INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Education: Its Imperatives

The end of the 19th century had witnessed unrestricted opportunities worldwide for experimentation of socio-economic and political idealities with the newly fangled social order and events. This has harboured favourable circumstances and factors leading to sturdy durability and deep-rooted social implication for the nations of the world (Panchamukhi, 1996:09). One of the social events, which mandated the re-orientation of the structure and planning for progress of the nation, previously under prolonged colonial administration was the termination of colonial rule and attainment of independence — a natural consequence of a protracted struggle. Along with nostalgia and euphoria the much cherished freedom encumbered two fold responsibilities:

- To strengthen the force that brought colonization to end and to retain the sovereignty and security of the nation and
- To set goals and agendas to identify priority sector which to maintain and strengthen democratic and secular thinking and process.

One of the most important sectors which has demonstrated its dynamics for the above mentioned goals in a substantial way during the last century was obviously education. To Martin Coney, it is this sector which can redeem the nation from "cultural imperialism" and could fight successfully against "conquest, commerce and consolidation".

Since education is considered as both (i) instrumental for ushering in progress of the nation and (ii) a sub-system simultaneously, its role as an imperative force assume a great significance in a country like India. (Panchamukhi, 1996: 15).

From among a list of multitude of compulsions, overt and covert, at least in three important aspects of the development of nation, education assumes the role of extreme importance.
It is perceived that the historical transformation of India to a free nation has largely been a product of educational minorities (Jha, 1986: 83) an outfit of formal education of Western varieties. Further the apparent relationship between formal education and the elite group made education one of the most sought after goals amongst the citizen.

It has been widely recognized by scholars that education is an indispensable pre-requisite, "prime mover", a "catalyst" (Prakash, et al, 1977: 27) of economic growth and national development (Denison, 1962, Shultz, 1964, Strumilin, 1968) and economy is destined to grow with education. The World Bank in its report had two major findings to justify more investment in education “education leads to broader economic and social benefit for individuals and for societies, higher productivity, lower infant and child mortality rates and better health. And the benefits are greatest once primary education broadly covers the population (World Bank, 1997: 30). For "change in a grand scale, there is one and only one instrument that can be used : Education". The third world countries in the process of socio-economic transformation regard educational development to be of paramount importance. Good education has become synonymous with good economic returns and education being undoubtedly viewed as an instrument of economic development (Naik, 1966: 13).

It is believed that without expansion of education, India cannot enter into the technological stage and become modern, a premise, very closely attuned to the pre-requisite of modernization (N.P.E.,1968) The modern day market oriented economic development and software technology calls for a wide diffusion of scientific knowledge and information. In short, education is a prime requisite for national preparedness for development.
 Apart from developing a scientific temper, education continuously evolves a sense of individual dignity, discipline and respect for human rights. In a broader sense it emancipates citizens from fascists, obscurantists and totalitarian proclivities and strengthens democratic thinking and process (N.P.E., 1968)

At a more mundane level, even primary education can become a major determinant for better family health, lower fertility rate and slower population growth besides raising productivity level and individual income (World Bank, 1997: 08)

Further, education imposes a near total imperative on smooth functioning of democracy, an advanced system of Governance which India professed at the moment of its political freedom. To Bertrand Russel "you cannot work democracy when your population is illiterate". To Lowe "we must educate our masters" (Muralidharan, 1997: 70).

John Sergent, the Educational Advisor to the Government of India and responsible for formulation of first "Comprehensive Educational Plan" known as Sergent Report (1944) "upon the education of the people the fate of this country depends". In the same vein Webster assumes that "on the diffusion of education rest the preservation and perpetuation of our free institution" (Krishna Ayar, 1996: 28-37). According to Martin Luther the prosperity of the country depends not on the abundance of its resources, nor are the strength of its fortification nor on bounty of its public building but consists on number of its men of education, enlightenment and character (Krishna Ayar, 96: 28-37)

Kothari in his report (N.P.E.-1968) popularly known as Kothari Commission Report with characteristic expectations stated that 'the destiny of India is now being shaped in her classrooms. Thus one believes, is no more rhetoric. In a world based on science and technology it is education that determines the level of prosperity welfare and security of the people. On the quality and number of persons coming out of schools and college
depends our success in the great enterprise of national reconstruction whose principal objective is to raise the standard of living of the people" (NPE, 1968).

The natural response to the demands of education on various socio-economic and developmental issues should undoubtedly have been widespread educational transformation of Indian societies — the task being beset with copious problems and conditions, even gigantic enough to be comprehended.

1.1.2 Education in India: Opinion and Suggestions

Several viewpoints, suggestions, movements, policies and programmes by the enlightened, imminent scholars, educationists and political thinkers etc. on the nature, objective, goals and functions of education piled upon so far are simply voluminous. An extremely brief survey has been attempted to gauge the seriousness of such consequential matter as education.

- The respect for education in India is extremely old and deep-rooted. The three immortal lines of the Vedas, the ancient treatise of knowledge par excellence predilecting for truth, light and immortality constitute the broad and lofty framework of the objectives of education. University of Nalanda and Takshila, and the great teachers of ancient India provided both organized and informal education. This has been well recognized by Sir Alexander Johnson in a letter written to Charles Grams (1746 – 1893), President of the Board of Control quoted "education has always form the earliest of their history, been an object of public care and of public interest to the Hindu Government" (University Education, 1948).

- F.W. Thomas a distinguished indologist remarked that "education in India is no exotic. There is no country where love of learning had so early an in origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence" (Thomas, 1891; 17). It was under the British rule that the ancient system of education was "first ignored then violently and successfully opposed", (Howell,: 1872) to form a class — a class of person, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in
opinion, in morals and intellect, as in the line of true Maculayan vision and concept (Sharp et al, 1920-22).

- Mahatma Gandhi's concept of basic education (Naitalim), to be "imparted through craft", was translated to a concrete shape in October, 1937 when a committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain who prepared a detailed scheme known as "Wardha Scheme of Education" and which was ascertained in National Congress session at Haripur in March, 1938.

The three important features (which still remained elusive) are:

- Free and compulsory education for seven years on a nation-wide scale.
- Mother tongue to be the medium of instruction, and
- Education to centre round some form of manual and productive work with due regard to the environment of the child (Zakir Hussain Committee, Syllabus — 1938).

Otherwise known as Wardha scheme of education / Basic System of Education or the Naitalim was ascertained as the National System of Education after Independence. However, after the report of Education Commission (1968) the scheme has so far received death knell and has been relegated to a forgotten state.

- Apart from Gandhiji's scheme of Basic Education, there were suggestions by Tagore (1892-1893), Shri Aurobindo (National Council of Education), Gokhale's resolution, National Education movements, Report of Hertog Committee (1828-29), Abbothood Report (1836-37), Sergent Report (1944), University Education Commission (1948-49), Constitutional basis of education (1950) which envisaged certain fundamental goals and action programmes to accelerate the educational transformation of the country.

- The National Policy on Education (NPE) as formulated by Kothari in 1968 marked a significant step in the history of education in post independent India. It aims to promote national progress, a sense of a common citizenship and culture and strengthen
national integration. Several laudable steps were pronounced to reconstruct and to improve the system of education and its quality and strategy. Kothari Commission Report (1966) has received wide recommendation and it provided the base for NPE, 1968 and for 4th, 5th and 6th Five Year plans. Since the adoption of 1968 policy and its subsequent revision in 1992, NPE, there has been considerable expansion in the education facilities all over the country at all levels. More than 90 percent of the country’s rural habitation now have schooling facilities within a radius of one kilometer (NPE, 1992 : Para 1.5).

Although achievements were impressive, the general formulation incorporated in 1968 policy did not however get translated into a detailed strategy of implementation in spite of CABE’s insistence (CABE-68) to be brief and to define clearly and realistically the measures of change as proposed. Further it has failed to assign specific responsibilities and to locate financial and organizational support (NPE, 1992 : 1.8). Thus, many of the significant recommendations have not yet been implemented.

- In 1977, the Janata Government at Centre announced to review all the educational programmes including the NPE 1968. As the Government was short lived, it issued in haste a “Draft National Policy on Education” as the part of its election manifesto to face the interim election in 1980 which (the document) after the electoral defeat remained ignored (Draft National Policy on Education, 1979).

- In 1985 the NCERT prepared a “National Curriculum for Elementary and Secondary Education : A Framework” (NCERT, 1985) which covered four broad areas — the emerging concerns and imperatives, curricular organization, evaluation and implementation. In the same year the Ministry Of Education prepared a document “Challenges of Education : A Policy Perspective” with a view to meeting the challenges of 21st century. This has dealt most realistically with the educational level of the country, identified the direction of the future initiatives on the basis of the suggestions from a wide array of people of various walks of life including the educational planners, teachers, students, parents, and intellectuals, and proposed a nation wide debate on the topic. It was a massive programme with publicity, slogans and seminars designed to formulate a new “Education Policy”. The Ministry of
Education now renamed as Human Resource Development brought out the revised document "The National Policy on Education" 1986 – A Preparation" which was further sharpened after the suggestions of National Development Council and CABE and State Minister of Education and finally the NPE, 1986 which emerged after being deliberated on in Parliament in 1986.

- The NPE(1986) with its 12 parts and 157 paragraphs covering all the major areas of education in India, its problems and perceptions was indeed a statement of education in its entirety. Such plans and programmes as "Operation Black Board for primary stage", Navodaya Vidyalayas, Vocational Education, District Institute of Education and Training Centres for teachers and other programmes for Higher Education such as strengthening of autonomous colleges, academic staff college for orientation programme for teachers etc., eligibility test for teachers recruitment and redesigning of the courses were envisaged. So elaborate were its objectives and views that the Ministry of HRD had to undertake an extensive exercise to prepare a programme of action. This was achieved after assigning each subject to a task force to translate the same into a complete action programme and preparing the POA after an extensive deliberation with the apex bodies.

In 1986 NCERT developed a syllabus as an objective instrument for achieving educational goal and in the same year revised its curriculum with a view to implementing the directions of NPE, 1986. This was done after a prolonged survey of opinions of the educational elites of the country through discussions in seminars (NCERT,88)

In 1987 the role of teachers in enhancing quality education was realized and accordingly reports on teachers came out as National Commission on Teachers – I and II dealing respectively with primary and higher education (NCERT, 1986).

- In 1991, a committee which was also set up with Acharya Rammurthy as its Chairman to review the NPE, 1986 (committee to review NPE, 1986 – Towards An Enlightened and Humane Society), met a natural death when the Government of Janata Dal was bundled out of power in 1991.
It was in June 1991 that the NPE 1986 was invigorated with fresh blood when the government formed under the leadership of P.V. Narsingha Rao and in July 1991 when the recommendation of Rammurthy Committee was examined by Janardan Committee which was further considered by CABLE. The revised NPE after the finalization was approved by the Parliament on 7th May, 1992. Mr. Arjun Singh the then minister of HRD was euphoric while presenting the report stated that the NPE, 1986 had stood the test of time and initiated a comprehensive framework to guide the development of education (Hindusthan Times and Times of India, May 08, 1992)

The foregoing discussion indicates that more than 100 committees commissions and policy statements made between 1947 to 1992 which not only have enriched our knowledge on educational content, structure and process but also have set up several landmarks which can address the multi-dimensional problems of educational growth in the country.

1.1.3 Constraints of Indian Education

No doubt the country has witnessed a massive quantitative expansion at all levels of education over the last four decades, the achievement is far from substantial as the pace of its development is observed to be very slow. The result is that, along with other maladies of the educational growth, the country is faced with a staggering burden of high illiteracy level (47.8 in 1991 and 35.0 in 2001). Considering its history, compositeness, inequalities, poverty, backwardness, casteism and religious rigorism, one-third of India's population has remained illiterate, the cup of education remained perpetually unfilled and many good returns of education have not yet been availed (W.B.1997:05). In course of time it has been observed that there has been only accumulation of educational problems due to over shifting emphases, continuous experimentation with goals, priorities, programmes and content set by the educationists and administrators (Sinha et al, 1994: 7-8).
Following are some of the major grey areas identified on the problem of education.

- In the past four decades, India has progressed from having 52 million literates to 350 million literates, the rise of the rate of literacy did not mean that there were fewer illiterates. In 1981 there were 121 million illiterate males and 182 million illiterate females and by 1991 it went up to 127 and 197 millions respectively (Census, 1981 and 1991) i.e. 50% of worlds illiterates present in India.

### Tab 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Literates and Illiterates among Population Aged Seven Years and Above — India : 1981 – 1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(in '000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literates / Illiterates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITERATES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in 1991 over 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILLITERATES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in 1991 over 1981</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes I: The figures exclude Assam and Jammu and Kashmir. For Assam, the 1981 figures are not available as the 1981 Census could not be held there, while for Jammu and Kashmir, the 1991 figures are not yet available as the 1991 Census is yet to be conducted there.

Notes II: Figures of literates population for 1991 are as per the provisional results of the 1991 Census. The figures of illiterate population aged seven years and above are estimated figures based on certain assumptions on population age structure and likely to undergo change.

Notwithstanding a near 100% enrolment of six years old children and including a 20% rise in the increase of enrolment of girls and 70% regular attendance the growth in enrolment has only been modest (i.e. 13.8% between 1981-91).
One of the features of educational maladies is that the number of illiterate children between 6 – 14 years continue to increase. It has been observed that the backlog of illiterate population in absolute term keeps on increasing with time. As admitted in "Challenge of Education" (Para 2.9), this has severe implications for Universalization of Education

- The goal of providing "Elementary Education for All" which should have been achieved in 1960 as per the constitutional directives (Article : 45) has been getting postponed, the mandate of providing elementary education to all till the age of 14 has remained a “teasing illusion” (Rammurty, 1991)
- A statistical yearbook of UNESCO 1990 – World Education data provides that among South Asian countries the literate rate of India is apparently the lowest.

### Tab 1.2

**Literacy Rates from 1981 - 2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Report of Parulekar up to 1931; Census - from1951-2001)

### Tab 1.3

**Rate of Literacy in Asian Countries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Country</th>
<th>Rate of Literacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source : Statistical Year Book of UNESCO-1990-World Education)
Further to address the problem of illiteracy the Government of India has made commitment to the goals of "1990 World Conference on Education For All" held in Jomtien, Thailand. It has set the goal of providing education of good quality to all primary school age children. Much before, the NPE, 1986 had stressed on Universalization of Elementary Education that "when variety of tasks entrusted to education is taken into consideration it becomes obvious that "total harnessing of nation building potential of our vast manpower will not be possible unless children participate massively in the educational programmes appropriate to their results. This means that the achievement of Universalization of Elementary Education is no longer a matter of choice" (Challenge of Education, Para 1: 30). This has also resulted in near failure, when the information available on literacy rate is compared with the desired goals. Compounded to a large-scale illiteracy (47.08% in 1991 and 35% in 2001) the absolute number of adult illiterates kept on growing (243 million in 1993) making 60 percent of the total workforce of the country illiterates (Rammurty, 1991).

1.1.4 Dropout: A Necessary Threat

Even 100% enrolment is absolutely desirable to abolish illiteracy, it would not be adequate if the child fails to learn effectively to retain the learning process and develop a genuine interest to continue to higher education or apply the accumulated learning experience in his / her life. This vital aspect of continuing in the educational process to achieve the desired goals of education has not been properly highlighted. Acharya Rammurty in his report has observed that almost half of the children between 6 — 11 years either do not enter the school at all or drop out in a short while. It is observed that only 5 percent or less of the children manage to reach higher secondary stage and a still smaller percentage go on to higher education (Rammurty, 1991). It has also been observed earlier that low retention and high dropout rates continue to erode the gains of the educational
expansion. The magnitude of the wastage is undermining the educational development of a country (Challenge of Education, 1986: Para 2.2.1).

- The major impediments in continuing education to achieve higher levels are largely responsible for negating the gains of educational expansion have been identified to be the low retention rate and high dropout rate among the learners in different stages of schooling. The working group of Universalization of Elementary Education (1977) pointed out that about 70 percent children have to work in or outside the family and are compelled to desert school as they cannot attend school on a whole time basis and urged Government to follow the motto "every child on whole time basis if possible and on a part time basis if necessary" (Working Group of Universalization of Elementary Education, 1977).

It has now been established that enrolment by itself is of little importance if children do not continue education beyond one year, so far so that many of them have not seen the school for more than a few days. The discontinuity of children in the educational process results in non-sustenance of an already acquired learning which in course of time is consigned to oblivion and thus, the once enrolled literate would relapse into the mass of illiterates and the investment in their education gets wasted (Zaidi, 1993: 85). It is felt that imparting education is one thing and sustaining it is quite another. When the children fail to continue education, a lot of valuable resources get wasted (Sharma, 1992). It has also been felt that magnitude of enrolment is not necessarily a reliable index of educational progress. It has been shown that (1968-69) in every 100 children enrolling in Class I only 60 percent go to Class II and 50 percent to Class III in the next year and so on. Even though rate of enrolment is enhanced (120% as in 1993), the rate of dropout is nearly 50 percent in Grade V, two-thirds of children becoming dropouts before reaching Class VIII (W.B.-1997)

The National Educational Policies of 1968, 1986 and 1992 were aware of the problem of non-retention as evident from their broad objectives, since the problem is
mentioned intermittently. While emphasizing the education of SC, ST and women, the NPE put priority on retention and regular attendance and contemplated measures to address the issue (NPE, 1986: 4.3 and 4.5). The NPE, 1986 has in fact given the highest priority to solve the problem of children dropping out of the school and has adopted an array of meticulously formulated strategies based on micro-planning applied at grass root level all over the country to ensure the children's retention at the school.

- Perhaps, for the first time an attempt has been made by NPE, 1992 to identify the cause of dropout as a step to enhance retention and reduce dropout rates. On being "concerned" with the depressingly high dropout rate (Standard I to V — 47.61% and Standard VI to VIII — 64.42%) as evident from Annual Report, 1989-90), Rammurty report held detention of students in a class to be an important reasons for dropouts and suggested the "automatic promotion scheme" to check it. The policy of NPE, 1986 " to set up non-formal education was reiterated as the well-established policy to arrest the high rate of dropout since 1979.

- The CABE Committee report 1992 had set priority on reduction of dropout rates between classes I to V and VI to VIII from the existing 45 percent and 60 percent to 20 percent and 40 percent respectively (CABE, 1992). The committee very strongly recommended the reduction of dropout rate to deserve priority during the Eighth Five-Year Plan in view of the Universalization of Elementary Education.

One of the major outcomes of the concerns as expressed in NPE 1986 and onwards was that some concrete action plan with financial allocation have been formulated to arrest illiteracy and its related problems i.e. non-enrolment and dropouts. Various centrally sponsored schemes were initiated to implement the NPE at the National and State level, some of which are discussed bellow.

**Operation Blackboard (OBB):**

Established in 1986, OBB was initiated to counter the conditions considered to be the constraints on retention and learning and to provide fresh blood especially at the infrastructural level of the institutions which otherwise were in a moribund state.

**District Institute of Education and Training (DIET):**
Instituted in 1988, it aimed at financing the training institute in rural districts. The DIET followed a standard organizational model with Departments for Teacher Education, planning, management, research, evaluation, curriculum, material development, educational technology and work experience education.

**Total Literacy Campaign (TLC):**

Instituted in 1988 as an answer to the failure of Adult Education scheme (as initiated earlier) the TLC is set to improve the literacy in the age group of 15 to 35. Overseen by NLM (National Literacy Mission Board) the TLC programmes provides grants to district administration for intense mobilization of a large number of volunteers to work for total literacy. SRCs provide literacy materials and training courses for Voluntary Instructors (VIs) and Master Trainers (MTs).

**Minimum Level of Learning (MLL):**

It has been observed that incongruously complex and difficult primary curricula and textbooks are the barriers to learning and a cause for dropout. The Department of Education has identified for each state and on regional basis the basic courses in language, mathematics, social and environmental studies to be taught in the primary grades.

**District Primary Education Programme (DPEP):**

A direct outcome of CABE, 1992, the DPEP is an integrated approach to primary education in the district level. It aims at an intensive effort to increase enrolment, retention and quality in primary education. It targets the districts with below average female literacy rates, completing unfinished school building, improved teaching and learning materials and schooling facilities. It also sets a priority on enhancing school education system by
providing grants for study materials, textbook development, planning, management and research evaluation. The most pragmatic approach has been its introduction of follow up action programmes on learning achievements and dropout indicators which were to be monitored every three years.

Very recently in the late 1990s various agencies introduced some programmes to bring about changes aimed particularly to check dropout rate and increase enrolment.

**Mid-Day Meal (MDM)**

The rationale of this programme is that it helps to enhance enrolment and regular attendance. Another important motive of the programme is to make the children of different caste / ethnic groups to undergo a process of socialization in the sphere of communal interaction, and to make them physically fit by providing one square nutritional meal a day.

**Sikshyakarmi Project:**

It refers to a group of para teachers hired by the State Government to supplement irregular / insufficient teaching staff.

**Alternative Schooling :**

Non-formal education centres especially designed to bring back dropouts, especially girls who owing to pressing domestic and money generating activities at home remain out of the school. Since NFE Centres function in the village itself, they provide an alternate school system for a dropped out or never enrolled child, who can graduate from the institution and who can later be enrolled in formal school.
Private Schooling:

Although a regular urban feature spreading rapidly, the private schooling is making little progress in the rural and tribal regions. Such schooling is particularly effective in the areas where Government schools are not functioning properly due to poor infrastructure and maintenance and where parents are most willing to pay for education.

The NGO Initiatives:

EKALAVYA: An NGO involved to improve the teaching of science in primary schools grew out of Hoshangabad Science Teaching programme. It has developed a new package of teaching learning materials for Class I to V. The book was specially designed for children after interacting with rural children. It emphasizes on active classroom with confident and articulate children.

LOK JUMBISH: Initiated in 1992, its main intention to bring the villagers especially the women into the educational orbit and to devise a sound educational management system. This involves identifying the vulnerable group (the illiterate, dropout etc.) through a map containing almost all the feature of a village (as adopted in Census).

M. V. FOUNDATION: Established in 1987, it aimed at putting the working children to school after the working hours.

The information gathered so far (1998-2000) actually belies the sincere endeavours which the government has initiated. The rate of enrolment thanks to the provision of MDM(Mid-Day Meals), has gone up to cent percent level and the infrastructure of schools has developed (PROBE-98)

The present educational scenario according to recent government survey available for India and other 15 largest states shows that:
The gross enrolment rates in 1993 exceed 95 percent (NCERT, 1997).

- Literacy rate 64 percent for males and 39 percent for females (Nanda, 1992).
- The education participation rate for children aged 6 – 10 stood at 68 percent (with 70% boys and 61% girls) being in the school (IIPS, 1992).
- The official primary school dropout rates were 39% for girls and 35% for boys (MHRD, 1993).

As it has been seen that the number of literates among the population aged seven years and above from 1981 – 91 and from 1991 – 2001 and rate of literacy from 1901 – 2001 has increased. In view of the various action programmes are described, no doubt, the development is inevitable and certain. The dissatisfaction is due to the slow pace at which the country is assuming the educational attainment. A cursory glance over the pace of educational developments (literacy rate) suggests that the country is hardly set to enroll all its children before 2010 (the date of which has been constantly on change, 1960 as per constitution; 1995 as per NPE, 1986; 2000 as per NPE, 1990). The slow pace of educational development can be attributed to non-enrolment and non-retention of dropouts and if these continue unabated no amount of planning would achieve the desired result.

A much more serious deliberation is warranted on the problem of dropouts at least for two important reasons.

Firstly, the dropout problem has not been identified as a necessary threat to the educational development, that is, its magnitude has remained under the veil of "literate", although the dropouts make little difference to literacy. On one hand, the dropout fail to avail the opportunity which is open to those who complete the desired educational grade; and on the other hand, the dropouts eventually cause an educational impasse, a state of stagnancy, where a great deal of investment in terms of money and manpower go waste.
Secondly, so far, the extent of dropout has not been studied on a scientific basis. The figures of dropout have not been shown systematically year-wise or periodically. The figures of dropouts shown in various contexts are not free of limitations and conditions. The dropout rate can only be ascertained from a time series data pertaining to a cohort group, but judging it on the basis of retention of grade (1 to 10) at the same point of time simply eludes accuracy. Thus, the rate of dropout could have been more than what is stated contextually here and there.

1.1.5 Problem of Dropout in Orissa

The same scenario is apprehended in rather larger dimensions in Orissa, one of the 9 educationally backward states of India whose educational standard is trailing behind that of national standard (1991-2001). As evident from the Table 1.4 Orissa achieved gross enrolment rate of 101% in 1993 and is one of the six states which exceed the national level i.e. 96% which as per the observation of World Bank has the capacity to enroll all the children aged 6–10 and by improving efficiency could reach the Jomtien goals in the near future (WB, 1997:7). This appears nothing more than a silver lining when the other vital aspects such as the rate of retention and dropout are taken into consideration. The literacy rate of 49% in 1991 and 63% in 2001 puts Orissa one amongst 11 states trailing behind the national level (52% in 1991 and 65% in 2001), the dropout rate in 1993 is simply alarming and at 52.5% (at the primary level) it is the second highest in the whole country (37%).
Tab 1.4
Official Enrolment and Dropout Rates of Primary School and Adult Literacy Rates, 15 Major Indian States, 1991 and 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Gross enrolment rate, 1993</th>
<th>Dropout Rate, 1993</th>
<th>Literacy Rate (ages 7 and above), 1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not Available


The reason behind the educational backwardness of Orissa is not difficult to see. Orissa with a tribal population of 22.21% of its total population shelters 10.38% of the total tribal population of the country being the third highest whose educational level is deplorable (18.10%). Compared on the basis of the tribal concentration, Orissa with 30 of its districts presents a diverse picture of education. It can be observed from the Census 1991 and 2001 the coastal districts with less tribal population density have more than 70% literacy rate whereas the districts such as Gajapati, Balangir, Kandhamal, Koraput, Nabarangpur, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanja and Keonjhar etc. with higher density of tribal population shows low literacy rate varying between 31.26% to 52.95% (Census: 1991).
Tab 1.5

Share of ST Population to Total Population and General Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>% of ST Population to General Population of the State</th>
<th>% of ST Population to the ST Population of India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>23.77</td>
<td>22.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>09.27</td>
<td>10.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>22.21</td>
<td>10.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>07.66</td>
<td>09.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>14.99</td>
<td>09.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>12.44</td>
<td>08.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>06.31</td>
<td>06.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>05.99</td>
<td>05.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>24.66</td>
<td>04.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>22.36</td>
<td>00.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Andaman Nikobar</td>
<td>09.54</td>
<td>00.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Daman and Diu</td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>00.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Census, 1991
(Singh Jabi, Rajalaxmi, 1997)

- The literacy rate of the tribal population is 18.10 with female literacy rate 8.29 (1991 Census). This is in spite of the fact that the education of the weaker, handicapped and less gifted members of the country has been perceived as a major national agenda after independence and that the education of the tribal and backward communities as an instrument for achieving social equality and justice has been envisaged in the Constitution of India (Article – 15, 16, 17, 25, 39, 46, 338, 339, and 340) and Educational Policies have been in pursuance since Independence (Education Commission, 1964-66 : Chapter-VI; NPE, 1968:4C; Drait NPE, 1979 : 17.1; NPE, 1986:3.2, 2.6 and 4.1; POA,1986; Rammurty Report, 1990 : 4.2.5, 4.2.7, 4.2.8, 4.2.9, 4.2.10, 4.2.11; Janardan Committee Report, 1991 : 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6).

- Since 1960s, Government of Orissa has justifiably introduced a large number of residential schools in the tribal dominated areas known as Sevashram (LP), Ashram (ME), Kanyashram (ME School for Girls) and High Schools. The residential schools were introduced obviously to isolate the SC and ST children from the poverty infested families (which was definitely a major disadvantage) and to merge them into the educational mainstream.
According to 1991 census, in most of the tribal concentrated districts, like the undivided Koraput, the rate of literacy among the tribals in all its 14 TSP blocks is only 8.34 with female literacy rate being 2.14 percent. A more or less similar scenario is exhibited in other tribal dominated districts of Orissa. The reason behind this moribund state of education (as manifested in dropouts) cannot be clearly pointed out. It is hardly attributed to the ineptitude and callousness of the successive governments, as it had no dearth of interest, effort, manpower, resource or funds to meet the challenge. The demand of the situation lies obscured somewhere in such areas as lack of intensive study at the basic level, socio-cultural matrixes of the tribal children, the motivational level of the parents for education of their children, absence of personal or informal way of administering educational inputs to the tribal societies (which includes some of the most primitive cultures of the world, and which for centuries have remained isolated from the mainstream of development), and follow up action programmes on implementation of various schemes devoted for education.

- Crystallized into a concrete thought line these various conditions and possibilities demand a thorough probe which would focus exactly on the problem. The importance of the studies in this area has been well visualized by NPE, 1986. ("a series of studies should be instituted to investigate into the impact that various incentive schemes implemented in different states have / had on enrolment and retention of SC and ST children in the schools. Community profiles of educationally backward communities should also be prepared based on the study of their current educational status with reference to those profiles and findings the impact studies on a dis-aggregated basis appropriate and logical strategies should be established for the educational development of the backward communities (NPE, 1986 : 4.2.5)."

- Studies on tribal education in general and dropout and stagnation in particular on a national level are very few and in Orissa it is extremely rare. There are only a few studies on dropouts and retention which have been undertaken in Orissa. The
studies conducted by Dr. P.K. Mishra in the district of Keonjhar for NCDS, Bhubaneswar, R.K. Nayak on Phulbani for NISWAS and Mrs. M. Rath in Malkangiri for NCDS, Bhubaneswar have covered the problem partially. These are mainly project reports and formal educational status and the dropout level of the respective districts as mentioned. Very little has been devoted to identify the possible causes of the problem. The study of Dr. Mishra on dropout in the district of Keonjhar has delved deep into the problem. The possible causes he identified in 1993 were area specific and to a large extent needs re-assessments and confirmation in respect of the other areas.

Thus apart from the coastal districts and those covered by DPEP, NCDS and NISWAS there are still other districts which need an exhaustive study on the phenomenon of dropout. It has also been found that among the educationally backward districts there are a few which achieved relatively higher educational standard than others — these require a comparative study.

It is in this background that the present study would be an attempt towards a complete understanding of the problem of tribal education of Orissa in respect of non-enrolment, dropout and stagnation of two of the educationally backward districts on comparative basis.

Broadly, the present research involves:

- the district of Koraput and Mayurbhanja which are the specific area of study;
- the level of enrolment;
- the level of dropout;
- the major dynamics of dropout and
- suggestions.

1.2.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

Ever since the Cartesian concept of innate as an important pe-degree factor for the growth of knowledge has long been discarded, it was the turn of the radical
empiricists to bestow everything to the process of experience and introspection (J.S. Mill) which enable a tabula rasa (John Locke) to a full-blown script of human life and achievement otherwise taken as learning. Learning is the cardinal principle, an edifice on which human beings adapt to nature through the part of environment made by himself known as culture (Herskovits, 1948). It is a social process through which human beings acquire and transmit the already accumulated knowledge considered fundamental and vital to its emergent generation who further pass it on to the next, with enhancement and modification. That, the learning which is thus transmitted is essentially important for the very existence of man and instrumental to the perpetuation of human race.

- There has been among scholars, a strong propensity to regard learning and life process as co-terminus and inseparable (Jha, 1986:83). Malinowski in his characteristics functional approach to socio-cultural phenomena identified culture as imposing a kind of determinism over the basic human needs and their mode of satisfaction in respect of their mundane survival (Malinowski, 1944). One of the most important conditions of culture as a survival kit for human beings is that it is learnt or acquired (Herskovits, 1948 and other anthropologists).

- The process of learning, where education, is a part is extremely complex and long. It starts with the birth of human being and continues un-interruptediy till death. In course of its journey to the interminable land of the unknown, a man continuously glean through higher conceptual levels and adopts advanced techniques to meet the demands of new and complex situations. Participating in the process of education a man discovers two of the most desired human attributes — first, education ensures freedom of imagination, a type of urge to unravel the mystery, to express or to look at the things or phenomena in terms of abstracty and secondly, education envisages in man a sense of self-discipline, self-dignity, valid knowledge on right and wrong and indulge in moral and ethical discourse (Jha, 1986:83). The holistic approach of Anthropology to study man in pre-literate societies considers education as an integral part of life. The Anthropologists mostly draw upon ethnographic data in their attempt to study education which has been viewed as a matter of cultural
transmission, teaching and learning behaviour patterns and study on working of modern western education in the traditional societies (Mead, 1928, 1930; Firth, 1936; Malinowski, 1936, 44; Keesing, 1937; Goldenweiser, 1939; Redfield, 1943; Benedict, 1935). In the pre-literate societies, learning and teaching as the socio-cultural processes was conceptualized variously as socialization, acculturation and en-culturation where older generation imparts knowledge to the younger generation. In her analysis of concepts such as post-figurative, where children from parents, con-figurative, where children and adults learn from their peer groups and pre-figurative, where adults learn from their children Mead identified the last to be the process where learning flows from children to the adults (Mead, 1928, 1930).

- Due to its close association with human nature which is complex and multi-dimensional, education has been voluminous (complex) with respect to its nature, content, process, dimension and approach. Further, it often implies different functions to different population, culture and area. Therefore, there has not been one definition on the subject of education crystallizing all its myriad facets and variables into a single thought line nor is there a single discipline voluble enough to contain the subject of such a gigantic volume.

- Viewed objectively, learning involves an enormous process which transcends time and space, for there is no known culture or society at any point of history which is found to be bereft of a learning system in some form or other. Every society, literate or pre-literate, regardless of their socio-cultural identity and uniqueness adopts some strategy with respect to their individual and group survival, to maintain patterns of behaviour verbal or non-verbal, language, value system and beliefs which a growing child learns (the process being known as 'socialization'). Socialization therefore, can be substituted for education in the pre-literate society.

- Apart from responding to these basic compulsions, keeping its basic nature and character un-diluted, education for somewhat more abstract knowledge had been developed among the people of ancient civilizations including Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Chinese and Hindus, leading to social stratification (Anand, 1996: 24).
Education in India before the rule of East India Company was mainly limited to the higher castes of Hindus especially to the priest and brahmins, the curriculum being dominated by classical and spiritual subjects (Cunningham, 1941; Beteille, 1965). The high seats of learning were the schools - Chatuspathis for brahmin scholars and learned personalities and the Madrassas for the Muslims. At the village level the pathasala and the maktabs, the Gurus and Maulavis imparted 3 'R's to the boys and girls. During the rule of East India Company the same upper status of the society was rewarded with modern scientific education with English as the medium of instruction. It was primarily the Christians (Evangelist) who aimed at wide spread proselitazation, its protagonists Charles Grant, Zachary Maculae, Joseph Vein and other claphamities "who were perhaps social conservatives on their assertions of the order of the society but they were radical in their discrimination to secure a reformation of manners a new righteousness in the upper ranks of society" (Ghosh, 1989). Under the infiltration policy as maintained by British India, education had become the prerogative of higher caste people and the objective of the elementary education also underwent a change. Whereas during the ancient and medieval periods the aim was egalitarian, the British developed the system with utilitarian objective. The concept of universal education was not accepted for a long period as it was not needed by them (Sinha and Sashi Prava, 1994: 116). Although the a Education Department was established in 1855 and education was made available to all, the prevalent social distinctions including the un-touchability remained as main barrier for the spread of education to the low caste people. The efforts of the political leaders and social activists like Maharishi V.R. Shinde and Dadabhai Naroji and later on Mahatma Phule, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar could not successfully make education available to all. The Sergeant Report or the Report of Post-war Development of Education (1944) laid down a system of education, which was to be universally compulsory and free for all. It was to introduced as speedily as possible, but it was only after the independence that the education to all was made a national agenda.
In India the continuous deprivation for generations to attain learning molded the low caste population in a very different disposition and personality which in consequence kept them away from the mainstream of education laden with upper caste value judgment and philosophy (Mohanty, 1996: 101-109).

Apart from the lower castes (SCs), the existence of 62 different tribes (8.1% India’s population) with different cultures and unique socialization process remained out of the educational mainstream for years. The anguish of Rudolf C. Heredia on deprivation of tribal population from education appears to be significant. That “if the destiny of India is now being shaped in the classrooms” then it would be tragically true that the first dwellers of land, the Adivasi tribals have missed their ‘tryst’ with ‘destiny’ (Heredia, 1992:09).

In view of the above i.e. the continuous ignoring of education of tribals it would be natural to apprehend a gloomy picture of the tribal education, it is far more serious to the extent that even national literacy rate of the tribals at present is as low as 23.63 percent although it rings with optimism it remained in single digits up to 1961 even a zero literacy level in 1930’s.

The continuous negligence of tribal people towards the present formal system of schooling to address their needs has made them completely indifferent towards education. The major setback to the tribal education i.e. ‘non-enrolment’ and ‘dropout’ lie with the present schooling system of India which has so far failed to attract the tribal children to enter the school (Singh, 1994:36-65). The present Indian schooling system, a la European model is simply an educational strait-jacket which has failed to accommodate the cultural uniqueness of the tribal population and provide the type of education which is hardly compatible to the tribal way of life, customs and world view (Kundu, 1994: 1-50). As the policy makers confined themselves under the Macaulayian framework, the present education system was found suitable only to the middle and upper classes. The tribal child finds the school as incongruent (unsuitable) since it demands a full time participation in the classroom and tethering to the curricula designed mainly for those of great tradition, neither interesting nor useful and often contradictory to the tribal way of thinking and value system, besides snapping the child’s freedom of movement (Shah, 1992: 15).
Since knowledge is imparted through the formal schooling system, it does not bear the elements of tribalism, skills and technical know-how acquired through one's own culture found pathetically inadequate and further fails to address the demands of the changing world. It is the misfortune of growing tribal children to be grappled perpetually, though unconsciously, between the process of formal education with so many conditions and modalities on one hand and their indigenous process of socialization based on cultural transmission on the other. Constrained with such dichotomous realities a tribal child remains unimpressed by the education imparted through formal schooling, so very alien to his understanding. This and other socio-economic constraints appear to have kept the tribal communities lagging behind the mainstream of educational development and is manifested in widespread non-enrolment and non-attendance, high rate of dropouts and stagnation of tribal children in schooling process (Ratnaiah, 1974)

Thus in view of the above discussion, a thorough understanding of the concept of dropout and non-enrolment and other related topics in respect of tribal education and their socio-cultural backgrounds and perspective is highly necessary.

1.2.1.1 Studies on dropouts and its causes:

Dropout as a major cause of educational backwardness has been realized very recently. In the 1980s several studies were conducted in organizational and individual levels to assess the extent and magnitude of the dropout. Although studies relating to education of tribal communities had gathered momentum from sixties save few reports by Aiyapan, 1948; Elwin, 1959; and Heimendorf, 1960, it was in 1970s that most of the studies dealing with the problem of tribal education had focused on the topics of stagnation and dropout. Elwin (1959) was skeptical about the success of formal education for tribal children. He has identified economic compulsions on the part of the parents as the constraints for sending their grown up children to school, as it would dislocate the pattern of division of labour. The studies conducted entirely on dropout or stagnation were mostly explorative, diagnostic in design and used the methods fully
in accordance with the demands of the nature and universe of the studies. This added to the empirical methods accompanied by the usual interview guides and questionnaires, participant observation which have long been introduced in the studies conducted by Srivastav (1971), T.B. Naik (1975), there also developed the special techniques such as cohort method of comparison to analyze the extent of wastage in different grades or classes.

- The problem of dropout is a world-wide phenomenon. UNESCO (1981) in a workshop designed to training strategies for reducing the rate of dropouts and repetition defines dropout as a child who enrolls in school but fails to complete a relevant level of the educational cycle. For instance, a student of the primary level (I to V) when fails to reach the formal grade (VI) is called a dropout and likewise other higher grades. Dropout also denotes a person, who, having enrolled for any level of education has not completed that level successfully (Mazumdar, et al., 1996: 427-491).

- World Bank reports on primary education of India, without mentioning the term, stresses the need for keeping the children in school for full-cycle (W.B., 1997: 27).

- Daswani (1994:134-146) categorized the school leavers as 'stay-outs', 'pull-outs' and 'push-outs' who make up the bulk of children commonly labeled as dropouts.

- **Stay-outs**: According to him the children (especially girls) who are not able to go to school even if the school is at a short distance from the house as they have work to do at home and contribute to family income are known as stay-outs.

- **Pull-outs**: Children of the poor rural families and urban slums who, on reaching the age of 9 or 10 are pulled-out of the school by their parents to work for home and therefore, fail to complete even in the primary education.

- **Push-outs**: It refers to the children in rural areas who, after joining school, fail to cope with school curriculum, school environment, and do not perform well, whereby the school system pushes them out.
Thus, these deprived children grow up to become adults and continue as dropouts.

- UNESCO (1991) has also identified a repeater as a pupil who has to repeat the same grade due to examination failure, low attendance or for other reasons. To accept a repeater as dropout is probably not correct since the repeater is out of the educational upward movement in the educational process but not out of the process itself and added to the list of enrolment in the same class next year. Howes (1982:71) in Concise Dictionary defines the repeater as "the pupil who failed in the previous term and repeating a grade or a course".

- The studies sponsored by ICSSR and NCERT (1986) to find out the status of enrolment and extent of wastage among the tribals both at secondary and higher educational levels found the role of teachers pivotal in checking the dropout levels and emphasized on interaction between teachers and children. It is further emphasized that teachers should be given appropriate training and give special attention to check the dropouts from among the children.

Dropout can affect the rate of enrolment and cumulatively affect the students to become dropout. The dropout problem although poses a serious threat to education since it is a pivotal point in educational continuum, by no means it defies solution and there is scope for readjustment, readmission or the provision to bring back the dropout to school. Apart from describing various causes of dropouts the report pointed out some important characteristics of dropout. They are:

- Frequent absence from the class
- Suffering from maladjustment
- Unpleasant relationship
- Inattentiveness
- In-cooperativeness and
- Insincerity (UNESCO, 1991:595)
Most of the studies attempted individually on dropouts and stagnation were largely devoted to cause of dropout which directly affects the educational process. The concept of dropouts unlike enrolment has many implications. According to Taneja (1989:68), the dropouts are the pupils who ‘terminate education before completing the high school’. Ashraf (1999) defines a dropout as ‘an elementary or secondary school pupil who has membership on the regular term and who withdraws itself or is dropped out from the membership for any other reasons except death or transfer to another school before completing the school grade or an equivalent programme”.

- Brimer (1971:28) defines “dropout is a pupil who leaves the school before the end of final year of the educational stage in which he/she is enrolled”.

Nayantara defines "dropout as a pupil who leaves the system at different points without completing the stage / course of education in which they are enrolled" (Nnyantara, 1985 : 3).

Howes (1982:45), defines "A dropout who leaves the formal education system before completing studies required for a high school diploma or a college degree thereby forfeiting graduation at the same or different at a later date.

According to Singh (1996), dropout can be defined as a pre-mature withdrawal of a child from a school.

P.K.Mishra defines dropouts as those pupils whose name be automatically struck off from the register if they remain absent continuously for more than 60 days. A student can be considered as a dropout when he / she withdraws prematurely after being enrolled in school register. However, when a child withdraws from an institution in quest of other institution or higher studies, cannot obviously be treated as dropout (Mishra, 1994 : 06)
Enrolment and Dropout:

- **Enrolment**: Enrolment can be defined in various ways: In short, it is defined as the 'action of formally joining in the school' (Ashraf, 1999: 13). It is defined as (i) "entering one's name as a student in the official register of a school other than educational institution programme or course" (ii) "the total number of persons who register as students on any given educational entity such as school, school district course or class at a given time" (Mohendirta, 1997:11). It refers to "the name / names registered in the attendance register of the institution after the submission of preliminary information including date of birth or on the production of school leaving certificate for a grade or a class of a particular academic year" (Mohendirta, 1997:11).

- **Stagnation**: A type of impasse is caused by the dropped out people who neither participate in the 'flow' (the upward movement in the process of education i.e. in achieving higher classes) nor engage in any useful activities by virtue of their curtailed education. Stagnation can be described from another point of view. "It represents the wastage of resources invested in the education of dropout which could have been fruitful had the student (now a dropout) continued his education till its meaningful conclusion" (Zaidi, 1993: 103). Although some authors found that the dropped out children face the hard economic realities in an early phase are more efficacious than continuing in formal education" (Rebello, 1996:81-86). Thus stagnation is a direct outcome of the dropouts which is a serious malady and affects the growth of education universally.

- **Grade**: Grade refers to class or standard to be concluded in one academic session by passing in the annual examination based on a well-defined curricula.

- **Repetition**: A repetitor is one who enrols in the same grade in more than one academic year (due to failure at examination, absence) etc.

- **Dropout**: It can be defined as the pre-mature withdrawal from the institution before achieving the grade for which one has enrolled. The following categories of students can be identified as dropout (i) Prolonged absence on which
account their name is struck off from the attendance register without issuing a school leaving certificate (ii) non-appearance in the examination after irregular attendance, (iii) non-continuance in the school due to failure at examination.

Those who remain absent either in class or examination due to the death / accident or transfer or other unavoidable situations for short time cannot be considered as dropout.

- Many authors have tried to gauge the extent and level of dropouts and stagnation. The prominent among them are Bihari (1969), Massavi (1976), Ratnaiah (1974), Singh and Ohri (1983), Singh (1984), Srivastav, (1986), Dhongade(1986), Sujatha(1987-1994), Kulakarni and Krishnamurthi (1992), Pandey (1993), Ambasht (1993). The studies mainly were diagnostic and explorative in nature and the common findings of these are:

i) That dropout rate is higher in Standard I and II and again in Standard V.
ii) That dropouts are significantly less in road side schools and schools with hostel facilities.

The studies by Sharma (1978:53) and Sujatha (1987:49) found the differences of dropout level in residential ashram schools and non-residential schools. Among the tribal groups the more articulate exposed and christian tribals have lower dropout rates (Ratnaiah, 1974).

The above mentioned studies indicate that the study of dropout in the micro- level explores the possibility of an exclusive analysis of various factors in relation to the socio-cultural setting of the people.

- Study on the Factors of Dropout:

Study has revealed that dropout problem is as old as the problem of school education and factors responsible for dropouts are not entirely different in various societies.
Malhotra (1986) lists the following nine factors of dropouts.

- Disinterest in education
- Need at home
- Over age at class
- Marriage
- No interest in teacher
- Interest in fairs and festivals
- Unsuitable curricula
- No charm in school
- Frequent failure in examination

Srivastav and Joshi (1966:81) listed the following possible causes of dropout:

- Inadequate schools
- Poverty in tribal region
- Insufficient learning materials
- Difficulty in language (medium of instruction)
- Ignorance of the parents
- Child labour
- Parental compulsion

Rama Rao (1988:78) summarized the problem of tribal education as:

- Socio-economic
- Content curricula and medium of instruction
- Functioning of schools and
- Aspect relating to teachers.

Dheber Commission (1961) considers the causes of dropout as:

- Poor economic conditions
- Lack of proper equipment in schools
Lack of communication facilities with unsuitable medium of instruction and
Inappropriate syllabus as the major problems.

Various committees and educationists focused on the above mentioned issues as the main cause of dropouts and recommended certain special measures such as introduction of special textbooks, instructions in the local language, employment of large number of efficient women teachers etc. The Challenge of Education (1985:319) also held the view that the illiterate parents are prone to avoid enrolling their children and also take them out if it means any inconvenience to them. A number of studies identified the socio-economic and cultural background of tribal students as the important factors for discontinuation of education. The economic condition of the parent as a necessary factor for the problem of education in general and dropout in particular, has been the findings of many scholars. The findings of Ambasht (1970), Sachchidananda (1974), Srivastav (1971), Naik (1975) etc. held 'poverty' as important cause of dropouts.

Scholars like Ratnaiah, Sujatha, Shah, Tara Patel and Kailas, explored further to relate household-wise differential income with educational performance.

Zaidi (1993) in the same vein considered poverty as having a "relatively more decisive influence over the process of dropouts. He identified four categories of dropouts by combining two factors i.e. poor academic performance and poverty of the parents. These are: (i) poor performance with sound economic base, (ii) poor performance with weak economic base, (iii) good performance with sound economic base, (iv) good performance with weak economic base and (v) waiting for job market.

According to him the category of children having poor performance with weak economic base dropout at very early stage. The dropout of Category 1 generally deserts the school after repeated failure (V, VII or at X class). Category III have no dropouts stage where they leave the school. Some continue by virtue of good performance, others leave the
school due to extreme economic pressure. The last category after passing Standard X want jobs and hence are not a problem.

National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) has identified five main causes of dropouts. They are: (i) household and domestic work; (ii) inconvenient location of the schools or centre, (iii) inconvenient and unsuitable timing of school or centre, (iv) dislike to education and (v) difficulty to understand (NIEPA, 1986).

Apart from causes relating to economic background of the parents as an important condition of education about which almost all the scholars were, more or less, unanimous there are many other causes which have not been ignored.

The other factors include illiteracy and lack of awareness among the parents. Some of the studies have attributed cultural factors like carefree nature of the tribal children, socialization pattern, early marriages, lack of role models etc. as the cause of dropouts (Ambasht, 1994:124). The infrastructural status of the school as an important reason for dropouts has not escaped the notice of the scholars. Studies conducted recently points to inadequate facilities, medium of instruction, inadequate training and indifferent attitude of the teachers, lack of teaching and learning materials, absence of proper inspection and supervision as the major factors (Ratnaiah, 1974; Mishra, 1994).

- Further, at present the content, curriculum, and pedagogy were also explained to be irrelevant to the tribal culture. It has been pointed out earlier (Srivasthav, 1981; Joshi, 1980 and Others) that the lack of convergence between cultural background of the tribal students and formal school curriculum were the main reasons for dropout.
Many scholars, very strongly advocate the introduction of tribal dialect up to Standard III as a necessary step to reduce dropout rate. Although various points raised by the scholars regarding tribal dialect as medium of education appear to be valid, these are mostly in the form of assumptions and presented in the form of suggestion or advice. However, not a single empirical study has been conducted to probe the point (Sujatha, 1996).

- Judging teachers as the main players for retention and dropout, authors such as: Ambasht (1993), Sachchidananda (1974), Panda (1983), Joshi (1980), Sujatha (1993) and many others have tried to examine the interaction between students, teachers and community taking into account the teachers’ social backgrounds as the main factors for dropout.

Variables such as teachers lack of understanding of tribal dialect, culture and value system, specific needs of tribal children, hardship in prejudices and pre-conceived notion on educational capability of tribals, staying-out of the tribals in close proximity and teachers absenteeism have also been taken into account. Scholars also very strongly advocated a special training course of the teachers working in tribal areas (Sachchidananda, 1974; Singh, 1975; Massavi, 1976; Rout, 1983; Kundu, 1990). Kundu has also produced detailed model for teachers training (Kundu, 1980).

It has been pointed out that the teachers belonging to tribal community are not free of inter-tribal prejudices and social hierarchy. The study also pointed out that the lack of adequate qualification (knowledge) and awareness only add to the disadvantage of tribal education (Sujatha, 1993).

- Regarding the suggestion of tribal dialects as a medium of instruction up to Standard III (Srivasthav, 1970) there have been attempts in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh to prepare primers in local dialects. No empirical study has been conducted to prove its efficiency in enhancing the learning process of
the children. In West Bengal the books are prepared in OL Chiki for Santals which even the tribal teachers refused to teach, so also in Madhya Pradesh (Sujatha, 1996). Some of the pilot projects (CIEL) which succeeded in Goa and Karnataka are too small as to be followed in other states.

The bilingual primers introduced in Orissa recently by some NGO groups at micro level also appeared to be too small to be taken up as a serious study.

Kundu has highlighted the problem of assimilation, prolonged concessional provisions, insensitivity to tribal language and culture, absence of special educational programme for tribals, tribal schools based on wrong principles and existing provisions and programmes of the government which may be taken as some of the problems of tribal education. There are socio-economic, cultural and ethnic problems under which such factors as low socio-economic status, tribal concept of pleasure (entertainment) i.e. hunting, dancing, merry-making etc., negative stereotypes of tribals against non-tribals implying obstacles in communication, lack of understanding on tribal concept of learning, learning difficulty in regional language, problem in learning English, problem of reading, nature of textbooks either in regional or in English language (Kundu, 1994).

- Various other causes, although not directly responsible on the aspect of enrolment and dropouts are also pointed out; the distance of the school from the village, number of teachers in a school, lack of infrastructural arrangement and budget provisions for the same purpose are some of them.

Muralidharan counts only two major factors such as the parents and school environment, wherein lie a number of positive factors relating to the problem (Muralidharan, 1997:70).
UNESCO out of some local studies broadly classified factors as (i) personal, (ii) environmental and (iii) educational. The personal factor includes such factors as physical health, physical defects or handicapped mental ability, immaturity, and general social difficulties. The environmental factors include poor living conditions, distance from one’s home to school, difficulty in travelling to school, change of residence, need to do household chores or to help parents to earn a living, family problem, lack of parental support and supervision, negative influence outside the home. Educational factors include the adjustment gap of the child in the school and lack of teachers, understanding the situation which the child confronts in the school (UNESCO, 1991)

- **Studies in Orissa**:

  The studies on the problem of dropouts in Orissa tells no different story. The studies of Rath and Mishra (1974) found out that the tribal students encounter greater difficulty in following the classroom teaching than their Scheduled Caste (S.C.) counterparts, and advocated for the introduction of regional language at middle and secondary school levels. Bastia (1982) pointed out that the non-tribal teachers without the knowledge of tribal language face difficulty in teaching. Behura (1986) has prepared an exhaustive list of constraints under two heads (i) the external conditions and (ii) the internal conditions under former factors such as medium of instruction, teacher pupil communication, curriculum and textbook, method of teaching, inadequate supervision and the latter includes such factor as ecology, socio-economic condition, and parental aspiration and motivation.

  Rout (1989) classified factors of dropout into three broad categories (i) socio-economic, (ii) psychological and (iii) educational. The socio-economic factors include such variables as parental indifference to education, requiring children to supplement the family income, poverty, homesickness, festival, early marriage. Psychological factors include such factors such as lack of motivation, lack of interest in education, allergy
towards punishment, lack of nutrition, communication gap, school anxiety (phobia) etc. The educational factor includes such factors as provision of incomplete schools, irrelevance of curriculum and textbook, teacher's absenteeism, vacation pattern and school timing, use of wrong methods in teaching and lack of supervision.

It has been pointed out that the teachers' behaviour towards the children of lower rungs of society is highly discriminatory and augurs largely to dropouts (Panda and Guskin, 1976; Muralidharan, 1997). An evaluation study among the Juang tribe of Keonjhar district of Orissa has shown that culture contact has more influence than planned change in their achievement and motivation for education (Panda and Das, 1977; Mahanta, 1979).

- In the study of dropout in Keonjhar district of Orissa, Mishra (1994) has prepared an exhaustive list of possible causes of dropout and assessed their magnitude towards the dropout. The list includes various causes related to environment, home, economy, culture, school, hostel, teachers, parents etc.

The list of all these factors has been identified by the scholars irrespective of their degree of significance and their direct or indirect relations to dropout is unusually long. These can be broadly categorized as (a) financial background of the parents, their attitude, awareness and motivation towards education of their children; (b) the attitude and motivation of school teachers, curricula and books, school infrastructure and management and (c) the children themselves with certain unique features related to their socio-cultural matrix.

Bina Shah (1992:15) has diagrammatically represented the various components for educational development which when viewed carefully can serve as factors of dropout.
The above-mentioned diagram identifying various components for educational achievements can also be utilized to present the variables of dropout. The various causes of dropout can be broadly classified into:

- **Home environment**
- **School environment**

The home environment refers to parents and neighbouring groups. The factors on account of parents include the level of their economic condition, education, motivation, awareness etc., and their need and aspirations; the neighbour group includes various castes and tribal groups apathy or negative attitude, community pressure, physical and ecological setup including the road conditions etc. Generally school environment includes teachers, classmates, peer groups, curricula, teaching aid, school infrastructure etc. – and their related factors.

The above mentioned causes can be presented diagrammatically.
The factors as identified, listed and classified appear to be too broad to describe the exact aims and objectives of the study and formulate the methodology. Therefore, a detailed discussion on each of the probable factors becomes necessary to identify thrust areas that are to be studied.

1.2.1.2 Home Environment:

1.2.1.2.1 Awareness / Motivation of Parents:

Had it not been for the publication of the PROBE Report, the same customary ritual of assigning parental negligence and lack of motivation for low enrolment and low retention and high dropout would have continued. Contrary to the universal belief that "illiterate and semi-literate parents see no reason to send their children to school (TOI, 15th August, 1997), the PROBE Report in its empirical studies in four educationally backward states of India asserted that at least 89 percent parents have positive attitude towards the education of their children (PROBE, 1999: 14).

It has been observed that, since the educated tribals 'do not like to be tied' down to tradition, the tribal parents feel reluctant to send their children to school apprehending that their educated children would not like to remain with them. Shah and Patel observed that tribal parents have indifferent and apathetic attitude towards education. The findings of Srivastav also confirmed this (Shah and Patel, 1981; Srivastav, 1981). Similar observation is also made by the Dheber Commission and others like, Sachchidananda (1967:99-105), and Ambasht (1970). The observation of Dheber Commission (1961) was that the tribal student look upon formal education with suspicion and feel that it will endanger and de-stabilize the equilibrium of their socio-cultural system and disturb the young generation.

However, the studies conducted in late 1970s have refuted the above-mentioned views. Sujatha on the basis of her studies on Santhals found out that the tribals are aware of the
village development programmes and educational facilities meant for them. They are well aware of the importance of education in improving their social status, knowledge, job opportunities and occupational mobility (Sujatha, 1996). Bhattacharya (1960:144) has pointed out that the tribal parents are found to be very eager to send their children to school.

Owing a large-scale socio-cultural contact with economically and educationally developed communities, over the years, the efforts of government and non-government agencies, the mass media — it can certainly be held that the illiterate tribal parents by now are sufficiently knowledgeable so as to discern a systemic pattern between the educational development and their economic freedom. Thus, an earnest desire to get rid of the economic drudgery might drive them to send their children to school. Thanks to the politicization of reservation and largesse meant for the tribals there has been a growing demand by tribals to be educated enough to avail these opportunities provided by the government.

- However, the educational awareness of the parents may not be adequate to increase the enrolment and prevent dropout unless it musters a strong motivation to continue the education of their children. A mere awareness sans motivation may not flicker a difference in the dropout level and therefore, the study of the dropout can be related to the motivation of the parents. It has also been observed that highly motivated children achieve success in spite of difficulties (Margan, 1964). Strong motivation has been observed to be the source of more determination than the weakly developed ones (McClelland et.al, 1953). Studies also revealed that people with high motivation and moderate and realistic aspirations achieve success in education (Crockett, 1962:191-204).

Thus, lack of awareness, motivation and strong educational aspiration are the important dynamics of dropouts only when they are associated with other socio-economic factors.
The level of educational aspiration is invariably related to the socio-economic status of the family (Bordie, 1954).

Further, the preference of boys to girls on matters of education is a regular feature among the people of rural and tribal areas. It is only the people of higher income groups who aspire to educate their girls (Sewell, et al, 1957: 67-78). The parental outlook, belief and unfavourable taboos and prejudices are cited as main constraints in the educational expectation for the girl child (Shah and Patel, 1981; Punalekar, 1980). It has been found as in the study of Hernandez that students with low socio-economic status perceived to achieve high educational level (Hernandez, 1970). Studies reveal that although the tribal parents fail to specify the level of education they aspire for, for their children, is mostly limited to get an employment (Masavi, 1976; Panda, 1983; Ratnaiah, 1974; Sujatha, 1987, 1994).

- In view of the above, a study on dropout and regular students along with their parents in respect of awareness, motivation and aspiration can be made to assess the extent of dropout and level of enrolment.

1.2.1.2.2 Parental Qualification:

The qualification of the parents have long been held as a necessary criteria for the education of their children. Importance has been given on women education as the educated mother has a strong effect on their children. It is well known that among the SCs and STs it is the children who are the first generation learners (Desai and Pandoor, 1974) and especially, the ST students have the families with poor education background (Srivastav, 1970; Dubey, 1974; Rath and Mishra, 1974). Joshi in his study in Baroda district in 1980 concluded that 85% of the fathers (below 45 years of age) and 95% of the mothers had practically no school education (Joshi, 1980). Also studies conducted by Pathak (1981) and Lakshamana (1975) arrived at similar findings.
Thus the thrust area in respect of parental qualification would be two-fold.

- The second generation students or children whose parents are qualified are more or less certain to be in the educational process but in case of the dropout children of the educated parents the overriding factors responsible can be studied and be compared with other factors.
- Thus, a detailed investigation can be made on the parental education to find out the relation between the parental qualification and the children's dropout level.

1.2.1.2.3 Poverty of the Parents of Dropouts:

One of the major impacts of the poverty on education is that it sharpens the rich—poor differences in such a way that the poor ultimately remain out of the process of education. It makes education the monopoly of the rich and its result gets manifested in the dropout rate in the school (Adiseshaiha, 1996:139-152). Poverty as an important variable in enhancing the dropout in particular and the problem of educational development in general has been acknowledged by many scholars as has already been mentioned. The economic level and the educational achievement has been correlated by a number of scholars like Tilak, who, in the socio-economic survey conducted in the West Godavari district has correlated the educational achievement with economic condition (Dasgupta and Tilak, 1996:152-170). Viewed conversely education also contributes to the economic growth significantly (Srivastav, 1970).

The relation between the economic variables and education of the children have been variously studied where poverty of the parents is found to be a major factor of non-enrolment and dropout (Ambasth, 1970; Sachcheedananda, 1974; Sujatha, 1996: 248). The tribal children below poverty line are also found to be educationally backward (Singh, 1981). The study of Chitnis found out that as the tribals hailed mostly from disadvantaged families they show poor educational performance (Chitnis, 1974). Desai and Pandoor (1974) observed that by and large SC and ST have the
average economic status in comparison with other castes. Nayak (1975) observed that ST enjoy higher economic status than SC which was further contributed by Shah and Patel (1977) who found out that SC parents have more interest in education than the S.T. parents.

The reason behind the poverty-illiteracy nexus which continues to surface at the top of all variables associated with the dropouts can be of two-fold:

- The assumption that poverty is invariably associated with the unlimited needs and ever increasing cost which is an unending process, and unless eradicated, would not allow education to flourish.
- That no attempt has been made to classify the magnitude of poverty (Sujatha, 1986) in the typical economic background of individual household level so as to locate in the same level a point conducive enough to shelter educational process and to intervene accordingly.

In view of the above, poverty (and its allied concepts) although implying more or less the same meaning, is to be examined to make it free of ambiguity and mis-interpretation.

Poverty can be defined as the state of being extremely poor or being insufficient in amount. New Webster's Dictionary (1983) defines poverty as "the condition of being poor with respect to money, goods or means of subsistence".

The determination of poverty standard is a crucial question to be addressed with respect to its multi-dimensional manifestation. Even the term poor is not free of ambiguity, it implies different states of economic conditions in different geographical situations and contexts. The term "paupery" can be substituted for impoverishment, penury etc. implying the same poor economic conditions in varying degrees. In the tribal context, poverty stands for an abysmally poor economic condition so as to lead a hand to mouth life. Poverty is judged on the basis of the needs and necessities of the people. It refers to a
state which even fails to find out its position in categories of economy so conveniently made by the economists.

In view of the above, especially in the second one of the two-fold possibilities (poverty related to dropouts) are presupposed.

- The poverty of the family is so acute that without child's contribution the economy (at the bare sustenance level) of the family would come to a screeching halt and thus the child has to leave school and become a dropout.
- That the child who deserts school is initially a dropout (or pushed out) due to reasons other than poverty like school phobia, disinterestedness in study, repeated failure in examination etc. is welcomed in a family and allowed to supplement the family income rather than sitting idly. There were also studies which found that there is a large section of children who neither go to school nor work at home (Drury, 1993:34).

In making investigation on this aspect the thrust would be given on the economic background of the parents of the dropout so as to identify the controversy whether the requirement of the school children is really an absolute necessity in the family economy and that the student participating in the family economy is really a clientele of promise who is compelled to dropout. That is, whether the low economy, the poverty of the family or the failure of clientele ship in the school is the major cause of dropout. This would settle the issue regarding the poverty vs. literacy.
- Besides, a brief study on family economy would be made to gauge the magnitude of poverty as a factor of dropout.

1.2.1.2.4 The Neighbourhood and the Village:

At the home front, the neighbours in the village and the village settings constitute the primary, socio-cultural matrix of the children. As has been mentioned earlier, for generations the traditional education of the tribals have been transmitted through culture, by a process known as en-culturation which is almost synonymous with the tribal concept
of education. Thus, if a culture is adhered to so religiously by its people and especially in the presence of an indigenous system of pedagogy or philosophy (however, primitive crude and ethnocentric as manifested in the traditional lores) it can still exert a strong resistance on the life style of the people assumed towards modern formal education. The tribal culture specially under the process of change has been replete with instances of resistance to the newly introduced elements. The observation of Dheber Commission (mentioned earlier) that the tribals look at formal education with suspicion only justify this fact.

In reality, no culture opposes the education to its people but it resists the change that clashes with the existing culture as a result of the introduction of formal education. The influence of culture on the education of tribals, and more so, on girls is of paramount importance (Mathur, et al, 2001: 63-76; Swarnalata, 1993: 06). Since the oral tradition is considered as the most important feature of the tribal culture through which the traditional knowledge, value system, sense of morality and behaviour pattern is transmitted, it is important to identify the various institutions and prominent personalities who maintain such tradition. Each village has a headman, who not only settles the disputes but rather a man who is treated with reverence and example for others on legal and ethical matters and value judgement; the village priest, the secular head, the custodian to maintain the sanctity of the culture wields his religious authority against any religious taboos and sacrileges; a folklorist, a good repository of folktales, myths, legends, folk-song and dance or any old man or woman who, with their age-old accumulated anecdotes and incidents constantly remind of the cohesion and integrity of the culture. Thus, an understanding of any form of skepticism towards education on their part is bound to have a negative impact on education. There can be number of variables which would surface once the study of cultural background of a tribe vis-à-vis with formal education is undertaken.

- Among other variables, the negative attitudes of other higher castes groups towards the tribals, specially where the latter is living with them or in a close
vicinity can also have an adverse effect on educational development of tribal people. The prejudices and biased opinion of the higher caste groups on the tribal life and culture, limit the scope of interaction between them. The higher caste dominance is also reflected in the field of education. It persists and manipulates both the structural and procedural level of education in favour of the higher or dominant caste (Haq, 1991:239) The tribals on the other hand are too shy to communicate with a group which for years has treated them as inferior, under-developed or too backward. This attitude of looking down upon others as inferior and themselves, as the best (cultural ethnocentrism to be precise) is due to the presence of ethnic-stereotypes which constantly nurtures a feeling of disdain and intolerance towards the education of their less privileged neighbours. Kundu (1994) refers to these negative stereotypes and has identified this to be very strongly present in India. At the home front, a child's education process may have the possibility of being affected by the lack of inter-group communications and apathy and intolerance of others. An investigation of this aspect in view of their educational development would be of no less importance.

It has been observed that the study atmosphere (besides schooling) in tribal society is virtually non-existent. Although the reasons cited include the society, lack of motivation, low esteem of tribals as discussed, appeared to be most plausible ones, the factors like the peculiar nature of the tribals, food habits, house pattern, and their mass drinking behaviour are found to be some of the evils regarding the development of education.

- The aspect of mass drinking behaviour is so overwhelming and common that there has been no dearth of social scientists, social workers, politicians, and NGOs who have not associated drinking habits with poverty and indebtedness of tribals. Although a study made on regional basis reveals that 71% people drink alcohol in the tribal areas (Singh and Jabbi, 1996:25) and there isn't a single soul who wants to eradicate this for the sake of development (Dheber Commission, 1960-61; Vidyarthi, 1975). The habit of drinking unhesitatingly can be treated as a necessary social evil and largely responsible for vitiating educational development.
Apart from broadly identifying the factors for which it is still thriving in the tribal society in spite of the voices raised against it, a tentative correlation may be attempted between whether drinking is an inherent factor of poverty which ultimately affects education or drinking habit as a socio-cultural factor even in the family with a strong economic base affects the education. At the base level a comparison has to be made between regulars and dropout on the matters of drinking habits of their parents.

- The village setting of the tribals in the geographical terms also imposes difficult conditions on the school going children. It is seen that the tribal villages are scattered along the hill tracks and forest clad mountainous regions making communication a difficult task. The ecology in which the tribal child lives can also affect his education often leading to large-scale dropout and non-enrolment. This happens in two ways: firstly, as what has been observed by Behura (Behura, 1996:74-76) "the home environment of tribal child is natural, picturesque, serene and delightful...... the glamour of the environment for a tribal child is so strong that right from infancy it remains submerged in and inebriated by in the splendor and vehemence of its vastness and beauty...... The tribal child living along with his parents, kins and neighbours in the village is generally exposed to the total environment around him and his knowledge about the elements of its environment steadily increases and it develops an intimate relationship with the world around" which undoubtedly attracts the child more than the "formal, impersonal, serious and time bound" atmosphere of the school. Ultimately the child remains in search of an opportunity to leave the school which he believes is responsible for curtailing his natural freedom and happy life at home. This epitomizes the views of a number of scholars who harbour more or less the same opinion on the home environment-dropout nexus (Srivastav, 1996; Kundu, 1994; Mishra, 1994; Shah, 1989).

- Secondly, there are certain physical / geographical difficulties which compel the child to discontinue his/her the education. For instance, the distance of village from the school as an important impediment has been acknowledged by many scholars. Distant schools have been found to be inconvenient by the
parents who send their children to these schools. Ratnaiah (1974), Joshi (1981), Shah (1989) in the study of S.T. students view the long distance schools as obstacles for the education of tribal children. Isolated habitats with poor communication facilities have been attributed to the low level of education (Vyas and Mann, 1980). Further, as observed by Patel the long distance schools (for the absence of the schools within the reach of the particular community) become more problematic for a tribal child when the teacher as commuter remains absent from the school frequently (Patel, 1984:163-164).

In the interior and in hilly regions not only the distance but also the nature of the road is extremely important for the school going children. "Sweet potato creeper - like — road" (a Koya perception of poor zigzag road) riddled with hillocks and streams, poses much difficulty for a child to negotiate it even if the school is one kilometer away (Mahapatra, 1991).

Further, the nature of settlement of a tribe needs observation. A number of primitive tribes who practice shifting cultivation come to change their entire settlement periodically in view of newly found forest patch. This certainly means a large-scale dislocation in the schooling of the children.

- There are also problems like malnutrition, disease and other physical handicaps which also cause dropouts. A study can be undertaken to quantify the obstacles mentioned in the above respect as the factor of dropout.

The nature and function of the non-formal schools which are supposed to impart education informally at home or in the villages which have no access to school need to be studied.

- Finally, there are problems which are typical of the children themselves. A strong passionate desire to be with their parents and cousin amounting to home sickness, playing outside, to participate in the community-hunting and
festivals, disinterestedness in study, school phobia, inefficiency, early marriage are also the causes emanating from home atmosphere. Further, the presence of educational elites persuading the parents to educate their children, institution like village library, village religious institutions of great traditions elaborating the significance of knowledge, philosophy and morality creating positive environment for education in the community also need observation.

1.2.1.3 School Environment:

It has been observed that "even the parents are more likely to keep up the struggle to send the children to school if schooling is of satisfying quality" (PROBE, 1999:55). The citadel of learning which fails to deliver its sacred service (the quality teaching) it only becomes a breeding ground for the dropout and stagnation (Muralidharan, 1997:126-132). Apart from quality teaching the schools are expected to raise the retention rate as complementary to the increasing enrolment. The study of dropouts is determined by a complex of different factors which owe its origin to the school environment, (Behura, 1996 : 74-76; Kundu, 1994; Krushnakumar, 1996:117-18).

The school atmosphere is guided by a large array of influencing components such as:

- School teachers including their qualification, training, attitude, nature etc.
- Medium of instruction
- Curricula
- Textbooks
- School infrastructure and administration
- School timing

1.2.1.3.1 The School Teachers:

Besides being a key player in the educational process a teacher has the advantage of contributing the most towards the educational environment. The teacher or a body of
Teachers require a critical study with respect to dropout and retention. The teachers can be studied from various angles.

**Teachers Attitude:**

Apart from a close observation of his / her image, background, personality, integrity of character the teacher can be studied from the point of his understanding and aptitude towards his job, his students (their parents) etc.

At the outset it can be probed, though with difficulty how the relationship between teachers qualification and job satisfaction with respect to salary, perks and promotion, performance of his duties with missionary spirit and without any prejudice and malice as expected by the society on one hand and infrastructural provision of school including a congenial administrative setup, teaching-aid and materials on the other. Also it depends upon whether the attitude, zeal and performance of the pupil is healthy, reciprocal or symbiotic, leading to the differences in the rate of retention and dropout.

It has been well observed that the teachers of upper caste origin have prejudices against SC, ST students which is reflected in their interaction with them (Joshi, 1980). The SC and ST students are stated to have been subject of negligence by the teachers (Rath and Mishra, 1974). It is also not healthy as observed by Desai and Patel (Desai, 1980:65; Patel, 1991:83). The attitude as manifested in the behaviour of teachers towards the people while the teaching process contributes significantly to success and failure of child as a student. The teachers can be categorized on the basis of their outlook towards the tribal students and their socio-cultural background.

- The teachers who do not distinguish the students on their origin, caste, tribe or cultural background or simply unconcerned while teaching.
- The hardcore upper caste stereo-types who harbour the negative attitude (Shah, 1989:112) and intolerance towards the education of the under privileged.
- And the teachers with 'Pygmalion attitude' (Kundu, 1994) who treat the children with hope and care and actually nourish them to perform well.

It is essential that the teachers of these various kinds need to be identified to correlate their attitude with the performance of the students. This can be attempted only after taking into account the qualification, training, cultural background, caste or tribe origin, relationship with local people etc. of teachers in great detail. In the same way, the teachers who hail from low socio-economic background who are under qualified and ill performing can be underestimated by the students as well as their parents and this may affect their interest in education however distantly.

There are a number of variables of dropouts with teachers as the central theme as pointed by scholars which to some, need deliberation.

Training of the Teachers:

It has been observed that the educational policies and system as having a blanket approach which is suitable only to urban and rural children and that the subject texts and curricula do not reflect the life and culture of tribal people (Mohanty, 1996:101-109). The same is true with respect to the method and approach as maintained in the area of training of teachers. There is no special training imparted to teach the tribal student. The studies made by scholars "recognize that teachers lack appropriate training to teach in the tribal cultural context; (Sujatha, 1996). Some of the scholars like Sachchidananda (1974), Singhi (1975), Choudhury (1974), Massavi (1976), Rout (1985), Kundu (1990) etc. agree that there is a need for special training, courses and programmes for teachers and administrators working in the tribal areas.

In Orissa it has been imperative to have a degree in education to become a teacher, and there is no dearth of trained personnel for teaching job employed or unemployed. Apart from a number of training colleges (17 for B.Ed. and 52 for C.T. training) there is in
each district the DIET centres to train the teachers. Teachers undergo occasional refresher
courses. The irony is that, the training curricula do not contain any room specially devoted
to teach tribal students although the state shares 10% of the country's tribal population
who cannot be taught in the usual conventional method. Worst, the Government of
Orissa has debarred students and scholars of anthropology and other allied subjects,
which deal with tribal culture and problems, to undergo training programme to become
teachers.

In view of the above, the problem can be examined in the following areas.

■ It would be merely a form of curiosity to note the method and approach the
teachers have adopted through the years to address the requirements of a
tribal pupil especially in the absence of specific training, the problems they
faced and the solutions they suggested.
■ It would also be pertinent to question the efficacy of the present training
course so sincerely adopted to the needs of the students i.e. the higher caste
e tc. to whom it is directed, to be examined in a class of mixed students. In
other words, it is to be assessed as to the extent to which the teacher utilizes
his training meant to teach in the classroom.
■ And finally the level and magnitude of the mis-match between the teachers'
preparedness, training and teaching in schools contributing towards the
incidents of dropouts.

Types of Teachers:

Another equally important area which needs some rethinking is the nature and types of
teachers considered suitable or unsuitable in the tribal setup. Teachers can be variously
(also dichotomically) categorized as:

■ Trained teachers - untrained teachers
■ Male teachers - female teachers
■ Tribal teachers - non-tribal teachers - higher caste teachers and
■ Local teachers — outsider teachers.
In the field of tribal education the teachers are polarized into:

- Untrained male non-tribal (higher caste) teachers from outside and
- Locally available trained tribal lady teachers (keeping a large number of intermediary categories such as local lady teachers, tribal lady teachers, outside lady teachers, outside non-tribal lady teachers).

Out of the entire teacher variables the best possible teachers who can be examined on a sampling basis are trained teachers (already discussed), local tribal teachers and lady teachers. The scholars have shunned the former as a necessary impediment and towards the development of tribal education and preferred the latter and suggested a large-scale appointment of teachers belonging to the latter category in the interest of the education of tribal children. The scholars have advocated the appointment of teachers in the tribal areas to be at least belonging to the tribal communities. The Annual Report of Director of Public Education for Bombay Province as early as 1884-85 stated that "the experience elsewhere has shown that the Brahmin school master fails as a teacher of backward tribes; our first need therefore, is for teacher and teachers belonging to the hill or forest tribes would be the best instruments" (Heredia, 1992:299).

According to E.V. Ratnaiah, non-tribal teachers are at a disadvantage with regard to language and culture in the schools of tribal areas and need some kind of "special training and orientation" (Ratnaiah, 1974:156). While suggesting to improve the performance of teachers the World Bank has suggested to increase the share of female teachers and teachers who speak local languages which is a special importance for girls and students from Scheduled Tribes (W.B.R, 1997:10).

The major arguments against the suitability of the non-tribal teachers is that of language. Non-tribal teachers are at a loss to communicate with the tribal students and vice versa. This undoubtedly could lead to the communication gap between them. Even a local teacher although non-tribal can communicate with the tribal students due to his closeness with their culture but an outsider- non-tribal is in a difficult position on both the counts.

Another important argument levelled against the non-tribal outside teachers is the presence of negative stereotype among them, especially those belonging to the higher caste. According to Kundu (1994) "almost all teachers who teach tribal learners are high caste non-tribals, they are bound to share the negative stereotypes with their dominant culture group — people". Out of the check-list of 16 negative stereotypes 50% have been endorsed by the teachers, as pointed out by Kundu. Some of the stereotypes the teachers share are:

- Tribals lack courtesy
- The culture of tribals is inferior
- The tribal languages are underdeveloped.
- Tribals are quite satisfied with what they have and do not want to improve their lot.

On the other hand, the tribal teachers being members of the community and adept at tribal language and culture are in a better position to teach their fellow tribal people. Such teachers can understand certain indigenous problem of the tribal students and can solve it sympathetically with respect to teaching. It is the tribal students who feel more comfortable and interactive with a tribal teacher of their community. This can also be extended to parent level where the parents could find it relaxing to confide their problem and difficulties to a teacher, a fellow community member.

According to well known anthropologists and socio-psychologists (Lindzey, 1961; Kardiner, 1939; Whiting and Child, 1953; Dubois, 1944; Benedict, 1961), the
ethno-cultural-identity which is perceived to be the sum total of one’s self-concept as acquired from the knowledge of his membership in a group with a value and emotional significance the choice of the local tribal teachers has been unavoidable. A perceived group boundary is also an important part of the ethnic identification. The individual remains as the virtue of being and something other than himself a part of the group. There are processes, the system and formulation by which an individual member conforms its identity and dominates in the ethnic group. It has been established that the equilibrium i.e. the relation of individual and society on the matter of personal identity is threatened when individual assumes a new role (for instance as a teacher) on account of culture contact with a larger dominant culture. The individual faces the identity crisis leveled variously as "search for identity" (Spindler, 1968)" identity conflict" (Wintrob; 1968) etc.

A recent study conducted by Sujatha (1993) in Andhra Pradesh shows that a tribal youth who, once he becomes a teacher also behaves like other teachers.

Further, as mentioned earlier a tribal teacher belonging to a particular ethnic group would often suffer: from the identity crisis when put in a different social situation. That is, from students or their parents point of view such teachers are identified more in accordance with social hierarchy of their community and not as the qualified teachers.

Thus, it would not always be safe to admit that a teacher of a particular tribe sympathizes and respects the children of all other tribes as equal and does not suffer from prejudices and stereotypes against them. Inter tribal hierarchy and prejudices etc. are always in operation even in the monolithic and homogenous tribal structure.

The third variable the 'local teacher' is expected to be suitable for the tribal locality and to enhance the enrolment and reduce the dropout level and this is based on two main assumptions.
- That the local teacher will have free interaction with the local people specially when he is well acquainted with their way of living and also would be in a position to influence the parents to educate their children.

- The second one is that, being locally available the teacher would be invariably present to address the doubts and problems of the people on the education of their wards. Also absenteeism of teachers which has been held as a serious problem can be averted.

On the other hand, the placement of teachers in accordance to their locality has its own disadvantages.

- Unlike the other jobholders a teacher is considered as a man of knowledge and has the image of being honourable and sometimes prestigious among the villagers - a feature maintained in lieu of the personal benefits and liking of the teachers. This will not be affected as long as the teachers’ interaction with the villagers, children and the school activities is limited to educational or instructional level i.e. as long as it exhibits that part of his personality structure which is only educational or related to learning. The teacher fails to maintain his image when he remains amidst the village with his family and relatives. Here the teacher is not a teacher alone, he is a villager, a farmer, a businessman etc, on account of his traditional occupation or may be a wayward son or an irresponsible husband. These elements arising out of his diversified status and role observable by the students and their parents, leads to his credibility as a teacher being impaired seriously. The local lady teaches as well as the local tribal teacher share this feature to a large extent. Ultimately it would not be possible in spite of the best efforts of a teacher to project the seriousness of education among the people.

- Secondly, being a product of the village, which at present, by no means a homogenous unit on account of a number of religious, caste and political affinities, it is also possible for a teacher to become a victim of these differences and may have a partisan view towards his pupils.

- Finally, 'as the son of the soil' and well connected politically and being locally influential a local teacher is endowed with an effective immunity system against
the administrative measures if at all, it is instituted against him for irregularity in teaching and attendance.

Similarly, apart from recommendation of the several scholars and various committees also advocated for a large-scale appointment of lady teachers (Hansraj Mehta Committee, 1961 for instance). The advantage of a lady teacher irrespective of whether she is local, outsider, trained or untrained can be manifold as cited by PROBE on the basis of the opinion of the informants.

- That the young children are more comfortable with female teachers.
- The female teachers in some areas have positive effect on enrolment.
- That female teachers provide the much needed "role models" for tribal girls.
- The mothers can easily interact with the lady teachers regarding the education of their ward.
- It is also indicated that as female teachers do not resort to physical punishment and therefore the incident of dropout on account of the physical punishment is less "whenever we found a child who had dropped out after being beaten at school the teacher was always male" (PROBE, 1999:55).

On an empirical survey basis PROBE asserts very positively on the question whether this lack of female teachers matter. The World Bank report draws a definite correlation between higher female literacy rate and girls enrolment with the share of female teachers taking Kerala (67% of female teachers) and Bihar (20% of female teachers) into account and found that number of female teachers is lower in low literacy district (W.B.R, 1997:145).

Although many are lamenting on the poor representation of women in the teaching especially in the primary level and recommend the large-scale appointment of the same, still, there remain some doubts which have neither been addressed nor clarified.
Role Conflicts of Women Teachers:

To regard a lady teacher simply as a teacher would be misleading i.e. to ignore the myriad of responsibilities and functions she undertakes in the family and other wide kinship network which conveniently categorized as "work unrecognized" (Papnek and Nash, 1977:87). She is not only an integral part of the family but the hub of all its important activities. Her responsibility as wife, mother, daughter-in-law etc. has been described in volumes. A lady teacher not only shoulders the stresses, strains and tensions of the family but also, at the same time, that of the school. The attention and the care the child deserves from a teacher in a school especially from her quality behaviours is by no means less inferior to the child at home (Gibson, 1971:23). Just as the deviation in the behaviour or action of a women in a family disrupts its function, so also in a subtle way, the discomfort of a strife-torn lady teacher impair considerably the lively atmosphere of a classroom.

Teaching is one of the few important jobs which demands an uninterrupted coordination between the heart and mind, free of family quarrel and conundrum and an avid interest to impart education. A lady teacher as a professional implies many more than her successful classroom performance which is conditioned by such diverse personality elements as appearance, intellect, witticism, charisma, oratory, acting, guarding and policing. She has to perform diligently the assignments other than teaching in the school, the preparation for the class and correction of the students' notebooks, valuation of examination papers etc. at the cost of her responsibility at home. It is the situation where a woman carries the onus of her family to the school and that of the school to the home. Put in more plainly, the success of one invariably depends upon the negligence of the other.

Thus a lady-teacher shuttles between two different worlds (Nayar, 1989:2-3) the family and the school in which she has to make her action packed benign presence in equal degree, in other words, even a reasonable tilt towards one would cause irrevocable
damage in other (Turner, 1968), a teacher-less classroom and mother-less household can be conceived in the same line of thought. This is the classic case of "role conflict or role expectations" which occurs when women bring together two incompatible roles expectations in a bid to fulfill them both simultaneously.

In short, a lady teacher frequently encounters what is known as "role conflict" which in a sense be perceived as the "discrepancy between two or more roles which a person attempt to fulfill" (Nayar, 1989:147).

In the backdrop of theoretical understanding of the teachers it is time to underline the broad areas to be covered in view of the present problem.

- The number and percentage of the teachers in these categories as pronounced earlier in the discussions as present in different types of schools, a broad comparison of their qualification, training and performance with respect to their categories can be compared.
- Secondly, the aspiration and the estimation of both regular and dropouts and their parents towards the teachers can also be analyzed. The opinion and interaction of the villagers towards the teachers can be measured to correlate with the factors such as their opinion, attitude, and specific problem etc. relating to education.
- It can also be pointed out if they harbour any prejudices towards the teacher on the ground of their locality, sex and community (of the teachers). Similarly, the teachers' opinion on the educability of children of particular caste and tribe can also be obtained to find out if they suffer from any ill feeling, prejudices or if they have any negative stereotypes. This would facilitate to correlate these (teacher attitude etc.) with the dropout.

The study could also focus on some important areas relating to teachers.

- Frequent or large-scale absence of teachers in the school leading to dropping of classes or undeclared holidays.
The problem of single teacher schools, if any, and the teacher's way of managing the school. The number of single teacher schools and the problem of teachers and its impact on the student's dropping out can also be investigated.

The other problems specific to the teachers regarding salary, promotional avenues, posting and transfer, accommodation etc. can be studied in order to assess their motivation in teaching. This can be related indirectly to the incidental dropout.

Apart from the domestic compulsions and personal problems a teacher is also assigned duties well outside the school curriculum by the government and the NGOs etc., which can be a factor to affect the sincerity of the teachers and quality teaching in the school. Since a teacher remains in the close proximity with the villagers, he/she is supposed to wield some influence on them. This is why a teacher is often found suitable to be utilized for various developmental activities meant for the villagers. Various authors and reports have identified the duties of the teacher outside the school campus and their influence on education (PROBE, 1999; World Bank Report, 1997). Duties performed at the time of election (Parliamentary, State Assembly or local bodies) where a teacher assists in the preparation of voter lists, makes arrangements for election booths and staying of officials, working as election official, participating in the census operation as enumerator or supervisor, identifying beneficiaries among the villagers for the facilities provided under the schemes like IRDP, DRDA, ITDP, ICDS etc. and surveying and working for DPEP, NLM as VT, MT etc. There are other programmes periodically initiated by the government or non-government organizations under catchy captions like ABHIYAN, JAGARAN, NINAD etc. to educate the people on various aspects (from AIDS to Pulse Polio) of education where teachers are used.

All these programmes require for their success, the large-scale participation of the teacher, who unfolds a brighter prospect when he undertakes the assignment willingly with an altruistic attitude. This empowers the teacher to have some influence on enrolment and retention of the children in the school for a larger period. In fact, some of the literacy
programme sponsored by NLM and DPEP, UEE target the teachers to work effectively to end non-enrolment and dropout.

On the other hand, a teacher may scorn upon it as an unnecessary compulsion imposed by an authoritarian regime and react negatively.

- It is necessary for the present study to focus broadly on the success or failure of teachers involved in these schemes to bring about changes in the dropout level.
- An attempt can be made to correlate the problem of teachers and the disturbances on account of the above mentioned programmes on the academic activities contributing to incidence of dropouts.

1.2.1.3.2 The Language of Instruction:

Since education owes a great deal to the medium of instruction and as it is essentially a language related task it would be worthwhile to correlate the language with education in the tribal context.

It has been pointed out that the initial years of a child in a school is beset with the problem of communication caused by a clash between their mother tongue (dialect) in which they communicate among themselves and the languages through which the teaching is imparted. In other words, the child fails to comprehend the lesson at primary level. A child in the process of education faces the predicament of operating in two linguistic worlds. The world of his house and social environment and the world of his school (Mohapatra, 1993). Thus a tribal child feels alienated from the very beginning of schooling (Kundu, 1994).

The medium of instruction as adopted in the school is variously termed as representational, standardized, local, regional or state language — all represent a language not only alien to the tribal children but what is important, is that, through the language is
projected an alien value system possibly of great tradition, hardly intelligible to a child of tribal origin. Since the failure to articulate in an alien language invariably results in failure to grasp knowledge imparted, the child is now compelled to think in terms of deserting the school as it becomes too cumbersome an affair to manage the school curricula. The world of difference between language at home and school is a major contributing factor for a large number of school dropouts (Khubchandini, 1996:194).

While expecting National Adult Education Programme to be a success, Patnaik adds "the difference between home language and school language has been responsible for a great deal of wastage and stagnation in the formal education system" (Patnaik, 1977).

According to R. N. Mehrotra "the medium of instruction should be such that, it enables the student to acquire knowledge with facility, to express themselves with clarity and to think with precision and vigor. From the same point of view the claim of the mother tongue is un-disputable..." Having a single language as medium of instruction throughout one's educational career is a great advantage. It must be logically the language in which one has begun ones education which preferably is the mother tongue. Thus, the language which one uses at home and in society should be the language for one's education at all levels (Mehrotra, 1986: 209, 213).

It has been argued that the difficulty of the medium of instruction is considered to be a more serious matter than the geographical barriers (Banerjee, 1962:46-53). Scholars like Basu, Biswas and Aiyapan etc. state the importance of mother tongue as the medium of instruction and suggested the proper collection of tribal vocabulary for planning in tribal education (Biswas, 1954:29; Basu, 1963:22-27; Aiyapan, 64:5, 6). Chatopadhyay stresses on the preparation of scripts in mother tongue along with training of teachers (1953:18), Sen Saxena and Srivastav emphasized on mother tongue as medium of instruction (Sen, 1960:123-124; Saxena, 1964; Srivastav, 1996:255-264).
Others believe that the first two standards of primary level be taught in mother tongue and can be changed to other languages.

Annamalai (1986:01) suggested several ways on medium of instruction to be followed in the school:

- To teach initially through mother tongue and subsequently through other language.
- The textbooks in the majority language and classroom instruction in the mother tongue.
- In some subject the mother tongue should be used and other subjects should be taught in majority language.

In the matter of child’s adoption to regional language UNESCO suggested two short jumps, from illiteracy to literacy in mother tongue and to literacy to regional language rather than one long jump i.e. from illiteracy to literacy in the regional language (UNESCO, 1971:56).

Mohapatra suggested a device, a system of ‘graded primers’ which would be an intermixture of high percentage of words of tribal dialect and limited words of State language in Standard I – which would gradually be “tapered off” at the Grade III (Mohapatra, 1993).

Although the mother tongue as the medium of instruction up to Standard III sounds most ideal and useful in ensuring the pedagogic development of the tribal child, to translate it into programme of action on an empirical basis involves enormous difficulty and complexity. Currently Orissa presents some 58 local dialects of which 14 are in Koraput and 10 in Mayurbhanja district belonging variously to Munda, Indo Aryan and Dravidian linguistic families which do not have the script of their own, save Santals’ Ol-Chiki (Mahapatra, 1990).
Any attempt in this regard i.e. to instruct in mother tongue would involve certain conditions which may appear outlandish besides demanding the resource on a gigantic scale.

- That books which are to be prepared for each tribal groups according to their dialect, tradition and culture.
- That the teachers be made proficient enough to transact with the clientele in their mother tongue.
- That the teacher(s) would be earmarked for each tribe on permanent basis to be identified.

Even in spite of this, it will not be less difficult to teach students belonging to multi-ethnic (multi-linguistic) groups or class.

The problem would be compounded further when we take into account the various categories of each tribal groups which, in varied degrees, have adopted or are in the process of adoption of local or regional language.

- The idea of mother tongue as a medium of instruction is confined only to the level of suggestion. The empirical evidences indicating educational development as a result of teaching in local dialect is still wanting. The experimentation of Ol Chiki as a medium of instruction for Santals by the Government of West Bengal was disbanded for neither the teachers could transact in Ol Chiki nor the tribal teachers were interested to teach in their own language (Sujatha, 1996). Very recently in Orissa in a seminar on tribal language as the medium of instruction, even some tribal leaders expressed their doubts on the feasibility of the programme in view of the difficulties discussed above (Mohapatra, 1998).

In view of the above discussion the present study mainly focuses on the following:

- Although a general understanding on the problem of tribal children on account of an alien medium of instruction will be identified initially it will subsequently be probed further to be assessed as a factor of dropout.
- It is to be probed whether over the years of teaching the teachers have adopted any intermediary language (if not tribal language totally) for instance a type of 'pidgin' to suit the children in a class belonging to multi-ethnic groups.
- It is to be enquired if any action programmes initiated in Government or private level for instance, the Refresher Courses, Training Programmes etc. on tribal language and culture for teachers to articulate with students in local dialect and to assess its success or failure in respect of dropout.

1.2.1.3.3 The Books:

Books not only constitute the principal educational aid supplemented by blackboard is the sole reading material of most of the students, the success of learning depends largely upon the success of the book i.e. its instructional impact on the readers (World Bank, 1997:167). Apart from its language factor there are others which substantially affects the learning system which can be broadly identified as:

- The readability or the comprehensibility of the textbooks and
- The number of textbooks amounting to the load of the school bag.

Studies on readability and comprehensibility of books at primary level especially in such subjects as Mathematics, General Science and alien languages show a picture of dissatisfaction. School Effectiveness studies in UP (Bashir, et al, 1993) revealed that most of the students of Grade II failed to use their textbooks. In the study of the readability of the primary level textbooks only 20% of the Grade III teachers were positive on the students ability to use the books directly (Kaul, et al, 1995).

A study on readability in Rajasthan found that the vocabulary in the textbooks was too difficult (Sharma, 1993). Solanki observed that the textbooks do not properly reflect the special needs of the tribal children (Solanki, 1977).
The National Advisory Committee appointed by MHRD has stressed on readability and comprehensibility of the texts. In "Learning Without Burden" (1993) found the "problem of readability of the textbooks becomes grim".

The PROBE considers the major flaw in the educational system as identified in the statement of Prof. Jaspal the Chairman of the Advisory Committee "a lot is taught but little is learnt or understood" (PROBE, 1999: 69).

According to "Learning Without Burden" the load of their school bag is one issue but the more pernicious burden is non-comprehension. The PROBE India has presented with instances of incomprehensible materials in the states under its study. The same finding can be apprehended in other states including Orissa once the study in this respect is undertaken.

The School Bag — Burden — Syndrome :

Apart from the comprehensibility and the readability, the problem also relates to the number of textbooks. The moving speech of R.K. Narayan in Rajya Sabha brings out another facet of problem faced by the students on account of the burgeoning number of textbooks.

Over the years, the students' school bag has been inflated on account of the expansion of various subjects and curriculum enormously to the extent of a 'mule-pack'. "Like a pack mule not less than 6 - 8 kgs of books in addition to lunch box and water bottles— is a difficult task for a children going to school" (R.K. Narayan, 1989).

Although a large number of books definitely the problem for children the school bag that carried by the tribal children do not render a picture as described by Narayan. Rather, argues the PROBE India "the burden of empty school bag"... "her problem is not much
an overload of books as the fact that for school bag contains very little — if she has one at all" (PROBE, 1999: 70).

The tribal children do not suffer from number of books and notes as the number of books prescribed are small and poor economic conditions to avail them. Considering the factors such as number of subjects and grades and number of languages the World Bank Report on Primary Education in India indicates that the number of books produced by DPEP states is the lowest, 21, compared to Assam which produces 140 books. Thus, it is not the burden of books, rather, the burden of non-comprehension, which renders the book dull and tedious for the students.

To search for an answer for the cause of dropout, the above explained aspect would not be much beneficial since the cause of dropouts entirely on account of non-comprehension of textbooks would be very difficult to identify. As it appears, the non-comprehension of textbook is definitely a problem with the tribal children and it would be necessary to assess broadly the efficacy of the books on developing an academic interest among the student.

As per the other aspects it is rather the problem of empty bag, a part of the economic constraints which can be taken to be a necessary deterrent against the continuity of education.

Therefore, the areas of studies will be:

- The books or study material are to be judged from the children’s point of view to find out if there is an overwhelming aversion for any subject or topic as prescribed by syllabus.
- The average cost of the study materials (which are necessary for attendance / appearance in classroom) absolutely necessary for students can be assessed in relation to the paying capacity of the parents.
- The availability of the study materials free of cost or otherwise can also be noted.
1.2.1.3.4 The Curriculum:

Like the formation of Education Policy, India has a long history of curriculum reconstruction starting from Gandhian idea of basic education to others including that of Kothari Commission (1964 – 66). Often branded as inadequate, outmoded and not properly designed to the needs of modern times, there has been urgent need to raise, upgrade and improve the school curriculum.

In 1975, NCERT has published an approach paper containing a model curriculum Class I to X known as the curriculum for 10 years of school. The report of M. Adisshaiah Committee “Learning to be” for +2 school after a plethora of criticism, suggestions and improvement was accepted.

In 1991 with the slogan “competency-based learning”, NCERT formulated “Minimum Level of Learning (MLL)” to bring primary education standards into the line with children’s developmental capacities. Commonly known as MLL for the subjects like language, mathematics, social and environmental studies for Grade I to V, it was stated to lighten the curriculum of its textual load and burden of memorizing unnecessary and irrelevant facts and to ensure acquisition of basic competency and skill. Although all the states are not obliged to adopt them the MLL standard has been widely disseminated and model textbooks have been developed. The MLL has been accepted as a general criterion, to gauge the educational achievement of primary graders.

However, it is not without criticism. To the findings of PROBE India the MLL (which parodied it as Meaningless Levels of Learning) have compounded the confusion of information and learning. According to report it has increased the burden of learning and focused on many contentious issues of MLL.

On the other hand, the curriculum for tribal education has not been deliberated. The curriculum, so far, has formulated with the usual upper caste – elite bias ignoring the tribal
life and culture. Even the Ashram schools specially set to improve the educational standards of SC and ST students do not have a specific curriculum of its own except the addition of one more subjects on craft (Pratap, et al 1971). Srivastav has also identified curriculum as one of the factors which affects the education of the tribal children (Srivastav, 1982).

1.2.1.3.5 The School Infrastructure:

The school infrastructure plays a vital role in the retention of the children in the school, though there had been a wide spread disagreement, among the educationists regarding the nature and type of the school. While one group advocated for open-air schools for the children the other argued for a close-knit building. Inspired by India's hoary traditions of Gurukula Ashram a group of educationists who advocated for open schools believe that children can learn better amidst nature. The others look the school in a decent building with modern facilities to equip the students with more advanced and scientific knowledge. They very strongly assert that the education begins with 'bricks and mortar' meaning a good school building (Muriel, 1964).

At present the concept of open-air school is inconceivable although many a school lack school building, a basic requirement of a school. The rapid expansion of information technology, scientific development and cultural exchange also demand the school to remain fully geared to meet the educational requirement of emerging generation.

Thus the physical conditions of the educational institution with proper infrastructure has been an absolute necessity for the spread up primary education. It has been observed by Fourth All India Education Survey, 1978-79 (NCERT) that the structure of facilities in primary schools does have something to do with the retention of children in the school. It has also revealed that at least 50 percent of the primary schools in the country do not have the complete structure or drinking water facilities or play ground, 40 percent are
without black board, 70 percent are without libraries and 85 percent without lavatories. The availability of basic educational inputs in India's school has improved over the past several decades since 1986. In 1986 All India Educational Survey reported that 13.5 percent of schools lacked building, 35 percent had only one room and 50 percent lacked drinking water (NCERT, 1992). In 1991 according to a sample survey in 22 states four rooms seem to be available in every five class (Shukla, et al, 1994:28) and 2/3rd of schools had drinking water facilities. In 1993, survey of schools in low literacy districts introduced by DPEP found that well over half of class had classrooms mostly in good quality building and drinking water was available in more than a third of sample schools (World Bank, 1997:95) it has also observed over crowded classrooms, short supply of other school facilities.

In 1995 survey of 42 schools in 16 districts in Bihar, MP, UP, Rajasthan etc. found that only 3 percent of schools lacked building and that nearly 60 percent had drinking water (Sinha et al, 1995).

Krishna Kumar (1996) argues that unless the physical condition of the primary school is drastically improved in the country, particularly in backward states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, MP, Orissa it should not expect the teachers to succeed in accomplishing even the modest aim of primary education.

Perhaps developing status of India as well as the economic constraints have made it imperative to spend less on primary education facilities and aimed only at teaching the basic skill as considered absolutely essential with minimum educational apparatus including a teacher, blackboard, chalk and notebook. Even a place to sit was not considered absolutely essential otherwise, argues Krishna Kumar (1996), opening of school under tent or shed would not have carried state sanction.

It has been found out that the students in the schools with good or very good facilities often have higher level of achievement. Govinda and Vargese (1993) noted that students in such schools scored twice as high in Hindi or Mathematics.
Shukla and Others (1994) found that students in school with more rooms per students scored higher in arithmetic and reading comprehension and that students in schools with teacher facilities scored higher in reading comprehension.

Saxena, Singh and Gupta found that physical facilities in school were important correlates of students achievement in Kamataka, MP and Orissa (Saxena et al, 1995). PROBE India also indicated the poor schooling infrastructure including the school building and described the situation as 'deplorable', compared to a school in North Bihar as 'sty' associated with inadequate teaching material.

Much earlier, M.C. Chagla, the then Education Minister remarked... 'our Constitution Father did not intend to just setup hovels, put students, give them untrained teachers, bad books, no play ground and say we have complied with Article 45 and primary education is expanding...'.

In view of the above mentioned viewpoints the school infrastructure can be analyzed taking into account the following parameters.

- School Distance
- School timing
- School building and other related infrastructure
- Teaching and Learning materials etc.

1.3.1 Significance of the Study:

On the basis of various assumptions postulated and areas identified, it can be concluded that the problem of dropout and non-enrolment encompasses several factors involving socio-cultural and economic reality of the students on one hand and school infrastructure, curricula, the teachers etc. on the other. The studies made so far suggests that the
problem involves the influence of multi-causal factors and therefore requires multi-dimensional explanations in the changing educational situation. Thus, there has been a pressing need for an in-depth study of educational problem of tribal regions of Orissa. Since the existing data are incomprehensive in providing a basis for the assessment of the problem for formulating any future course of action, a fresh study has become most imperative.

1.3.2 Objectives of the Study:

Broadly speaking the aim of present endeavour is to make a statement on the problem of education in the tribal districts of Orissa on the basis of enrolment and dropout factors. In the framework of these broad objectives, there lie a number of issues specially in view of various assumptions and possibilities already made which also need in-depth study and analysis. The whole range of aims and objectives can be divided into three broad categories:

- The level of enrolment and dropout
- Factors responsible for dropout and non-enrolment and
- Remedial measures to curb the problem

Level of Enrolment and Dropout:

To find out the enrolment and dropouts:

- on various ethnic groups as grouped under SC, ST and OC;
- boys and girls;
- primary, middle and high school level;
- the schools managed by Department of SSD and Department of Education (EDN); and
- to compare the level of dropout among all the categories.
Factors responsible for Dropout:

A number of assumptions and possibilities have been pronounced while formulating the theoretical framework of the study under the categories of (a) home environment and (b) school environment. Although attempt would be made to investigate all of them specifically, it may not be accomplished in few cases where the information's are not available and causes appear to be non-existent in view of the specific field situation.

Home Environment:

The study aims at:

- various causes of dropout caused due to socio-cultural and economic conditions of the students;
- to find out the attitude, awareness and level of expectations of parents to the education of their children;
- to find out the distance of the school from the community for settlement and other physical/environmental conditions

School Environment:

Under this category the study aims at:

- to assess the teachers efficiency in the retention of the children. This would include such aspects as teachers qualification, training, attitude towards students especially tribal ones etc.;
- to assess the role of medium of instruction, curricula, books etc. in retention and dropouts;
- to assess the infrastructure of the schools, teaching aids and learning materials as a cause of dropout to investigate the relationship of teachers and students and among the peer groups, school phobia and academic alienation of tribal students as a reason of dropout;
- To suggest various remedial measures to check dropouts and improve enrolment.
1.3.3 Hypotheses:

As the study is mainly explorative and empirical, some of the hypotheses have been formulated on the basis of the aims and objectives spelt out which need to be tested in the field situation

1. The Level and Magnitude of the Dropout:

- The rate of dropout is relatively higher among the ST students than those among the SC and OC students.
- The rate of dropout is higher in primary stage of education than at middle and secondary stage.
- The number of dropouts of girls are higher than those of boys.
- The rate of dropouts is higher in the schools under the EDN Department than the schools under the Department of SSD.

2. Causes of Dropout:

- The rate of dropouts differ from one community to another depending upon their socio-economic and geo-cultural variables.
- Dropout is related to distance of the school.
- The roadside schools have less number of dropouts than the interior schools.
- The awareness and the motivation to educate the children is higher among the OC parents than the parents belonging to SC and ST category.
- The rate of dropout is higher among the children of poor economic group than those of higher ones.

School Environment:

- The rate of dropout is higher in the schools with poor infrastructure.
- The presence of the trained teachers and local teachers is not necessarily correlated with low rate of dropout than the outsiders male or untrained teachers.
- The medium of instruction in standard language without adequate teaching aids affects the learning capacity of ST students more than the SC and OC students.
- Non-availability of the books and school uniform is related with higher rate of dropouts.

1.3.4 Methods of Study:

Ever since the Polish functionalist B. Malinowski's in-depth study of Trobriand Islanders significantly relied on ethnographic method, it has been widely hailed as the most viable method. Where the study is required to be explorative, empirical, the anthropological method has been co-terminus with ethnographic method. Ethnographic method has been asserted as most suitable and advanced in social sciences. Many of the disciplines have developed a strong propensity to adopt this method for in-depth and micro level studies.

Although unknown to the field of education until recently, the method has been applied by Morris Opler and others in 1942. A number of scholars applied ethnographic method in anthropology and other social sciences including education.

Boas in 1928 on school education, Margaret Mead on cultural transmission in schools in 1928 and between 1930 and 1950 the number of anthropologists who studied in the field of education with the ethnographic method are Firth(1936), Malinowski (1936), Herskovits (1938), Golden Weiser (1939), Redfield(1943), Ruth Benedict (1943) etc.

The ethnographic method has proved its efficacy in comprehending the entire gamut of educational institutions, schooling system the classroom the clientele, parent and peer group, socio-cultural milieu etc. considered to be main ingredients of education.

In the present study the ethnographic method has been applied due to various considerations.
The study of dropouts, non-enrolment and other related problems in education requires an in-depth understanding of vast array of people, their social institutions, behaviour- overt, covert, ideal or manifest, opinion, attitude etc. which need a 'direct experience' for the success of the study.

The 'direct experience' to the world of accurate and undiluted qualitative information has been a pre-condition for any research enterprise in social sciences. Ethnographic methods offer such possibility which the investigator gets himself acculturated fully or partially to the socio-cultural reality of the universe of the study.

- Secondly, the information accumulated on the basis of direct observation is crosschecked and the inferences attained can be compared to avoid the subjective-ness or ideo-syncretism as may occur in the process of observation.

- Thirdly, the method has its own immunity to do away with unreliable and inaccurate information and misinterpretation in the context of reality of the field situation.

- Finally, as the present research demands an intensive and micro-analytical approach to the problem of education, the ethnographic method is useful in its holistic treatment of the universe.

1.3.4.1 Technique of Data Collection:

Apart from the study of literature the major part of information for arriving at conclusions are obtained from the field of study (i.e. the four blocks of the two districts). At the outset, a brief pilot study was conducted to draw the preliminary understanding on the nature and types of respondents, difficulties to be apprehended in course of data collection, availability of the information etc.

The interview guides and the questionnaires as the major tools of data collection were further restructured and modified in view of this brief field experience resulted due to pilot study.
Two specific methods were formulated in view of the nature of informations required for the study.

- **Participant observation**, interview with teachers and students, verification of attendance register, inspection notebooks, inspection of classroom were conducted in the schools to obtain both primary and qualitative data on the nature and magnitude of dropout and enrolment. This is accomplished by the extensive use of interview guides and questionnaires meant for the specific purpose. While dealing with the dropouts and the parents of the dropout the same interview method with guides and questionnaires was adopted.

- The opinion polls, informal talk and discussion among the respondents were also made to develop understanding on certain specific questions and issues such as the perception, feeling, attitude, and viewpoint of the respondents concerning the problem of education in general and dropout in particular. Sometimes a broad interview guide is used to monitor the discussion.

1.3.5 The Study Universe:

The universe of the study as per the discussion is limited to two of the districts of Orissa i.e. Koraput and Mayurbhanja. These two districts are considered to be tribal areas on the basis of the fact that all the blocks belonging to these districts come under Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP blocks). These are the two districts selected on the basis of the stratified random sampling taking educational backwardness as the parameter where the rate of education is abysmally low \(37.79\text{ SC} : 24.10\text{ ST}\) in Mayurbhanja and \(20.18\text{ SC} : 8.34\text{ ST}\) in Koraput (Census-1991).

Geographically the districts represent northern and southern region of the state (Mayurbhanja being the northern and Koraput at the southern tip of the state). Apart from educational backwardness, the district show certain remarkable similarities and differences in the socio-cultural life of the tribal communities which make them ideal districts to represent the tribal societies of Orissa.
The district Koraput and Mayurbhanja have been selected as universe of the study on the basis of the following considerations:

- According to the Constitution (the Scheduled Area Order No. 1977) Koraput and Mayurbhanja are the two of the three districts (the other being Sundargarh), which are declared entirely as scheduled area unlike the other districts with the tribal population which are partially declared.
- Both the districts present more than 50 percent of tribal population (Koraput: 50.67 and Mayurbhanja: 57.87).
- The districts have multi-ethnic composition comprising of more than 50 tribes out of 62 tribes of Orissa (33 in Koraput, 17 in Mayurbhanja, almost 80 percent of the total tribal groups of Orissa).
- Since both the districts declared Scheduled Areas they are covered by tribal sub-plan area for taking up developmental works. Thus, all the blocks of both the districts have been declared as TSP blocks.
- Both the districts exhibit similarity in their ecological setup with long mountain ranges and forest lands with corresponding economic activities of the tribal people as shifting cultivation (in declining stage) and settled cultivation, working as daily labourers and MFP collectors.
- In respect of enrolment of tribal children at the primary stage the co-efficient of two districts are equally lowest (Rout, 1985: 173). Both the districts as mentioned earlier are educationally backward and have high dropout rate.
- The districts show some differences in the area and population, with Mayurbhanja having a larger area and population and smaller SC population as compared to Koraput.
- The districts of Orissa with tribal concentration show differences in educational development. A homogenous representation can be made by taking district with more or less, lowest and highest rate of literacy and other educationally related factors. Thus, Koraput with 8.34 percent and Mayurbhanja with 24.10 percent as the lowest and highest literacy rate have been chosen to represent the educational level of the tribal population of Orissa.
- Similarly, in respect of female literacy rate the same criterion (the lowest and the highest) has been followed.
- Study of dropout has already been undertaken in two of the educationally backward districts of Orissa, Rath in Nawarangpur district and Phulbani (NISWAS) which are at the lower rung of the educational hierarchy.
The studies have also been made in and Keonjhar (Mishra, 1994, NCDS).

Thus, the study of dropout in Mayurbhanja and Koraput districts have been remained to be assessed.

1.3.5.1 Rationale of Selection of the Blocks:

Four blocks (two from each district) have been chosen taking such common characters as high SC and ST concentration, the low literacy rate, geographical situation and general economic backwardness.

The district Koraput has been divided into two sub-division, Jeypore and Koraput. This is the area categorized in the 2000 feet plateau of the Nawarangpur geographical sub-division. The sub-division shelters two of the thickly forested, hilly areas Baipariguda (3039 feet) and Boriguma (3005 feet) now under Jeypore sub-division. Koraput consists of below 2000 feet area.

Both the sub-divisions i.e. Jeypore and Koraput are comprised of five and nine TSP blocks respectively.

**KORAPUT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koraput</th>
<th>Jeypore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Southern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 2000 feet plateau</td>
<td>Above 2000 feet plateau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSP blocks:</td>
<td>TSP blocks:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Koraput</td>
<td>1. Jeypore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Semiliguda</td>
<td>2. Boriguma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Laxmipur</td>
<td>4. Kundra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nandapur</td>
<td>5. Kotpad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lamataput</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Narayanpatna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bandhugoson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Dasmantpur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The selected blocks are Laxmipur and Baipariguda of Koraput and Jeypore sub-divisions respectively. They represent an average of 64.85 percent ST population and 13.23 percent of SC population with 14 percent literacy rate in general, literacy rate of ST is much lower (5.18 percent).

Mayurbhanja:

The district Mayurbhanja consists of two natural divisions divided by Similipal mountain range of lesser elevation - the northern and southern division. The southern division consists of Baripada and Kaptipada sub-division and the northern zone comprises of Karanjia and Rairangpur sub-divisions formerly known as Panchpir and Bamanghaty sub-division respectively. All the four sub-divisions are composed of 26 TSP blocks in the following order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District: MAYURBHANJA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Region: Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-division: Kaptipada &amp; Baripada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSP blocks:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Udala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kaptipada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Khunta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gopabandhunagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rasgovindapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Muruda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sulipada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kuliana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sarasakana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Bangiriposi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Region: Southern       |
| Sub-division: Karanjia & Rairangpur |
| TSP blocks:            |
| 1. Baripada            |
| 2. Samakhunta          |
| 3. Badanahi            |
| 4. Betonati            |
| 5. Rasgovindapur       |
| 6. Muruda              |
| 7. Sulipada            |
| 8. Kuliana             |
| 9. Sarasakana          |
| 10. Bangiriposi        |

One block from each northern and southern division has been chosen for the purpose of the study. They are Kuliana of Baripada sub-division and Karanjia sub-division with the average 65.46 percent and 66.92 percent of ST population respectively with average literacy rate being 35.06 percent.
1.3.5.2 The Selection of the Schools:

In the block, the schools have been taken as the unit of the study. The unit is defined as the school or schools consisting of Standard I to X including LP, UP, UGME and High Schools irrespective of whether housed in one or more than one building, in cluster or in close proximity with each other, so that the passed out students have the maximum possibility to join the next higher grade in the school of the same unit.

- Thus, a unit is named after the High School which includes the affiliated schools with classes I to X.
- Unit can be a high school with Standard I to X or IV to X as per the demands of the situation.

1.3.5.3 The Identification of the Dropouts:

Broadly, the empirical 'method of difference' can be adopted to identify the dropout. A dropout can be located by

a) Going through the attendance register both at the beginning or the end of the year

b) By comparing the attendance of the students of a particular standard at the end of the academic year and attendance in the next grade at the beginning of the next academic year.

c) The dropout on account of failure of examination is at least technically ruled out because of the existence of the government order preventing the detention a student on account of failure of examination up to Standard VII. Thus, it becomes difficult to locate dropout between Standard I to V -- to Standard VII.

d) The student with prolonged absence including non-appearance in class examination could have been taken as a case of dropout. But due to the introduction of mid-day meal programme in primary schools and to show a large-scale students' presence in the class and to justify the mid-day meal expenditure the students are marked present in the attendance register.

In view of this, the physical verification in the class, interview with the teachers, the case history of the students etc. have been taken into consideration while identifying the dropout within a particular stage of schooling.
1.3.5.4 The School:

In view of the present study the school is treated as the unit of the study, it is necessary to define the school for adequate conceptual clarification. The schools on the basis of number of grade can be described as below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Refers to a class in a formal school.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower Primary school</td>
<td>The school where primary education is imparted from Standard I to III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Primary school</td>
<td>The school where primary education is imparted from Standard IV to V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>The school where primary education is imparted from Standard I to V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E. school</td>
<td>The school which consists of Standard VI to VII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>The school with classes VIII to X.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At present the lower and upper primary sections in a school have been merged into one as primary school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UGME School</th>
<th>Upgraded M.E. School refers to the school to the Standard I to VII.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded High School</td>
<td>The high school which have been upgraded from M.E. school with Standard I to X, IV to X or VI to X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashram School</td>
<td>M.E. School managed by SSD Department with classes VI to VII exclusively for Boys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanyashram</td>
<td>Middle school exclusively for girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sevashram</td>
<td>Managed by SSD Department with Classes I to V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Managed by SSD Department for girls and for boys separately with Classes I to X, IV to X and VI to X.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- For the purpose of the study of dropout on a comparative basis two sets of units are selected from among the school run by Department of Education (EDN) and the schools managed by SC and ST Development Department (SSD).
- The privately run high schools are not taken for the purpose of the study.
The units belonging to the Department of SSD and Education in each district on 50:50 basis as far as possible taking into consideration the availability, location and block-wise distribution.

Since the study demands the time series information on enrolment, at least for 10 consecutive years (1991-92 to 2000-01), the schools in unit are selected with specific year of establishment i.e. the primary schools not less than 10 years, M.E. Schools of five years and high schools (8th, 9th and 10th) not less than 03 years are selected for the purpose of the study.

As per the requirements two units from each category from each block amounting to a total number of 16 units were to be selected. But due to the limited number of SSD Department managed schools and their uneven distribution 19 units were included in the sample to give justice for adequate representation.

Unlike co-education schools under Education Department where enrolment of girls are adequate, the SSD Department has separate high schools for boys and girls. In order to obtain the proportionate sample of girls from SC and ST communities the girls schools belonging to SSD Department were to be included. However, due to the total absence of girls high schools in the sample blocks except Kuliana block of Mayurbhanja one girl school from neighbouring block of each sample block (which are similar in every respect) are selected obviously for the purpose of comparison.

Another reason for this arrangement is due to the fact that there are only few blocks in both the districts where both the boys and girls schools are distributed. But these blocks are found to be unsuitable in terms of their population, ethnic (SC, ST) distribution, literacy rate and geographical location to be considered to represent as sample blocks.

Thus, taking all these conditions for a fair representation of two categories of schools, the total number of 19 units are represented by EDN and SSD Department in the ratio of 8:8.
Similarly, district-wise Koraput and Mayurbhanja are represented in the ratio of 10 : 9 units with 4 : 6 and 4 : 5 for EDN and SSD Department.

The following table presents the list of sample units.

### Tab 1.6
List of Sample Schools and Units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>TSP blocks</th>
<th>Department of Education</th>
<th>School Name</th>
<th>SSD Department</th>
<th>School Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koraput</td>
<td>Laxmipur</td>
<td>Unit - I</td>
<td>Kakirguma High School</td>
<td>Unit - III</td>
<td>Burza Boys High School, Burza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ex-Board Primary School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kakirguma M.E. School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unit - II</td>
<td>Ex-Board Primary School, Laxmipur</td>
<td>Unit - IV</td>
<td>Champi Boys High School, Champi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Govt. M.E. School, Laxmipur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sanganna High School, Laxmipur</td>
<td>Unit - V</td>
<td>Panchada Boys High School, Panchada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baipariguda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unit - VI</td>
<td>Podagada Girls High School, Podagada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unit - VII</td>
<td>Ex-Board Upper Primary School, Baipariguda</td>
<td>Unit - IX</td>
<td>Gupteswar Boys High School, Kandulibeda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Govt. M.E. School, Baipariguda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baipariguda High School, Baipariguda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unit - VIII</td>
<td>Primary School, Kakalpada</td>
<td>Unit - X</td>
<td>Haradaput Girls High School, Haradaput (under Jeypore block)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.E. School, Kakalpada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kakalpada High School, Kakalpada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayurbhanja</td>
<td>Kuliana</td>
<td>Unit - XI</td>
<td>Primary School, Baiganabadia</td>
<td>Unit - XIII</td>
<td>Chandra Boys High School, Chandua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.E. School, Baiganabadia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baiganabadia High School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unit - XII</td>
<td>Primary School, Kuliana</td>
<td>Unit - XIV</td>
<td>Kujidi Girls High School, Kujidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.E. School, Kuliana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jankial High School, Kuliana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanjia</td>
<td>Tato</td>
<td>Unit - XV</td>
<td>Primary School, Badagaon</td>
<td>Unit - XVII</td>
<td>Halibadi Boys High School, Halibadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.E. School, Badagaon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Badagaon High School, Badagaon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unit - XVI</td>
<td>Primary School, Tato</td>
<td>Unit - XVIII</td>
<td>Kendumundi Boys High School, Kendumundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.E. School, Tato</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tato High School, Tato</td>
<td>Unit - XIX</td>
<td>Thakumunda Girls High School, Thakumunda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.3.5.5 Selection of Informants:

After scrutinizing the official records at least 15 dropouts and 10 regular students representing SC, ST and OC communities from each units are randomly selected as sample informants.

That apart at least five numbers of parents and teachers of the concerned informants are interviewed from each unit so as to elicit reasons for causes and consequences of discontinuing the study. During the selection of informants both community, stages of education and category of schools are duly considered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Type of Informants</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>OC</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>No. of units</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dropout</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Regular students</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>