

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION : TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

The Aryan immigrants, when entered the country, found in the land Non-Aryan people and called them 'Dasyus'. In the ancient Sanskrit literature their names appear as Nishadas, Sabaras, Bhils and Kollas, Kiratas, Dasas, Dasyus, Sudras, Dramidas and Dravidas. The Mundas, the Santals etc., are considered to be the descendants of the Non-Aryan Kolarian stock. The major representative Dravidian tribes are the Gonds, the Kondhs etc. (Vidyarthi, 1977).

Stray references are found regarding the tribals in the epics of 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharat'. Lord Rama's acceptance of hospitality of a Shabar woman and his friendship with Guhak Shavar are instances of such reference. The story of 'Jara' Shavar, contact of the Pandavas with the tribals during the period of their exile, their matrimonial alliances with the princess of the tribal kingdom of Manipur also prove the length of existence of the tribals in India (Rout, 1989). Ramayan endorses that there were only two groups of people, the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. Among the Non-Aryans, the Rakshasas and the Vanaras both were the aboriginal tribes of Deccan. The other tribes were the Nishadas, the Sabaras, the Yaksas and the Nagas. The comparison of the Mundas to the Danavas in the Mahabharat would seem to indicate that reference was to an aboriginal people of the name of Mundas.

The origin of the tribes is obscure. The term tribe is derived from the Latin word, 'tribus' which was used to imply three divisions among the Romans. Later on, it was used to mean the poor or the 'masses'. In the English language the word appeared in the Sixteenth century and denoted a community of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor. By the late

Nineteenth century colonial administrators and anthropologists had labelled the peoples of most parts of Africa and certain parts of Asia as tribals (Pathy, 1984).

The word 'tribe' in a very general sense, identifies a cognate social group in a given territory. In general, a tribe may be described as a system of social organisation, common territory, a tradition of common descent, common language, common culture and a common name - all these forming the basis of the joining of smaller groups such as villages, bands, districts or 'lineages'. The scheduled tribes have a primitive way of living, habitation in remote and less easily accessible areas and nomadic habits, and love for drinking and dancing (Shah, 1984).

The defining attributes of a tribe are : oldest inhabitants of the land; common name, territory and language, kinship bonds with endogamy; single social rank and political organisation beliefs and rituals; and low level of technological development (Pathy, 1984).

The tribals are popularly known as Vanyajati (caste of forest), Vanabasi (inhabitants of forest) Pahari (hill dwellers), Adimajati (original communities), Adivasi (forest settlers), Janajati (folk people) Anusuchit jati (Scheduled Tribe) and so on.

In India the term 'tribe' has legal and administrative connotations. British anthropologists first used this term 'tribe' for the purpose of enumerating social groups in India. From the 1881 to the 1931 census, it was evident that tribals were classified as a community like the Hindus and Muslims. The Government of India Act 1935 used the term backward tribe. The Indian constitution has retained the terminology using 'scheduled' in place of 'backward'. Article 341 and 342 of the

Constitution of India, vested the power with the President of India to specify certain groups as 'scheduled tribes'. Article 366(25) has defined 'scheduled tribes' as such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 342 to be scheduled tribes for the purpose of this constitution. By the scheduled tribe Order 1950 issued by the President, 212 tribes have been declared to be scheduled tribes in India. Later, by an Act of Parliament, some other groups were also included in the schedule. Over the year, the number of Scheduled Tribe groups have more than doubled from 212 in 1950 to 427 in 1971. Now their number has gone to 546 (1981 Census).

In formulating the scientific concept of 'tribe' various criteria are taken into consideration. The chief among them are: primitive technology, cohesive social organisation, preliterate language, and community life limited with a small area and small population. These criteria lack universal applicability. In India, the caste system provides an additional social criterion a clearer identification of the tribes. If a certain group is outside the fold of caste society and does not subscribe to the faith of any major religion, then it is identified as a tribe. The parameter of caste is rendered obscure in a large number of cases. All these factors make the concept of tribe somewhat controversial. (Rout, 1989).

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

### Categories of Tribals and Their Distribution

India has the second largest tribal population in the world next only to the African continent. Tribals in India constitute 9 per cent of the total population of the country and are found throughout the length and breadth of it. The Naga, Charsi, Aaka, Limbu, Kachari, Kululashaya, Rabha, Left, Gurung, Mishmi, Michar, Gorochakma, Bhohiya, Dalfa, Abhoramiri tribes etc. are living in the states of Assam, Nagaland, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur and said to form the North Eastern region whereas Eastern and Central region is inhabited by the Baiga, Gond, Ho, Bhil, Bhoomij, Kharia, Birhor, etc. Similarly this southern region is inhabited by Toda, Badaga, Chenchu, Irula, Soliga, Kadukuruba, Jenu, Kuruba, Karikar, Chetti, Gadaba, Bhil, Kadar, Yarava, Kudiyu, Pardhi, Adavichencha, Hornashikari, etc., in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu... Many of the tribes viz. (Bhil, Garasias, Rathwas, Bhilalas and Warlis) are also found living in the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Apart from the specific regions, overlapping in tribal habitation is also marked. The same tribal community is found living in adjacent states. From the mountains of Ladakh to the hills and valleys of Northern Madhya Pradesh, live tribals like Muria, Maria and Kinoris.

Today these scheduled Tribes constitute nearly 7.76 per cent of the total population of the country (Census Report, 1981). As regards the concentration of tribal population in the country, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa occupy the first and second position having 23.22 and 11.46 per cent respectively. But with respect to the concentration of tribals in a state UT as against its general population, Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya occupy the first, second and third position respectively with 93.55 per cent 83.99 per cent and 80.58 per cent of their population being tribal.

### Constitutional Provision

In an egalitarian country like India, it has become the prerogative of the Government to see that all section of people reap the equal benefit. Certain constitutional provisions have been made to facilitate and promote the conditions of the scheduled tribes so that they come up to the national main-stream.

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

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

Article 46 provides for promotion of their educational and economic interests and to protect them from all social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

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

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

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

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

#### Attempts and Approaches to Tribal Development

Apart from the above stated constitutional provisions, various attempts and approaches have been resorted since independence and even earlier to improve the lot of the tribals. To understand the dynamics of educational development among the scheduled tribes, it is essential to examine how education has been viewed in their total development process. The approach to development can be broadly categorised in two phases as discussed below:

#### Before Independence

The tribal policy of British Government was isolationist and *laissez faire*, partly because the task of administration was difficult and unrewarding. The main purpose of the British policy was to secure peace and not to help the people to make progress. There was no deliberate attempt to strengthen the economic base of the tribals or to educate them. British policy generally helped landlords, money lenders and traders

to exploit the tribals by depriving their right on land and forest.

It is a fact that Christian missionaries had done something concrete for the well-being of the tribes even though beneath the activity of social service they could have had the clandestine motive to convert the tribals into Christianity. It became apparent to people that the primary goal of the missionaries was conversion and opening of school, hospitals and other welfare agencies which were only bait in the trap of conversion. They had a motive to run their administration rather imparting knowledge and skills.

The freedom movement of India also had its impact on tribal development. Being influenced by the Gandhian thought and ideology, Thakkar Bapa started Ashram Schools for tribals in some parts of Gujarat and Maharashtra and later the same was initiated in different states like Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

#### After Independence

Government of India's concern for the tribals is manifested through its policy of welfare and socio-economic upliftment. The basic guide line of the policy is also evident in five fundamental principles evolved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

They are:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
2. Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development, some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders in tribal territory.
4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions.
5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

#### Community Development

The period from 1947 to 1952 witnessed major changes in the approach to the total development in the country, which had important implications for tribal development. During the first five-year plan the 'Community Development' approach was adopted, but it was realised very soon that the entire tribal population could not be covered through a single model. The study team led by Renuka Ray (1959) reviewed the tribal scene in late fifties and remarked that while each aspect of development was important in its own place, in actual operation no rigid order of priority was universally applicable. The felt need of tribals varied from community to community. The team recommended (a) economic development and communication, (b) education, (c) public health as the overall order of priorities and suggested that the degree of emphasis on each of them be determined by systematic survey of needs and possibilities in each area.



### Integrated Development

To eliminate the limitations and short comings of the community development, a massive programme of integrated development was initiated by organising forty-three special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks in areas of tribal concentration during the second five year plan. Top priority was given to the promotion of education, followed by communication, agriculture, animal husbandry and health care. Except in the fortythree special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, educational development, of tribes was treated as synonymous with rural development. Therefore, no special efforts were made to provide educational facilities to the tribes.

Equality of opportunity could not be achieved by mere pronouncements, and the disparity between tribal literacy and national literacy continued to grow. The Dhebar Commission (1962) observed that the education provided without much planned efforts resulted in high wastage, stagnation and non-participation and suggested for the adoption of a comprehensive educational model for the tribals, whose problems were unique.

In the third five year plan, five hundred Tribal Development Blocks were opened on the basis of recommendation made by Elwin Committee and the Dhebar Commission. During this period, economic upliftment was given top priority followed by education, health, housing and communication. The 500 blocks covered by this plan period barely covered 40 per cent of the total tribal population in the country. The tribes living in areas outside the Tribal Development Blocks did not get any benefits except certain educational concessions. This led to a wide gap in development between tribal communities and general population and also among different tribal communities.

Even though the priorities continued to be unchanged during the fourth Plan period, certain special programmes like the crash special nutrition programme and crash employment programmes were introduced as corrective measures to provide nutritious diet to the tribal infants and to increase the employment opportunities for the educated unemployed tribal youth. An important strategy adopted for the provision of facilities was the establishment of primary schools at close proximity to tribal habitations; middle and secondary schools were located at a central location with residential facilities and also special attention was sought for training of teachers in the right perspective with respect to tribal culture and life. Attention was paid to introduce science education and vocational education with an emphasis of improving the methods of teaching. During the fourth five year plan, separate welfare departments were established in some states like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. In some states, the departments of welfare of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes were put together under a common Social Welfare/Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department. Opening of schools in remote areas, establishing Ashram schools and hostels were some of the steps taken during this time. The post matric scholarships, supply of free text-books, uniforms and merit scholarships could help the tribals to utilize the educational facilities. The dual managerial system, Welfare Department being in charge of financing and the education department looking after academic supervision, resulted in lack of co-ordination for obtaining maximum benefits.

The Shilu, Ao Committee (1969) observed that the benefits of formal education programmes hardly reached many of the tribal development blocks. The differences in the level of development in tribal and non-tribal areas tended to increase. The periphery of the tribal group could benefit, but the poorest, remote, dispersed tribal groups became more

disadvantaged. This committee recommended that their development should be based on integrated approach rather than the sectoral one.

### Sub-Plan

After critical examination of policies adopted through successive five year plans, the new concept of Tribal Sub-Plan came into force after the 4th Plan period. The main objective of this approach was to narrow the gap between the level of development among tribals and other areas and improving the quality of life of the tribal communities. In pre-dominantly tribal regions, area approach with focus on development of tribal communities was favoured while for the primitive groups, community oriented programmes were preferred. The dispersed tribals found in some pockets had to avail of the programmes of rural development. Thus in the fifth plan, emphasis was on quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement of education. Along with opening of Ashram schools and hostels, due attention was paid to provide remedial coaching and vocational counselling. Administration of post-matric scholarship, pre-matric scholarship, supply of free text-books and uniforms were decentralised to state level.

The Sixth Plan laid importance to poverty amelioration and universalisation of elementary education. The Union Ministry of Education and Culture diverted 6.55 per cent of its total outlay during the sixth plan to cover school education, university and higher education, technical education, adult education, art, and culture for the tribals. Ministry of Health and Agriculture also diverted their budgets for health and agricultural extension education for tribes. Emphasis was given to non-formal education for (9-14) age group and adult education. Preparation of curricula and reading materials was considered essential to make education relevant and effective. Towards this special orientation programmes were organised, both for teachers and district level

officers. Besides offering the usual incentives, paying compensation to tribal parents for opportunity costs was suggested as inducement for better enrolment of children in these programmes.

The Seventh Five Year Plan accorded high priority to education in general and female literacy in particular. Further qualitative improvement was stressed. Providing infrastructural facilities, building up teachers' cadres according to the norms of minimum needs programmes were included in the plan. Attention was paid to improve content, curriculum and pedagogy of education. It has been suggested in this plan to evolve a well-conceived policy of medium of instruction for tribals, as they speak different dialects. Keeping in view the sub-plan approach the seventh plan has made a bold suggestion to bring education of tribes under the control of the education department.

The National Policy on Education - 1986 also accorded high priority to the education of scheduled tribes, with particular emphasis on universalisation of elementary education. The Programme of Action formulated by the Ministry of Human Resource Department has laid emphasis on micro-level planning, taking family as the Unit. Non-formal education for children (9-14 years) out of School, establishment of school complexes, provision of additional teachers in single teacher schools, identifying teachers from among the tribals, provision for pre-primary education, paying opportunity costs are some of the measures suggested by the Programme of Action.

#### Invest<sup>ment</sup> Pattern in Different States on Sub-Plan Areas

A wide variation is marked in the investment pattern in sub-plan areas during 1980-85. The investments were categorised

under three heads; (i), family beneficiary oriented section, which includes agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, veterinary and animal husbandry, fisheries, co-operatives, cottage industry, sericulture etc. (ii) infra-structure sector which includes large and medium scale industry, irrigation and power, mining, roads etc., and (iii) Social service sector, which consists of drinking water, education, health, labour, other sectors under social service, etc.

As observed from Table 1.1, Maharashtra, Tripura, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh spent the maximum amounts on social services sector under which education, health, drinking water supply, labour were included. Orissa shows the lowest investment in this particular sector. Other states having low percentage of investment in this sector are Rajasthan, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. Andaman Nicobar Islands and Goa, Daman and Diu also invested in this sector involving education to 14% and 17.26% respectively.

#### Educational Facilities

While examining the variation in educational development at inter-state levels one has to take into account the situation of educational facilities along with other social and economic aspects. The Fourth All India Educational Survey (NCERT, 1980) reveals the existing pattern of educational facilities among various states and union territories. At all India level 77.78 per cent of habitations with predominantly tribal population are having primary schools within the habitation, as against 77.31 per cent for all habitations of the country. The schooling facilities in tribal habitations also show wide variation. For instance, Nagaland and Manipur are having primary schools in 98.43 per cent and 95.55 per cent

Table 1.1

Table 1.1: Investment Pattern in Different States on  
Sub-Plan Areas

Sr. No.	State/UTs	Family benefi- ciary Sector	Infra- structure	Social Service Sector	Others
1.	Andhra Pradesh	6.09	27.21	39.67	27.03
2.	Assam	31.88	32.16	27.78	9.18
3.	Bihar	18.26	47.07	21.60	13.07
4.	Gujarat	19.60	35.48	22.67	22.25
5.	Himachal Pradesh	17.50	40.41	19.25	22.84
6.	Karnataka	47.64	9.40	26.17	16.79
7.	Kerala	17.46	20.06	40.45	22.03
8.	Madhya Pradesh	21.38	29.98	18.60	30.04
9.	Maharashtra	12.74	41.38	44.79	1.09
10.	Manipur	16.11	41.18	29.82	12.89
11.	Orissa	9.49	43.88	9.63	37.00
12.	Rajasthan	5.80	69.57	11.42	31.21
13.	Sikkim	12.55	27.14	**	60.31
14.	Tamil Nadu	30.30	26.92	22.49	20.29
15.	Tripura	18.56	23.25	41.31	16.88
16.	Uttar Pradesh	32.70	13.40	16.25	37.65
17.	West Bengal	15.04	40.57	14.08	30.31
18.	A and N Islands	4.82	71.16	14.00	10.02
19.	Goa, Daman & Diu	20.57	16.33	17.26	45.84
Grand Total		16.69	39.44	21.96	21.91

Source : Government of India, Working Groups Report on  
 ST for Seventh Five Year Plan, New Delhi, 1984.

of tribal habitations respectively, whereas in the case of Tripura and Kerala the primary schools are covered in 55.25 per cent and 57.14 per cent tribal habitations.

In Orissa 84.83 per cent habitations with predominantly tribal population have primary schools within their habitation and 94.79 per cent of them have schools within one kilometre of distance. But in case of 97.47 per cent of total habitations, there is provision for primary schools within one kilometre.

So far as the middle schools are concerned 21.41 per cent of habitations in India with predominantly tribal population are having provision for middle schools within the habitation. But in Orissa only 19.47 per cent habitations of this category are covered by middle schools. In Mizoram and West Bengal the same category of habitations are covered by the middle schools to the extent of 67.14 per cent and 5.80 per cent respectively.

As regards the Ashram schools it is found that the growth of Ashram schools in many states is not proportionate to the percentage of scheduled tribe population in the particular state. The size and policy of admission to the institutions differ from state to state and so also differs from the percentage of school going population. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh with the highest number of Ashram Schools found to have enrolled 8.47 per cent of the total tribal children of the state. On the other hand, the state of Madhya Pradesh with less number of schools cover only 0.43 per cent of the total enrolled children of the state.

A striking difference in literacy rate is also found among different states and Union Territories as given in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Literacy Rate Among Tribes-Statewise

State/UTs	1971	1981
1. Andhra	5.33	7.82
2. Assam	20.02	-
3. Bihar	11.64	16.99
4. Gujarat	14.12	21.14
5. Haryana	-	-
6. Himachal	15.89	25.93
7. J and K	-	-
8. Karnataka	14.85	20.14
9. Kerala	25.72	31.79
10. Madhya Pradesh	7.62	10.68
11. Maharashtra	11.74	22.29
12. Manipur	28.71	39.74
13. Meghalaya	29.49	31.55
14. Nagaland	24.01	40.32
15. Orissa	9.46	13.96
16. Punjab	-	-
17. Rajasthan	6.47	10.27
18. Sikkim	-	33.13
19. Tamil Nadu	9.00	20.46
20. Tripura	15.03	23.07
21. U.P.	14.59	20.45
22. West Bengal	8.92	13.21
23. Andaman	17.85	31.11
24. Arunachal	5.20	14.04
25. Chandigarh	-	-
26. Dadra	8.90	16.86
27. Delhi	-	-
28. Goa	12.73	26.48
29. Lakshadweep	41.37	53.13
30. Mizoram	53.49	59.63
31. Pondicherry	-	-
All India	11.30	16.35

Source : Government of India Census Report, 1971 and 1981.

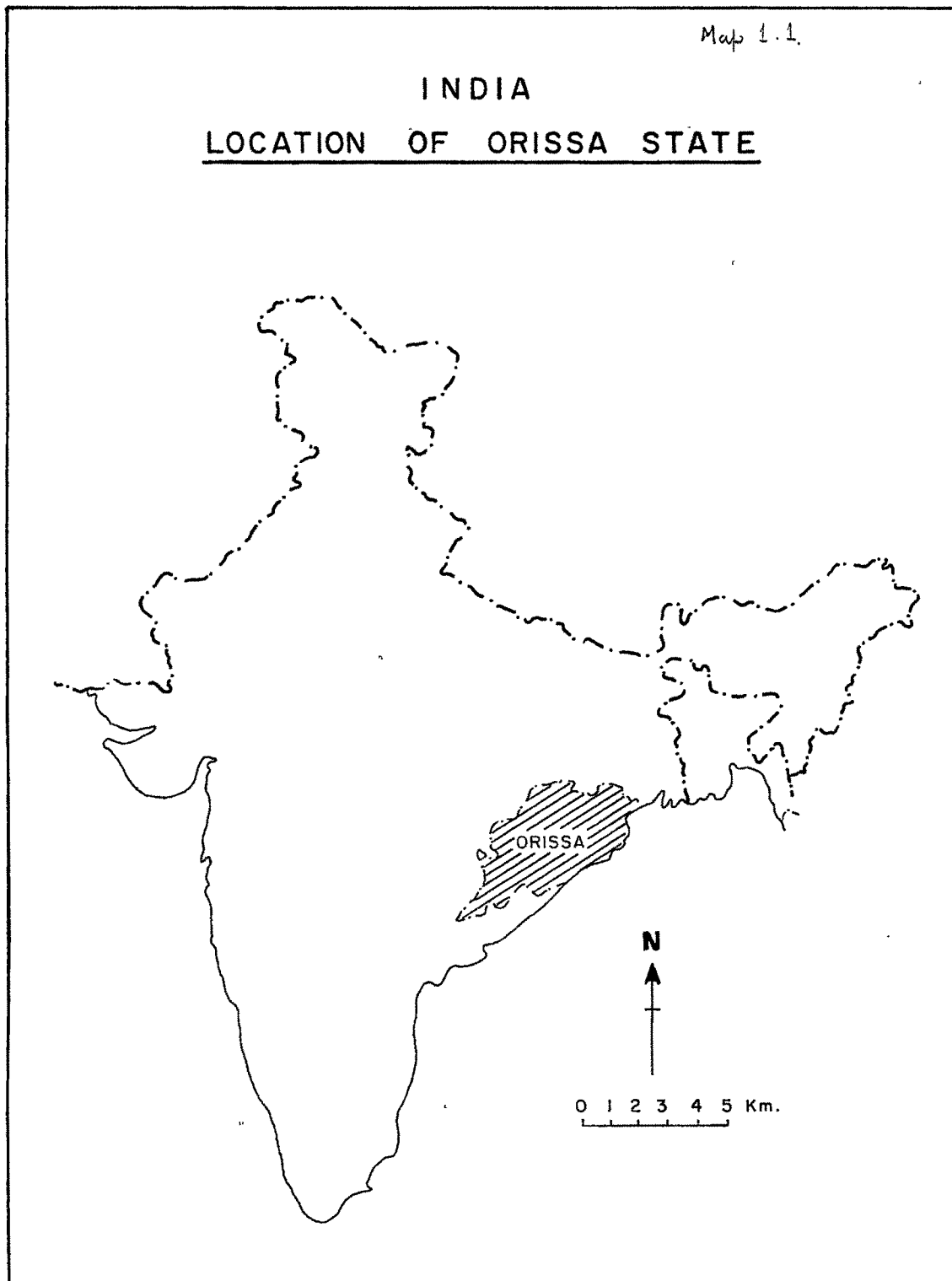


According to 1971 Census Mizoram obtained the highest literacy rate (53.49%) and Arunachal the lowest (5.20%). As regards the 1981 Census, Mizoram retained highest position in literacy (59.63%) and the lowest position in literacy was retained by Andhra Pradesh (7.82%). Orissa retained 9.46 per cent in 1971 which was below the national average of tribal literacy i.e. 11.30 per cent. Even in 1981 the situation was found unchanged. In 1981 Orissa obtained tribal literacy to the tune of 13.96 per cent. The literacy percentage of tribals in India was 16.35 per cent. Mizoram and Andhra Pradesh have the highest and lowest tribal literacy percentages, namely 59.63 per cent and 7.82 per cent respectively. Except the states, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and West Bengal, all other states and Union Territories have higher percentage of tribal literacy than Orissa state (1981 Census). Map of Orissa State is given in Map 1.1.

#### Orissa and its Tribes

The State of Orissa, which was formed on the first of April, 1936 is inhabited by as many as 62 tribal communities. Each community maintains its peculiarities, its socio-cultural identity and economic and educational level. The scheduled tribes are distributed in two distinct geophysical zones (i) the northern Plateau, which includes Sundergarh, Mayurbhanja and Keonjhar districts, Kuchinda Sub-division of Sambalpur district, Pallahara sub-division of Dhenkanal district, and Nilgiri sub-division of Balasore district, and (ii) the southern mountain ranges, which comprise, Koraput, Phulbani district, Parlakhemundi sub-division of Ganjam district, and Thuamul Rampur and Lanjigarh blocks of Kalahandi district.

There are fifteen major tribes in the state, each of which has a population of more than one lakh. They are: Kandha, Gand, Santal, Saora, Kolha, Shabara, Kishan, Oraon, Bhumij, Bathudi and Kharia. These major tribes taken together



constitute 84.18 per cent of the total tribal population in the State.

Almost all the tribals are in the lowest economic bracket. Their literacy level is 13.95 per cent with a female literacy of 4.76 per cent (1981 Census). The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission (1960-61) have categorised the tribes into four types on the basis of socio-economic and cultural development; (i) those that are living in the primitive stage, (ii) those in the Jhumming cultivation, (iii) those who have taken to regular agriculture and (iv) those who have already assimilated.

Late Sangana, Ex-Minister for Tribal and Rural Welfare, Orissa, categorised the Tribals under 'A', 'B' and 'C' groups. 'A' category refers to the primitive and sub-human type, 'B' category implies those who have undergone some changes and 'C' denotes the acculturated ones.

### Primitive

Dhebar Commission (1961) identified eight communities in Orissa as primitives but Shilu Ao Committee (1969) discerned the imbalance in development and suggested that lowest layer needed the utmost consideration by the State Government. Generally three norms were followed on the basis of guidelines of the Ministry of Home Affairs till 1979-80 to identify the primitive groups. They are Banda, Kharian, Soura, Mankirias, Kutia Kandha, Paudi Bhuyan, Juangs, Lanja Soura and Dongria Kondha. Besides the above, the tribes like Birhor, Didayi, Gadaba, Koya and the Paraja qualify though they are yet to be identified as primitive tribes.

### Transitional

A large number of tribes can be classified under this category as they are on their way to achieve complete modernisation. The communities such as Munda, Kirsns, Ho, Bhatra, Bhumija, Banyari, Dal, Dhama, Jatapu, Khandadora, Mahali, Mundari, Omanatya, Korua, Madia, and Kondh, Bhuyan, section of santal, section of Paraja, Gadaba, section of Kolha can be classified in this category.

### The Assimilated or Modernised

These tribes have discontinued their customs and traditions, they have forgotten their dance and music and have been integrated with the rural society. For instance, the Gonds of western Orissa, the Bhuyans and Santals of Northern Orissa, and some smaller tribes like Sonntis, Holvas and Binjhals can be categorised under this head.

There is variation in demographic structure of the tribals in different districts of the state, which seem to have affected the socio-economic condition and educational level attained by the people in each district, literacy, as a factor for socio-economic change can be seen in respect of tribals in different district.

Table 1.3 shows that Koraput has the lowest percentage of general literacy i.e. 10.58% and 15.83% in 1971 and 1981 respectively. As regards the tribal literacy, Sundargarh district has the highest literacy percentage i.e. 16.04% in 1971 and 22.70% in 1981, whereas Koraput district has the lowest rate of tribal literacy i.e. 3.24% in 1971 and 6.31% in 1981.

Table 1.3 : Districtwise General Literacy vis-a-vis Tribal Literacy, Orissa

Name of the District	1971		1981	
	General	Tribal	General	Tribal
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Sambalpur	27.12	14.84	34.02	19.89
Sundergarh	26.47	16.04	36.17	22.70
Keonjhar	21.25	10.05	29.89	15.25
Mayurbhanj	18.05	9.63	25.47	14.50
Balasore	33.71	7.03	41.84	11.20
Cuttack	36.43	7.83	45.33	10.78
Dhenkanal	27.76	11.06	36.70	14.65
Phulbani	19.79	4.13	26.61	18.59
Ganjam	24.40	6.79	31.30	10.82
Bolangir	19.92	11.96	25.78	15.30
Kalahandi	13.85	7.70	19.35	11.54
Koraput	10.58	3.24	15.83	6.31
Puri	25.34	13.07	45.71	19.33
Orissa	26.18	9.45	34.12	13.95

Source: Census of India, 1971, Series-16, Orissa, 1971.

Census of India, 1981, Series-16, Orissa, 1982.

Again, in case of female literacy a wide gap was marked among different districts of the state of Orissa. The gap between the percentages of literacy of females and males was found to be 13.80 in 1971 and the same was found to be 18.50 in 1981 (Rout, 1989). This indicates a dismal feature of female literacy of the tribals in the state.

It is evident that the scheduled tribes have continued to lag behind in the general population in educational level. It is found that the less than one percent of the Didayi and Mankidia were literate. Banda, Koya, Baigas were having two per cent literacy rate whereas Koli, Maneda and Oram were having literacy upto six per cent.

All these variations, inequality and imbalances are significant to recast the educational policies, priorities and programmes for the tribals against the socio-economic and cultural and ecological contexts, further has necessitated to cast view on the developmental activities undertaken in the tribal regions of the Orissa state.

#### Tribal Development Programmes in Orissa

As per Article 164(1) of the constitution of India, a Tribal and Rural welfare minister has been discharging the function of both the Heads of the department and Secretariate since 1950. A tribal advisory council was formed in the state to advise the Government on matters relating to the welfare of SCs and STs.

#### Establishment of Tribal Research Bureau

It was set up by the Government of Orissa in 1952 to carry on research on different aspects of Scheduled Tribes. An orientation and training institute was set up at Macchkund, Koraput district in 1967 to provide training to

the officers of different department working in Tribal areas. The training institute was shifted to Bhubaneswar. Government of Orissa amalgamated both these institutions in 1972 and named them as the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute (THRTI). It conducts surveys and undertakes studies in relation to the socio-economic aspects of SCs and STs and prepares draft plans for the improvement of the SCs & STs and conducts training programmes for the concerned workers and officials.

#### Tribal Development Blocks

Tribal Development Blocks were instituted in areas with 66.67 per cent or more tribal population. Out of total 314 Community Development Blocks (C.D.Blocks) in the state, 75 blocks were constituted as T.D. blocks during 1966-67. An additional financial assistance was provided by the Government of India for these T.D.Blocks till the end of Fourth Plan period.

T.D.Blocks in due course were treated as too small to serve as viable units for effecting integrated economic development. As per the suggestions of the Shilo Ao Committee, T.D. Blocks ceased to function from 1st April, 1975.

#### Sub-Plan Approach

Sub-Plan area was adopted in Orissa in 1974 and for operational purposes the area was organised into Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP). Out of 314 blocks, 118 were under sub-plan area. It covered 68,579 sq.Kms. (44.01 per cent) of the state with 3.45 million tribal population, which constitute 68.01 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. The Sub-Plan co-terminous

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with the Scheduled areas and constituted of nineteen ITDPs and four Tribal Development Agencies (TDA). The TDAs have been converted into ITDPs since April, 1979.

(Report on the activities of the T. & R.W. Deptt., 1978-79, Govt. of Orissa).

#### Co-operative Organisations

In order to ensure economic upliftment of the tribals, purchase, sales and fair price shop schemes were started and a Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation was set up in April, 1972, under the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department.

(Annual Administrative Report, 1972-73 T. & R.W. Department, Orissa.

To render a package of services like supplying seeds and other agricultural inputs, marketing agricultural and minor forest products of the tribals, supplying them consumer goods and credits, a new pattern of co-operatives have been organised.

Besides the above schemes, construction of colonies for tribals, rehabilitation of tribals on Government land, loan-cum-subsidy scheme for poultry, animal husbandry, soil conservation measures, provision of legal aid etc., are worth noting.

(Annual Administration Report for the year 1976-77, T. & R.W. Deptt., of Orissa).

#### The Mada Pockets

Those blocks which could not be included in the sub-plan but had pockets of tribal concentration came under the Modified Area Development Approach (MADA).



Thirty Seven MADA Pockets have been identified outside tribal sub-plan area each having a total population of 10,000 or more of whom 50 per cent or above are tribals. In these areas different individual benefit oriented and community oriented programmes are being implemented for the development of the tribals.

### Micro Projects

There are nine primitive tribal communities in the state of Orissa. They have not been benefited much by the general development programmes carried through ITDAs because of their pre-agricultural stage and certain other cultural peculiarities. Micro-projects, therefore, are operating to bring about total development of the primitive tribes.

Various developmental activities such as establishment of hospitals and educational institutions viz., Sevashrams, Ashram schools, Kanyashrams, High Schools and hostels for free accommodation of students have been carried on by the state Government for the tribals. That apart, some important educational incentive schemes have been operative in tribal region to encourage the children's enrolment and attendance.

### Gaps Between Constitutional Commitments and Measures taken: Planning Perspectives for the Tribal Development

Notwithstanding the host of constitutional and legal measures and initiatives taken by both the Central and state Governments the gulf between the Tribals and Non-tribals has not been bridged rather it has been widening. One of the clear indications is that of literacy. The policies and plans adopted so far have not brought the gamut of tribals to the fold of national mainstream. It has given rise to cynicism and

speculation at various levels. Chalam (1988) held the view that scheduled tribes however need 22 years to reach the main stream in primary education. The corresponding figure for secondary education is 26.5 years, 90 years for professional higher education and 44 years for general education. This forecast seems plausible considering the consistent deferring of the stipulated time fixed by the constitution to achieve the target of tribal development. This shows the developmental policies pursued so far for the tribals might have some snags or the thrust areas might not have been based on the needs and problems of the tribals. Education, particularly literacy and consciousness of the tribals, their perception of and participation in the process of development might have been relegated to the background and economic development of the tribals might have been taken up as a priority basis, that too ignoring the individual tribal 'man', the sole agent and end of the development process.

It has become so, for lacunae in the planning and policy making for the tribals, the root of which lie in understanding and interpreting the terms, 'development', 'modernisation' 'education' and their natural linkage. The most important aspect of all these three is education; for, if a man is educated he or she can attain modernity and can become developed. An illiterate and uneducated man, howsoever, rich can never be treated to have fully grown or developed or modernised. It is, therefore, essential to understand these concepts with special significance to initiate effective planning and policy making for the real development of the tribals.

There can be no fixed and final definition of the term development. Development is comprehensive, contextual and dynamic. It is a process of series of progressive changes attained or intended to be attained by an individual person, society or nation. It can be regarded as an all pervading

human activity, encompassing all spheres aimed at discovering latent potentialities of a society and mobilising them to achieve the societal goals. It is related with the philosophy and outlook of the individual as well as of the community and its attitude towards change and conformity. It depends on the individual or community's perception to accept innovation and change for modifying and magnifying it's own in the context of time and environment. Development is often identified with economic growth especially with reference to the so called under developed countries. In fact, however, the term has come to acquire a more comprehensive meaning, embracing not merely economic but also human and social development based on the concept of maximum well being of the individual. It implies change in economic, political and social systems as may be warranted ensuring optimum use of country's resources, human as well as material to raise the level of living of the people. Development is a means to an end and that is man and his welfare.

It has its focus on putting the human element back into development and rhymes with the 'investment in man' approach. Man is the agent as well as beneficiary of development. This constitutes not only the most important but even the sole justification, The *raison d'etre*, of development. In this context social development has been defined as a macro strategy of planned intervention to improve the capacity of existing social systems to cope with demands of change and growth. Development refers to the kind of society one is aiming to build. Developmental policies which concentrate on relieving absolute poverty or on meeting 'basic needs' can properly be adopted as a matter of first priority. Moreover, the satisfaction of basic human needs would be permanently achievable only the structural changes at local, national and international level that would enable those concerned to identify their own needs, mobilise their own resources and

shape their future in their own terms. Developmental approach should be based on the Paulo Freier's 'Learning From People' concept.

Supporters of modernisation typically choose literacy, break up of the joint family, free enterprise, cultural secularisation, and social mobility as indicators of development. Modernisation refers to a process and not a static position or phenomenon. It is a dynamic concept which involves the process of change and adaptation to the spirit of the modern period. It implies cultivation of inter qualities such as rationality and broad mindedness especially in social relations.

Deutsch (1961) defined it as a process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialisation and behaviour. Among the indices of modernization he mentioned exposure to aspects of modern life through demonstration of machinery, buildings, consumer goods, etc., response to mass media, urbanisation, change from traditional occupations, literacy and growth of per capita income. It is a total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organisation that characterise the relatively advanced economically prosperous and politically stable nations.

Westernisation and modernisation are used synonymously. First, West and things western do not have entire happy connotations for most <sup>of</sup> the developing societies. And second not all developing societies are ready to go western. They are afraid of total identity loss. Westernisation appears to tie them to an established set of goals and an historically determined courses, modernisation keeps their choices open. Modernisation thus is not just superficial acquisition of some isolated traits and elements characteristic of the

more advanced countries. A great deal of value change is involved and some significant institutional modifications are essential. Modernisation warrants radical changes in some of the traditional values and practices. Unless the traditional values undergo a radical modification, an innovative ethos and an entrepreneurial and industrial ethic can-not be created.

Closely following the analyses of modernisation made by Lerner (1962), Almond and Coleman (1960), McClelland (1961) and Wilbert Moore (1963), Dube (1967) has provided the twelve point list of characteristics of modernity, (i) empathy, (ii) Mobility, (iii) high participation, interest articulation, (iv) interest aggregation, (v) institutionalised political competition, (vi) achievement orientation, (vii) rational ends means calculations, (viii) new attitude to wealth, work, savings and risk taking, (ix) faith in desirability and possibility of change, (x) social, economic and political discipline and (xi) capacity to put off immediate and short run satisfactions for higher satisfaction in the long run.

There does not exist a single comprehensive theory of modernisation. The term has been a blurry worded concept which is 'big and slippery'. Modernisation is a form of human adaptation and the increasing use of man's rationality and knowledge in mastering his environment (Black, 1966). It is best conceptualised in terms of the 'growth in moral, social and personal choices' or liberation of human population from the environment, political and cultural constraints which place obstacles to its freedom to choose its destiny (Apter, 1965). Inkeles and Smith (1974) argue that modernisation is a socio-psychological process through which a country becomes modern only after its population has adopted modern attitudes, values and beliefs.

All these definitions emphasise new ways of thinking or doing which can be achieved only by improving and extending education. One sure way to modernise is to spread education to produce educated and skilled citizens and train an adequate and competent intelligentsia. Education is one of the keys that unlocks the doors to modernisations. By changing the outlook, attitude and values of people towards individuals, groups, objects, events and phenomena, education can help people establish harmony between inner and outer growth of personality and thus maintain balance in material culture and moral fibre of society.

Education interacts and is interdependent with the process of development. Social structures, policies and goals exert their influence on the education sector as on the other sectors, while the education sector influences economic and social development by inducing change in technology (through the systematic application of scientific and other skills) and in values and attitudes (to provide the necessary incentives) for increasing productive efficiency. Education plays a vital role in modernising the society and carry the society forward for achieving development. Modernisation has been viewed as one of the approaches for development, in real sence of the term and hence can be used interchangeably with development in the context of the tribals.

Quality of life is central to the very concept of education, since education is a process of qualitative change which develops those specific innate qualities that enable an individual to lead a full and productive life. Schultz (1980) in his Nobel lecture emphasised that the satisfaction of human needs is but a further extension of the desire to improve the quality of human stock and which includes many dimensions of human condition. Similar to modernisation theory, the human needs approach focusses on changes in people, but unlike

modernisation these changes are primarily in physical social and political conditions. Modernisation refers to socio-psychological change, incorporating the human needs concept into development policy requires that new indicators of development must be adopted, a process which is both empirical and political. Human needs are both quantitative and qualitative phenomena. Before basic needs can be measured quantitatively it is essential that decisions of a quantitative, even definitional, nature be made. The satisfaction of human need is considered an equally important component for bringing about the social and economic development of society. It is obvious that problems accrue from the process of need satisfaction. Needs and problems are inter-related in the sense that needs give rise to problems and problem-solving process breeds many newer needs. In the context of the ever changing realities of life needs and problems change keeping pace with time, events and environment. Needs and problems permeate into every aspect of human life, and they encompass the whole range of experiences of man in society, in education and development.

#### Rationale of the Study

Different tribal people are at varying stages of economic development. Therefore, in predominantly tribal areas, each group and the area in which it lives should be studied closely and appropriate patterns of development worked out in close co-operation with the people. Aspects of tribal education which might call for special attention will vary from area to area and no pains be spared in understanding the problems which arise in different contexts (IEC, 1964-66).

Dongrias are a primitive tribal community in Orissa particularly found in Koraput district. Koraput district shows the lowest percentage of literacy both in general population and in tribal population as described earlier. Like other primitive tribals, the Dongrias show negligible literacy percentage that was assumed to be less than two per cent.

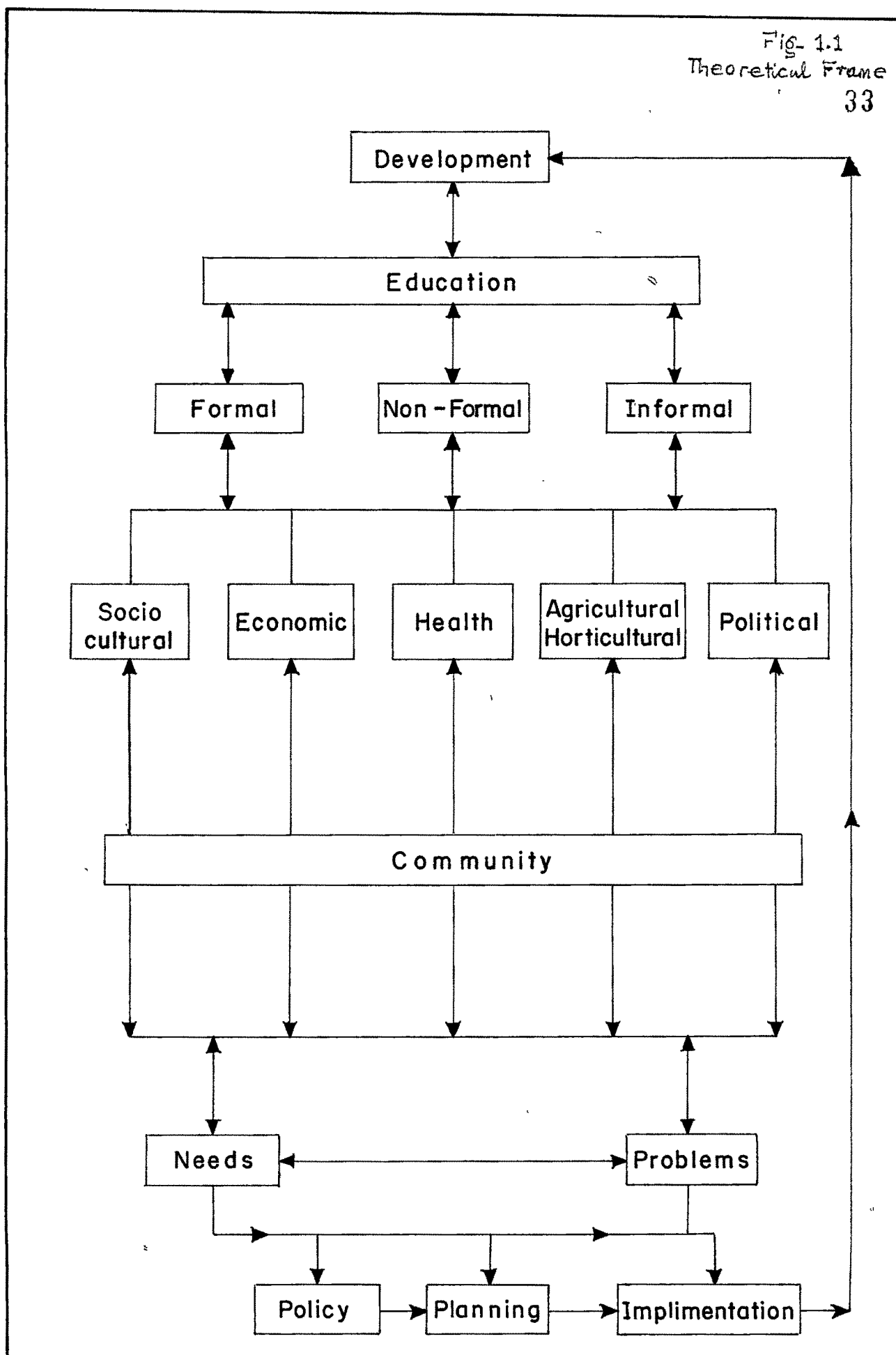
Recently one research study has been conducted on Dongrias with respect to their group feud and conflicts (Nayak, 1984). No other socio-economic cultural aspects of the Dangrias have been studied by researchers as yet. Not a single study has been conducted on educational aspect of the community here to before. Education is the sole agent of change and development. It is a fact that, needs and problems are found in every aspect of life of a community. Without satisfying the basic needs and solving the problems, modernisation and development of a community can not be achieved. So linking education with modernisation, and development pre-supposes its relevance and conformity with the local needs and problems.

Educational reforms and renovations aimed at introducing and reinforcing new patterns and designs of education that are flexible and varying, relevant and linked to widely diverse local culture and social environments will have to be taken in hand. The emphasis should be on innovation, on low cost alternatives and societal involvement, all aimed towards linking education effectively with the needs of the people, to employment and to development. The content, methods and timing of education will have to be related to local needs and detailed block and school level planning introduced with specific targets.

The approach to the seventh five year plan and the National Policy on Education (NPE, 86) accorded over riding priority to universalisation of elementary education and education of scheduled tribes. The Programme of Action formulated by the Ministry of Human Resources Development has envisaged various measures to be taken to that end. The main emphasis is laid on micro level planning taking family as a unit. (POA, 86). The above policy thrust and importance of understanding the needs and problems of tribals and their



Fig- 1.1  
Theoretical Frame  
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implications for policy formulation and planning for educational and overall development of the tribals has been taken as a theoretical frame for the present study as mentioned in Figure 1.1. This theoretical frame has induced the present investigator to undertake a research study on the needs and problems of the Dongria tribes of Koraput district with regard to education.

#### Statement of the Problem

The present study has been stated as follows:

"Needs and Problems of a Tribal Community in Orissa with regard to Education : An indepth Study".

#### Conceptual Clarity of the Terms Used

##### Need

Need refers to circumstances in which something is lacking, or necessary, or requiring some course of action. Here need refers to various requirements of the tribal community for a better living. Needs of the community in general and with regard to education in particular as felt and perceived by the tribals have been taken into consideration.

##### Problems

Problem usually refers to questions to be solved or decided, especially something difficult. Here in this study it refers to the difficulties, obstacles that the tribals face in the process of satisfaction of their needs, and reaching the goals of their life in general and education in particular. It also takes into consideration the problems faced by the teachers, pupils and the administrators who are concerned with the development of the tribals.

### Tribal Community

In general terms a tribe may be defined as "an indigenous, homogeneous unit speaking a common language, claiming a common descent living in a particular geographic area, backward in technology, preliterate, loyally observing social and political customs based on kinship." The tribal community thus refers to a racial group especially one united by language and customs, living as a community under one or more chiefs. However, a tribal community here refers to "Dongria Kandha" a section of Kandha tribes in Orissa state.

### Education

Education refers here to the experiences and training that the tribal community has been receiving through the formal, non-formal and informal educational institutions. In other words it points to whatever is going in the name of education in the community.

### A few Hunches

1. The tribal people in this area may be having specific needs and problems related to their education.
2. Teachers, parents and pupils of the tribal community may be having their own perceptions of the root causes of these problems.
3. Specific needs and problems may be acting as deterrents to the progress of education.
4. Educational facilities provided to the tribal community under study are not properly utilised by them.
5. If the school system is not adapted to the local needs and problems, enrolment and educational attainments of the students are not likely to be satisfactory.

6. If the developmental policies and plans are based on the needs of the tribal people and are implemented in the way tribals like them, they are likely to evoke a positive response.

#### Objectives of the Study

1. To study the present position of formal educational institutions and non-formal educational programmes for children and adults in terms of the following aspects:
  - a) Physical facilities
  - b) Students enrolment and dropouts
  - c) Students background
  - d) Staff pattern and staff background
  - e) Supporting facilities being provided to the students in both the formal and non-formal settings.
  - f) Administration and supervision of educational institutions and programmes.
2. To explore the needs and problems relating to the functioning of formal educational institution and non-formal educational programmes as felt and perceived by:
  - a) Teachers and students participating in the formal and non-formal educational programmes.
  - b) The administrators/officials in charge of formal and non-formal education programmes.
  - c) Tribal parents
  - d) Non-participant adults in adult literacy Centres.
  - e) Non-participant children.
3. To study the indigenous educational/training practices available in the tribal community with respect to their nature, scope, objectives and usefulness in the present context.

4. To study developmental programmes undertaken for the tribal community such as agricultural extension programme, family planning programmes, nutrition educational programmes, health educational programmes, etc.
5. To identify the problems in the implementation of the programmes enumerated in objective '4' as perceived by (a) tribal beneficiaries concerned, (b) Officials in charge of such programmes.
6. To study the impact of formal, non-formal and indigenous educational programmes and practices as felt and expressed by the tribals on the following aspects of their life.
  - (a) Socio-economic condition
  - (b) Cultural practices
  - (c) Political consciousness
  - (d) Health and Sanitation
  - (e) Agricultural practices.

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