

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Section I

Needs and Problems of Dongria Kandhas

This section deals with the needs and problems of Dongria Kandhas as have been expressed by teachers, students, parents, adults, non-school goers and administrators. The needs and problems pertaining to objective 2 of this study have been focussed in the analysis, interpretation and discussion which follows.

Problems

Problems are generally viewed as obstacles or impediments that stand on the way of reaching a goal or satisfying a particular need. These are understood as hurdles, difficulties or constraints of various kind that baffle and puzzle humanity in any manner and magnitude. A simple problem assumes greater complexity and all seriousness depending upon how the people face it. How to face a problem is related with so many factors or variables. A few of these may be like the tendency and ability of the individual, philosophical way of life, value patterns, socio-economic and cultural context, ecological and geographical local and the contemporary social structure and the attitude and manner of fellow beings. Another important factor that makes an easy solution of a complex problem is the internal nature, intelligence, understanding, knowledge, skill, experience and analytical power of a man.

Need indicates a lack of something which is useful or desirable. What is closely related to need and indicates the state of having a need or desire for something. Need is a organic state that prompts one to do something. Needs and

problems are complimentary to each other. They are found inter woven with each other and grow in a cyclic fashion.

The needs and problems of Dongria Kandhas with regard to education have been analysed here on the basis of perception of different categories of respondents.

Problems Perceived by Teachers

The following important problems were perceived by 19 teachers out of the total 29, who were working in formal educational institutions and non-formal educational institutions (Chatashalis) in the Dongria Kandha community.

Table 6.1 : Problems Perceived by Teachers

Problems perceived	No. of Teachers	
- Accommodation	16	(84)
- Inadequate Salary	13	(68)
- Health hazard	19	(100)
- Poor communication with the world outside	19	(100)
- Language difficulty	12	(63)
- Unreasonable treatment of higher authorities	3	(16)
- Politicization of the issue of transfer	3	(16)
- Nonco-operation of parents	13	(68)
- Dominance of traditional beliefs and values	19	(100)
- Class-room teaching	19	(100)
- Dropouts	19	(100)
- Absenteeism	19	(100)
- Irrelevant syllabus	10	(53)

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

As given in Table 6.1 a unanimity of expression of teachers was found with respect to problems such as health hazard, poor communication link, with the world outside, dominance of traditional beliefs and values, class-room teaching, dropouts and absenteeism. Eightyfour per cent teachers perceived accommodation as a problem of concern. Inadequate salary, non-co-operation of parents and language difficulty were perceived by more than sixty three per cent teachers. As many as fifty three per cent teachers who were qualified up to class nine perceived that the syllabus was irrelevant. However, only sixteen per cent teachers perceived the problem, viz. unreasonable treatment of higher authorities and politicisation of the issue of transfer. Similar findings have been reported by Das (1979) in his study of Problems of Tribal Education: A few observation' and Sujatha (1987) in her study of education of the Yenadi Children. The problem of teachers' salary and irrelevant syllabus were also found to be important by Sachidananda (1967) and Chinchalkar (1975) respectively in their studies.

Needs as Felt and Expressed by Teachers

The teachers (84%) who perceived accommodation as a problem expressed the need for good houses with the facilities for drinking water and electricity supply. They also wanted good school buildings with spacious rooms fitted with windows and doors, and other furniture - desks, benches as per the need of the school. They were in need of getting their sons and daughters good and higher education. Thirteen teachers (68%) who perceived 'inadequate salary' as their problem expressed that they needed enhanced scale of pay along with extra allowances and emoluments as recognition of their hazardous job in the region. All the teachers expressed that their salary should be disbursed regularly and the same should not be held up in any

case for more than two months. All the teachers expressed their need to have a good hospital or at least a dispensary in a nearby place, which would be convenient for all of them. They also were in need of a medicine shop. All of them expressed the need for preventive measures against Malaria, Menengitites, etc. All of them wanted that good road facilities should be extended to their respective village schools, with the construction of bridges over the streams on the way. All the teachers, who perceived 'dominance of traditional belief' as a problem, expressed the need that some innovative schemes should be planned and implemented to develop scientific attitude among the Dongria Kandhas. All of them felt the need of teaching aids, viz. blackboards, maps, charts, models, pictures, toys and science kits, adequate number of text books and other learning materials for their learners. They also felt and expressed the need of hostel facilities, dress materials and regular mid-day meal programmes for the Dongria children. All the teachers felt that the impact of childhood engagement on the young school children encourages them to remain absent in and drop out from the class. This is one of the reasons why the students dropped out even when they were accommodated in low cost hostels. Thirteen teachers (68%) stated that the tribal parents were indifferent, therefore, were not co-operating with the school activities, such as enrolment drive, and steps against absenteeism and dropouts. Three teachers (16%) expressed that they wanted sympathetic consideration of their problematic situation, not harrasment and punishment by the superior authorities. Equal number of teachers felt the need to get transferred to the plain areas. Twelve teachers (63%) were in need of training in Kui language and culture of the Dongria community.

Problems Perceived by Students

The following were the major problem areas as have been perceived by the 50 Dongria Kandha students who were interviewed in the context of their schooling in formal educational institutions and non-formal educational programmes.

Table 6.2: Problems Perceived by Students

Problems perceived	No. of Students	
- School building	50	(100)
- Seating arrangement	50	(100)
- Adjustment with the teachers	31	(62)
- Teacher's absence	10	(20)
- Punishment and ill treatment	12	(24)
- Dress material	33	(66)
- Empty Stomach	23	(46)
- Understanding the subject	42	(84)
- Uninteresting syllabus	45	(90)
- Shyness and inferiority feeling	35	(70)
- Language difficulty	40	(80)
- Learning materials	47	(94)

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

From Table 6.2, it can be deduced that almost all students were found to have perceived the problems of school building and seating arrangement in the class. In regard to the school building all students expressed that nothing was there to attract their attention. It was in no way better than their parental houses. All of them perceived that there was no furniture not even mattraces to use for sitting on the floor. They were sitting on the floor of the houses or in the corridor of the house and some times under the trees. More than 80 per cent of

students perceived the problem, viz. language difficulty, understanding the subject, uninteresting syllabus and learning materials. They expressed that understanding of the subjects like English, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies were their problems. To follow Oriya language in the class was difficult on their part. They perceived the present syllabus as something uninteresting and alien in their culture. According to them it was heavily loaded with facts and figures, which made it difficult for them to remember. Learning materials such as books, notebooks, slates, pens, pencils and papers, scales, etc. were not made available to them by their parents. More than 60 per cent students faced difficulty in adjusting with their teachers and also expressed that the dress material supplied to them was inadequate. Thirtyfive students (70 per cent) felt themselves inferior to the Damba students. They were feeling shy when called by the teacher to answer questions. Twenty three students out of fifty (46 per cent) narrated how they attended the schools without eating at home in morning. Ten students out of fifty (20 per cent) perceived that absence of the teachers in schools was one of the main reasons why they were not serious in attending schools.

Needs as Felt and Expressed by Students

The Dongria students felt that the placement of the schools their size and shape suggested the ordinary look of a Dongria household, which in their view, had nothing to attract the attention of students. Seating arrangement of the school was not there. There was no desk, no bench, not even mattraces for sitting. In most cases, the teachers were not using broken chairs for sitting and preferred to sit on the floor.

The supply of dress material to the students by the Agency was limited and of not very good quality. Therefore, they were in need of more dress material of superior quality.

They felt that at least three pairs of dresses are required by every child in a year. The sons and brothers of tribals who were literate and who were influenced by modern society to some extent went to the extent of indicating the need for washing soap, powder and soda to clean the dress once a week or fortnight.

It was found that 45 out of fifty students (90 per cent) of them ~~wanted~~ wanted to find in their textbooks some content or pictures related to their surroundings and day to day living. According to ²³ students (46 per cent) ~~food~~ food was an important factor for the Dongria children. They bothered little for the taste and kind of food but for its quantity of supply. It was observed that the Dongria children ate rice twice as much as others in non-tribal areas. They liked equal distribution of food. They relished dry fish, mutton and buffalo meat. They needed ragi gruel or rice of small millets during morning and in the afternoon. It was observed that some of the students used to make a circle around the cooking broth to drink the boiled rice-water. The same was kept by the cook for the purpose.

It was observed that if the teachers remained absent for days together the students relaxed. Further, the students of lower classes enjoyed when their teachers remained absent, whereas the students of higher classes in the school considered it as their misfortune. The Dongria students expressed their preference for lady teachers who knew their life and culture. A majority of the students (42 out of fifty interviewed or (84 per cent) stated that English, Mathematics and Science were difficult subjects taught to them. They expressed the need for extra coaching and repeated teaching of the same topic. Language was a problem to 40 students (80 per cent) and all of them wanted that the textbooks to be re-written in their

dialect and the Oriya script in bold letters. They wanted their syllabus to be brief in order to avoid pressure on their memory power. A small section of students felt that their freedom was restricted. They did not find time in the school to enjoy their traditional music and dance. A few students who were continuing education in Ashram schools at Rayagada, Kunjendri stated that they had drifted from their natural setting and pleasurable experiences in their villages.

Problems Perceived by Parents

The major problem areas as have been perceived by the 110 parents of the Dongria Kandha students are stated in Table 6.3, as follows.

Table 6.3 : Problems Perceived by Parents

Problems Perceived	No. of Parents	
- Fear of alienation	38	(35)
- Economic Support	17	(16)
- Emphasis on tradition	110	(100)
- Poor knowledge of the world outside	77	(70)
- Indifference	77	(70)
- Teachers' absence	22	(20)
- Credit system	77	(70)
- Health and hygiene	82	(75)
- Agriculture and horticulture	66	(60)
- Marketting	60	(55)
- Road communication	110	(100)
- Insects in Jackfruit trees	99	(90)
- Housing	22	(20)
- Electricity	16	(15)
- Land	6	(5)

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

It can be seen from table 6.3 that almost all parents interviewed were found so much attached to their traditional life that they would not allow their children to be parted with them in all festive occasions. They felt road communication between villages had not improved from what it was in the past, barring a few exceptions. The same mountain pathways - as were used by them in their childhood still served as the communication link between villages. All of them pointed to a peculiar problem that was insects in Jackfruit trees on a massive scale. This problem although not directly related with education, still then had something to do with their economic condition which indirectly affected their education. Eightytwo parents (75 per cent) perceived health and hygiene as a major problem. They were found not to have been careful about their health. Their children were found suffering from skin diseases, cough, malaria, diarrhoea, menengities, etc. for which they were unable to attend the school regularly. As many as 77 (70 per cent) parents were found indifferent to what has been going on in schools of the community and they were also found ignorant of the world outside. Nothing seemed to worry them. They were not serious about treating education as a crucial investment in life. They perceived that the prevailing credit facilities available at the Governmental level often put them into trouble as they had to go again and again to the bank in the down hill area. Sixty six (60 per cent) parents perceived that the contribution of their children in the work of agriculture and horticulture was of much help to them. Particularly during the harvest seasons - December, January and February - the students services were regarded useful since, they used to ward off the wild animals and birds which destroy the crop at this time. Thirty eight parents (35 per cent) feared that after getting education, their children would be babus and go to cities and towns for jobs and thus would be lost to the family. Sixteen per cent parents considered children as their economic assets in family and perceived that childrens going to school

Would bring dislocation in the family. Twentytwo parents (20 per cent) perceived that housing was a problem, because of it's clumsiness, their children were not reading at home. Equal number of parents stated that no provision of electricity supply created hinderances for the study of their children at home in the evening. Five per cent parents felt the problem of not having much horticultural land for which they were not making more money.

Needs as Felt and Expressed by Parents

All parents felt that their children should live and enjoy with them on the festival days and occasion of celebrations. They felt that there was no need for their children to go to school on those days. They view the Governmental initiative and insistence for education not with seriousness, but looked it with suspicion lest the same efforts would in any way affect their age old tradition. To send their matured daughters to school was still being considered as a taboo. In their view the children were to keep up the traditional values, hand it over to the new generation the same way it has been passed on to them by their fore fathers. Almost all the parents expressed the need to have good road communication facilities among the villages of the tribal agency, which should be linked with the main road from Kurli to Chatikana. Ninety per cent parents wanted the Government to do something to prevent the Jackfruit trees from getting affected by insects. They expressed that it would lead to further deterioration of their socio-economic condition. Seventy per cent of parents were found to have expressed that they were ignorant of the value of education. They felt this kind of education would not improve their economic condition so long as their basic need for food, drink, dress and shelter were not fulfilled. Seventy five per cent of parents who perceived 'health and hygiene' as a

problem did express the need for having a hospital near their villages. Parents who perceived problems in 'agricultural and horticultural operations', expressed their need to have old as well as new kind of agricultural implements, improved seeds, pesticides, plough, oxen and buffaloes for utilising their services in agriculture. Seventy per cent of parents felt that the prevailing practice of obtaining loans from the local Damb neighbours was making them poorer. They were in need of more bank loans and subsidies which would be easily available to them. Fiftyfive per cent of parents who perceived 'Marketing' as a problem felt the need to have a market place established near their villages in order to sell their products.

Thirty five per cent of parents who perceived alienation as a problem expressed that they needed their sons should be with them till their death, consign their bodies to flame and do other rituals. That is why, they were not in favour of sending their children to schools outside their village with the apprehension that they might be détribalised and alienated from their traditional culture.

Twenty per cent of parents wanted that teachers should remain present in the school. Equal per cent of parents who held housing as a problem expressed the need to have their houses built by the Government under the Indira Awas Yojna and fifteen per cent of them needed free supply of electricity at their houses. It was found that five per cent of parents stated their need for more patches of land in the hill slopes and also in the down hill plain areas. One literate and rich Dongria adult expressed that his parental land was occupied by a Damba of his village ^{therefore,} to retrieve this piece of land he was in need of some legal suggestions.

Problems Perceived by Officials

The problems as have been perceived by the 20 concerned officials in relation to the functioning of schools in the tribal region has been given below in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 : Problems Perceived by Officials

Perceived Problems	No.of Officials	
- Indifference of parents	16	(80)
- Students have no motive to learn	16	(80)
- Teachers' negligence	4	(40)
- Negotiation for Marriage at an early age	13	(65)
- Excessive liquor habits	15	(75)
- Religious beliefs and rituals	16	(80)
- Practice of visit to Youth dormitories	14	(70)
- Fear of alienation	6	(30)
- Poor health habits	7	(35)
- Poverty of Parents	6	(30)
- Financial constraints	4	(20)
- Political pressures	2	(10)
- Physical facilities of the school	6	(30)
- Syllabus	8	(40)

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

From the Table 6.4 it can be seen that 16 out of 20 officials interviewed (80 per cent) perceived that indifference of Dongria parents, lack of motivation on the part of Dongria students and the strong faith in their traditional beliefs and rituals are the main problems on the way of achievement of progress in education.

Fifteen officials (75 per cent), fourteen officials (70 per cent) and 13 officials (65 per cent) perceived that excessive liquor drinking habits, practice of visiting girls' youth dormitories and the negotiation for marriage at an early age are the problems that hinder the progress of education among the Dongrias. Thirty to forty per cent of the officials perceived that Teachers negligence, difficult syllabus, poor health habits, poverty of parents, fear of alienation, and even the physical facilities of the school are other problems which directly or indirectly effect educational development of the Dongria tribals. Twenty per cent and ten per cent officials perceived the problems of 'financial constraints' and 'political pressures' respectively. Political pressure was felt particularly in matters of appointment and transfer of teachers in government run schools and also in disbursement of the salaries of teachers whose pay was held up on the ground of disciplinary action against them.

Needs as Felt and Expressed by Officials

Officials as many as eighty per cent who perceived the problems viz. liquor habits, visiting girls youth dormitories, and negotiation of early marriage felt ^{and} expressed the need of providing them with sex education, health and physical education without causing any harm to their existing traditional values and beliefs. They felt that hazards of drinking liquor and child marriage, pre-marital sex-relationship and its repercussion on health, how to keep the surrounding healthy etc. need to be shown to the Dongrias of all age groups through Video, T.V. programmes and films. The officials expressed that Dongria parents needed to ^{be} aware of the long term value of education. The school needed to be made attractive, the syllabus needed to be reframed to reflect their socio-cultural life. As many as eighty per cent officials felt that the

educated tribal youths needed to be appointed in a place nearest to the community for some years so that other members will be influenced and motivated to achieve the similar status. Most of the officials expressed that the Dongria children reading outside were having no motive to learn and stay in the hostels. They had a desire to stay with their parents in the villages. That is why out of eleven students admitted in Rayagada, Gatigada and Kujendri schools, only three were continuing in 88-89. The officials expressed that the Dongria parents were in need of celebration^{of} festivals and rituals. They were in need of buffaloes, goats, pigs and hens. Dongrias were in need of money, even though it come as a form of loan from bank or the Damba neighbour. Officials as many as forty per cent felt the need of efficient and honest contractors, experienced and dedicated teachers in the area. Thirty per cent officials who felt that poverty of parents and physical facilities at school as problems expressed the need of allocation of a large sum of money to provide help to teachers, parents and students of the community. Six officials (35 per cent) felt the necessity of a hospital at the central place of the community. Two officials out of twenty (10 per cent) expressed the feeling that political pressures were affecting the process of independent and judicious administration which inturny affected education.

Problems Perceived by Non-participating Adults (dropouts)

The problems perceived by 60 adults not participating in the formal and non-formal educational programmes were discussed as follows.

Table 6.5 : Problems Perceived by Non-Participant Adults(dropouts)

Perceived Problems	No. of non-participant adults	
- Age	43	(71)
- Criticism by the friends	24	(40)
- Visiting youth dormitory	40	(66)
- Lack of freedom	9	(15)
- Irregularity of teachers	19	(31)
- Feeling tired after work	48	(80)
- Lessons were difficult and not interesting	36	(60)

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

From Table 6.5 it is found that 48 adults out of 60 interviewed (80 per cent) stated that fatigue after work was one of the main problems for which they were not attending the educational institutions. Seventy one per cent of adults perceived that over age was one of the main reasons why they were not participating in the programme of education conducted for them. According to them education is a matter of shame for those who have become over aged and matured enough. Forty out of sixty adults (66 per cent) admitted that they were in the habit of visiting youth dormitories after taking their evening meal. They were interested to relax after day's long hard labour, not to break their head for memorising certain things. As many as sixty per cent adults perceived learning as a difficult task and expressed their lack of interest in it. Forty per cent of adults expressed that for Jokes and criticism of their friends, they did not like to join the ALCs. In view of their commentators one should not go for learning like a child in adulthood. Thirtytwo per cent of adults perceived that

that irregularity of teachers' was a problem for which they were not sincere in attending the centres.

Needs as Felt and Expressed by Non-participating Adults

It was found that the adults who perceived 'feeling tired after work', 'age', 'difficult and uninteresting lessons' as problems expressed the need for some kind of programmes where they could enjoy without feeling fatigue. They were in need of such kind of education that would bring them immediate gratification of learning something useful and productive. They expressed their desire to learn in their language in the initial stage. Learning according to them should be simple and related to their life problems.

Nineteen non-participating adults (31 per cent) who perceived 'teachers' irregularity' as a problem expressed the need that teachers should regularly stay in the village and do their job with love and sincerity.

Problems Perceived by Non-schoolgoing Children

Problems perceived by 30 Non-school going children are stated in Table 6.6.

From Table 6.6., it can be seen that 21 non-school goes out of the total 30 (70 per cent) interviewed for the purpose perceived that 'Language', 'Remembering the subject matter' and 'Feeling of inferiority' were their major problems. Nineteen out of thirty non-school goers (63 per cent) perceived that subjects taught in the school were difficult to understand. Equal number of non-school goers stated that they were feeling home sick and it was difficult on their part to stay away from parents and family members. Twenty seven per cent stated their dress materials were inadequate. Twelve out of thirty

Table 6.6 : Problems Perceived by Non-school goers (dropouts).

Problems perceived	No. of Non-school goers	
- Subjects were difficult	19	(63)
- Language	21	(70)
- Fear of the teacher	6	(20)
- Difficult to remember	21	(70)
- Teaching learning materials were not attractive	12	(40)
- Dress materials were not sufficient, so also food.	8	(27)
- Feeling of inferiority	22	(63)
- Home - sickness, love & affection	19	(63)
- Bad company	3	(10)

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

(40 per cent) of them perceived that the teaching learning materials were not attractive and six out of thirty of them (20 per cent) expressed their fear for the teacher and only 10 per cent of the non-school goers stated that due to the influence of some Dongria class mates they left the school without the permission of school teachers and stayed in the village for months together and then felt guilty of not attending the school and thus left the school since then.

Needs as Felt and Expressed by Non-School going Children (dropouts).

It was found that 70 per cent or more non-school goers who perceived that language, inferiority feeling and difficulty in memorising the subjects expressed the need for learning in Kui language instead of Oriya language. They were in need of warm treatment from the teachers for they were feeling inferior to

the Damba class mates. The Dambas knew Oriya language better than the former. Regarding difficulty of memorising the multiplication table and meaning of the content words, they felt the need of experiences in real situation and examples from their own society and surroundings. Sixty three per cent felt that the subjects like, English, Mathematics and Science were difficult to understand. Equal number of non-school goers expressed that they were in need of love and affection of their parents and other members in the village. Eight non-school goers (27 per cent) felt that the dress materials in schools were not adequate and supply^{of} food was not sufficient. Three non-school goers (ten per cent) expressed that they left school due to influence of bad company and also accusing their parents why did not they compel them to go back to school when they were coming to enjoy in festive days at home.

An Overview : Problems :

It has been found that the perception of problems were more or less similar in case of each group of respondents excepting a few areas where each group exhibited some peculiar response pattern characteristic of their age, experience, nature of activity and responsibility undertaken in the field.

Health hazard which was perceived by cent per cent of teachers as a problem area also got a similar response from the seventyfive per cent of the parents and thirty five per cent of the officials.

The dominant beliefs and values of the community which were perceived by the cent percent of teachers as a problem also elicited the same response from all the parents and eighty per cent of the officials. So the traditional beliefs and values of the community was viewed here as a problem for the progress of education.

Lack of facilities for class room teaching, inadequate learning materials were perceived as problems by all the teachers, ninety four per cent of students and forty per cent of non-school going children. So, it can be considered as a problem of concern for the community's educational advancement.

Residential accommodation was perceived by eightyfour per cent of teachers as a problem. Similarly lack of physical facilities in schools was perceived as a problem by all students and thirty per cent of officials. It is, no doubt, a problem worth recognition in the field that affects educational development in the region.

Language difficulty was perceived as a problem by sixtythree per cent of teachers, eighty per cent of students and seventy per cent of non-school going children. It is certainly a problem that merits attention of all those concerned with education and its development.

Irrelevant syllabus, which was perceived as a problem by fifty three per cent of teachers was also perceived as a problem by ninety per cent of students and forty per cent of officials.

Lack of communication link was perceived as a problem by cent per cent teachers and parents. But officials and other Dongria ^{people} have not perceived the same as a problem. However, the same problem has been felt in connection with the supervision work.

Fear of alienation was perceived as a problem by thirty five per cent parents and thirty per cent officials respectively. The prevailing practice of visiting youth dormitory was perceived as a problem for the smooth running of the Adult literacy centres

and in some cases the formal school. Seventy per cent officials and sixty six per cent of non-participant adults perceived the same as a problem which has affected the enrolment, dropout in schools and absenteeism in ALCs.

Lack of co-operation of parents in educational activities was perceived as a problem by sixtyeight per cent of teachers and eighty per cent officials. Interestingly it was also endorsed by seventy per cent parents that as they were illiterate they were playing indifferent role in matters of education.

Teachers salary was inadequate. It was perceived by sixtyeight per cent of those who were working under the DKDA. They were low paid which, according to them ^{was} disproportionate to their labour done towards the community. However, all teachers of the community working under the Education department perceived that they were getting what other counterparts were getting in the plains having the same cadre and rank. But they felt that they should have been given more financial benefits and emoluments and extra leave considering their work in the interior hill regions.

Teachers' unauthorised absence in the school was perceived as a problem by twenty per cent of students and also by forty per cent of officials, who thought that teachers were neglecting their duty in the school for which education has not been 'making much progress in the Dongria region. Irregularly of teachers was also viewed as a problem by thirty two per cent of non-participant adults.

Apart from the above problem areas there were some problems found peculiar to each category of respondents.

'Unreasonable treatment by the authorities' and 'politicisation of transfer' were perceived by the teachers

as problem areas. Shyness and inferiority complex, lack of dress materials, adjustment with the teachers, punishment by the teachers, lack of food were some of the problems perceived by the students. Parents were found to have perceived 'the insects in Jackfruit trees, credit system, poor knowledge of the outerworld, difficulties in agriculture, horticulture, lack of electricity, landed property, housing as their problem areas which they thought have something to affect their condition and that of the schools.

In the same way, officials were found to have perceived 'excessive liquor habits of Dongrias' 'negotiation for marriage at an early age', 'poverty of parents', 'financial resources constraints and political pressure felt by them as problem areas which have something to do with the progress of education in the field of Dongria settlements.

The non-participant adults were found to have perceived problems like -'feeling tired after work', 'age and maturity', 'criticism by friends' and 'lack of freedom', etc.

Similarly, the non-school going children were found to have perceived -'feeling of inferiority', 'home-sickness', 'Lack of dress materials', 'fear for teacher' and 'bad company' as their problem in relation to the functioning of the schools and ALCs.

It was also marked that each group of respondents were shifting the responsibility to the other group and attributing the cause of educational backwardness in the community to some other factors, but not considering their own role. Teachers were seen attributing the cause to parents, students^{and} officials. Parents were seen accusing the teachers, officials. Students were found complaining against the subject matter, language difficulty and to some extent their teachers and parents.

Needs

Teachers were in need of good residential quarters having provision for electricity and drinking water. They felt the need of enhanced scale of pay, extra emoluments, leave concession, medical facilities, provision for higher studies for their children and preventive measures to check the spread of malaria in the region. They also felt that their authorities should try to understand the cause of their negligence and absence in the school sympathetically rather becoming vindictive and obstinate. They felt the need to undergo training for understanding the culture, values and language of Dongria community.

According to them, the Dongria parents should be made aware of the value of education and its importance. Some programme should be operative in the area to infuse in them a civic sense, general awareness and a scientific attitude of mind. That should be thought of not in negation of their culture and value pattern but along that line. The teachers felt the need of adequate and effective teaching aids and suitable training to handle the class room situation. They realised that many of the problems of education, viz. absenteeism, dropout, etc. will be solved if free lodging and boarding facilities were provided to children along with the provision of supplying at least three pairs of dress material and other learning materials. The vacation and holidays be adjusted keeping in view the local festivals and ceremonial occasions and the climatic condition. To dissuade the young students from attending girls' youth dormitories some other cultural and entertainment programme must be initiated to channelise their youthful spirit in constructive direction. The students should be dealt with love and affection. Some remedial classes and extra coaching facilities should be given to the slow learning children. More stress is to be given to free class room situation, where every

child will easily understand and participate in discussion and demonstration. The topics in the text books should cover their culture and centre around their living condition and environment.

It was evident that the parents were in need of money to survive and to keep up their traditional performances and rituals with meat, drink and merrymaking. They were found indifferent for education of their children.

It can be concluded that the Dongrias need to be exposed to some mass awakening programme, where they will understand the value of education and will be careful about their children's education. Besides, they should be provided with training in using pesticides, chemicals, crop-rotation, high yielding seeds, shoots etc. They need to be made aware of the damage done to them by excessive use of liquor and also in matters of how they can keep themselves healthy and strong. They need to be trained in fixing up the price of the commodities and forest products even of livestock like - Oxen, buffaloes, goats, sheep pigs etc. They need training in using spraying machine to ward off the insects from the Jackfruit trees.

Officials in the field also felt that they should be made aware of the way they are being cheated and exploited by the Dambos. They felt the financial constraints at their level to implement different schemes for their mass awakening programmes. They sincerely felt that something must be done to save the Dongrias from the loan - enjoyment - loan cycle.

The Non-participant adults felt that other vocational type of training should be imparted to them instead of mere literacy and numeracy. The learned one should be given incentives, cash awards etc. to encourage them to come to attend the ALCs. They need to be warned through some programmes

on T.V. and Video film about the hazards involved in getting premarital and extra-marital relationship with many members of opposed sex. They need to be trained in first aid, and also in food processing, food preservation, plantation, processing the shoots, shuckers and seeds for better production.

The non-school going children felt the need of love, affection and warm treatment of the teacher at the school. They were in need of something attractive in the school. The curriculum should be abridged, simple and meaningful for the students. The discipline should be maintained up to tolerable limit. Freedom, cordial relationship should replace fear complex and shyness of students in the school, entertainment programmes, games, sports, gardening should be implemented in the school. These should be implemented in the school. There should be no compulsion for attendance and no punishment for irregularity and negligence of studies.

Section II

Analysis and Interpretation : Developmental Programmes and Perceived Problems

In this section, various developmental programmes in the field of agriculture, horticulture, family planning, nutritional and health have been analysed. Further, as the officials and beneficiaries are the people directly involved in implementation of these developmental programmes, their perceptions of the problems in the implementation have also been studied.

Agriculture and Horticulture

From the informal discussion with the Dongria people and the officials as well as the observation by the investigator, it was found that the Dongrias were practising shifting cultivation and horticulture in their traditional manner, prior to the formation of the DKD Agency. With the inception of the Agency, various measures have been undertaken to make them settled agriculturists and economically self-sufficient. It was found that the Agency has taken initiatives to reclaim land, check soil erosion, provide irrigation facility depending on the sources of streams. Apart from that, it has arranged loans for the Dongrias from the Panchabati Gramya Bank, Chatikana, Indian Overseas Bank, Bissam Cuttack, and also from the Niyam Giri Food Growers' Co-operative Society (NFGCS), Chatikana. The Agency has also provided the agricultural implements, pair of oxen, pesticides, chemicals to the Dongrias. It has also provided them with improved seeds, suckers, roots and plants in every season since 1978-79. Financial assistance in terms of subsidy has also been given to the Dongrias for producing high yielding variety of turmeric, ginger, etc. and care has been taken by the Agency to see that they produce more horticultural products. It was found that turmeric, ragi, jawar, paddy, castor, arahar, and small millets were the main crops of Dongrias and banana, pineapple, orange, cashewnut, mango, jackfruit sopeta, lichi were their main horticultural products.

The benefits provided to the Dongrias in the six villages studied are shown in Table 6.7. It shows the number of household beneficiaries including those who received agricultural implements, oxen and plough and those who have become members of the co-operative society. Further, this table high lights

that excepting the holdings of patta land, in all other aspects like horticulture, paddy cultivation, benefit of oxen and plough, implements and even in obtaining membership of the co-operative society, the representation from these six sample villages was proportionately higher.

Despite the initiatives taken by the DKD Agency, the economic condition of the Dongrias has not improved as was expected by the officials. Maximum number of households (79%) were found in the middle and in the lower category of income, i.e. below Rs.10,000 per year. One of the reasons for their slow economic progress can be found from the implementation part of the programmes. Informal interviews conducted with the officials, informal discussions held with the Dongria people and the observation of the latter in their field of horticultural and agricultural operations revealed the following problems.

Problems

Eight (40%) officials perceived that most of the Dongrias were not making proper use of the pesticides, manures and were not obeying the necessary instruction for doing agricultural and horticultural work. Three officials further stated that majority of the Dongrias were not properly utilising the loan amount in improving production, rather they were spending the amount on liquor and buffalo meat. Ten officials (50%) remarked that majority of the Dongrias still believed that without sacrificing animals like, goats, pigs, buffaloes in the field, they would not get a bumper harvest. Eleven officials (55%) have stated that the purpose of improving their economic condition through the horticultural and agricultural schemes gets defeated at the last hour of consumption. Because they found that a majority of Dongrias would sell the fruit bearing

Table 6.7

Table 6.7: Agricultural and Horticultural Development and the Dongria Beneficiaries.

Village	Area of Agricultural land (Patta land) (in Acres)	Area of reclaimed land for Horticulture (in Acres)	No. of House- hold Benefi- ciaries	No. of Paddy Culti- vators Benefi- ciaries	Oxen and Plough Benefi- ciaries	Agricultural implements Benefici- aries	Members of Co-operative Society (NFGCS), Kurla
Kurla	19.48	158.78	29	2	2	28	25
Khajuri	2.87	263.34	38	5	3	11	25
Radanga	16.07	161.11	37	8	8	8	22
Kadraguma	0.88	193.53	32	-	-	48	19
Khambesi	2.95	356.02	60	7	5	39	36
Mundabali	6.55	125.27	29	2	4	-	10
Total	48.80	1258.05	225	24	22	134	137
Community's Total	786.90 (6.20)	6606.00 (19.04)	1233 (18.24)	156 (15.38)	156 (14.10)	625 (21.44)	443 (30.92)

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

trees to the Damba money lenders, much before the fruits ripen and appear saleable. Six officials (30%) stated that the Dongrias were not following their instruction in planting and nursing the plants. They were found doing the work as per their traditional style. Most of the Dongrias were found to be ignorant of the knowledge of proportion, distance and even the length and tbreadth of the pits which was essential for horticulture and agriculture.

Similarly, it was found through observation and informal discussion with the beneficiaries that all of them were given seeds, suckers, shoots and plants regularly by the Agency, but 145 beneficiaries out of 225 (64%) stated that the officers were not regularly coming to the field situation to demonstrate at the time of need. More than fifty per cent beneficiaries expressed their difficulty in following the instructions given by the officials, particularly by the Agricultural Extension Officer (AEO). They expressed that because they were illiterate and uneducated they did not know how to use medicine for the insects and the chemicals, their quantity, etc. while using it for cultivation. Forty five (20%) of the beneficiaries expressed that they did not have much landed property for horticultural plantations. Most of the cultivators were found to have been depending on rain water for cultivation. They further stated that they still believe that if they would sacrifice animals like pigs, goats, buffaloes and even birds like pigeons and hens, they would get good harvest. Also they have pointed out that their jackfruit trees were being eaten away by the insects but the official of the DKD office were not helping them in this aspect.

It can be concluded that the problem in agriculture and horticulture was mostly due to illiteracy and ignorance of the Dongria beneficiaries. Traditional beliefs, superstitions and their exploitation in the hands of the Damba Money lenders were the real problems faced by the Dongrias.

Health

It was found that the DKD Agency has been looking after the health and hygiene of the Dongrias. It has been supplying medicines to the Dongria patients free of cost and has been organising medical camps in the Dongria settlement at the time of outbreak of cholera, diarrhoea, small-pox, meningitis and malaria. As revealed by the Physical Achievement reports of the Agency, 1988-89, it was found that 22 such camps were organised to cure patients in the community since the Agency started functioning in 1978.

A camp was instituted at Kurli in 1988 to treat the patients suffering from meningitis in three villages, viz. Kurli, Khambesi and Mundabali. Twenty patients were suffering from the disease in village Kurli, two and seven were suffering from the disease in village Khambesi suffering from the disease in village Khambesi and Mundabali respectively. But no one died of the disease at that time as revealed by the officials of the Agency and the Dongria people. An eye camp was organised in 1989 and eight patients suffering from cataract from those six villages and other outside villages got their eyes operated successfully.

In May 1990 diarrhoea broke out in the Dongria villages. Villages such as Mundabali, Khajuri, Bondili, Khambesi and Pattalamba situated near Kurli were affected by the epidemic. A camp was instituted at village Kurli for the purpose. Two Dongria patients from Khajuri and one from Mundabali died of diarrhoea. Three Damba patients from Kurli also died of the disease.

Besides the medical camps at the time of exigencies, immunisation camps for polio, diphtheria and other diseases

were found to have been organised in the Dongria region particularly at Kurli, Khajuri and Khambesi. It was also found that 53 immunisation camps have been organised in the Dongria settlement from 1978-79 till March, 1989 with the full medical support and co-operation of the public health centre, Bissam Cuttack. Apart from the above health care measures, the Agency has, with the help of the medical support of the health centre, identified the chronic patients in different villages. Out of the 12 such cases of diseased persons in the entire community, two from village Khambesi and one from village Mundabali were found suffering from T.B. and another from Leprosy. These patients were given medicines by the DKD Agency.

It was observed that advice was given by the officials of the Agency in order to keep the condition of the village surroundings neat and clean. Five tube wells have been provided for 1984-85 two each in village Kurli and Khambesi and one in village Khajuri. That apart, pukka houses having tin roofs have been provided to the Dongrias in 1986-87 by the State Government under the Indira Awas Yojna. It has been found that 38, 52, 28 such houses have been constructed and given to the Dongrias for their dwelling in village Khajuri, Khambesi and Kurli respectively.

Problems

Sixteen officials (80%) stated that most of the illiterate Dongrias were not following their suggestions on health care and instructions of the doctors. The Dongrias being tradition bound, believed in witchcraft and sorcery and also in herbal medicines and traditional methods of treatment. At the last hour of suffering they would come ^{to} village school teacher to take the tablets and other medicines. The teachers in the school would give them the available medicine received

from the Agency or from personal stock. It was observed that if the patient was not cured, the case, would be referred to the sales man of the fair-price shop operating at village Kurli. On request of the Dongria people, he would go to give the tables and other medicines to the patients in the village or nearby villages. They have stated that many times the Dongrias would mix up the old treatment with the administration of modern medicines. The officials have stated that the Dongrias were not aware of the value of cleanliness. They were found unhealthy because of heavy intake of liquor, unhealthy surroundings, smoking the pikka (tobacco) and unhealthy practices.

It was revealed by the patients and their relatives that the doctors were not regularly visiting them after the usual camp was over. The Malaria supervisor and the (dhai) Lady health visitor were visiting them once or twice every three months.

Household heads as many as 175 (77.77%) revealed that the hospital and medicine shops were far away. No doctor was there in the village to treat their family members at the time of suffering from illness. They also revealed that they did not have sufficient money to buy medicines and injections.

It was observed from the physical surroundings that the bones and skeletons of the dead animals and remnants there of would be strewn around the streams and backyard. Some times fowl smell of the rotten meat would be coming out of the Dongria households after every festive occasion and grand celebration. The Dongrias would sacrifice animals and birds to get rid of illness. They were also found to have resorted to sorcery and witchcraft for quick recovery. Also they were observed taking tablets from the sales man, Kurli fair price shop, Sevika of the Kasturba Memorial Trust and from the village school teachers.

It was observed that the officials have threatened the Damba distillers and sellers of local liquor as a step towards preventing ill health of the Dongria people. Two such large scale demolition of the distilleries occurred among the six villages and other adjacent villages in 1983-84 and 1984-85.

As a measure for assuring them good health, the Agency has threatened several times the Damba distillers and Sellers of local drinks against such practices and also has organised meetings in the village many a time to make the Dongrias aware of the health hazards caused due to drinking excessive liquor.

Nutrition

The DKD Agency has been providing mid-day meals to the children in the non-formal institutions (chatashalis). Wheat, dal, molacess were given to each Chatashali for regular consumption of children at the rate of 50 gms. per head. The teachers in the chatashalis were in charge of cooking the food. Though the scheme was for the children, it was observed that the old men and women would come to the chatashali area every day at the particular time to eat the cooked food.

The green vegetables were grown in the nurseries of the Agency and the products were distributed among the Dongrias. The purpose was to make them acquainted with the kind of vegetables, the production and use of which were unknown to them before hand. Besides it was observed that films were shown to the Dongrias on how to procure milk from the cows and to use it as food items.

Problems

There was no such problem faced by the officials in this connection except supplying the food regularly when the teachers

were absent or suffering from illness.

Most of the beneficiaries of the consumer of the food have stated that the supply of such food was not regular and sufficient.

Family Planning

The Government is not popularising the family planning programme among the Dongria Kandhas. The population of the Dongrias was found to have decreased from 1975 to 1988. The total population of the Dongrias was 5618 in 1975 (THRTI, 1975) and the same was found to be 4,975 in 1988-89 (Report of the DKD Agency, 1988-89). This decelerating trend in growth of population was the reason for Government's lukewarm policy in operating family planning programmes in the area. Several reasons of the slow growth of population was obtained from the people through interview and informal discussion. One of the reasons was the use of herbal medicines at the pre-marital stage, which might have their effect on birth control, even after they got married. Premature death was common among them. Due to lack of proper health care of parents, many children were dying prematurely, lack of medical facilities near the vicinity, excessive attachment to traditional way of treatment and following ritualistic path for recovering illness were found to be the causes of high mortality among them.

So, in order to preserve this tribal species from being extinguished, no stress was laid on the family planning programme. However, two Dongria Kandha women got operated with the request of their husbands. A woman from village Mundabali and another from village Kadruguma got operated in 1988 and 1990 respectively. These two women were having more than two children each.

Problems

The officials were not facing any problem with regard to the family planning programme because the problem was not acutely faced as other aspects of development among the Dongria region. The beneficiaries were facing no problem in this connection.

It can be concluded that due to their illiteracy and ignorance the Dongrias were not making much progress in agriculture and horticulture. They were not utilising the benefits offered to them. Whatever economic progress they were achieving, the major share of it was going to the Damba money lenders. On the other hand, the concerned officers were found not particular about their visit, demonstration work and follow-up programmes. Medical facilities provided to the Dongrias were not adequate and satisfactory as felt and expressed by the people and observed by the investigator himself. Health care, cleanliness of the surroundings and establishment of a hospital or dispensary in the Dongria settlement was an urgent necessity. The nutritional programmes were not regular and adequate. Family planning was not a problem of serious concern in the community.

NOTES

Accommodation : Accommodation implies here to the problem of accommodation facilities in school and also the residential facilities provided to the teachers.

Health Hazard : Health hazard, points to the unhealthy condition and malaria -infested climate where the teacher's life is at state.

Poor communication link : It refers to the problem of road facilities with the plains.

Language difficulty : It implies here the problem of speaking and understanding of the local Kui dialect of the Dongrias and language communication gap.

Unreasonable treatment of higher authorities: It refers to harsh treatment, and vindictive attitude and activities carried on against the teachers particularly by the concerned authorities.

Politicisation of transfer : It points out to the interplay of political forces to trouble the teachers by getting them transferred to distant places.

Non-co-operation of Parents : It implies here the indifferent attitude and discouraging temperaments shown by the tribal parents to assist the teachers in their educational endeavour.

Dominant traditional values and beliefs : These refer to the deep sense of attachment to rituals celebrations and beliefs peculiar to the community that hinder the progress of education among the tribals.

Irrelevant Syllabus : It denotes the difficulty which is resulted from not linking the syllabus with the needs and problems of the community.

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