of the Prime Minister's direction to modernise education will only lead to more elitism: a widening quality gap between the fortunate few and the unlucky many, and also the further denial of education to roral/tribal areas and small towns where it is needed most (Buch, 1985).

The above illustration signifies a point that investment in education is ^{and} tied with many constraints. Poverty and mass illiteracy are the serious impediments which withhold a country from more investment in education. More energy,

funds and physical resources are diverted towards production, than in education because investment in education has ^{only yields} long term benefit ^{while} and investment in economic ^{other resources} growth shows immediate result. In such a case very few people go for education and the masses go for after earning pursuits. ^{activities likely to} Eventhough very few people ^{seek formal} come for education, sustained and ^{yield} prolonged efforts ⁱⁿ providing ^{skill} training for ~~skill incultation~~ ^{more effective} in different areas, will produce ^{skilled} man power. Once ^{it} is available, it is possible to create institutions that are so necessary for economic development. When these institutions are created, economic growth will begin. Thus investment in education, therefore, is a pre-requisite for economic development. But it must be remembered that, not all investments in education turn out to be so advantageous. For example, in India at present, there is a tremendous increase in the production of university degrees, despite the observation that unemployment seems to be correlated with the amount of education (Pradhan, 1987). This situation has come up, may be due to the shortage of trained people in trades and professions. The over supply has occurred because high prestige was attached to liberal education per se. Thus blind emphasis upon education for education's sake can be self-defeating. This calls for the introduction of purposeful production oriented education in urban as well as rural sectors of the society. These requirements lead to a definition of general education that is suited to continuous social and economic growth. The half-educated, unemployed white-collar and sub-professional groups, that live from hand to mouth and shift from one extreme to another would than hardly exist. Most individuals would regard social change not as a threat to their way of life but as an exhilarating adventure in self-improvement and a source of personal and collective opportunity.

Aims of Education:

For survival of the society, the school and community must inculcate certain values. These are kindness, honesty, sincerity, individual responsibility, fair play and appreciation - causes and truth, together with equable relation between the sexes, different age levels, social classes and ethnic groups. Equally important are other values to be cherished for socio-economic development. These are skills in communication, reasoning and computation, the fabrication of materials; and an appreciation for organization and the seeking of improved understanding, orderliness, precision etc., (Meir, 1965). Besides, cherishing these values by the school and community, in a society, which is committed to a democratic socialistic, political system, it is incumbent in the part of the state to provide opportunities for and also ensuring that, its citizenry attains a minimum level of education, as it is the birth-right of each individual in such a set up. Thus when setting down the general goals of development, a plan for education might be expected to include the following (among others):

1. To transmit to the new generations the wisdom of human relations which has evolved in the specific culture. This wisdom exists as a set of ideals. Often the ideals cannot be carried out in practice to the extent that people would wish, because of extreme poverty and over population - conditions which should eventually improve in the course of development. Many relationships between production-oriented social roles, which are often transmitted along with the ideals, may become obsolete and virtually useless because of remarkable efficiency of the technology being imported from outside. Yet ^{it} is not easy to disentangle traditional techniques from the ideals.

2. To provide seeds for new understanding, new capacities to adapt, and new sources of leadership, looking toward the continuation and progressive improvement of the society. This may take the form of transmitting through the educational system an introduction to scientific outlook, an emphasis on achievement, the highlighting of new roles in social action, and ideas of progress, together with ethnic, spiritual and moral values.
3. To propagate the necessary skills needed to carry-out the successive stages of economic development. Preliminary estimates are needed of the quantum of various skills required by the economy at various stages, ranging from five to twenty years into the future. From such estimates some specific educational priority assignments can be derived, and subsequently, people can be trained to carry-out their role in the economic development process.

Integrating Education with Development:

While linking education with development two points must be considered as pre-requisites viz., the human resources and life long adaptation. While for the former, education is the major tool available to a society for developing its human resources in that, through education, the kinds of human understanding and human skills that are so necessary for progress are brought into existence. The latter approach refers to the provision by which institutions, programmes, and activities of various sorts are able, despite the rapidity of social change, to maintain participation of all ages and for all personality types. No section of the population should be excluded by prejudice, oversight, or lack of foresight; nor should they be handed a dole and then forgotten. Poor societies (like those of tribals and other backward sections of the society) cannot provide 'cradle to grave' security

for their members because of the cost, but they can do a great deal to ensure that opportunity for constructive effort is presented to all age and all groups.

Human Resource Approach:

Education, ^{as a} ~~in a~~ human-resources ^{development strategy} ~~context~~, represents the investment of time, money, and effort whereby the human potential is transformed into competence. The approximate special competencies required to achieve the aims of the society may be deduced from the series of targets which have been set in the development plans. From this point of view education is a means to a specified end that is development.

It has been increasingly realised that human resource development (HRD) is an important pre-requisite for overall socio-economic development. Special emphasis is placed upon those talents and skills which are found to be scarce in the existing society. The main thrust of the government is to find out the extent to which the intellectually gifted persons are available, the extent to which these individuals find their way to responsible positions requiring such talents, and the kinds of wastage of talents which are observed to exist. Thus human resource development approach should be seen as an ^{central} approach to national development based upon the simple idea that human resources are the ultimate basis of wealth of nations (Harbison, 1973). From this perspective, the goals of development are the maximum possible utilization of human beings in productive activity and the fullest possible development of skills, knowledge, and capacities of the labour force. If these goals are ^Upersued, then others such as economic growth, higher levels of living, and more equitable distribution of income are ^Uthought to be the likely consequences.

Instead of taking the production techniques and sectors as given and then tailoring our resource inputs (including human resources) to the criterion of productive efficiency (as measured by high yields, low costs), the alternative approach sets the utilization of human resources as the principal aim. It, then, works its way through the entire production system, always ensuring its principal objective. Once it succeeds in the first phase efforts of deploying most of the work-force, it can address itself to the question of productivity in subsequent phases. The argument seems to be quite simple, logical and understandable but the institutional setting of the development does not quite suit it, particularly in those countries, which have arrived lately on development.

Notwithstanding this, the developing countries keep on emulating the models of the Western countries in toto. This may be largely because these models are essentially a by-product of the growth experience of the West European and North American countries. In the post-war era, most of the Asian and African countries were in that phase of economic growth where capital intensity was the focus of attention hence the tendency of borrowing of ideas from Western countries continued.

Over the years our experience has shown that the gains of development have failed to percolate down to the masses. Consequently, a large share of population is left out of the ambit of development, and majority of our human resources is under-fed and under-utilized. There are phenomenal socio-political implications of having such a dismal picture. The development planner therefore, found that they can hardly afford to ignore the potential risks. Hence, the urgency of having a development policy which takes care of the human resources first.

Non-formal Education
Lifelong Adoptions

Lifelong ~~adoption~~ is good educational practice in any society, but it is much more necessary in a developing society. If development is to proceed with reasonable rapidity, a society must depend very heavily upon the willingness of its adults, who have been out of school for many years, to carry out new tasks requiring new skills. Because the tasks are novel, the skills must be acquired in a learning situation which exists outside the school system. The tasks cannot wait until appropriate classes are arranged in the schools and their graduates pour into the community. Fundamental individual adjustments have to be promoted, and various forms of education are the principal means for aiding these adjustments.

Another way of viewing lifelong ~~adoption~~ ^{education} is to consider occasions in a life time for which a person needs preparation. These might be courtship, marriage, and parenthood; or they could be job finding, job holding and promotion; or obeying, co-operating, and leading, and a great many others. The original relationships in the society, providing for all ordinary contingencies which are met with at different stages of life, in many instances have become ineffective. New ways must be found, and it is the function of education to disseminate such wisdom, once it is agreed upon that the new ways are worthwhile. Schools have been very important in disseminating ideas about nutrition and personal hygiene. Radio, television, puppet shows have been used to illustrate polite and responsible behaviour in rural areas.

These two reference systems - human resource and life-long ~~adoption~~, thus cannot by themselves solve problems, but they provide a basis for collecting information statistics about a mass of interrelated problems and processes. This

is a very comprehensive and reasonable approach in the sense that it does not neglect some parts of the society nor treat a single programme autonomous of the rest. Further, it is area specific and concrete in its operational aspects.

Given this theoretical framework on development and the role of education in it, let us discuss the approaches to tribal development in India. In the following section an attempt has been made to analyse the approaches to tribal development from British colonial administration to till date.

Approaches to Tribal Development in India:

It is disconcerting to know that at the governmental level, both in the states and at the centre, until recently only half-hearted attempts were made to tackle the problems of tribals. In order to acquire a deeper understanding of the problems of tribal communities one will have to delve into the history of approaches to tribal development; since their present problems are a manifestations of their past. For the purpose of convenience the approaches to tribal development have been discussed in the context of pre-independence and post-independence periods.

Pre-Independence Approaches to Tribal Problems:

Bringing about transformation of tribal people living in the hilly and out of way places, had been the special concern of administration right from the days of Warren Hastings. In this direction, the first governmental attempts were made to bring the Paharias of the Raj Mahals hills under cultivation by Augustus Cleveland in the latter part of the eighteenth century. No doubt this was a novel attempt to deal with the problems of tribals, but this contact was

quite superficial and the essence of their concern was to isolate these people from the rest of their countrymen and keep the tribal areas away from the purview of normal administration. This resulted into far from being of immediate benefit to the primitive tribes, the establishment of British rule in India, did more harm than good to them. Consequently, the early period of the British administration was detrimental to the economic position of the tribes through ignorance and neglect of their rights and customs.

The British policy of isolating the tribes resulted in their exploitation. Landlords, money-lenders, and contractors exploited the tribals to their maximum. The programme of conservation of forests resulted in progressive encroachment of the rights enjoyed by the tribals with regard to the exploitation of minor forest produce. The Britishers had no control over the land-lords in the management of their private forests. These encroachments on the tribal rights resulted in sporadic relations which eventually led to a disruption of the tribal economy, and consequently, spread discontent among them. In an attempt to safeguard them from the possible consequence of incursions of the non-tribals, the tribals were kept away from the main currents of India's social and economic life. A number of Acts were enforced from time to time and certain territories were declared "Backward Tracts" under the Government of India Act of 1919. Subsequently, "Excluded Areas" and "Partially Excluded Areas" were created under the Government of India Act, 1935. On the whole, the provision of such areas largely left the situation as it was in 1874, barring only certain areas on the then frontiers.

Contrary to the policy of isolation, the policy of assimilation was adopted during the early period of independence. Accordingly, the planners held the view that tribalism was a mark of inferiority in all respects viz., their indifferent attitude towards the non-tribals, their beliefs,

faith, customs and practices, dancing of men and women together their dormitory organisation etc., be replaced by 'civilised' ways of life. The chief exponents of the policy of assimilation were G.S. Ghurje and A.V. Thakkar. Ghurye's main thesis was that the so-called aborigines are nothing else but 'Backward Hindus'; accordingly he maintains that the assimilation of the tribal people into Hindu society can be very easy and will become almost natural. Similarly, Thakkar maintained that the tribals should form a part of the civilised communities, not for the purpose of swelling the figures, but to share privileges on equal terms in the general social and political life of the country. From the view points putforth by these two exponents, it appears that there ^{is} a difference of degree in the intensity in their approaches. Ghurye's approach got support from many census commissioners such as J.B. Baines (1891), E.A. Gait (1911), J.T. Marten (1921) and J.H. Hutton (1931) who felt that there was very little difference between Hinduism as practised by the lower castes and the tribal religion, whereas Thakkar's approach was representative of ^{the} voluntary social workers, who often fail to realise the far-reaching repercussions of acculturation. For him separation and isolation seemed to be dangerous theories which ^{strike} at the root of national solidarity.

However, sound the policy of assimilation may be, there is always a constant danger of loss of cultural identity for the tribes who are assimilated. In such a situation it tends to make the tribals ashamed of their own culture and religion, and creates an inferiority complex, which is a political as well as social danger. In other cases the tribal people's fear of losing their cultural heritage to the dominant non-tribal groups makes them suspicious of the latter's motives and actions. A serious evil effect of assimilation is the growing polarisation of

tribal people and increasing desire among certain sections of the tribal people to remain distinct and separate from the non-tribals. This leads to their alienation from the non-tribals in an increasing scale. Being influenced by manipulative politics, the tribals tend to and revive their cultural heritage not for the purpose of revitalizing, but for gaining political advantage. Under these circumstances it is not possible to achieve widespread acceptance among culturally discrete communities of a common and consistent set of values, norms and understanding so essential for emotional integration, and also for strengthening the country's integrity and solidarity.

The question whether we should adopt a policy of assimilation or otherwise, however, is now merely of academic interest because the forces of national development released after independence, and plan programmes have accelerated the process of bringing the tribals into the main stream of national life. This policy today underlines the nation's efforts to share with its tribal countrymen the benefits of modern technology and scientific advancement in all walks of life. The approaches of isolationism and assimilation have thus been abandoned in favour of integration, because integration permits the various groups to retain their separate identity by developing creative adjustments through which they become one and yet remain distinct.

Post-independence Approaches to Tribal Problems:

The dismal condition of tribal people in free India was so alarming that tribal problems became an integral part of development planning of the Indian people as a whole. Accepting the problems of tribals as the priority area of concern, the constituent assembly enacted some provisions

for their socio-economic and educational development. Moreover, the differences between the tribal communities and the rest of the people were so vast, that creative adjustment between the two was not very easy. Therefore, it was thought, that the tribals have to be brought upto a certain minimum level of education, economy, and health through specialised development projects, so that they can grow upto that level where they can make their distinctive contribution to the Indian culture. Thus the policy adopted to achieve these objectives was that of emotional integration which gives emphasis on looking upon the tribal themselves in a spirit of love and affection and upon their life and culture with respect.

The idea of emotional integration is amply, reflected in Nehru's Panchsheel for Tribes (1952), which formed the basis for designing suitable programmes for tribal development in India. The five fundamental principles are:

- i) Tribal people should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- ii) Tribal rights to land and forests should be respected.
- iii) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- iv) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

- v) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character evolved.

Keeping in view the tribal problems, Government of India initiated special schemes for the development of tribal people to supplement the benefits accruing from Community Development Programmes. The first attempt was made in 1954 by opening fortythree Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (SMPTB) in most undeveloped areas of tribal concentration. The priority areas for the development in the SMPT blocks were communication, education and culture, economy, health, housing and water supply. Since the SMPT project blocks were situated in sparsely populated hill and forest regions, with poor communication and limited institutional infrastructure they called for greater investment and personal attention by extension workers. The efforts, therefore, did not achieve the desired success (Verma, 1990, Patnaik and Bose, 1976).

The situation was reviewed in 1956 by Elwin Committee which recommended a cautious approach in the introduction of multiplicity of schemes in tribal areas. Further in 1962, Dhebar Commission made a comprehensive review of the tribal development situation and noted that the pace of development in tribal areas was slow, education provided without much planned efforts had resulted in high wastage, stagnation and non-participation of tribal people. The Commission further observed that investment and other protective measures were also inadequate. Accordingly, it recommended a comprehensive scheme of tribal development blocks.

In the Third Five Year Plan, 500 Tribal development Blocks were opened on the basis of recommendation made by

Elwin Committee and Debar Commission. During this period, economic upliftment was given top priority followed by education, health, housing and communication. The 500 blocks covered by this Plan period barely, covered forty per cent of the total tribal population in the country. It precluded a large section of the population from the development programmes. This led to a wide gap in the development between tribal communities and general population and also among different tribal communities.

Even though the priorities continued to be changed during the Fourth Plan Period, certain special programmes like the crash special nutrition programme and crash employment programme, were introduced as corrective measures to provide nutritious diet to the tribal infants and to increase the employment opportunities for the educated unemployed tribal youth. An important strategy adopted for the provision of facilities was the establishment of Primary schools at close proximity to tribal habitations, Middle and Secondary schools were located at a central location with residential facilities and also special attention was sought for training of teachers in the right perspective with respect to tribal culture and life. Attention was paid to introduce science education and vocational education with an emphasis of improving the methods of teaching. During the Fourth Plan, separate welfare departments were established in some states like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. In some states, the departments of welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were put together under a common Social Welfare/Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department. Opening of Schools in remote areas, establishment of Ashram schools and hostels were some of the steps taken during this time. The dual managerial system, Welfare Department being in charge of

financing and education department, looking after academic supervision, resulted in lack of co-ordination for obtaining maximum benefits.

The Shilu AO Committee (1969) observed that the benefits of formal education programme hardly reached many of the tribal development blocks. The differences in the level of development in tribal and non-tribal areas tended to increase. The periphery of the tribal group could benefit but the poorest, remote, dispersed tribal groups became more disadvantaged. This Committee recommended that tribal people's development should be based on the integrated approach rather than the sectoral one.

Sub-Plan : A New Strategy - Integrated Development of Tribal Areas :

The failure experienced by the planner in successive planning phase (upto Fourth Five Year Plan, 1970) evolved the concept of integrated area development, and it was thought that this would serve as a panacea for all major planning problems in general, and for the development of backward areas in particular. However, the concept of integrated development was not altogether clear. For example, it was difficult to decide what type of integration should be sought and which ways should be adopted to accomplish it. In general, four aspects of integration could be differentiated, viz., sectoral-cum-temporal integration, spatial integration, integration between the development of different people and groups of people, integration of the conflicting goals of economic, social and environmental development. Such integrated planning was necessary to ensure popular interest and participation in the planning process and equitable distribution of the fruits of economic growth.

When the tribal development agency projects initiated in the Fourth Plan period, are examined from this angle, it is observed that these projects were generally formulated on a uniform basis for all regions of the country and hence lacked the necessary appreciation of the local needs and flexibility to adjust according to local situations. Also no effective measures were initiated to link up these projects with the state plans, properly. As a result, the projects were reduced to centrally sponsored schemes, lacking the necessary local orientation and participation by state government.

To take into account these factors, the Fifth Plan (1975-78) introduced the concept of sub-Plan which is an important land mark in the history of tribal development in India. Before embarking upon this new strategy, the situation prevailing in tribal areas was reviewed on the eve of the formulation of the Fifth-Plan. It became clear that although the Constitution provided a flexible policy frame, the tribal development programmes were too small and schematic to lead to the all-round development of these areas. It was stated, "in the light of our laudable objective but poor performance, it is evident that the entire question of tribal development needs a fresh look. A new strategy to attack this problem must be worked out. Tribal development can no longer be left to be tackled piecemeal at the convenience of a multiplicity of organization, subject to availability of men and material and the vagaries of out of context policy decisions. Tribal development should be treated as an integral part of social and economic development... It should be accorded a high priority in the programmes at every department in view of its urgency and multi-organizational character, for there is a danger that shortfall in one programme may throw out of gear the entire scheme" (Sharma, 1984).

It was in this context that the Fifth-Plan attempted to present a special policy frame for the development of the tribal areas in the form of a Sub-Plan. The Sub-Plan envisaged a total picture of development. The distinctive features of the Sub-Plan ^{were} are:

- I It caters ^{ed} to the special needs of the tribal areas,
- II It employs ^d the integrated area approach of developmental strategy; and
- III Its resources ^{were} are the sum total of resources of the State-plan for the Sub-plan area, the central sector ^{not} outlays, ^{also,} special central assistance and institutional finance.

The concerned State Governments have ^d sufficient freedom ^{to} of framing ^s the Sub-plans for the tribal areas within their respective States. The first exercise in this regard ^{was} is to demarcate the tribal areas based on the tribal population. Three Zones ^{were} are thus envisaged;

1. Zone of the tribal concentration of 50 per cent and above.
2. Zone of dispersed tribal population below 50 per cent, and;
3. Zone of extremely backward and isolated little communities.

All districts, Tehsils and block ^{were} having fifty percent or more tribal population, are being included in the Sub-plan area, and taken up first for the purpose of project formulation and sub-regions, if any, which require ^d special attention. Isolated small tribal niches, zones of influence of mining and industrial complex and hinterland of urban and big marketing centres constitute such special sub-regions in the

project areas. Similarly, the areas under shifting cultivation within the project area or any other problem peculiar to it would need special attention. In other words, the Sub-plan in each state would comprise of a number viable project areas. For each project area, an integrated area development programme, focusing attention on the specific problems of the tribes in that region ^{is} to be formulated. Likewise, for each sub-region, problem oriented strategy will have to be evolved and suitable action programmes initiated for its development.

Integrated tribal development approach envisages multi-level planning at macro, meso and micro levels. Firstly, it ~~is~~, necessary to identify areas with more than fifty per cent tribal concentration. Secondly, from these areas viable project areas ^{head} will have to be carved out at various levels for the purpose of planning. These ^{were} should be delineated keeping in view various considerations such as natural resources, physical features, level of development of the tribal communities inhabiting the region, and other socio-economic consideration to suit the planning functions at these levels. To the extent possible the existing administrative boundaries ~~should~~ be taken into consideration for the purpose of delineating planning units at various levels. Micro areas should be co-terminous with blocks which may be divided into Clusters on the basis of space preference of people. For certain developmental programmes the clusters ~~may~~ be split into sub-centres depending upon the terrain and need for grouping the functions at the lowest level. The meso areas could normally coincide with districts/sub-divisions/tehsils and the macro areas could conveniently fall into separate revenue divisions.

The salient features of this approach of integrated tribal development planning ~~is~~ to establish functional

inter-linkages between the multi-level planning units. By this the dependent villages ~~will~~ link with central villages which in turn ~~will~~ be linked with service centres. Similarly, the service centres ~~will~~ be linked with growth centres which in turn ~~will~~ be linked with higher centres at the divisional and state levels.

In the previous five year plans sectoral approach and administrative co-ordination were followed at the block level, which was the smallest unit of planning. The spatial integration was not taken into consideration at all. As a result, the extremely backward and isolated tribal areas at all levels below developmental blocks did not receive their due share in development. This defect in planning accentuated inter-regional economic disparity. Lack of spatial integration from the lowest to the highest levels ~~is~~ also one of the important causes of tribal uprisings, which ~~are~~ detrimental to the country's integrity, solidary and broadly speaking, the Fifth-Plan ~~gave~~ stressed ~~on~~ ^{the} evolving ^d locationally specific plans and functional inter-linkages in space for the upliftment of the varied tribal communities of various regions. In the new approach of integrated tribal development planning the important task ~~is~~ to delineate on scientific basis the hierarchy of basic planning units and potential centres of different orders, where adequate investment of spatially appropriate functions, ~~is~~ to be made in order to generate growth and bring about development in the complimentary regions around growth roles. Apart from the integrated area development approach, which could ensure accelerated development of tribal regions, the Fifth Plan aimed at integrating the tribal communities with the very composite life and society that is contemporary India.

The aberrations in the integrated tribal development approach, adopted in the Fifth-plan period, were being

corrected in the Sixth-plan. Administration of tribal areas and implementation arrangements were ~~being~~ specially reviewed. The Working Group on Tribal Development had made a number of important recommendations which were accepted by the Government of India. A greater use of the provisions in the fifth schedule of the Constitution was visualised to simplify the administrative system and cut the procedural lags. These provisions were also used for establishing a clear chain of command with specific responsibility and built-in accountability.

The priorities in developmental programmes during the sixth and seventh-plan periods broadly follow ^{ed} the same approach adopted in the Fifth-plan. However, education has now been accepted as the highest priority programme per se and all necessary investments will be made available for universalization of elementary education, improving its quality and eradication of illiteracy, according to a clear time schedule. It is also envisaged that the relationship between the administration and the community, should ~~also~~ undergo a structural change.

The discussion on the theoretical aspects of development and the practical approaches to tribal development has made it clear that a lot has been tried in the past, but still the problems ^{remained} stand. The changing ^e scene of tribal development continues to create new problems, which means that studies on tribal development should be a continuous process. Furthermore, as the tribal societies undergo change the developmental approaches should also be changed, to suit the local environment. Therefore, the approaches which have been tried in the last four decades of tribal development have left scope for further trial. Perhaps a micro-level study, like this one, of the educational development of

tribals is needed to understand the problem from grass root level.

Rationale of the Study:

In the light of the constitutional commitments and considering the importance of education among the tribals attempts have been made since independence for educating the tribals, along with other weaker sections of the society. Large number of educational institutions have been opened in tribal areas; special educational facilities like Ashram schools (residential) freeships, scholarships, and reservation of seats in higher, technical and professional education, have also been provided to them. Non-formal education and Adult education schemes have been introduced for their benefit, focusing mainly on different aspects of their daily life and to educate the non-school going individuals. Besides, several other developmental programmes have been introduced with a view to improving their occupational status, enhancement of living conditions by providing necessary facilities which are needed, as well as improving those that are already available in tribal areas. No doubt, the developmental programmes are essentially concerned with providing needed facilities in several aspects of daily life such as, occupational, social, health, agricultural, etc. In order to ensure proper utilization of the facilities, an awareness regarding their availability and relevance and also a certain basic knowledge about the schemes and facilities among the tribals becomes crucial. Therefore, all the developmental programmes provide several kinds of inputs using varied media for development of such awareness, knowledge and skills needed for understanding, accepting and utilizing them. In so far as these developmental programmes aim at bringing about such changes in the tribals' knowledge, skills and attitudes, they are educational in nature. In other words, any programme aiming at changing tribal people has got to

have educational components, which bring about behavioural changes in the tribals.

Bringing about a change in the tribal areas as compared to other regions, is both complex and difficult. The process of development itself can pose a threat to the tribal communities. The variety of socio-economic programmes being undertaken under planned development has brought their socio-economic fibre under heavy strain. On one side is the modern sector, which is familiar with administrative and 7 level process and is better organised. On the other, are the tribal communities, totally unfamiliar with the new process, accustomed to management of their own affairs in simple panchayat system with understanding and pragmatism. And this has obviously resulted in unequal growth. No doubt a few programmes have proved to be effective, but the overall result is not satisfactory. The mismatch between the practices and pronouncements of tribal development policies, the expectations with which programmes were mooted and the actual benefits accrued seems to persist. This could be due to several reasons. To mention a few: socio-economic and cultural factors related to tribals were not given careful consideration; the remoteness of the tribal regions hinder easy access and communication, lack of awareness as to the need and relevance of education; the programmes have not been comprehensive in nature so as to include all aspects of tribal life; lacunae in organization and execution of the programmes; lack of information or studies about the constraints on education operating in tribal communities, etc. Such facts raise some relevant questions as to why the formal, non-formal and other development programmes have fallen short of expectations, what hindrances were there and what needs to be done if they have to be more effective? Is the planning process faulty? Do the plan

themselves have much less to offer by way of tribal upliftment? Is the implementation of the plans not upto the mark? These questions gained greater significance in the light of the fact that the diverse factors, as they obtain in the tribal environment are related directly to one another and are not uniformly distributed across different tribes.

Inspite of the great strides taken by the Government, both Centre and State, for the development of tribals, the result has fallen short of expectations. Moreover, it is a sad commentary on the Indian body politic itself that tribals, who constitute 7.76 per cent of India's population, have not been able to derive much benefit from the development process, despite the state's commitment to ^{improving} better their lot. Tribal people are still at the bottom of the social hierarchy and their indebtedness has gone up sharply over the years. The Census 1981, shows that the literacy rate among the tribals is 16.35 per cent as against 41.22 per cent for other communities and 36.23 per cent for the entire population. Thus the slow progress of tribals in the field of education and other spheres of life calls for a systematic inquiry into the approaches adopted in educating them, during the last four decades. This would mean subjecting different tribal regions to careful scrutiny in such a way as to lead to an understanding of education within local contact, because this would reveal not only the way education has functioned within the area but also bring out several other factors, which have operated in that environment and have affected the functioning of education positively or adversely.

In the light of the above mentioned facts, this study attempts to analyse the educational development of tribals in one tribal region in the Kalahandi district of Orissa State.

Orissa has high concentration of tribal population. It has the second highest tribal population among the Indian states, next only to Madhya Pradesh. In the total population of 2,63,70,271 in the state as per Census 1981, the S.T. population accounts for 59,15,067 which is 22.43 per cent of the state's population and 11.46 per cent to the total tribal population of the country. As many as sixtytwo tribal communities of the state have been declared as scheduled tribes. The percentage of literacy among tribals in Orissa is 13.96 per cent as against 34.23 per cent for other communities which itself is well below the national average of 36.23 per cent (Census, 1981). The state ~~is~~ ^{has} having thirteen districts and tribals are concentrated in seven districts. Among these, Kalahandi district is the most backward in the state and has a predominantly tribal population. The scheduled tribe population in Kalahandi is 29.26 per cent of the district total population. All the eighteen blocks of Kalahandi district are considered to be economically and educationally backward in comparison to their counterparts existing in other districts of the state. Out of these eighteen blocks ten are considered to be highly backward and Th. Rampur block occupies the last position. In the sphere of literacy, education, and economy Kalahandi district ranks twelfth among the thirteen district of Orissa (Kalahandi district statistical hand-book, 1980-81). The literacy percentage of the tribals is 11.54 per cent as against the state figure of 13.96 percent. In the light of the above, the present investigation focuses on tribal education in Kalahandi district of Orissa State and the problem is stated as:

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TRIBALS IN KALAHANDI DISTRICT OF ORISSA".

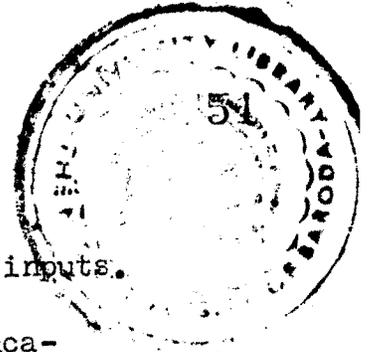
Objectives of the Study:

The study has been carried out with the following objectives:

1. To study the educational development of tribals in Thuamul Rampur Block of Kalahandi district since 1962* in terms of:
 - a) ~~2~~ Number and types of formal and non-formal educational institutions, *in the Block*
 - b) Enrolment figures in different stages in different institutions.
 - c) Number of dropouts both in formal and non-formal educational institutions.
 - d) Number of persons who have completed the courses in formal and non-formal educational institutions.
 - e) Number of teachers both in formal and non-formal educational institutions.
 - f) Nature of inputs both in formal and non-formal educational institutions.

2. To study the development programmes for the tribals in Thuamul Rampur Block of Kalahandi district since 1962 in terms of:
 - a) Nature and number of development programmes launched.
 - b) Educational inputs in various development programmes in terms of :

*The present block under study was under Kashipur block of Koraput district of Orissa till 31st July, 1962. On 1st August, 1962 it was merged with Kalahandi district of Orissa.



1. Nature of educational inputs.
 - ii. Media used for the inputs.
 - iii. Time and duration to introduce the inputs.
3. Reactions of functionaries regarding the educational programmes with regard to:
- a) Problems of implementations of the educational programmes.
 - b) Perceived responsiveness of beneficiaries regarding the educational programmes.
 - c) Needed improvements regarding the educational programmes.
4. Reactions of beneficiaries regarding the educational programmes with regard to:
- a) Benefits accrued by the tribal people.
 - b) Problems faced by the people in adopting the benefits.
 - c) Perceived long range usefulness of the programmes.
 - d) Needed improvements in the programmes.

Operationalization of the Important Terms Used:

Educational Development - refers to the quantitative expansion in terms of availability and adequacy of facilities such as number of educational institutions, enrolment figures, dropout rate, performance of students, and qualitative changes in terms of the extent of utilization of facilities and perceived relevance of education. These dimensions have been studied with respect to both formal and non-formal sectors of education since 1962 when Thuamul Rampur block became a part of Kalahandi district.

Educational Inputs in the development programmes are essentially concerned with providing awareness, knowledge and skills relevant for effective utilization of development inputs under the respective development programmes.

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