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CHAPTER - II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

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Introduction:

Pre-independence tribal literature mainly consists of anthropological-ethnographic studies undertaken by colonial administrators and foreign scholars, missionaries, and travellers. These studies, among other reasons, were undertaken to enable the colonial administration to maintain stability and order, to facilitate religious conversion and out of the intellectual curiosity of the foreigners about the primitiveness of the tribes, which many took pride in formally recording in written form. These writers gave very little focus to education among the tribals. So, there is a dearth of information on the indigenous system of education then prevalent among the tribals.

After independence a number of scholars belonging to various disciplines have studied the problem of education among the tribals. These studies were taken in response to the policy and programmes of the government to promote education among the tribals. Since scholars with different ideological predilections and theoretical propensities have studied the tribals, one finds considerable diversity in substantive focus, theoretical and methodological orientation and also the findings in the available literature. Notwithstanding the theoretical, methodological and substantive plurality of the available literature, it is of considerable significance to the present undertaking. A critical analysis of these studies would enable us to examine the strength and weakness of the theoretical and methodological perspectives used in analysing the problems of tribal education, the theoretical soundness of the finding and the areas that have

been given inadequate focus. Hence in this chapter an attempt has been made to review the studies on tribal education in India.

Keeping in view the objectives and focus of the present undertaking, studies exclusively done on college students have been left out, and a total of fiftysix studies have been reviewed in this chapter. An attempt has been made to develop a wholistic perspective of the nature and findings of these studies and to arrive at a rationale for the present study. In view of the variation in the focus of the studies reviewed, they have been categorised (in terms of the following aspects of tribal education) *as follows*

- i) Impact of Education on Scheduled Tribes.
- ii) Educational Problems of Scheduled Tribes.
- iii) Wastage and Stagnation in Tribal Education.
- iv) Utilisation of facilities (education and other) by the Scheduled Tribes.
- v) Curriculum, Text-book, and Medium of Instruction in Tribal Education.
- vi) Adult Education Among the Tribals.
- vii) Profile of Education Among the Scheduled Tribes.

Further, studies related exclusively to each aspect have been discussed separately with regard to their focus, methodology and findings. However, there are also some studies, related to more than one aspect and their theme has appeared in the concerned sections. This aspectwise discussion <sup>has</sup> paved the way for a final discussion of all the studies in order to bring out the <sup>implication</sup> (of these studies.) Through such a discussion, the rationale for the present study has been arrived at.

Impact of Education on Scheduled Tribes:

<sup>the</sup> Impact of education on the socio-economic, cultural and political life of tribals has been studied by Naik (1969), Lakra (1976), Sarkar (1979) and Singh (1982), and the role of education in modernization has been <sup>examined</sup> studied by Srivastava (1968). ~~In addition to these studies,~~ Although the studies of Ambasht (1966), Rathnaiah (1974), Tappo (1974), Abbasyulu (1977), Desai and Patel (1981), Bastia (1982), Bose (1982), and Haimendrof (1985) did not directly focus on the impact of education on tribals, they nonetheless, have dealt with it in their wider frame of reference, ~~(of their endeavour)~~. It can be observed from the studies that most of the researchers have examined the impact of formal education on tribals and all are survey type enquiries. But the only two exceptions are, Bastia (1982) who has examined the impact of NAEP on tribals and Desai and Patel (1981) which is an evaluative study. In terms of research techniques most of the researchers have adopted stratified random and purposive sampling method in their studies. The samples were drawn from a number of tribes of a specified district except the study of Bose (1982) and Desai and Patel (1981) which cover the entire state. But the studies of Sarkar (1979), Naik (1969), and Tappo (1974) were conducted ~~taking only~~ <sup>on</sup> one tribe <sup>as</sup> ~~as the sample~~ in their studies. Further it can be noted that many studies have been conducted in Ranchi district of Bihar. For the purpose of data collection, questionnaire and interview schedule <sup>has</sup> been invariably used by many researchers. However, studies of Naik (1969), Lakra (1976), Sarkar (1979), Srivastava (1968), Ambasht (1966), Bastia (1982), and Haimendrof (1985) have adopted open ended interview and participant and non-participant observation. In addition to this, very few studies have referred to secondary sources of data to strengthen their data analysis.

Further, data have been analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively by many researchers. A brief discussion of findings of these studies is presented below.

The study of Srivastava (1968), on the role of education in modernization reveals that the mobility orbit of the educated tribals was much greater than that of uneducated among them. There was a significant trend in the occupational mobility from agriculture to urban jobs among the educated tribals. A similar trend was also found by Naik (1969). His study reveals that large number of economically poor people were migrating for jobs outside and <sup>of those</sup> a small number ~~of~~ <sup>were securing jobs</sup> educated people for good job outside. A similar finding has also been noted by Lakra (1976) and Ambasht (1966). But Naik's study further reveals that there was no basic change in the occupational pattern of the family due to education at least upto the primary and middle standards, the level to which education was <sup>attained</sup> found in the Bhil areas. A study conducted by Rathnaih (1974) reveals that tribal parents who sent their children to school expressed a feeling that education had been creating a peculiar situation where the educated had not only been unable to secure jobs in the modern sectors but they were lost to their traditional ways of living. Another study by Haimendrof (1985) reveals that the qualified tribals were not interested in getting appointed as teachers, and those tribal matriculates who <sup>have</sup> would be glad to take up such posts were not acceptable because government had raised the qualifying level of teachers. Thus these findings <sup>indicate</sup> reveal that because occupational mobility was found among educated, uneducated and semi-educated tribals, it cannot be said conclusively that education had made an impact on the occupational mobility of the tribals. hence concluding

With regard to political consciousness as an impact of education Srivastava (1968) found that the uneducated

tribals knew nothing about voting, whereas the educated tribals were quite conscious and aware of political rights and duties as citizens of India. Another study by Lakra (1976) reveals that the tribals were gradually becoming politically conscious and had fused their associations into Adibasi Maha Sabha. The studies of Ambasht (1966), Naik (1969), Sarkar (1979), Desai and Patel (1981) and Singh (1982) have also found this trend. Thus, it can be concluded that education had helped in raising the political consciousness among tribals.

In his study on impact of education on social change among the tribals of Ranchi district, Singh (1982) found that the educated tribals had changed their ways of living, thinking and doing. They had gained conscious<sup>ness</sup> towards westernization and modernization. Accordingly he has concluded that education had proved to be an instrument of social change among the tribals. Similarly Srivastava (1968) also found that educated tribals were accepting new ideas, taking active part in the programmes of economic development of the village, and showing signs of exposure to mass-media. Likewise a similar trend was also found in some of the studies by Ambasht (1966), Lakra (1976), Sarkar (1979), and Desai and Patel (1981). Thus it can be concluded that education had helped in bringing about social change among the tribals.

While the studies on social change have shown education as an effective instrument in bringing social change, studies on cultural change have indicated some contradictory findings. Naik (1969) found that education was a slow factor as far as cultural change is concerned and it was favouring the most well-to-do families. He has further reported that there was hardly any change in their social values and ethical codes. <sup>of those who received an education</sup> But the studies of Ambasht (1966), Lakra (1976), and Sarkar (1979) have shown that education has influenced the cultural life of tribals and they have opined that their progress was largely due to their religious conversion. Naik's study further reveals that education had

not brought any marked change in the sphere of marriage, neither in its institutional form nor in the mode of recognition accorded to it, <sup>Nevertheless,</sup> but education in some way had <sup>resulted in a decline in</sup> influenced the amount of <sup>the</sup> bride-price ~~towards a decrease.~~ Similarly Tappo (1974) has also reported some change in marriage as in institution but she has not explained the nature of change. The findings, therefore, do not <sup>make</sup> drive home a ~~conclusive~~ <sup>conclusive</sup> ~~statement~~ but certainly paves the way for further probing.

~~With regard to educational consciousness as an impact of education,~~ <sup>In addition</sup> Lakra's (1976) study reveals that the tribals <sup>who had received education</sup> were becoming <sup>more</sup> education conscious. They were not only sending their sons to school but also admitting their daughters into co-educational institutions. Another study by Desai and Patel (1981) reveals <sup>eff</sup> that Ashram schools had induced regularity in the village school. But the study of Bose (1982) has shown some contradictory findings. He ~~has~~ found the impact of Ashram school on the education of tribal children ~~was~~ negligible. Further ~~he has~~ mentioned two reasons for it viz., (1) quantitatively, small size of the Ashram schools, and (2) qualitatively, low standard of curriculum, inadequate infrastructural facilities, and outdated teaching methods. ~~Similarly~~ Bastia (1982) found the impact of NAEP <sup>in</sup> the behavioural change among the literate learners but no change was noticed with regard to <sup>an</sup> ~~their functional development in terms of~~ agricultural <sup>improvement</sup> ~~practices.~~ <sup>in terms</sup> Likewise Medhi (1980) reported that although literacy and numeracy were missing in Jirkedam (a traditional education institution of Kabri tribe) ~~but~~ vocational education, training on leadership, community participation, co-operativeness, dignity of labour etc., were some of the notable features of Kirkedam. But the study of Tappo (1974) reveals <sup>it</sup> that the traditional youth dormitory of Oraon tribe (Dhumkuria) was fast dying and was being replaced by modern

schools and colleges. Thus on the basis of these findings it cannot be concluded that <sup>a greater awareness of the value of</sup> education ~~consciousness~~ among the tribals was the result of <sup>the</sup> impact of education <sup>they had received</sup> on them. However, further <sup>studies</sup> ~~probing~~ may indicate some <sup>positive results which</sup> direction.

### Some Observations and Implications:

The review of studies <sup>undertaken since</sup> ~~in this section~~ reveals <sup>ed</sup> that the impact of non-formal and informal education have been neglected by most of the studies. Unlike formal education, it is also equally important to examine the manner in which non-formal and informal education <sup>exert</sup> ~~wields~~ influence on stability and change in the tribal society. Moreover, it is also important to examine how the introduction of educational inputs in various tribal welfare programmes exert influence on the stability and change in tribal societies. But the available studies have not adequately dealt upon this aspect. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the impact of formal education on tribals together with non-formal and informal education. While examining the role of education in modernization it should be remembered that there are three main functions of formal education viz., (i) it is expected to transmit knowledge and the skills of learning to the younger generation, (ii) it is expected to inculcate in them, the attitude, values and patterns of behaviour to which the society ~~(in~~ which the education system functions) subscribes, and (iii) it is expected to equip the younger generation with occupational skills and work values for earning a livelihood. The modernizing functions of formal education needs to be examined intensively in respect of each of these three aspects of socialisation. But the available study on the role of education in modernization does not take into account all these factors. Above all there is a dearth of studies in this regard. Hence more studies are necessary to come out with some conclusive findings. Further while assessing the

impact of education most of the studies have not highlighted the basic processes of socio-economic and cultural change. It may <sup>the impact of</sup> specially (be) rewarding to have some idea first about the content and direction of socio-economic and cultural development with a view to evaluate <sup>ing</sup> education both as a cause and of change consequences. This enables a research worker to place education ~~and its impact~~ in its proper perspective. ~~Excessive~~ <sup>the</sup> use of techniques like questionnaire and interview schedules ~~have~~ <sup>has</sup> not indicated <sup>thrown light on</sup> the real social and cultural change taking place among tribals, (~~essentially describing education as the main agent of such changes~~). So it is the duty of the educationists to go ~~(beneath and)~~ beyond the peripheral changes exhibited by the people and find out the real social changes taking place in a tribal culture. Thus change should be studied comparatively and each factor causing change has to be isolated and studied if <sup>an understanding of the</sup> the phenomena ~~has~~ to be properly grasped. Studies at the descriptive level ~~may~~ <sup>will</sup> not tell much. (~~Since most of the studies reviewed in this section are survey type~~). Hence a number of indepth studies are needed to identify the impact of education on the nature and direction of change in tribal societies.

#### Educational Problems of Scheduled Tribes:

Studies on this aspect have been divided into two categories. The first category includes those studies which are conducted exclusively on scheduled tribes and the second category includes those which are done on scheduled tribes together with scheduled castes, and other deprived communities. The grouping has been done with a view to know in general, the problems of education among the tribal communities, and in particular, the problems they face in comparison with their non-tribal counterparts.

Category -I : Studies done on Scheduled Tribes:

The following are the studies conducted on tribes to find out their educational problems. They are by Dasgupta (1963), Ambasht (1966), Sachchidananda (1967), Srivastava (1967, 1970b, 1971, 1981), Kaul (1967), Rathnaiah (1974), Tappo (1974), Abbasyulu (1977), Sujatha (1980), Medhi (1980), Sharma (1983), Kundu (1984), Punalakar (1985), and Haimendrof (1985). It is observed here that most of the studies are of survey type and they have been confined to the boundary of specified district of a state. But the study of Punalakar (1985), Haimendrof (1985), Srivastava (1967), and Kaul (1967) <sup>went</sup> beyond the district boundary and to some extent cut across different states. ~~With regard to sampling procedure,~~ Random and purposive sampling has been the predominant method of sample selection. Mostly the sample has been <sup>mostly</sup> drawn from a cross section of different tribes. Very few studies <sup>such as those by</sup> Srivastava (1970b), Tappo (1974), Sujatha (1980), Medhi (1980) have drawn sample from a single tribe. Similarly questionnaire and <sup>inter</sup> schedule have been the predominant methods of data collection. However, the studies of Ambasht (1963), Srivastava (1970b), Sujatha (1980), Medhi (1980), Kaul (1984), and Haimendrof (1985) have used intensive field studies and participant and non-participant observation techniques and the studies of Srivastava (1970b), Rathnaiah (1974), Sujatha (1980), and Medhi (1980) have referred to secondary sources of data to strengthen their analysis. Further, data analysis and reporting has been done quantitatively in most of the studies. A brief discussion of findings of the studies is presented here.

In his study on tribal education in India - Some Problems, Kundu (1984) observed that tribal education in India is beset with a multiplicity of problems, and under

the existing policy and programmes on tribal development our attitude towards the tribals appears to be one of assimilation; little is being done to preserve their culture; more stress is being given to concessional provisions and little attempt is made to equip them with knowledge and skills through special training so that they can compete with their non-tribal counterparts on equal terms; little attention is paid to the development of tribal languages and culture; there is absence of special educational programmes for tribals, and tribal schools are based on wrong principles.

Together with Kundu's study several other ~~studies~~ have highlighted socio-economic problems as the major hurdle in tribal education. Isolation from the mainstream of Indian life and culture, their technological, economic, social, political, and educational backwardness in comparison to the non-tribals, ~~(superstitions and rigidity among tribal parents)~~ are some of the major problems for the slow growth of tribal education Srivastava (1970b, 1981), Medhi (1980), Sharma (1984), and Kundu (1984). Also Sujatha (1980) found the free nature of Yanadi children and instability of family life due to the frequent changes of spouses did not help <sup>to improve</sup> better enrolment. She has further reported that in tribal welfare hostels, the children were feeling lonely and in schools they were feeling inferior in the presence of caste Hindu children and teachers. Similarly Abbasyulu (1977) found that 3.75 per cent of tribal parents gave an excuse of their general inferiority complex vis-a-vis non-tribals. Poor socio-economic environment, extreme poverty and the successive inability to afford the necessities of education, inadequacy of financial assistance for meeting the cost of boarding, lodging, books etc., were some of the economic problems found to be coming in their way of <sup>securing an</sup> education (Dasgupta (1963), Sachchidananda (1967), Kaul (1967), Srivastava (1970b), Sujatha (1980),

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Medhi (1980), Sharma (1983). In his study on the education Santals, Dasgupta (1963) found that large number of children were ~~remaining~~<sup>being</sup> absent in the schools because they had to spend long hours on domestic or outdoor work that brought some economic relief to the family. The study of Ambasht (1966) in this regard reveals that girls ~~give~~<sup>give</sup> every kind of help to their mothers at home, while boys ~~are~~<sup>are</sup> busy in collecting minor forest products and fire-wood cattle grazing, hunting, and during agricultural seasons helping ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> their parents in the field. So Ambasht further concluded that tribal parents look <sup>for</sup> immediate economic benefit and ~~do~~ not like to invest in education. The observation by Haimendorf (1985) supports ~~this~~<sup>this</sup> finding stating that the advantage of having some literate persons ~~does~~<sup>does</sup> not weigh heavily with the individual family which for years has forgone a son's help on the farm without enjoying any financial reward for the time he spent at school. This is therefore, an important problem in tribal education.

Commenting upon the economic reason for the non-enrolment or poor enrolment of tribal children, Rathnaiah (1974) has observed that enrolment was found to be more ~~from the~~<sup>from the</sup> families where the fathers were salaried employees, than that from families where fathers were cultivator or labourers. There was no significant difference in the enrolment of children at primary level from families of different sizes, but there was significant difference at the secondary school level. Similar findings have also been reported by Sujatha (1980) and Srivastava (1971). Another study by Punalakar (1985) in this regard reveals that in villages with full fledged primary schools, the tribals were less literate than the non-tribals. Their level of education was low. Non-enrolment was higher and school dropout was substantial. There was also a sizeable number of absentee and failure cases among them. Further analysing:

this problem, he points out that the better off tribal households i.e., the middle and upper strata do not suffer much from such deprivations. More so they were near their non-tribal counterparts in terms of participation in schools as well as higher education. Accordingly, he ~~has~~ concluded that socio-economic differentiations both within tribal society and non-tribal society seem <sup>to have</sup> ~~to have~~ <sup>account for much of</sup> ~~closer association~~ <sup>between and</sup> ~~with~~ the educational disparities among them.

Apart from socio-economic problems in tribal education the studies have also highlighted some academic and administrative problems too. Some of the studies Dasgupta (1963), Sachchidananda (1967), Srivastava (1970b), Medhi (1980), and Sharma (1983) have shown that the home environment does not suit the children in ~~persuing~~ <sup>persuing</sup> studies and their parents ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> illiterate. In his study ~~on identification~~ <sup>of</sup> educational problems of the Saoras (a tribe), Srivastava (1970b) found that the Saora ~~are~~ needed upper primary, middle, and high schools in comparison to the lower primary schools. The progress of primary education was hindered by administrative problems such as <sup>type of</sup> school buildings, <sup>part of</sup> school management, <sup>absence of</sup> trained teachers, teaching materials, staff quarters, and proper inspection of schools. The major hindrance was <sup>the</sup> geographical barrier and inaccessibility of tribal village. Similar findings were also reported by Ambasht (1966), Rathnaiah (1974), and Haimendrof (1985). Poor quality of teaching, <sup>the need to</sup> ~~problem of~~ <sup>medium of</sup> instruction, irrelevant curriculum and text book, ~~more~~ <sup>number of</sup> single teacher schools, <sup>high</sup> teacher student ratio (1:40) and sometimes 1:75, Ambasht, (1966), high dropout rate, wastage and stagnation, were also some of the other causes for the slow growth of tribal education (Ambasht 1966, Srivastava 1970b, Tappo 1974, Medhi 1980, Sujatha 1980, Sharma 1983, Kundu 1984, and Haimendrof 1985). ~~These problems have been discussed in their related sections.~~

Notwithstanding the socio-economic, academic and administrative problems in tribal education the studies have also highlighted some psychological problems too. In this connection Mehta 1976 and Sharma 1983, observed that 'failure' more than ~~one's~~<sup>max</sup> experienced by the tribal children in the school resulted into a strong sense of insecurity, which is passed on to the young children. Similarly lack of interest, motivation, aspiration and ambition in life and low level of intelligence<sup>academic performance</sup> among tribal children were the major impediments found to be coming in their way of education (Ambasht 1966, Sachchidananda 1967, Srivastava 1970b, 1981, Sujatha 1980, Tappo 1974). In his study of ~~the~~<sup>the</sup> problems of early schooling of tribal children, Srivastava (1981) observed that unproductive and traditional type of educational system for tribals was the cause of indifferent attitude of ~~tribal~~<sup>their</sup> parents towards the education of their children. Another study by Dasgupta (1963) in this regard ~~lists~~<sup>ed</sup> several reasons for their indifferent attitude, which ~~are~~<sup>were</sup>: (i) existing system of education was not adjusted to their immediate needs and interests; (ii) they were suspicious of the sincerity of the non-tribal people, who generally organised and run the educational institutions intended for them; (iii) the system of education took no notice of their indigenous system of training or skills and interests which they already possessed and (iv) there was an acute dearth of tribal teachers who could handle properly the tribal children. With regard to the attitude of teachers towards students Sharma (1983) and Kundu (1984) have found that non-tribal teachers and negative attitude towards tribal children, and the studies of Ambasht (1966) and Tappo (1974) have shown that tribal children were liking tribal teachers only. Thus it can be concluded that an unhealthy trend of attitude among tribal parents, teachers and students was observed by researchers who conducted these studies.

Category - II : Studies done on Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and Other Communities:

While the studies under Category-I highlight the educational problems of tribals, studies reviewed under Category-II reveals some more problems in a comparative perspective. These following studies have been reviewed here. They are by Desai and Pandor (1974), Rajagopalan (1974), Sachchidananda (1974), Singh et al. (1974), Nayar (1975), Singh (1975) and Joshi (1980). It can be observed here that most of the studies (Desai and Pandor 1974, Rajagopalan 1974, Sachchidananda 1974, Singh et al. 1974) are large scale survey type researches done on high school students. Only the study of by Nayar (1975) and Singh (1975) are evaluative studies, but there is a difference of degree in their purpose of evaluation. While the study of Nayar evaluates the government policies for education of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students, Singh's study evaluates the extent to which social legislation as well as other forces of modernization were successful in eradicating sources of inequality and in generating a process of healthy growth of Indian society. With regard to sampling procedure, it can be observed that the sample selection through stratified random selection technique is predominant in almost all the studies. The samples were drawn from a number of districts of a specified state. But the only exception is the study of Joshi (1980) which has drawn the sample from a specified district alone. Similarly with regard to the means of data collection and data interpretation, questionnaire and interview schedule have been the predominant method of data collection, and mostly the reporting has been done quantitatively. A brief discussion of the findings of the studies is presented below.

In their study on "Social Context of Tribal Education", Shah and Patel (1985) observed, that educational development

is positively related to the social status of the caste/communities. The educational development of the tribals was the lowest, and that of high caste Hindus was the highest. The educational development of the SC's was above <sup>that of the</sup> ST's but much below that of even the low-caste Hindus. ~~From the community context of educational development of tribals~~ they found a negative relationship between the ~~community contexts~~ <sup>in a community</sup> (the proportion of the non-tribal population) and the educational development of tribals in a village community. <sup>However</sup> there was a considerable amount of variation in educational attainment as well as social class composition of the different tribal groups. Further they <sup>researchers</sup> have concluded that tribals were unaware of the available facilities and special programmes of assistance, <sup>available to them and this contributed to them</sup> hence there was unequal level of development.

The study conducted by Rajagopalan (1974) on the educational progress and problems of SC and ST students in Karnataka reveals that economic condition of the SC/ST students was <sup>poor</sup> uncomfortable and domestic work seemed to be coming in their way of education. Another study by Desai and Pandor (1974) also reveals, that <sup>the</sup> majority of SC/ST students belonged to the economic status which was neither good nor bad. Similarly the study of Joshi (1980) on the educational problems of SC and ST students reveals that 95 per cent of SC and ST parents were small farmers or landless labourers. And the study of Nayar (1975) on the SC and ST high school students also reveals, that two-thirds of fathers of SC and three-fourths of the fathers of ST students worked in the villages. This meant that majority of SC and ST students hailed from the poor economic background families. But Nayar's study further reveals that economically <sup>the</sup> ST students were in more comfortable position than the SC students. With regard to financial assistance provided by the government Rajagopalan (1974) found that a majority of ST students complained that they were not getting scholarship due to their

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fathers' high salary and those who were getting <sup>the</sup> said amount of scholarship <sup>found that the allowances were</sup> ~~was not~~ adequate. Nayar (1975) found nearly 80.65 per cent of SC and 79.2 per cent of ST students considered the scholarship as inadequate. However, Sachchidananda (1974) and Singh (1975) found a positive attitude towards governmental help but they also found that most of the SC and ST students expressed dissatisfaction with regard to implementation of these programmes. Thus on the basis of the above findings it can be concluded that poor economic background together with inadequate financial assistance and malfunctioning of the governmental programmes, <sup>and</sup> are the major factors responsible for the slow <sup>improvement</sup> growth of education among SC and ST students.

In their study on the SC and ST high school students in Gujarat, Desai and Pandor (1974) observed that large number of SC and ST students were first generation learners and majority of SC and ST parents were <sup>educated only</sup> upto to the primary level of education. Joshi <sup>study</sup> (1980) supported the findings, <sup>by saying</sup> that about 82 per cent of SC and ST fathers had either no education or they had studied upto Class IV, and about 95 per cent of mothers had practically no education at all. This means that majority of SC and ST parents were illiterate. Naturally this gives rise to a situation where the SC and ST students will not only get proper study atmosphere at <sup>home</sup> but also the parents show less interest for the education of their children (Joshi, 1980). In his study on education among the SC and ST school students in Bihar, Sachchidananda (1974) found that majority of the students had offered arts subjects, because there was lack of facilities for studying science subjects. However, he has further reported that the level of father's education and his income were not generally helpful in determining the students opinion <sup>of what?</sup> in case of ST students, but not so in case of SC students. The study of

Singh (1975) also reveals that there was heavy concentration of SC and ST students in arts subjects, but he has attributed this trend to the lack of awareness about scholarships and future prospects of students. Lack of study atmosphere at home, parental encouragement, and clarity about their future resulted in low aspiration among SC and ST students was found by Joshi (1980), and low aspiration <sup>for</sup> technical and professional education was observed by Singh (1975). In this regard a noted observation by Nayar (1975) reveals that the occupational aspirations of SC and ST students were related to parental encouragement and education, and self suggestion. With regard to educational aspiration, the study of Rajagopalan (1974) and Sachchidavanda (1974) revealed that the educational aspiration of ST students was higher than the SC students. But the study of Sachchidananda shows that with regard to occupational aspirations SC students were ahead of ST students, and no difference was found by Rajagopalan in this regard. Thus on examination of the above findings it was observed that educational backwardness of the SC and ST parents, lack of study atmosphere at home, lack of parental encouragement, lack of awareness about scholarships and jobs, and lack of clarity about the future were some of the causes for low level of aspiration (educational and occupational), and consequently, the slow progress of education among SC and ST students.

Apart from the above mentioned problems, Nayar (1975) and Singh (1975) found that age factor was also affecting the education of SC and ST students. They have reported that <sup>the</sup> majority of SC and ST students were older by two to three years for their standard. In addition to this Nayar (1975) found three-fourths of the SC and **four**-fifths of the ST students had difficulty in following their teachers in few subjects. Similarly Rajagopalan (1974), Sachchidananda (1974), and Singh (1975) also found that majority of SC and

ST students needed extra coaching. This means that either the teaching was in effective or the syllabus was difficult, or the students were dull. In this connection some of the studies by (Desai and Pandor 1974, Singh et al. 1974 and Singh 1974) have shown that in the opinion of teachers the SC and ST students were comparatively low in academic calibre and performance. Some other studies by Rajagopalan (1974), Sachchidananda (1974), and Singh (1975) have shown that majority of the SC and ST students were not having adequate exposure to mass media. A noted observation by Joshi (1980) reveals that students' perception of their teachers was not favourable, indicating that the teachers had not been able to present the right image of themselves; teachers were not providing <sup>an</sup> appropriate education <sup>in</sup> environment to the SC and ST students; teachers ~~were~~ <sup>did</sup> not having any specialised training for working in backward areas, and majority of the teachers working in backward areas belonged to the upper class and had their prejudices towards SC and ST students internalised. Thus, these findings ~~do~~ <sup>do</sup> not appear to suggest <sup>the need for</sup> extra coaching. Rather they reveal certain other related problems <sup>were the cause of the students' poor performance</sup>

~~With regard to girls education,~~ <sup>T</sup> the study of Singh et al. (1974) reveals that girls' education appeared to be in a poor condition and out of a total sample of 240 students only one was a girl student. Singh (1975) supported the findings <sup>with</sup> saying that <sup>a smaller proportion of</sup> girls <sup>received an</sup> come for education comparatively in lesser proportion. Similarly, Rajagopalan (1974) found that more <sup>attend school</sup> number of SC girls were coming for education than ST girls, but Sachchidananda (1974) observed that more ST girls were coming for education than SC girls. So on the whole it can be concluded that girls education is in a dismal <sup>state</sup> condition and this is <sup>was</sup> ~~accounted as~~ a major cause for the slow growth of education among SC and ST people.

Some Observations and Implications:

~~In~~ <sup>the two categories of</sup> examining the studies on educational problems of tribals ~~under two categories in this section,~~ it ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> observed that the former group of studies have mainly concentrated in finding out the educational problems in primary education, and the latter group have focussed on secondary education. It should be remembered here that while investigating the educational problems of tribals, all the existing levels of formal education should be studied in order to understand the nature of their educational problems. But the available studies do not seem to have viewed the problems from this perspective. They ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> very much limited in their scope, and hence the findings ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> inconclusive in nature.

All the studies taken together have pointed out the educational problems of tribals in three aspects viz., socio-economic, psychological and academic and administrative. The socio-economic aspect coming in the way of their education are: poverty, excessive involvement of the child in domestic work, inadequate financial resources, lack of synchronization between the school timings and the harvest season and lack of congenial atmosphere at home. The psychological problems faced by these children are lack of co-operation between school and home, lack of ambition in children, lack of orientation towards education, sense of insecurity and low aspiration, and failure experienced by the children more than once. The academic and administrative hindrances in education are lower cognitive development of the children, absence of proper medium <sup>of</sup> instruction, textbooks and curriculum, lack of physical facilities in the school, lack of proper administration and supervision, negative attitude of teachers towards tribal children, dearth of trained teachers and unfavourable attitude of parents towards the education of their children.

Among these factors, the academic and administrative factors responsible for education have not been thoroughly explored. The studies mentioned, have not considered the difficulties arising out of <sup>type</sup> lack of interaction or absence of <sup>much</sup> interaction between the teacher and the students in the classroom, antagonism of teachers towards these students and the improper teaching methods or lack of specialised training to the teachers who are required to teach these students. Furthermore, the crux of the academic and administrative problems; the difficulties faced by the children in learning different subjects, the peculiar aspects of the subjects has <sup>not</sup> not been explored in the studies reviewed in this section.

Apart from the inadequately explored area mentioned above, the most crucial aspect i.e., the diversity among tribal groups have <sup>3</sup> been neglected by most of the studies. Diversity among the tribal groups arises out of a number of factors such as the historical background, geographic location, socio-economic status, educational level etc. Although the socio-economic aspect has been studied by most of the research workers, the lacuna still remains <sup>because</sup> when other factors <sup>have</sup> not <sup>been</sup> studied, simultaneously. In such a situation taking random or purposive sampling from a cross section of different tribes (as most of the studies have adopted these methods) in order to find out the educational problems of tribals, would not yield the 'real problems, <sup>R</sup> rather some lopsided problems will be arrived at. For instance, the States of Assam and Rajasthan have fairly high concentration of tribals; and the former is a typically hilly terrain whereas the latter is mainly plain. These differences in the terrain obviously influence the need patterns, occupational structure and the general life styles of the inhabitants, <sup>C</sup> consequently the educational problems of tribals in these

places will have a wide range of difference. Moreover, it is pertinent to note that such differences in the geographical location of tribals are significant not merely among the different states but also within individual states.

A cursory examination of the causes for continued educational backwardness among the tribals as pointed out by these studies reveals that they are rooted in their states of social alienation and economic ~~improvisation~~<sup>ment</sup>. In this connection though most of the studies have pointed out the causes of their educational backwardness, they have not described the nature of educational backwardness. It is also observed from the review that the studies which have been conducted ~~along~~<sup>among</sup> with SC's and other communities do not indicate discriminative findings with regard to the educational problems. However, some of the studies have pointed out that inspite of educational facilities in tribal areas, the tribals are less literate than the non-tribals; their level of education is low; non-enrolment is higher and school dropout is substantial. Furthermore, it was also pointed out that socio-economic differentiations both within tribal and non-tribal society seem to have close association with the educational disparities among them. Therefore, in such cases it is necessary to recognise that the tribals are late comers to a developmental mainstream. Substantial gap exists between the non-tribals and tribals. Even relatively better off tribals are not very much at par with their counterparts in non-tribal society in terms of enlightenment, culture and consciousness.

A close analysis of the methodologies adopted by the scholars reveals that they ~~are~~<sup>are</sup> based on a perspective which is macroscopic in nature (as most of the studies are ~~survey~~<sup>survey</sup> type using random and purposive sampling) and fails to take

into account the differences that prevail among the tribal communities. In other words, their perspective lacks sensitivity to the specific and individual needs of the various tribal groups, which arise out of the wide diversities among them with respect to a number of factors. Perhaps the basic assumption behind ~~such~~<sup>new</sup> an approach is that these scholars almost treat the tribals as a special but unitary group and as if all the constituents of the group have, by and large, similar if not identical problems (as most of the studies have reported similar findings). In such a situation it is necessary to conduct micro level studies adopting a type of methodology which would be sensitive to varying needs among tribal people in order to understand the nature of their educational problems. Such a methodology would obviously involve intensive field study, participant and non-participant observation and open ended interviews. Although, the researcher has to be very careful in adopting these techniques while eliciting the information, nonetheless they are very much fruitful for the pursuit of knowledge.

#### Wastage and Stagnation in Tribal Education:

Wastage and stagnation are two of the many problems of tribal education. Many of the reasons for the slow spread of education in tribal areas could be attributed to these two factors. These two problems have been thoroughly studied by Vyas (1970), Pratap and Others (1971), Agrawal (1972), and Masavi (1976). In addition to these studies, although the studies of Ambasht (1966), Sachchidananda (1967), Sharma and Sapra (1969), Rathnaiah (1974), Tappo (1974), Mehta (1976), Sarkar (1981), Joshi (1981), Desai and Patel (1981), Sharma (1983), and Haimendorf (1985) did not directly focus on wastage and stagnation in tribal education, they nonetheless, deal with these problems in their wider frame of reference

~~of their endeavour.~~ It can be observed from these studies that most of the studies are large scale survey type researches covering many districts and regions of a specified state. Stratified random and purposive sampling has been the predominant means of sample selection. Survey of records, questionnaire and interview method has been invariably used for data collection purpose. A brief discussion of findings of these studies are presented in the following sections.

The study of Masavi (1976) on wastage and stagnation in primary education in tribal areas in Gujarat reveals that the proportion of primary schools with standards V to VII was substantially higher, and the proportion of single-teacher schools was substantially lower, in the progressive blocks (blocks having highest literacy rate) than that in the backward blocks (blocks having lowest literacy rate). The number of students enrolled and the proportion of ~~girl~~ *female* students among them were also greater in the progressive blocks than those in the backward blocks. Another study by Rathnaiah (1974), on the structural constraints in tribal education in A.P. reveals that there was no significant difference in enrolment of children at primary level from families of different sizes (salaried employees, cultivators, labourers etc.), but there was significant difference at the secondary level. Similarly the study of Lal (1972), on wastage and stagnation in primary education among the tribals in Gujarat also reveals that about 56.6 per cent of the estimated number of children in 6-11 age group were found enrolled in schools against 79 per cent in the general population. In all the schools there were many children on roll but who had never really attended the schools. Also there were many schools on record but most of them did not really function, and single - teacher schools were predominant. Further he has concluded that higher the percentage

of single teacher schools, <sup>the</sup> lower was the percentage of school going children. Thus it can be observed here that educational and economic backwardness of tribal parents and inadequate educational facilities in tribal areas hinder the enrolment of tribal children in schools.

With regard to the trend in enrolment the study of Lal (1972) reveals that there was a <sup>trend towards</sup> decreasing trend of enrolment of students from standard I to standard VII; the decline in enrolment of students was the steepest at the end of very first year in primary school; it was becoming progressively less steep as the students move from standard II to VII. Similarly Tappo (1974) observed in 1962-63 that out of 120 Oraon students enrolled in Class I, forty left their studies after studying at the school for a few months. Thus this might be taken as a reflection of the fact that a very large proportion of the enrollees in standard I drop out immediately after one year of schooling or during the initial year of primary schooling.

Pratap and Others (1971) in their study on absenteeism, stagnation and wastage in primary schools in the tribal areas of A.P. have reported that the incidence of absenteeism was highest with 35.83, 38.84 and 35.83 per cent in standards I, II and III respectively. Absenteeism was more pronounced among girls (40.50 per cent) than among boys (30.50 per cent). Further they have reported that highest absenteeism was observed in January followed by April and October, while the lowest was recorded in the month of August followed by June and July. Accordingly, they have concluded that absenteeism was found to be <sup>influenced</sup> conditioned by the cycles of agricultural operations, festival celebrations, marriage ceremony etc.

With regard to the incidence of wastage in tribal education, some of the studies (Ambasht 1966, Pratap and Others 1971, Lal 1972, Agrawal 1972, Masavi 1976) have shown

that wastage in primary education was very high ranging from 50 to 90 per cent. Similarly with regard to the wastage at the secondary level adequate number of studies are not available to know the incidence of wastage. However, the study of Vyas (1970) on the drop-outs in a tribal situation in Rajasthan reveals that in higher classes (Cl. VI to XI) the incidence of dropout was not high and the extent of stagnation was more. When the incidence of wastage was studied separately classwise, Masavi (1976) observed that about two-thirds of the tribal students dropped out during their primary education. Only about 10 per cent (or less) of them were able to complete their primary education, while about one-fourth of them were continuing their primary education even after four years (that is, they were stagnated at some stage in primary education). Further it was observed that the quantum of wastage was the greatest in the very first year of primary education (the rate of wastage at this stage was 69.6 per cent for the cohort 1966-67 to 1969-70, and it was 61.2 per cent for 1967-68 to 1970-71) and that it was greater among girls (about 50 to 80 per cent of girls in different blocks dropped out during their primary education). Another noted finding of this study reveals that in the Danta block all the girls enrolled in standard I in 1966-67 dropped out during their primary education and in many other sample blocks there were substantial differences in the quantum of wastage for the Cohorts of 1966-67 and 1967-68 (Since Masavi has not indicated any reason for such a sharp drop-outs among girls in primary schools of these blocks, one wonders whether and to what extent the nature of school records is a responsible factor in this regard). Rathnaiah (1974) reported that the rate of drop-out was found to be phenomenal in the schools in tribal areas where out of every hundred children enrolled in the first grade, only three reached the fifth grade. Similarly, Agrawal (1974)

has also reported that the rate of wastage was highest in Class I (60.71 per cent) and lowest in Class V (17.91 per cent). In class II, III and IV, the rates were 41.69, 34.52 and 36.36 per cent respectively. Thus on the basis of these studies it can be concluded that there was a declining rate of wastage as the students pass<sup>ed</sup> from Class I to higher classes.

With regard to the indices of stagnation, the study of Tappo (1974) reveals that 27 per cent of the students were stagnated in Class I. Agrawal (1972) reported that indices of stagnation were 34.66, 17.34 and 7.59 per cent in standards I, II, III and IV respectively. Similarly Masavi (1976) also found that the rate of stagnation in standard I was 51.7 and 43.3 per cent for the two reference Cohorts (1966-67 and 1967-68) indicating that the rate of stagnation was very high in standard I. In standard II and III stagnation became considerably reduced (during 1967-68 to 1970-71, the rate of stagnation in standards II, III and IV were 20.5, 6.0 and 0.7 per cent respectively). Further he has found that about 30 to 50 per cent of the tribal students pass their standard-I examination at the second attempt and the quantum of stagnation decreased later on. Thus it can be observed that stagnation was also acute at the primary schooling stage. However, on the basis of these studies it cannot be concluded that the rate of stagnation decreases as the students pass from Class I to higher classes.

With regard to the wastage and stagnation in different type of schools viz., Panchyat schools, Aided schools and Ashram schools, the study of Pratap and Others (1971) reveals that the government schools had the highest percentage of wastage followed by Panchyat schools and aided schools had the minimum percentage of wastage. Lal's (1972) study reveals that the overall wastage among standard I enrolees in Ashram schools, over a period of four years was about 20 per cent which was the lowest when compared to corresponding figures for other schools. Similarly Masavi

1976) has also reported that the overall waste<sup>all</sup> in all the Ashram schools was 51.8 per cent and 41.6 per cent for the two reference Cohorts (1966-67 and 1967-68), respectively. Further, percentages of students who could complete standard IV from the two cohorts were 24 and 30 per cent which were much higher when compared to corresponding figures for other schools. Accordingly, he has concluded that wastage and stagnation did not occur in the Ashram schools to the same extent as it did occur in other schools. However, the patterns of wastage and stagnation in Ashram schools were similar to those in village schools; in particular, the proportion of drop-outs in Ashram schools was highest in the first year of primary education. The study of Desai and Patel (1981) in this regard reveals that about 44.4 per cent of the Standard II enrollees dropped out before completing standard VI. The percentage of drop-outs was greater among girls (55.8 per cent) than among boys (38.2 per cent). About one-sixth of the girls enrolled in standard III dropped out within one year, and a smaller percentage of them dropped-out during each year of the subsequent years. Further, when they have been examined whether the students who dropped-out from the sample Ashram schools joined any other school later on, they found that 28.5 per cent of the drop-outs had joined some other schools. Thus the net percentage of wastage was 31.4 per cent against 44.4 per cent determined earlier. About 7 percent of the students found to have stagnated during four years. No student was found to have stagnated in 12 of the 22 Ashram schools in the Sample. Thus it can be observed here that inspite of the lodging and boarding facilities provided by the government in Ashram schools, there was a considerable amount of wastage prevailing in those schools, but stagnation rates seemed to be ~~in a declining state~~. While examining the reasons for wastage and stagnation in tribal education, many scholars have observed that wastage and stagnation <sup>were</sup> are not two distinct phenomena, but the result of the same set of socio-economic factors. A large proportion

of tribal parents who get their children enrolled in primary school due to persuasion of teachers and other, withdraw their children from school when they need <sup>ed their</sup> assistance ~~or~~ their children in their household or economic activities. Thus, tribal parents' indifferent and apathetic attitude toward education together with their poor economic condition, seem to be the major causes for irregular attendance, absenteeism and dropping out from school. At the age of ten or twelve years boys and girls are useful for work in their parent's farm. Moreover, they are a fixed economic addition in the tribal families. Therefore, many tribal parents are unwilling to spare their children, particularly if they see that schools are not well-run and teachers are insincere. Perhaps more important is the realisation among parents, as well as older pupils that school education is of limited usefulness. Another major reason is the lack of enthusiasm among teachers, their infrequent absenteeism and irregular attendance do not motivate students adequately in their studies and in many cases it leads to the virtual idleness among children. Coupled with the virtual idleness and lack of motivation among students; lack of conducive atmosphere at home and failure experienced by students leads to dropping out at any stage of their education. Inability of non-tribal teachers to communicate in their tribal dialect also seems <sup>to</sup> act as a barrier in motivating young tribal students especially during their initial period of schooling.

#### Some Observations and Implications:

It can be observed from the fore-going review that wastage and stagnation in tribal education are closely related to the socio-economic milieu in which the tribals exist. Stagnation in education results often from students

dropping out of schools; these students dropout <sup>(or)</sup> among other reasons, ~~because~~ of lack of educational awareness and socio-economic constraints. Broadly speaking, the existing studies have tried to examine wastage and stagnation at two levels: (i) At a macro level, examining the percentages of a Cohort ~~of the enrollees at the entry point~~ who are enrolled progressively into higher classes in the subsequent years (these are often labelled as retention percentages of enrollees at the entry point) and (ii) At a micro level, the school records of cohorts of enrollees are examined, over a period of time, so as to determine what percentage of that cohort of students continued their study in subsequent years. But in the recent years some scholars have questioned the high rate of wastage and stagnation presented in the earlier studies. These scholars have argued that such high percentages have been found because of the faulty research design of the earlier works which were based upon certain presumptions that tribal student don't change schools or one's dropping out don't rejoin. Hence these scholars have tried to examine the phenomena of "inter-school transfer", that is, a enrollee changing one school to another with or without a time break in his academic pursuit. Such exercises had led to the improvement in the statistics of drop-outs.

Thus enrolment data (at the micro level) are quite incomplete if not unreliable, but it remains the major source of aggregate data for examining trends of wastage and stagnation at the macro level. Moreover the shortcoming in the information can be ~~relatively~~ <sup>partly</sup> overcome by cross-checking the records of a cohort of schools within a specific geographic context as students change schools that are easily available. As there are very few micro studies based upon intensive field work on wastage and stagnation in tribal education are available we have to rely on enrolment data to estimate the overall rate of drop-outs among tribal

students. But the few available intensive studies help our understanding of the factors and forces determining wastage and stagnation in tribal education. However, it must be remembered here that there has been recently some changes in the reasons for wastage and stagnation among them, particularly in view of an increasing trend of enrolment of tribal students at various levels of education.

Notwithstanding this, the major weakness of the existing studies old and new, is that there is a dearth of studies regarding the socio-economic characteristics of tribal students who drop-out at various stages of primary, middle and high school education. Without such information, it is very difficult to arrive at any meaningful understanding of or formulate any generalization of the phenomena of drop-outs. Therefore, there is a need for studies examining the socio-economic background of the drop-outs and also the immediate causes that led them to drop-out, in terms of individual familial and school variables.

#### Utilisation of Facilities by the Tribals:

In order to know the expansion and growth of education and development of tribal people, it is necessary to analyse whether the newly introduced programmes have fitted into or rejected by the society for which it is introduced. One way of understanding the acceptance or rejection is to analyse the utilisation of facilities. Hence the studies conducted on the utilisation of facilities are reviewed here in this section.

Provision and utilisation of school facilities has been studied by Srivastava (1970b), Pratap et al. (1971), Lakshmana (1975), Bogaret (1979), Desai and Patel (1981), Joshi (1981), Kakoty (1982), and Bose (1982). While the study of

Bose, Desai and Patel, and Pratap et al., have examined the extent of utilization of Ashram School facilities, the study of Joshi and Lakshmanna have examined the extent of utilisation of general school facilities. Further Joshi and Srivastava have examined the problems faced by the tribals in relation to provision and use of school facilities, whereas Lakshmanna and Kakoty have examined the extent to which the facilities have benefitted them. Similarly Bogaret has examined how education helps in the development of tribal people. A brief discussion of the findings of these studies is discussed below.

Bose (1982) in his study on Ashram Schools in Bihar found that quantitatively (because of the small size) Ashram schools had failed to fulfill the educational needs of the people. But the study of Desai and Patel (1981) on Ashram Schools in Gujarat reveals that out of the twenty-two of Ashram schools in the sample, fourteen schools had 120 students each according to the prescribed rules and the remaining schools had excess students. Further it can be observed from their study that the boys and girls ratio was 2:1, though the prescribed rule was to maintain 1:1 ratio. This may be due to the non-availability of <sup>female</sup> girl students or lack of study facilities for girl students or unattractiveness of Ashram schools etc. Another study by Pratap et al. (1971) on Ashram schools in Tribal Areas of Andhra Pradesh also reveals, that on an average, each Ashram School was serving about 64 students hailing from 10 villages, and about 65 per cent of the students of the sample schools were hailing from 58 per cent of the total villages and their range of distance was below six miles from the school. So, it can be concluded from these studies that more the number of Ashram schools more is the utilisation of facilities by the people. The study of Bose further reveals that qualitatively (in terms of curriculum, teaching methods and

other physical facilities available) also Ashram schools had failed to fulfill the educational needs of the people. Accordingly he has concluded that the objectives for which they were established had remained largely unachieved. Similarly Pratap et al. have reported that the necessary adjuncts of Ashram schools viz., playground, small agricultural farms, vegetable and flower gardens and drinking water well were not provided in all the Ashram schools. The study of Desai and Patel shows that teachers were not organising the classes regularly and among vocational subjects, agriculture was predominant. With regard to teachers and incidence of wastage and stagnation some of the studies (Bose, Desai and Patel, and Pratap et al.) have found that most of the Ashram schools had non-tribal and underqualified teachers and there was high rate of wastage and stagnation among <sup>the</sup> students. Thus it can be concluded that <sup>the</sup> mere opening of Ashram schools will ~~result into~~ <sup>not prevent</sup> misutilisation or under-utilisation of facilities unless the necessary adjuncts <sup>supporting facilities</sup> are provided.

In his study on identification of educational problems of the Saoras (a tribe), Srivastava (1970b) observed that in spite of educational facilities provided by the Tribal and Rural Welfare department of the government of Orissa, <sup>the</sup> progress made in the promotion of education among the Saoras was not satisfactory. His study further revealed that high percentage of illiteracy among the Saoras was creating difficulty in introducing and implementing any development programme. A study conducted on the socio-economic aspect of tribal education by Sachchidananda (1967), reveals that even to take advantage of the various development programmes, a certain degree of education <sup>is</sup> necessary. Bogaret (1979) supported <sup>the</sup> findings, <sup>on the ground that</sup> saying that in spite of the personal contact of the functionaries of the development programmes with the teachers, students, and tribal parents, little improvement was seen in the education department and the formal schools. The study of Lakshmana (1975) on the SC and ST high school students in Andhra

Pradesh shows that a majority of SC and ST students were ignorant about the hostel facilities and reservation of jobs for them, which resulted into non-utilisation of facilities by the people. Thus it can be observed here that lack of educational awareness among the people was a major source of non-utilisation of facilities. In his study on the problems faced by certain tribal groups in Trivandrum district in relation to provision and use of school facilities, Joshi (1981) reported that out of the 2046 members of 400 families selected for study, only 27 per cent were literate. School facilities within 1 Km were available to 18 per cent of the people. There was no school within a distance of 3 Km for about 64 per cent of the people. Lakshmana (1975) reported that majority of the SC and ST students opted for a particular school, because it was offering special facilities for them, and there were 12.55 per cent cases wherein the number of students per class room was sixty to seventy, affecting the performance of students. This means the schooling facilities were not uniform and adequate. When the opinion was sought from tribal parents with regard to the non-utilisation of schooling facilities, most of them opined that teachers did not show favourable attitude towards the education of tribal children (Desai and Patel, 1981). Thus it can be observed here that although there were inadequate schooling facilities, but whatever little facilities were available they were not utilised properly. Since the reasons put forth with regard to non-utilisation are inconclusive nothing can be concluded from this, hence further probing is needed. Utilisation of financial facilities has been studied by Srivastava (1970), Desai and Pander (1974), Rajagopalan (1974), Sachchidananda (1974) Nayar (1975), Singh (1975), and Lakshmana (1975). Most of these studies have simply sought the opinion of students

with regard to ~~financial assistance~~ <sup>usefulness and adequacy</sup> in terms of its usefulness and adequacy. However, only Srivastava (1970) has examined the extent of utilisation of financial assistance and the factors responsible for non-utilisation or misutilisation if any, of financial assistance by the tribal students. While examining the relative usefulness of the two categories (cash and kind) of financial assistance Srivastava (1970) has observed that all the sample states (Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Tripura) had given more emphasis on schemes providing assistance in cash. <sup>The</sup> Majority of the officers favour the introduction of both types of schemes, but prefer the former in case of secondary schools and the latter in primary schools. Nearly one-third of the students preferred assistance in cash and the rest have preferred assistance in kind. ~~With regard to the adequacy of financial assistance~~ it was found by him that financial assistance given to the students was inadequate. Similar findings have also been reported by Rajagopalan (1974), Nayar (1975), and Lakshmana (1975). All these studies have reported that most of the SC and ST students considered the scholarship scheme useful but ~~they felt it was inadequate~~. Some other studies (Srivastava 1970, Sachchidananda (1974), and Singh (1975) in this regard have shown that although <sup>the</sup> scholarship scheme was useful to the students but some students opined that the scheme was not working satisfactorily and some students expressed their dissatisfaction with regard to the implementation of the scheme. So it can be concluded that by and large the students considered financial assistance as useful but the amount was inadequate and there was some lacuna in the implementation criteria of financial assistance.

With regard to the regularity of financial assistance the study of Srivastava (1970) reveals that by and large it was irregular. More delay was at the district and state

levels. Consequently, delay was leading to gross misutilisation of assistance by students; poor attendance and educational performance, and the very purpose of this scheme was defeated. His study also reveals that as there were no prescribed rules for utilisation of the amount, it was jointly spent by the students, parents and relatives and mostly the amount was utilised in non-educational items. There was no follow-up programme of this scheme on the part of the government. Some of the states were even not utilising the funds. His further probing in this connection reveals that delay and untimely disbursement, lack of follow-up and supervision, lack of awareness, poverty and backwardness were the major reasons for misutilisation and non-utilisation of financial assistance. Notwithstanding the inadequacy and irregularity of assistance it was found by Srivastava that tribal students who got assistance did better in their studies but reporting on the negative impact of this scheme he has stated that it was creating a sense of dependency among them, resulting in large number of dropouts if the assistance is discontinued sometime. So it can be concluded that delay and irregularity in the financial assistance defeats the purpose of the scheme. Provision and utilisation of benefits from the development programmes has been studied by Srivastava et al. (1970), Srivastava (1970a), Sail (1970), Seetharamu (1977), and Bogaret (1979). While the study of Srivastava (1970a) has identified the developmental needs of tribal people with a view to provide base materials for planning and administration of development programmes, the study of Srivastava et al. (1970) has examined how and why the same tribal community living in contiguous areas do not derive equal benefits from the development programmes. But the studies of Sail (1970), Seetharamu (1977), and Bogaret (1979) have examined how the introduction of educational input in various development programmes helps

the people in taking optimum benefit from the programmes.

With regard to the developmental needs of tribal people, Srivastava (1970a) observed that agricultural production in Garo Hills (Assam) and Santal pargana (Bihar) was insufficient due to the nature of the soil, use of traditional tools and implements, lack of irrigation facilities, and not using improved seeds and fertilizers. So proper education of the people for practising terrace cultivation was needed. The vast potentiality of fruit gardens in Garo hills was not being utilised in the absence of preservation centres and processing factories. Cooperative loan giving society had proved a failure among these tribal people. Indebtedness was a serious problem in Santal paragona. People were depending on other means of livelihood for nearly five to six months in both the places. From the study the researcher has concluded that better education can lead to the betterment of the economic condition, both being complementary to each other. Another study by Srivastava et al. (1970) reveals that the socio-economic status and lack of political and educational awareness among tribal people seriously handicapped them to take advantage of the development programmes. Therefore, unequal level of development was found among them. Thus it can be observed from these studies that poverty, lack of awareness and the absence of necessary adjuncts for the existing facilities in tribal areas are the stumbling blocks coming in their way to take advantage of the development programmes.

The study conducted by Sail (1970) on nutritional programme in schools reveals that children who were fed with diets formulated in laboratory showed superior increments of weight, height, serum protein, albumin and carotene as compared to children who were taking school lunch. The

study further reveals that the beneficial effect of C.A.R.E. programme was found to be much greater during adolescence. Another study by Bogaret (1979) on education for integral rural development reveals that the villages where educational inputs were provided there was a positive response to efforts of sponsors and agents of technical change, and in other villages the technological inputs were not able to bring about any permanent or real improvement. It was further found that the presence of the functionaries and their availability for the local villages had helped the people in discussion of their difficulties, and in obtaining information about benefits from the government, and the availability of short term training programmes. Similarly the study by Seetharamu (1977) in this regard reveals that illiteracy did not appear to prevent rural people from participation in developmental programmes. However, the educated, in general did better than the illiterates so far as the response to development programmes were concerned. But enough evidence was not found to conclude that higher the level of education, higher was the response to development programmes. However, it was concluded that, by and large, the lower primary educated scored decisively over the illiterates and marginally over other levels of educated people, in their response to development programmes. But the higher secondary educated scored above all others with regard to a few programmes such as the popularisation of scientific methods of agriculture and the long-term irrigation loan scheme.

#### Some Observations and Implications:

The review of studies on utilisation of facilities reveal that despite the phenomenal quantitative expansion of educational facilities in tribal areas and the introduction

of various developmental programmes the tribals have benefitted the least. Perhaps the main reason for this can be attributed to lack of appreciation for and inadequate awareness of the advantages of education among these people. Moreover, significantly, it cannot be said that higher the education level of the people higher is the utilization of facility. The review further reveals that, on the one hand some studies have pointed out that educational facilities in tribal areas are by and large inadequate, and whatever little facilities are available they are not utilised properly, on the other hand another group of studies have reported that in the absence of the necessary adjuncts of the educational facilities, they are by and large misutilized and under-utilized by the tribal people. In such a situation two pertinent questions emerge; (i) What are the existing facilities required for the development and promotion of tribal education? Are these sufficient to meet the needs of the tribal people? (ii) What are the factors that determine the acceptance and non-acceptance, and utilization or non-utilization of educational facilities in a community? But the available studies have not provided the answers to these questions. Since all the studies are macro-level studies, together they have failed to provide any valid reasons in this regard. Perhaps micro-level analysis can answer these questions validly, providing thereby some basis to evolve framework for implementation criteria which would be suited to the specific needs of the various tribal groups.

Apart from the utilization or non-utilization of educational facilities, the review of studies reveal that there also have been cases where the pupils have not utilised the financial assistance given to them or have misused them. Many a time it has been reported by several studies that the scholarships in shape of cash given to tribal students, specially at the higher secondary stage, have been used by

them in buying luxurious commodities quite unsuited to the life of a tribal student, or by their parents as means of sustenance. The result has been that they have denied themselves the basic requirements to prosecute their studies which have led to undesirable consequences. Besides, some studies have also pointed out that the financial assistance has remained largely unutilised. But there are also studies which have reported that tribal people are taking maximum advantage from this; they have opined that financial assistance is helping their academic ~~persuit~~ but they are inadequate; very often they are irregular too. In such a situation a few questions emerge which need to be thoroughly probed into. They are: (i) Do the students properly utilize the financial assistance given to them? (ii) If not, what steps are needed to see that they utilize it? (iii) How best can the financial assistance given by the government be utilized so that pupils continue their studies uninterrupted? (iv) Is it utilized in accordance with the expectations held at the time of disbursement? (v) In what way does the utilization of the facilities differ from the kind of utilization that is planned? (vi) Is non-utilization related to defective functioning of the administration of these facilities? (vii) Is it related to a situation in which they do not cater to their felt needs? (viii) Do people hesitate to make use of the facilities due to any prejudice or to a feeling that there is loss of dignity in using facilities provided for "poor" or "backward groups"? Since the available studies are large scale survey type investigations, they have failed to answer all these question. Although some of the studies have tried to answer a few questions but by and large most of the questions have remained unanswered. Hence there is need for micro-level analysis in order to explore thoroughly this area.

Examining the studies on utilization of facilities by tribals, it is observed that researchers have not paid adequate attention to examine the extent to which the tribal parents' knowledge about general facilities for education and programmes of special assistance to the tribals for education and jobs, their exposure to mass-media and urban contact, and their perceived importance of education are related to the educational attainment of their children. The review shows that such variables are closely related to their level of education. Further it has been observed in some of the studies that the introduction of educational input in various development programmes has made significant impact on the formal schooling of tribal children but an ephemeral impact was found on other aspects of tribal life. Also pointed out by some of the studies that there is a close relationship between the level of education and participation in development programmes. This means a higher level awareness and education seem to be responsible for considerably reducing the difference in the participation in development programmes. But from the available studies it is very difficult to conclude that higher the level of awareness and education higher is the participation of people in development programmes. In view of the several special assistance programmes for the tribal people the present review points out the need for imaginative and sustained efforts to ~~persue~~ <sup>be</sup> further in detail, the results of which can <sup>be</sup> utilised not only in motivating the tribals to benefit from such programmes but also in reducing to a certain extent, the differences in their educational attainment.

#### Curriculum, Textbook and Medium of Instruction:

The question of relevance of curriculum and textbooks to tribal life and culture has been studied by Solanki (1977),

Srivastava, Lal and Lal (1971), Pratap et al. (1971), Rathnaiah (1974), Tappo (1974), Sujatha (1980), Kundu (1980, 1984), Bose (1972), and Kakoty (1982). A brief discussion of findings of these studies presented here.

Solanki (1977), in his study of tribals in primary and secondary school textbooks has pointed out that text-books for mathematics, science, crafts and other activities did not contain anything directly related to tribal life and culture, whereas, more material related to tribal life and culture could be found in geography textbook. In comparison to earlier text-books the current textbooks presented vivid and proper description of tribal culture, customs and life. Some of the lessons in textbooks emphasized the need to appreciate human qualities and special characteristics of tribal life and culture. Further, referring to the bias of lesson writers, he has pointed out, that some of the lesson writers have highlighted in their own way, certain positive aspects of traditional culture of the tribals, whereas, certain other aspects of their life remained totally untouched. However, it cannot be concluded that the text-books were totally unrelated to tribal life and culture and there was any adequate representation of all aspects of tribal life in the syllabus that was found by Solanki. In this regard the study of Kundu (1980 and 1984) on english textbooks and tribal pupils and some educational problems of tribals, reveals that the existing textbooks are found to depict urban middle class life and culture. These textbooks also contain ideas, concepts and themes alien to the tribal pupils. The existing textbooks, therefore, not only create problems in learning, they also create in tribal learners a negative attitude towards themselves and their culture. Similarly, Srivastava, Lal and Lal (1971), in their study of the educational problems of the Saora children of Orissa, have pointed out the

content of textbooks as a factor responsible for the childrens' poor performamnce. According to this study, 95 per cent of the teachers and 91 per cent of the officers working in the area felt that the textbooks were unsuitable for Saora children. Thus it can be observed here that most of these studies have come to a conclusion that the prescribed textbooks did not give much coverage pertaining to tribal society and culture.

Apart from the question of relevance of textbooks the question of relevance of curriculum and the problem of medium of instruction has been mentioned by a few researchers. Rathnaiah (1977), in his study of Adilabad's tribal community has mentioned that the curriculum and medium of instruction in schools in the tribal area are the same as those of the schools in the plains and were not adopted to the local conditions. Pratap et al. (1971) in their study of Ashram school in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh found that the curriculum of Ashram Schools was not suitable for the tribal children except for the teaching of crafts like spinning, clay modelling, paper cutting, farm and garden work. Sujatha (1980), also in her study of constraints on education of the Nellore district Yanadis has pointed out that the curriculum was not related to the life and needs of the Yanadi community, so they found schooling suffocating and meaningless. Similarly Bose (1972), Tappo (1974), and Kakoty (1982) have *commented on* ~~talked about~~ the irrelevance of the content and teaching methods usual for the education of tribal students. With regard to the problem of <sup>the</sup> medium of instruction some of the studies (Srivastava et al. 1971, Nayar 1975, Rathnaiah 1974, Bose 1972, and Kundu 1984) have pointed out that except in a *few* ~~the case of a very few tribal languages~~, education in tribal languages has not been possible so far. For the first time coming to school, a tribal child finds all the activities of the school conducted in a language which he cannot follow

He feels alienated from the beginning, consequently, resulting into poor performance in tests and examinations. Thus on the basis of these studies it can be concluded that neither the curriculum is relevant to the needs of tribal children nor the instruction is imparted in tribal mother tongues.

#### Some Observations and Implications:

It can be observed from the review of studies under this section, that researchers have not given adequate attention while studying the problems of curriculum, textbook and methods of teaching. Though some scholars have examined the relevance of curriculum materials to tribal life and culture, they have not examined the issue in depth or detail. But any discussion of relevance of curriculum needs to be critically examined, the methods of teaching, textbook, prescribed and medium of instruction followed, because they are intimately related to and dependent upon consideration and decisions regarding the medium of instruction, the type of schools and teachers needed, and above all, the overall policy on tribal education. Therefore, these findings can hardly be described as more than a token acknowledgement of the problems posed by a curriculum that is alien to the life and culture of tribal students.

#### Adult Education among the Tribals:

Studies on education for the tribals with special reference to adult education programme has been attempted by a few researchers like Ambasht (1966), Srivastava, Lal and Lal (1971), Sinha and Kolte (1974), Dixit (1975), Lakra (1976) and Bastia (1982). Sinha and Kolte (1974), and Dixit (1975) have examined the introduction of inputs like functional literacy, farmers training and vocational training

and thus gauged the agricultural and economic development of tribals. Bastia (1982) has thoroughly examined the content, potentiality, and impact of NAEP on the tribals. And the remaining studies have given a brief mention about adult education programme in their broader frame of endeavour. It can be observed here that most of the studies are surveys. Random and purposive sampling and questionnaire and interview schedule have been the predominant tools and techniques of data collection adopted by these researchers. A brief discussion of findings of these studies is presented below.

Bastia (1982), in his study on NAEP in the tribal region of Orissa observed that majority of tribals were cultivators, daily wage earners, illiterates, and having poor knowledge of health and sanitary conditions. The farmers were not aware of scientific methods of cultivation. Although most of the instructors were tribals but they were poorly qualified. All the centres were lacking in proper physical facilities. The average ~~daily~~ attendance for male centre was comparatively higher than that of female centres. The programme concentrated mainly on literacy and numeracy only and the content unit in materials did not reflect tribal life situations and cultural practices. Instruction was imparted through local language but the non-tribal instructors were facing some problem in communicating with the tribals. Lack of library facilities and dearth of post-literacy materials were the constraints in organising the follow-up programmes. Similarly Srivastava, Lal and Lal (1971) in their study in identification of educational problems of the Saora (a tribe) of Orissa have observed that due to their technological backwardness, educational development had been difficult to achieve; the incidence of dropout was very high in the formal school and attendance in adult education classes was extremely poor. Further they have

concluded that high percentage of illiteracy was creating difficulties in introducing and implementing any development programme. Thus it can be observed here that the NAEP implementation had achieved only a limited success in the tribal region.

With regard to the introduction of inputs in adult education programme Dixit (1975), in his study <sup>of</sup> the educational <sup>al</sup> need <sup>pattern</sup> of adults in the urban, rural and tribal communities of Rajasthan has reported, that for more than half of the respondents, the vocational training was very much helpful in their jobs. <sup>Majority</sup> of the respondents did not avail of the opportunity for education, although <sup>was</sup> the <sup>facility</sup> of literacy classes <sup>were offered</sup> in the tribal villages. In this regard the study of Sinha and Kolte (1974) on the evaluation of adult education programme in relation to agricultural development in a tribal development block of Andhra Pradesh reveals, that out of the four groups of farmers viz., (i) those exposed to functional literacy; (ii) those exposed to farmers training; (iii) those who were not exposed to any treatments, all the farmers <sup>and this was</sup> ~~of~~ functional literacy plus farmers training groups were aware of functional literacy programme. Further, all the farmers of functional literacy and functional literacy plus farmers training groups and as many as 98 and 99 per cent from control and farmers training group, respectively perceived the need for functional literacy for better life. Almost all the farmers from functional literacy and functional literacy plus farmers training groups not only expected but also perceived improvement in their knowledge about high yielding variety of seeds, ability to use improved farm practices, ability to purchase agricultural outputs, ability to market farm produce profitably, ability to make rational decisions etc. Finally they have concluded

in saying that functional literacy plus farmers training group was found to be the best stimulus for influencing agricultural development. The study of Ambasht (1966) on the educational problems of the tribals of Ranchi district also reveals, that the programme of social education was by and large the same as in non-tribal areas. The general emphasis was on folk dances, youth activities and literacy classes. The use of modern amenities and dress were the indicators of changes in the life of tribals. Lakra (1978), in his study on the impact of education on the tribals of Ranchi district have also reported that tribals had developed a taste for western music and dance and neglected their own heritage. Their standard of living rose with the level of education, but the socio-economic status did not rise proportionately. Education made them free from poverty, ignorance, social taboos and superstitions. Gradually the tribals became education conscious and sent their children to schools. Thus it can be observed here that the introduction of inputs in adult education programme had succeeded in achieving the objectives. Moreover, to some extent influence of NAEP was also found in bringing about behavioural changes among the tribals. The review of studies in this section revealed that there is a dearth of indepth and ~~experimental~~ studies in the field of adult education programmes for the tribals. All these studies do not seem to have adopted adequate sampling procedure in the sense that samples are not quite representative. Therefore, the generalizations of these studies are partial. Furthermore, substantive data in case of most of the studies have been collected through questionnaire and interview schedules, and in very few cases, observation have been conducted. In view of these methodological shortcomings, the generalizations offered could be spurious or open to questioning.

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The findings of these studies reveal that the educational inputs introduced in adult education programmes have worked satisfactorily; in other words, adequate exposure of tribal people towards educational inputs have raised their awareness and significantly changed their life style. But the available generalizations present a situation which is hard to accept. It is more or less a common knowledge that all is not going well on the tribal education front. So these scholars could have provided clearcut ideas for improving the inputs as well as as for their usage. It can therefore be said, that more number of studies systematically done on adult education progress, especially critically evaluating the inputs, the problems faced by the people in adopting those inputs, the socio-ecological orbit which hinders or facilitates their ability to adopt these inputs etc., is necessary for the qualify and quantify adult education programmes among the tribals.

#### Profile of Education Among the Scheduled Tribes:

The following studies have been reviewed in this section. They are by Srivastava et al. (1971), Desai (1974), Tappo (1974), Medhi (1980), Tripathy (1981), Patel (1984), Shah (1984), and Joshi (1984). A brief discussion on the findings of these studies are presented here.

Srivastava et al. (1971) studied the educational and economic condition and employment position of eighteen tribes from Bihar, M.P., and Orissa. Interview schedules and questionnaires were the tools used. The study revealed that the Hulba and Pradhan Tribes were educationally more developed than the general rural population of India; the Baiga, Gond, Sauria Paharia, Korwa, Kutia Kondh, Koya and Birhor tribes were at an extremely low level of educational

development. The study further revealed that the tribes in the sample were in a relatively better position with regard to educated unemployment in comparison to the Indian rural population, and among the Birhor, Abujhmarhia, Koya and kutia Kondh, there was no educated unemployment because there were no educated persons among them in the sample villages.

Desai (1974) developed a profile of education among the scheduled tribes of Gujarat in terms of the state of literacy and the change in literacy between 1961 and 1971; change in enrolment and utilisation of hostel and scholarship facilities. Census data and official records were used to develop the profile. The study revealed that the literacy rate among the scheduled tribes ranged from 11.69 to 14.12 per cent between 1961 and 1971. The enrolment in primary schools increased by 73 per cent in ten years; in the secondary stage the enrolment increased from 6,901 in 1961 to 22,000 in 1970, and the same <sup>z<sup>m</sup></sup> higher education increased from 202 in 1961 to 2461 in 1970. Only 6 per cent of the students in primary schools and 11.8 per cent of the secondary education population went to the higher education stage. There was an increase in the number of women students at the primary and secondary education levels, 1,736 villages out of 8,732 villages in tribal districts were without schools in 1970 and these villages were unevenly distributed over different talukas. The hostel and scholarship facilities were adequately utilised.

Patel (1984) reviewed the available studies in education among tribal women in Gujarat and reported that upto the end of nineteenth century education among tribal girls was insignificant at primary level. Due to the early efforts of Christian missionaries followed by the Government after

independence, there was a rapid expansion of educational institutions and enrolment. The low level of literacy indicated that most tribal women do not have even the rudimentary ability of reading and writing. There was a considerable inter-tribe variation in the literacy rate of tribal women. The increase in female literacy rate of different tribes during the period of 1961-71 was positively correlated with their female literacy rate in 1961. The enrolment data indicated the trend of a general increase in enrolment of tribal girls at all levels of education. Coupled with poor economic condition, the need for seasonal migration in search for work was a major factor for not sending children to school. The extent of wastage and stagnation was very high among tribal girls than boys. Parents did not desire their daughters, to go beyond primary schooling.

Shah (1984) conducted a sample survey to develop a profile of education among the scheduled tribes in Gujarat and reported that there were 25.5 per cent of literate tribals in 1981. Most of those who were literate had studied up to fourth standard and barely one per cent of the tribals had college education. Literacy rate was higher in males than females and the same was the case with non-tribals also. There was a greater degree of literacy among the ~~elders~~ <sup>elderly</sup>. Sixtyeight per cent of persons in the age group between 19-25 years were illiterate, whereas, the percentage of illiterates among those above 55 years of age was almost 91 per cent. High School and college education was also found to be less in the age groups above 35 years. Only 17 per cent of the households in the sample did not either have land or owned less than one acre of land. Like other benefits, education was not been evenly distributed among all social and economic strata of the tribal society. The middle and rich farmers had taken more advantage of the educational facilities than the poor cultivators and labourers. <sup>1/3</sup> Majority of the children of

these strata were still deprived of schooling. Joshi (1984) conducted a study to evaluate the progress made over hundred years (1882-1982) in educating the tribals of Gujarat. The study intended to examine the influence of changing political content of basic education in the field of tribal education in Gujarat. The study revealed that tribal education in Gujarat prior to 1882 indicated that though the state had accepted education as one of its functions and had opened government schools among the non-tribals, similar efforts were not extended to tribal areas so far. Whatever little efforts were made by the non-tribals to impart, and by the tribals to receive education, were only individual efforts. They were not the result of state policy and practice. Whatever the efforts made during the period (1882-1920) to educate the tribals clearly indicates three points :

- (1) The state had, though reluctantly, accepted that imparting primary education was a duty of the state,
- (2) Those tribals who got education as a result of the efforts made in the first phase became important agents of education and social change in the second phase, and (3)

Without naming it as 'basic' education, craft based education was started by the state at several places.

During 1920 to 1947, there was a change in the political content. The Gandhian ideology became the ideology of the mass movement. The basic education was offered in place of the general pattern of education established by the British regime. The basic education efforts achieved greater success because they were linked with political movement, but it could not get itself established by replacing the general pattern of education.

During 1947 to 1964, basic education could not replace general pattern of education but its culture definitely influenced the tribal development. This was not because of

the inherent capacity of basic education, but because of the hangover of the movement. But this culture was gradually giving way. Even then one cannot deny the role which basic educational institutions played in providing workers to voluntary organizations working for tribal development during this phase.

During 1965 to 1981, basic education as a national policy was discarded by Kothari Commission and by the government of India as well. There was a rise in the literacy, from 11.69 per cent in 1961 to 14.2 per cent in 1971 a clear rise of 2.43 per cent in tribal society. During the year 1976-77, enrolment of ST population was 13.9 per cent as per 1971 census. By the end of 1975, 95 per cent of the tribal villages (about 500 population) had schools.

Tappo (1974) traced the growth of education among the Oraons of Ranchi district with the help of 450 Oraon students, 190 school teachers and 75 guardians or parents from six selected Schools. Schedules were administered to elicit the attitude of the Oraon students, parents and teachers towards education. The study characterised the different aspects of Oraon educational system. The Oraons were found to be one of the important tribes of Bihar. They had the traditional youth dormitory known as Dhumkuria, which served as an educational institution to pass on the traditional culture from one generation to another. But this institution was fast dying and was being replaced by modern schools and colleges. The Christian missionaries were first to start the work of educating the Oraons in the year 1931. Adim Jati Seva Mandal, a voluntary organisation, started primary, middle and secondary schools since 1940. The Oraons living in the district of Ranchi were found to be educationally backward in comparison to other people.

Medhi (1980) conducted a study on education in Jirkedam - a tribal institution in Assam. The study intended to give an authentic picture of the Jirkedam, the dormitory institution of Karbi tribe. Open-ended and structured interviews, and participant observation methods were adopted to elicit information from the tribals. The study revealed that Jirkedam was mainly an educational institution of Karbi tribe, though it provided scope for formal teaching except during the oath taking ceremony. Literacy and numeracy were both missing. Only vocational education was provided in Jirkedam. Education was imparted through work experience in real life situation. Training in leadership, discipline, community participation, cooperativeness, dignity of labour, team spirit, fellow feeling, and community feeling were some notable features of Jirkedam. Karbi's instituted a Jirkedam mainly for the purpose of preparing youths for becoming adult agriculturists and to keep a ready labour force for social service and village defence. A model of feudal hierarchy was attempted to be followed in selecting the office bearers. Democratic principles were followed to some extent in selecting office bearers. In the earlier years, girls also used to be admitted. The competitive spirit was encouraged in the Jhum fields. There was more cooperation than competition in agricultural activities. The adolescents were taught to run the institution on their own as well as rendering all kinds of service to the community. The marked difference between Jirkedam and a modern school was noticed in the appointment of a formal teachers.

Tripathy (1981) conducted a study to get a total picture of the development of education of SC and ST students in M.P. since independence to 1973. Official records and documents were the main source of information collection. The study revealed that the rate of increase in enrolment in respect of the SCs and STs was higher than the general

rate during the period 1960-61 to 1965-66, but in the next five year period it was far below the general rate. There was a marked improvement in enrolment of SC and ST students in teaching, professional and special institutions, yet more efforts to get a larger number of them to be admitted in these institutions were needed. No Ashram school was opened for SC girls in the fourth-plan period.

It can be observed (from the review of studies in this section) that several studies have consistently shown that the efforts to raise tribal education to a level which would be at par with the education imparted to the other members of the society is a story of failure. At present we know, we have a ~~first-rate~~ educational crisis on our hand. Several of our major educational objectives have yet remained unrealised and the stress and strains within the educational system have simultaneously increased to an even greater extent. Those who set the targets and those who tried to achieve them were parts of the same machinery. Then why has this sort of contradiction emerged? Were the targets unrealistic or is it that our education system needs to be changed?

Since the studies reviewed in this section are very few it would be unwise to comment here about these studies. However, the review succinctly raises a few questions which need to be examined thoroughly. It should be remembered that these questions should be examined in the light of the ideal as laid down in the constitution and practised by the state, that the weaker sections of society will be given special assistance so that they attain equality with the non-tribals. The questions are: (i) Why the benefits of education have not been evenly distributed among all social and economic strata of the tribal society? (ii) Why people

are tied with their traditional farming method eventhough they are literate and conscious of the availability of scientific methods of farming? (iii) Why the tribal parents are apathetic towards the education of their daughters? (iv) Even if some tribal parents are sending their daughters to school why are they not interested in educating them beyond primary level? (v) In spite of the better economic condition of some tribal families still why a majority of them are illiterate? All these questions therefore, call for more indepth studies especially in the local context in order to present a real picture.

#### Implications of the Related Literature for the Present Study:

From the review of studies under seven sections in this chapter, it can be observed that several studies on tribal education have shown that eventhough efforts were made to raise tribal education to a level which would be at par with the education imparted to the other members of the society, the results have remained far from <sup>helped</sup> the expectations. ~~Education among the tribals is~~ still lagging far behind the non-tribals. Such a situation has been, as argued earlier, is due to social taboos and prejudices prevalent among the tribals, <sup>but</sup> if this was so, then literacy would not have been the high landmark of Naga and Mizo societies. Perhaps the slow growth of education in other tribal societies is due to the presence of what Sachchidananda refers to as strong disincentives. Such disincentives operate at various levels and in different forms. Beginning in the tribal societies themselves, it could be the lack of knowledge <sup>of</sup> the tribal parents <sup>among</sup> about educational facilities and programmes available and the resulting access of educated to employment opportunities. Also perhaps no

efforts have been made to remedy the ignorance of tribal parents or inform the tribals of the value of education. Equally important could be the process through which the existing methods of communicating such ideas have not been effective. At the level of learners perhaps the method of imparting knowledge, the teaching methods could be faulty. The tribal culture and life style is quite different from the non tribals. So the curricula and teaching methods have to be developed taking note of the special features of the tribal society. Finally much could be lacking at the level of implementation of the programmes and also in the overall development of tribal environment. In other words, the implementors do not have the necessary empathy for development of education among tribals. Likewise the environment of tribal society, because of lack of economic development may generate more disincentives towards the promotion of education.

However, it must be mentioned that all the comments made above stem from the general review of research on tribal education. In fact there is no serious analysis of the slow progress of educational development among tribals, their low socio-economic and political status and the like. Most of the existing studies have only described how things are, that too often not accurately, but there is an overall lack of studies attempting to rigorously examine why things are as they are among the tribals.

All the studies reviewed in this chapter mainly fall into three distinct categories, viz., reports on extensive survey type empirical studies, reports on intensive empirical studies, monographs and papers based on analysis of secondary data. The quality of all these three categories of studies is highly uneven. Nevertheless it could, on the whole, be legitimately claimed that educationists have made a valuable

contribution to the development of qualitative and quantitative data on different aspects of tribal education in the country. Their contribution, not only facilitates an understanding of education in India but also offers clues for the understanding of education as an instrument of modernization and change in tribal societies.

In spite of all this, research on tribal education leaves much to be desired. Research findings from survey type studies are no doubt valuable but they are not of a quality that allows a comprehensive understanding of the tribal problems or generalization or projection of trends about the population they cover. The qualitative probes are valuable in that they offer some sensitive insights but they do not, as yet, provide answers to any of the basic issues that confront those who are responsible for tribal education. For instance, the massive school drop-out rate in tribal areas indicates that the school system is not functional to the needs of tribals. This gives rise to two basic questions as to whether the present school system is suited to the life and needs of the tribals? Whether the new strategies for non-formal education that are being introduced as alternatives to the school system are suitable for the tribals? Although several studies offer brief insights into what is wrong, but none of them provides comprehensive and a precise diagnosis of the misalignment. Furthermore, in recent years numerous programmes of socio-economic development with higher order of educational input in these programmes have been launched for the allround development of tribals. Research in this area has shown that there is a differential rate of responsiveness to development programmes by the tribals. The argument put forward by the scholars that it is due to the inter tribe variation in the educational attainment of these people. But researches in

this area have been mostly neglected by the scholars. Only a meagre number of studies are available which are limited in their scope and suffer from certain methodological limitations. Therefore, it is very difficult to put forward the premise, that higher the level of education of the tribal people higher is the utilization of facilities. However, certainly it can be agreed as pointed out by Sachchidananda (1967) that even to take advantage of the various development programmes, a certain degree of progress in education is necessary. (Hence it is necessary to examine the responsiveness to development programmes vis-a-vis formal and non-formal education programmes because in this direction) Scholars have either examined the formal and non-formal education programmes or the educational inputs in various development programmes. But none have so far tried to examine both the aspects simultaneously.

The review (of studies) also reveals that majority of the studies are limited in their scope. The themes chosen by the scholars for research are broad and general rather than pointed and specific. Besides, these studies also suffer from certain methodological limitations. Very few studies are micro level studies with intensive analysis of the problems. Great importance has been given to questionnaires, structured interview schedules and field studies of shorter duration. The descriptions of the facts have <sup>been</sup> presented in quantitative form using statistical techniques.

In the light of the review of previous studies and the methodologies used therein, it has been thought <sup>decided that</sup> of to undertake a study on tribals focusing on formal and non-formal education and educational input in development programmes and <sup>it is necessary to</sup> take recourse to an appropriate stand as has been discussed in the next Chapter.

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