CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The increase in the per capita income is not a true index of development. The definition of development has been widened beyond the narrow economic concepts. It is measured in terms of an increase in the \textit{physical} quality of \textit{Life} of the people, such as infant mortality, life expectancy at the age of one, and literacy rate. Education is not only an indicator by itself, but also influences the other indicators.

\textit{The destiny of India is now being shaped in her class rooms} is a popular slogan. It is observed that education determines the level of prosperity, welfare, and security of the people. The National Education Commission, headed by Kothari \textbf{categorically} stated that quality and number of people coming out of the schools and colleges would decide the success of efforts in national reconstruction and the ultimate objective of raising the standard of living of the people (Government of India; 1966:3).

Education is viewed as the \textbf{basic} \textit{constituent} of the social input which is indispensable for building up the capability of an individual and the community to bring about improvement in other areas of \textit{life}. Education is one
of the indices of modernization. It is viewed as the critical factor in bringing about social and economic development. Planners in India like VKRV Rao (1966) earnestly pleaded for considering education as an investment. Dube (1968) stated that education would help in socialization of the child, development of human personality, social mobility, occupational change, and the rise of professions. He asserted that all inputs going to education contributed directly or indirectly to human development. Investment in education has to be viewed as an investment in man - an investment that alters the quality of life, on one hand, and provides basic knowledge for economic growth and technological modernization, on the other. A World Bank survey report envisaged that education has a major role in overcoming poverty, increasing income, improving health and nutrition and reducing family size. Commenting on girls' education, in particular, the Report stated: "educating girls may be one of the best investments a country can make in future economic growth and welfare, even if girls never enter the labour force. Most of the girls become mothers, and their influence, much more than the fathers' on their children is crucial. It has favourable efforts on the next generation's health, fertility and education" (1980: 38).

Having recognised the all pervasive influence of education, our country ever since it embarked on planning for development has been emphasising on rapid educational
development. Universal primary education is the constitutional commitment of our government. Formal education – the institutionalised, graded and hierarchically structured education system among primary, secondary and tertiary levels was adopted as the most suitable mode of achieving educational development. Non-formal education, organised and systematic learning outside the formal system, was thought as supplement to this, but not as an alternative or a short cut to the rapid education of the population. In tune with the resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations (1972), the Central and State Governments are making best efforts to extend facilities for education to all sections of the people.

As the elementary education lays the foundation for making one eligible for education at higher levels, it has been assigned a high priority in our country by providing for free and compulsory education in the constitution under the Directive Principles of State policy. This has been further reinforced and reemphasized through Minimum Needs Programme and new 20 point programme.

Inspite of the efforts of the Government, the educational attainments of the masses of the country have not improved to any one's satisfaction. The differences with regard to educational levels of different sections of the population have not narrowed down. The attainments of
Scheduled Tribes (S.T) consisting of 212 groups, and the Scheduled Castes (S.C), who constitute about 7.85% and 15.4% of the total population of the country, in the field of education, particularly remained very low. Realising that these less privileged sections of the country need immediate attention, the Government besides continuing with the special provisions under the Articles 23, 46, 275, 330 etc, of the Indian constitution has also allocated more funds for their educational development. The programme-wise break up of the expenditure shows that more than one-half of the budget allocation made for the tribal development was spent on schemes related to educational development.

However, the response to formal educational programmes by these poorer sections did not improve with more allocation of budget. The situation remained as worse as it was, by and large, in the case of tribal population. They did not respond to formal education with at least half the enthusiasm with which it has been introduced. There was no large scale improvement in the enrolment of tribal boys and girls in schools. On the other hand, the stagnation and drop-out figures were as alarming as they were before.

In view of the above mentioned facts, a number of scholars and planners recognized the need for studies on formal education among the different castes and tribes. It was pointed out that the studies should focus on 'why certain sections of population remain educationally
backward? The educational backwardness was to be seen in terms of (1) Why do a few, children attend the school and take up formal education, (2) Why a majority of those attending school discontinue during the primary school education or immediately after it? and (3) What are the reasons for the poor performance put up by those children in their studies?

The earlier studies have focussed on a variety of sociological factors that are responsible for the poor response to formal education. These studies, by and large, followed the western models. The 'variables' that were found to influence the education of the children of certain ethnic groups, were tested in the Indian context. Anthropologists, who were particularly interested to know the reasons for poor response to formal education from the tribals similarly tried to follow other social scientists in their methodology and attempted to find correlations between some socio-economic and cultural factors and the educational attainment. Some of them, however, adopted qualitative methodology and presented case studies to show how some specific cultural features of the tribals are hindering the spread of formal education among them. An attempt has been made below to present a comprehensive review of the studies, made outside India and also at home, showing how certain socio-cultural factors have a bearing on educational attainments. Following this, a review of the studies on formal education among different tribal
groups is presented. After this exercise, some observations on the studies on formal education among the tribals in India were listed out. Basing on those observations, it has been attempted to specify the approach adopted for the present study among the the Savara of Seethampeta Block, Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh.

The system of compulsory schooling for children in some countries did not give rise to the problems of enrolment, like in India. Studies in these countries mostly focussed upon absenteeism and poor performance of certain sections of the population. It was also assumed that absenteeism leads to poor educational attainment and drop outs are a consequence of poor performance.

The quantitative studies undertaken to identify different socio-cultural factors related to educational attainment varied in their methodology and scope. While some studies focussed on aspects such as the teacher or home environment, others focussed on aspects related to school. While some studies have taken to macro-approach with particular regions as units of analysis, others have taken the individual students as units of analysis. Most of the studies, however, used rigorous statistical methods, their samples being very large, varying between 1000 - 10,000 students or 50 - 500 schools, to show correlations between the variables studied.

With regard to absenteeism, studies in England
pointed out that girls were absenting more often than boys. Citizens Committee on children (1950), in the same country identified that children of the guardians who experienced separation from mothers, remain absent more frequently than others. Gill (1977) in his study showed that absenteeism is evident in the first and last school years and that the position of the person in the family also affects absenteeism.

The financial constraints have been highlighted in many of the studies. For example, UNESCO reports suggest that poor economic status of the family is closely related to child labour and this is the major cause for absenteeism in the schools in a number of countries. A study by Gill (1977) in England indicates similarly that persons pupil from lower socio-economic groups tend toward higher rates of absenteeism. Karpino's (1943) study in U S too, pointed out a marked relationship between the extent of absenteeism and family income. He found this relationship to be especially high for students of 16-17 years of age group. It is interesting to note that the financial constraints, health and distance from the school to residence were found to be important reasons for students' absenteeism in 1930's. However, they were found to be less important in 1960's.

Studies such as by Barber (1957), and many others in the later years revealed that absenteeism is more because of lack of parental interest and parental encouragement,
indifferent attitude towards education etc. These studies also correlated family aspirations for social mobility with absenteeism of children to school.

Factors related to the school and the teacher were also found to have an influence on student's absenteeism. But, Ruetter (1979) attributes absenteeism to the personal and home related factors. In a study in 1955, Margeret compared poor, average and superior high school attenders. Her findings were: Superior attenders come mostly from middle class houses, are better satisfied with schools. They had better attendance histories and were ranked high by their teachers on such traits as school interest, industry and responsibility and were more active in extra-curricular activities. Fornwalt (1956) while citing the psychological reason that the truants had difficulty in admitting their own short comings, also pointed out the teacher's negative attitude towards truants.

A wide variety of factors have been related to the question of performance. The factors range from the unequal distribution of educational facilities, to self fulfilling prophecy of the students to the most frequent occurrence of premature births among the lower class people.

The "educational ecology' study by Tylar and Ayres (1969) showed an 'educational split' between northern England and southern England. They compared the two regions with respect to educational attainments and some non-educational factors and concluded that certain non-
educational factors are related to educational attainment. In their study, they found: (1) the North had higher rates of adult mortality, sickness and injury and therefore, more one parent families with chronic sick parents; (2) its houses were older, were crowded, more often lacking basic amenities. (3) The Southern regions had higher family incomes than the Northern region. (4) The standard of adult education also varied. One showed 37 mothers in every 1000 to have received education upto sixth form, but the other had 136 for every 1000 mothers who had completed the sixth form. (5) The North had a higher proportion of the semi and unskilled, and a lower proportion of professional and marginal workers than the South. It had a higher rate of unemployment. (6) The wealth of the local authority measured in terms of income per child, has also been compared. The figures indicated the poverty of the North as compared to the South.

While comparing the educational outcome, it has been shown that in the North, a smaller percentage than the national average stayed at school beyond the minimum age, while in the South, the percentage was higher. The percentage of school leavers with two or more 'O' levels in the North was just short of the national average while that in the South, it was above.

Majority of the studies with individual students as units of analysis, on the other hand, showed the socio-
economic status of the students' family to be an important factor influencing the performance. Havighurst and Jenke (1945), Blou and Duncan (1967), Stojavk (1966) and many others have pointed out this factor. Mc Pherson's study (1977) however, shows that the educational attainment of the boys is less dependent on family socio-economic status than girls.

Floud, Halsey et al (1956), and others, however, observed in their studies that family size, parental interest, parental aspirations, higher ordinal position etc. were essential factors than any others in the educational attainment of children. In many studies, size of the family, filial position in the family, parental education, mother's aspiration etc. have also been individually correlated. Stojavk (1966), for example found a correlation between parental education and the son's educational performance. He observes that although the financial resources to attend post secondary schools are available to all students, those from families of higher social and economic status tend to have higher educational goals and better grades. Students whose parents have a high school diploma tend to strive for the same or higher levels of achievement and deem lower levels of achievement as a sign of failure. Khal (1965) in a study while attempting to explain the differences between educational aspirations of American boys, similarly pins down to one factor: 'parental pressure'. According to him, those boys
whose parents believed in 'getting ahead' and who internalised their concern tended to be sufficiently motivated to overcome the obstacles to educational progress that they met at the school. Other boys whose parents accepted the scheme of things and 'their own place in it' tended not to encourage a future orientation in their children and allowed their sons to 'do as they liked'. It was also observed that several of the 'getting ahead' parents were conscious of their own failures at school and were anxious to have their sons take a serious attitude to their school work and their future education.

Featherman and Hauser (1978) in their study observed that father's education rather than father's occupation has a greater influence on the sons' educational attainment. Se Well (1975) similarly concluded from his study that the "influence of father's education on son's education has maintained its position as the most important of parental background influences". A study by Craft (1979) indicated that the mother's aspiration than that of the fathers' influence childrens' educational attainment.

Some studies made an index of student's social environment and observed its influence on the performance. For example, Bhatnaagar (1955) had prepared index for such home related factors as :size of the family, children living with both parents/mother only; parental occupation; reading habits, and interest in schools. Dave (1963), Wolf (1963), Douglas (1964) and Vernon (1965) used similar
variables which were termed as "environment process variables" and observed child's performance vis-a-vis these variables. The variables which they selected were:

Achievement press; language models; academic guidance; activeness in the family; intellectual interests at home; and work habits emphasized in the home.

Fraser (1959) on the other hand, in her study in Scotland took slightly different set of variables as environment variables and found significant correlation for those variables with achievement. She selected: parents education; reading habits of parents and children; income; occupation of the father; family size; living space; parental attitudes to the education and future employment; abnormal home background; and a general impression of the home background, as environment variables.

Blou and Duncan (1967), Blake (1981) and others observed lower performance by the students for whom the size of the sibship is big among the black families. On the other hand, Jenks and Brown (1977) found that the presence of a brother raised males' educational attainment by .28 years. However, they did not find that having a brother raised female's educational attainment. Inspite of this finding, the inter sibling effects on educational attainment were denied for quite some time. Jenks et al (1979) argued that the older brothers act as role models
for younger brothers, the importance of father as role model would be diminished. Olneck's study (1977) correlating the age differences of brothers with differences in their educational attainment suggested that brothers born close together were more alike in their attainment. However, they also thought this similarity in educational attainment to be a consequence of similarities in environment, than as sibling influences. But, Benin and Johnson (1984) in their study observed this relationship to be consistent with role modeling theory, as these sibs would have more opportunity to interact with one another. Benin and Jhonson's study also indicated that educational attainments were similar, more in the case of older brother - younger brother pairs and less for the older sister- younger brother pair.

In a study by Masser and Distler (1977) it was observed that in the case of single parent families, children living with fathers' performed well than children living with mothers.

School effects on child's performance is one topic which has kept sociologists of education busy for a long time. Contradictory findings presented with regard to this aspect by different scholars has generated a lot of debate in this sub-discipline. Murphy in his recent review pointed out the misuse of statistics in this regard and concluded that "it is unlikely that any one, except the statisticain, will find the differences between two groups
Coleman found that variation in school funding and facilities accounted for relatively little variation in pupil achievement. According to him, as far as "separate but equal schools were concerned, the "average minority pupil scores distinctly lower at every level than the average white pupil".\textit{(1966:21)} For Coleman, differences in school factors account for only about 10-20 per cent of the total variation.

Jenks was more critical about the "school effectiveness". He could find no correlation between what a high school spends and its impact on students attainment. He has also remarked that "qualitative differences between high schools seem to explain about 2\% of the variation in students educational attainment\textit{.(1973:159)}"

The British researchers like Reynolds \textit{(1976)}, Ruetter et al \textit{(1979)} found contradictory evidence, to the American researchers. Reynolds noted that schools which attempted to maintain strict and extensive control over all aspects of their pupils (described by the author as `\textit{refusing a truce}') was associated with higher levels of truancy and lower levels of going on to further education, than schools willing to negotiate with their pupils and less control over its pupils. Ruetter \textit{(1979)} similarly found that his well matched secondary schools varied markedly with respect to their peoples behaviour, attendance, examination success
and delinquency.

Foreman's study covering 10,203 Negro students concluded that the performance of these children varied according to the schools they attended. The school varied according to size, racial composition of the students and teachers. Kampin (1954) similarly found that the school size, conditions of school building which were old but allowed freedom of movement for children, was found to be positively correlated to performance. The study also indicated better performance among the children attending schools headed by female teachers. Knox (1956) opined that good buildings and quality of amenities may affect learning, but it may do so as a result of the fact that they attract good teachers, who it may be assumed better motivated to work.

That the teaching makes a difference in performance of the students is initially proved by showing that the length of the school year or the number of required courses correlate the achievement. Such a study was made by Herbert and others (1974).

Allen (1974) and others suggested that one of the main reasons for the lower level of achievement by the Blacks and other lower class minorities was the negative attitude and lower expectation of achievement for these groups by their teachers. It has been argued by Brophy and
Goode (1974) that teachers from early in the school year had differential expectations regarding the achievement potential of their people. On the basis of these expectations, they treat students differentially and then these people reciprocally respond to their teacher treatment in ways that reinforce the teachers' expectations, and over time will gradually approximate the expectations more or less closely. Wewell and Hansen (1975) too opined that the parents' and teachers' expectations for their sons and students' affect the students own expectations and this will influence their performance.

With regard to teacher expectations and attitudes, it has been observed by Rich (1960) that poorly educated teachers were "less sympathetic" and had "more negative attitude" towards the children of lower classes.

Two important concepts have been developed while explaining the individuals' characteristics to his performance. It was observed by Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) that the 'scholastic self concept' influences the student's aspirations with regard to education, which finally influences his real attainment. 'Scholastic self concept' is a sense formed when the students compare their performance to the performance distribution of the school or class room.

Relating to scholastic self concept, Davis (1976)
coined another concept "frog pond effect". He says, "in the comparative process (scholastic self concept), the less favourable the outcome of the relative evaluation of each student, (both by himself or herself and by others) the lower his or her level of aspirations". This negative relationship between the intellectual context of the school and aspirations has been labelled as 'frog pond effect'.

As the above review shows, the research studies with quantitative methodology tended to highlight one set of factors, either relating to school, home or teacher, rather than showing interaction mechanisms of such factors. The scholars who attempted the review of studies in the field of sociology of education made explicit remarks with regard to limited usefulness of such works (Byrne and Williamson; 1979). In fact, on some occasions, the authors of the studies themselves recognized the limitations of such studies. For example, Benin and Jhonson stated: "additional research is needed to address...(sic). some of the interacting mechanisms in the causal process suggested here" (Benin and Jhonson, 1984:19). Maurice Craft (1979) points out the limited usefulness of these kinds of studies and also observes that sub-cultural studies of educability dealing with educational aspirations, attitudes and value system are still very few. Stephen Ball (1986), in a recent book has stated: "to be sure, much of the sociology of education done in Britain upto the mid sixties was only weakly
informed by theory, the emphasis was on empirical description through the accumulation of statistical data". (1986:14)

Byrne and Williamson (1979) made an attempt to present the interacting mechanisms of some of the factors which were identified as related to the educational attainments in the macro level studies using quantitative methodology.

The early studies on educational attainment indicated a strong relationship between social class and educational attainment. However, works of Douglas (1964) and others showed how certain socio-cultural factors are related to social class. Hence, it was thought social class is related to educational attainment only through its influence of certain familial socio-cultural intermediate variables.

Social class positive familial socio-cultural intermediate variables positive attainment.

However, in the latter studies, social class determination of certain familial socio-cultural variables has been negatived. Consequent to this finding the model was expressed as following:

Familial socio-cultural variables positive attainment

Tylor and Ayers with their educational ecology
studies, departed from this concern for socio-cultural factors. On the other hand, they found material environment as a major determinant of attainment. Also, they did not observe if there is any relationship between social class and this material environment. Their (implicit) model would run as:

Material environment positive Attainment

Eggleston introduced the notion of provision of educational resources as one of the determinants of attainment, while stressing the influence of high socio-economic class too. Though Eggleston labelled the variables as administrative variables, his concern was with such factors as `age of the school building'. Byrne and Williamson, hence contend that this model involves an element of `resource' determination. They expressed his model as:

1. Pattern of provision positive attainment
   Resources positive

2. High socio-economic class positive attainment

Byrne and Williamson differ from the above models. They find social class relationship with the educational attainment only through the interrelationship between high social class and availability of resources on one hand, and the elite oriented policy (which will lead to high
levels of attainment, if attainment is defined in elitist terms), on the other hand. According to them, low socio-economic status is likely to be related to the anti-elitist policy and it will be negatively correlated to attainment, if we define attainment in `elitist terms'. But, the same is likely to be positively related to alternative, non-elitist, definition of attainment. In summary, their finding is: "those authorities with a high proportion in low social class resident within their area both devote a higher proportion of their income to education, than do authorities with higher social class constituencies, and spend their money on primary education rather than on secondary education, the reverse being true of the `high social' class authorities".

Primary expenditure

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Resources

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High social class Secondary expenditure

Model generated by Byrne and Williamson may guide some macro-approach studies, as it links social class composition of an area to the policy formulation of the authorities that in turn effect the educational attainment
of different groups of population in that particular area. The model, however, simplified the problem of showing the actual relation between the educational attainment of pupil to some school related aspects like the per capita expenditure on each student, excluding others. Moreover, the school effects (particularly with regard to relationship between what a school spends and the performance of its students) on children’s performance has not been completely approved in some studies. The model, in any case cannot be applied in the Indian context, as the local authorities are not responsible for policy formulation, but the State.

**Anthropological studies on formal education;**

Anthropologists involvement in the studies of formal education using qualitative methodology would enhance the understanding of the processes involved in the acceptance of education through formal institutions, such as schools. However, anthropologists have, by and large, failed to pay attention to such indepth studies on formal education. The studies on 'education' by anthropologists dealt more with the informal learning during the enculturation process. In view of the greater emphasis placed on the realm of informal learning, the studies on cultural transmission have become the focus of Anthropological studies (Fredereck and Tindall, 1973). The Encyclopedia of Educational Research, pointed out the bias in the studies on education
by anthropologists by saying that anthropology of education, means, informal learning, by and large, with family and kin group support (Mitzel: 1982). The studies that distinguished between education and socialization, too did not refer to formal education. Socialization, for them meant activities, "that are devoted to the inculcation and elicitation of basic motivational and cognitive patterns through on going and spontaneous interaction with parents, siblings, kinsmen and other members of the community" (Cohen, 1971: 22). Education is the inculcation of standardised and stereotyped knowledge skills, values and etiquette by means of standardised and stereotyped procedures. The native mechanisms of `education' such as repetitive recitation of lore, myth, and etiquette by grand parents to grand children around fires in crude shelters and working of the native institutional complexes like dormitories, were studied, rather than the formal educational system.

The study of formal education using qualitative approach, thus, can be said to be a recent phenomena. Studies on formal education, initially again focussed more on the results of such education, but not the process (Spindler, 1963). Only on a few occasions the descriptive analytical approach, using case study method was adopted in the study of educational process. The studies did not build up broad theoretical paradigms, but explained the phenomena using the broad concept of culture. Scholars who reviewed
the works in educational anthropology noted that "in this field of specialization, there is an abundance of uncrystallized thinking and unrefined terminology (Theodore, 1963). In this context, Spindler (1963) also noted that, anthropologists can make substantial contribution to education by building up a body of case materials using technique of observation in different educational situations.

In the qualitative approaches to the study of formal educational process, the child rearing process became a central concern. The importance may be seen in the statement by Mead: "Every intellectual capacity that is later tested by achievement, test, or observation is intimately linked with early childhood experience, with the level of education of parent and nurse, with the structure and furnishing of the home, with the contexts with which the members of the family and the neighbourhood are preoccupied and with availability of the apparatus and technology on which abstract thought is dependent" (1971: 74). The studies emphasizing on child rearing practices for understanding of formal education in the west, pointed out that the values, attitudes etc. differ to a climate of experience that varies according to its family's social class. It is argued that the socialisation experiences of working class children and middle class children are distinct and the experiences of middle class children are likely to be better preparation for school
Musgrove (1966), for example, summarized his study as following:

"The 'good home' is an aid to success in our school system. It is small; the parents are ambitious for their children; the father is at least a skilled manual worker; and if it is a working class home, the mother has preferably 'married down'. The father is somewhat ineffectual, perhaps, rather feckless, but one of the both parents are demanding, even ruthless in their expectations of achievement. Relationships in the home are emotionally bleak. The family is unstable and has moved often; the mother goes to work. The children grow up to be rather withdrawn and solitary, conscientious and given to self blame. They are 'good grammar school material'.

Margaret Mead observed the need to understand the culture of the community, particularly the socialization process to explain the educational experiences of children of that community. Mead had suggested as how the emphasis placed on either reward or punishment in a society in the socialisation of children determined the education of the children. In the case of societies with repressive socialisation, the children's school performance is badly affected for they would always act out fear of being wrong. On the other hand, societies with participatory socialisation, the children actively seek rewards for being
Mead explains that such consequences as the above, are very important in the explanation of children's educational experiences (1971: 68).

Similarly, Mead suggests that the culture of a community would possess certain resources that make education of children easy and interesting. Referring to the acceptance of formal learning, she observed: "in primitive homes into which the idea of script will penetrate with conquest and community development programmes, are already a series of underlying expectancies that will partly shape the ways in which reading and writing will be learned. One of these expectancies will be the amount of curiosity that is cultivated within the particular socio-cultural setting. If there is a strong interest in the strange and the unknown, then the groundwork is laid for looking at the pictures and later reading books about that which is not known" (1971: 70).

The study of early childhood experiences of children in holistic perspective to understand the success or failure of them in modern education system was emphasised by Mead while commenting on the abstract and concrete thinking being so heavily emphasised today. She stated: "the child who is cared for in infancy and early childhood by individuals of a lower level of education than the child will later be expected to reach, faces a different educational situation than one who is reared from infancy
by parents who represent the same level of education to which the child is expected to aspire"(1971: 74-75). She has further hinted: "on the cultural level it is possible to work out in some detail the consequences for later learning of living in houses constructed without benefit of any precise measurement, without clocks or calendars, or even toys that embody some of the principles on which the education is postulated .... (sic) the child who comes from housing built on the basis of explicit geometrical knowledge makes a different order of discovery of geometry than the child who comes from a circular thatched dwelling, or from a crazy, sagging hut made of broken pieces of tin" (1971: 76).

Jules Henry made a study (1971) based on life histories of two Negro children. He observed that the learning experiences of these two at school and at home. He showed how a particular boy, named Mr. Davids' experiences in the school are bad? For that, Mr. David's home environment is first characterised: "He comes from a lower social class family; father and mother are separated and neither of them lives in the apartment; His household is held together by his illiterate 59 years old great grand mother. The only adult male member, his uncle, is 'violent'. The communication among the members of the household is limited. The adults' communication with the children is limited to commands and admonitions. The
organization of the activities are as disorganised as the furniture in the house"(1971: 276-277).

After having characterised the home experiences, the author explained as to why the boy is unsuccessful in the school. He is unsuccessful because he is an outfit in the school culture: "He acts up in a school which insists on strict order and discipline; teacher devalues David since she comes from a middle class; the principal and teachers believe that the only thing that makes an impression on kids is a strong arm; the school district is under pressure to 'make showing' and it's kids like David who give them a black eye'; teacher promotion is related to achievement records of her children"(1971: 285).

The author felt that since the student has his own emotional problems that do not allow him to do well in the class, he is often inattentive etc. Then he observed, "under the conditions given above (school culture) the teacher is prone to express her irritation with children by violence. This makes the student's life as harsh as his environment at home. The result is an accumulation of anxieties beyond a point where school learning is possible"(1971: 285).

A study by Clark (1985) similarly, emphasized the socialisation process. On the basis of life histories of 10 children, it was pointed out that black child succeeds because his or her family acquaints him or her with social survival skills or knowledge needed to adjust to school and
to academic work in the classroom; and he or she fails if the family does not transmit the appropriate cognitive competences.

Social survival skills which were studied by Clark include, ability to accept and follow rules, to maintain self control, to involve in construction of self directed activities, to enjoy orderly social interaction, and carry through and complete tasks.

Newson, Newson and Barnes (1977) similarly conducted a longitudinal study interviewing 700 mothers at regular intervals. Their study showed social class differences with regard to patterns of general cultural interests and also to what they called, 'home-school concordance' (whether child takes things to school to show to the teacher, whether parents help with school work, and whether the child follows up school work with parents etc. Their study shows that the children of the unskilled manual groups, in contrast to the children of professional groups, share less restricted and narrower cultural interests. Further their parents show little involvement in the discussion of school inspired topics and often submit their ignorance to the children's doubts.

Lawerence's (1984) recent study too, dealt with the question of socialisation and schooling. Using 'exchange theory' he explained that Blacks drop-out early from the school since they tend to view US society as a closed
system within which they will be denied participation, regardless of their educational tenure. Factors that appear to influence the development of this attitude, according to him, include; perceived lack of opportunity in the occupational world beyond school; and discrimination and rejection experienced in schools and the treatment received from teachers and staff.

Some of the ethnographic studies have taken a 'cultural differences' approach to explain the ethnic school failure, and sought explanations focussing attention to specific areas such as language.

Bernstein had studied for instance the failure of working class child from a different perspective. One of the main ingredients of culture, the language models used, was systematically studied by him. According to him, 'the linguistic performance' and the 'forms of talk' or 'speech codes' as he calls them, within the family vary according to some socio-cultural features which different groups share. These speech codes determine the attitude to learning, the aspiration, motivation and the forms of social control. He observes that the 'restricted code' orients the speaker to relatively context-bound speech and 'particularistic orders of meaning'. This type of speech he associates with working class children and also attributes that in this case, the structure of communication is closed and social control is through imperative mode ("Stop it'. Because I said so). The child
according to him, in this case may lack autonomy but attain a strong sense of social identity. The middle class children, on the other hand, use an 'elaborated code' which suits to the school environment and hence brings success to those children (1971: 182-189).

The interest in language patterns and speech styles adopted in schools grew to explain the ethnic failures (Philips; 1983). During the same time, ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkle too influenced the studies of educational anthropologists, to make ethnographies regarding how educational failure was being 'socially construed' in the everyday interactions between the teachers and students. These scholars focussed on the institutionalised communicative practices of school authorities. Such studies on Negroes pointed out that the 'black youth were given less counselling, attention in class rooms and the way to answer standaradized tests (Foley; 1991). The ethnomethodologists too, in a sense emphasized cultural difference approach to explain the academic failure of ethnic minorities in west.

The recent interest in the detailed study of communication styles adopted by different actors in a particular settling revealed how the variability in academic performance may result when the teachers and students come from different cultural back grounds. Erickson (1987) describes, a situation in which teachers
and students misunderstood the verbal and non-verbal communication styles of one another. Studies by Heath (1983), Hymes (1974) similarly pointed out that conceptions of appropriate classroom behaviour will differ depending upon the cultural background and socio-economic characteristics of individuals. What a student considers proper classroom conduct may be interpreted as being anything from withdrawal to disruption by the teachers.

To sum up, the smaller samples in the qualitative studies helped the scholars to explain why a particular trait, which stops/helps a child to attain education is present or absent. These studies though focussed on different aspects of culture arrived at more or less similar conclusions.

Bernstein's study as well as the studies by Jules Henry and Newson and Newson emphasized on the communication patterns in the households of those who fail to attain education. The `restricted code' in the forms of talk essentially means limited communication. Newson and Newson pointed out the same phenomena when they observed that parents show little inclination to learn and explain children's questions'. Similarly, Barenstein stresses on `imperative mode' in talks of form. The `violent' behaviour of adults in the case presented by Henry can be understood as an extreme case of such `imperative mode of communication'. The demanding nature of the parents and the ruthless expectations of the parents which Musgroove...
points out in his study result in the imperative mode of communication. Similarly, both Henry and Musgroove found a common feature that the relationships in the home are emotionally bleak.

**Cultural Resources, Learning Experiences and Schooling:**

The qualitative studies can be discussed under the conceptual framework provided by Bourdieu (1970). He employs two crucial concepts in his account of the role of schools in transforming social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next. They are "habitus" and "cultural capital".

The habitus, is essentially, "the culture of particular social group or class that provides the basis for the 'durable disposition' - the ways of seeing and making sense of world - of the child. The habitus is constituted afresh in each generation through the children's experience of socialization within their social group and in relation to the objective material conditions of their social world". He further observes that certain habituses constitute cultural capital in relation to the process of schooling while others do not. Bourdieu's attempt was to show that this cultural capital differs according to social class and is cause of the initial inequalities of children when faced with examination and tests and hence marginal achievement.
The linguistic models by Barnestein, the social survival skills by Clark, the inferences of Henry from the case study of home and school environment of Mr. David, the observations of Mead with regard to cultural resources that would be made available to children in a country/family can all be put under the broad category of "cultural capital". The availability or non-availability of such cultural capital' would determine the educability of the children. However, Henry's study suggests that the failure of the student is not just because of the absence of cultural capital, but because that problem is compounded at the school. Thus, he suggests the following model.

\[ 0 = f (E + S + P)T \]

Where 0 stands for the student's total educational experience, E for his experience at home, P for his peer group experience, and S for the influence of the school culture and T for time.

This model suggests that school success is a function of different elements. Negative role by any of these factors leads to school failure. But, possibility to overcome the negative influence by maximization of other factors is always there. Henry entered time factor (T) to suggest that the longer any process continues, the greater the effect it will have. This model by Henry takes a holistic view of the study of educational attainment, than others.
Formal Education in the Indian Context:

Following the lead given by the scholars abroad, many studies were conducted in India to know the social factors behind educability. The scholars associated with such studies, to mention a few, are Chitnis (1972, 1975), Desai (1978), Goswami (1969), Madan, et.al (1972), Sabarwal (1975), Shah and Patel (1977), Sharma (1974), Aphole (1962), Gorwaney (1974), Prakash Chandra (1975), and Shah (1975). Some of the variables which have been identified as influencing the educational attainments elsewhere, were picked up and their influence in the Indian context were tested. These studies among different caste groups, thus, pointed out certain statistical correlations between educational attainment, choice of subjects etc. with factors like sex, caste membership, income level of the family, occupation of the father, educational aspirations of the parents, family size etc. The scope of these studies being limited, no attempt has ever been made to build up conceptual models that include all aspects or variables that have been found to be influencing the response to formal education.

Studies on tribal education:

There are only few major works on response to formal education among different tribal groups in India. Studies undertaken by Sen Gupta (1964) among Santhals by Srivastava (1969) among Saoras inhabiting the Ganjam
district of Orissa, by Naik (1969) among Bhils, and the recently conducted studies by Shah and Patel (1981) among different tribal groups in Gujarat and by Shyamal (1987) among the tribals of Rajasthan are result of projects sponsored by bodies like University Grants Commission, ICSSR, NCERT. The studies by Ratnaiah (1977) among the Gonds of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh and by Sita Toppo (1979) on tribals of Bihar were conducted for their doctoral degrees. In addition to the works mentioned above, the different commissions and committees appointed by the Government of India pointed out a variety of factors that are hindering the spread of formal education among tribals. Most of the major studies on formal education among tribals dealt with the quantitative techniques and did not go beyond drawing inferences based on comparison of statistical data relating to enrolment, absenteeism, stagnation and drop-out among children of different communities. On the other hand, many scholars who published short articles in different journals or read out papers in important seminars on tribal education listed out important and specific socio-cultural factors that are influencing the acceptance of formal education by different tribal communities. Their methodology is qualitative in nature.

It is attempted below to review different studies undertaken in India on formal education among different tribal groups and list out the factors believed to be
influencing its spread.

**Lack of educational infrastructure:**

Studies in different tribal areas by Kurup (1972), Madan (1952), Nag (1954), Sachidananda (1967, 1964), and also by the study team on Social Welfare of Backward Classes (1959) which enquired into the state of educational development among the tribals felt that facilities for education were lacking in tribal areas. Lack of facilities were thought to be the main obstacle for the spread of formal education.

During the successive Five Year Plan periods, the Government has increased allocation of budget to provide the *infrastructural* facilities for school education in tribal areas. But many scholars like Srivastva (1969), Lal (1972), and others writing about the reasons for educational backwardness recently, also identified the lack of *infrastructural* facilities as the main factor. On the other hand, some scholars who worked among tribal communities doubted the figures provided by Government to indicate the efforts taken to improve the educational attainments of tribals. Sinha (1981), for example observed: "The statistics do not quite convey the experiences of a person who efforts to visit one of the schools, particularly in the rural areas. He might end up with a non-existent school or a broken uneven raised platform, which once was probably a primary school. He
might run into a tilted roof supported by a few bamboo poles where a buffalo might be relaxing comfortably while the students of the school are taking private tuition in a shadow school being run at an affluent villager's place. With a little bit of luck the visitor might even locate a piece of wood hanging by a bamboo pole which might be the only black board around. The potential guardians grumble helplessly; but the outfit suits the students who do not have to confine themselves within the school as well as the teachers who can without any feelings of guilt mind their private tuition or household affairs at the same time....

"The teachers do come to the school if the head masters happen to be a strong person. Of course, their punctuality is a matter of their convenience and their resourcefulness and status in the locality. They also have the job of running to the government officials without whom they might be put to all kinds of harassment. How a student in any of these schools experiences his learning process is anybody's guess. A dilapidated building, a three legged chair, an indifferent teacher without a black board or chalks, over crowded class rooms without proper sitting facilities are the realities of atleast half of our middle and primary schools" (1981:15-16).

The description of school in rural society as presented may not be quite true for a tribal school. The question of over crowded class rooms and the undertaking of
tuitions by teachers may not be particularly true in case of schools in tribal hamlets.

**Poverty of the tribals:**

Some studies among tribal communities found hard to believe that lack of educational development among tribes is largely due to lack of **infrastructural** facilities. Ishwarlal (1971), for instance, thought: "The complaint that tribal children do not attend schools because there was no school does not hold true where there is a school in a village and still some school going children do not attend schools. It is necessary to explain this problem outside education. There are several studies on who go to school but the interest on those who do not go to school is of recent origin"

The poverty of the tribal parents received a special attention when search for other factors began. Tribal economy was discussed in reference to education by some scholars (Das **Gupta**, 1964; **Naik**, 1969; Ratha, 1981; Bose, 1970). Tribal economy was discussed in reference to education by some scholars. According to them, tribal children, both boys and girls, as soon as they attained 8-10 years, were obliged to share economic responsibilities and contribute to the family income. Sending them to school was, therefore, considered to be an economic loss to the family. It was also observed that, even if the boys and girls do not take part in economic activity, they help
the parents by looking after the younger children when the parents were away on agricultural work.

**Medium of Instruction:**

Language difficulties in learning process as one of the important variables for retardation, and early drop-out of tribal children was pointed out in many studies. While Banerjee (1962) categorically stated that medium of instruction was the determining factor of primary education among tribal students, Basu (1963) Banerjee (1962), Brahma (1953), Sachidananda (1967), Ratha (1981) and others agreed with the contention that medium of teaching had a great role to play. Pattanayak (1981) has more recently argued that "both education managers and teachers erroneously consider economic and societal reasons solely responsible for low achievement. The fact that language plays a major role in the low performance of the tribal child has not been properly appreciated" (1981:80).

Lack of motivation and educational aspiration:

Banerjee (1962) trying to locate the causes for differential effects on primary education in tribal areas of West Bengal found that non-location of a school was not a barrier to the progress of education. On the other hand, factors like low level of educational aspirations, lack of motivation for education were cited as primary reasons for the low level of educational attainments in several tribal
groups.

The study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes (1959), the Committee on Tribal Development Blocks (1960), Sachinanda (1964), Das Gupta (1963), Ambashat (1970) observed lack of motivation and apathetic and indifferent attitude towards education. Ratnaih (1977), Toppo (1979), Shah et al (1981) and many other recently observed low educational aspirations of tribal parents, and also of children attending schools.

However, the type of school was found to make a difference as far as motivation for education was considered. Presence of strong motivation for education was noticed wherever missionary influence was high, and where other voluntary organisations had tried to spread education (Elwin 1966; Ambashat, 1970). In a recent study by Shah and Patel (1981) found that more percentage of women are attending school in recent years than the percentage of women who were attending a few years back. From this they inferred that the attitudes towards education are changing in the recent years in many tribal groups.

The content of education:

With the demand for uniform pattern of education, the content of education is the same as the one offered to non-tribals. According to many scholars, this is the main
constraint for the spread of education in tribal areas. Scholars have pointed out that the present syllabi of education had little relevance with the life of tribals. As Pattanayak (1981) pointed out "the education system offers little by way of tribal's culture in school curriculum. It has not recognised the triple axes of the cultural identity of a tribal in terms of `tribalism, pluralism and nationalism' and has not evolved any strategy which will ensure a smooth transition from the home language to the school language at an early stage so as to permit him to avail of the benefits of higher studies without loss of cultural identity and individuality". He further stated that the language text books in the school seldom teach the skills; even at the very primary level books attempt to present literature. The child is taught to learn the text book by heart. The lack of cognitive skills of abstraction, deduction, and argumentation, which are essentially based on language learning', further hinder the success of the tribal boys and girls (1981: 89). Sharma (1991) in the book titled, 'Educational Life Styles of Tribal students' too, observed that: "The tribal people can be benefitted from education. They can learn but they can derive little value from programmes that are based upon the general mass or for non-tribal peoples who come from the middle and the upper middle class socio-economic status."
Aiyappan (1948), Brahma (1953), Biswas (1955), Sachidananda (1967), Pattanayak (1981) and many others argued that the content of education as far as tribals were concerned, should have a vocational bias. They suggest that tribal education be related to productivity in a manner relevant to the tribal social life and economy, credit is given to the child's work at home, and his latent skills are recognised and developed in the school as part of the educational programme.

Teacher's attitude toward tribals:

Ambashat (1970), Ratha (1981) and others recorded the social distance observed between the non-tribal teachers and tribals and also suggested that the tribals preferred tribal teachers. Basu (1961) was of the opinion that education through tribal dormitories was successfully imparted to tribal children in the past. Elwin (1959) had earlier suggested that schools should become as much a tribal institution as morung (dormitory).

Government policies:

Pattanayak (1981) was very critical about the governmental policies towards tribals. He states that Government interferes in every aspect of tribal life, shifting cultivation, utilization of forest produce and tribal justice. He says, "tribal is then punished for his cultural values, his life style and his ethos about which
judgement has already been passed by a ruling society which has determined the `main stream' in its own image and to its best advantage. This, the tribal naturally considers enimical to his interest. There is no wonder that the tribal people are not keen to take advantage of an education which appears to them to be a calculated move to destroy their social fabric". (1981: 90)

Role of the teacher in tribal village:

The teacher in the tribal village is not just an instructor in the school. The residents of the village expect of him many other advantages. He is also expected to take part in the village festivals and village panchayats. Ruhela (1969), and others felt that if the teachers fail to play their role they will not be accepted by the tribals.

Teacher absenteeism:

Many of the recent studies conducted among different tribal groups point out the unofficial closure of schools due to teachers' absence. In this context the lack of supervision was also noted by many scholars. It has been observed that in some states, tribal schools are managed by three agencies, the education department, the tribal welfare department, and voluntary agencies. "As education department have no special staff, and tribal welfare department has no expertise in the field of education, in
many states tribal schools have not been inspected for 10 years, if not more". Ratha (1981) felt that the appointment of husband and wife teams in tribal schools would check the unauthorised absence of teachers in tribal schools.

**Ashram School:**

Apte (1960), and others discussed the tribal problems in general and pointed out the significant role which the Ashram schools could play in the spread of formal education in the different tribal groups they studied. However, in a recent study by Desai and Patel (1981) in Gujarat, the stagnation and drop-out rates in the Ashram schools and non-ashram schools were found to be the same. Hence, they inferred that opening up of Ashram schools cannot solve the problem of education in tribal areas.

**Other factors:**

A very close examination of the reasons for the failure of the tribals in utilising the facilities for education, revealed factors like: tribal beliefs with regard to the location of schools; age at marriage of tribal boys and girls; unsuitable school hours; vacation time; cumbersome admission procedure, the inferiority complex of tribal boys and girls in the class etc. Similarly, Sachidananda (1967), and Shyamlal (1987) observed that the major spurt in the spread of tribal
education during the last three decades of the present century in parts of Bihar, Rajasthan and Gujarat is mainly due to the role played by the Christian missionaries.

Naik (1969), Rathnaiah (1977), Toppo (1979), Parvatamma (1974), Shah and Patel (1981) and others have tried to show correlations between some socio-demographic factors and educational attainment. Naik in his study on Bhills found significant correlation between family size and economic status with enrolment of tribal children in schools. Ratnaiah and Toppo, similarly found in their study among Gonds and Orans, respectively, positive association of literacy level, education of the parents, political status of the parents with education of the children.

Some observations on the studies in India:

1. Major works on formal education in tribal areas are very few. Many of the studies dealt with comparisons of educational attainments of different tribal groups and non-tribals in the area studied. As has been mentioned earlier, those studies which attempted to offer socio-cultural explanations for the poor educational attainments tried to quantify the responses and identify the 'variables' influencing the formal education in tribal areas.
2. The inadequate provision of facilities, economic status, socio-political status, parental education, parental interest and encouragement, family aspirations with regard to children's education and occupation, size of the family, filial position of the student in the family, negative attitudes and lower expectations of achievement by the teachers etc. are some of the variables that have been identified both in the context of tribals and other ethnic groups elsewhere.

3. The discussion on unsuitable school hours, vacation time, responsibility of the other children to look after the younger brothers and sisters, the role of Ashram school etc. have been discussed in the context of poor economic status of the tribals. Economic status was found to be influencing the response to formal education in many countries.

4. Studies which dealt with lack of employment opportunities for the first generation educated tribals come close to the study of Lawerence's study using exchange theory.

5. However, such factors as the sibling similarities, self fulfilling prophecy, frog-pond effect, etc. were not considered in the studies in India.

6. School effects on childrens' performance were not observed adequately by comparing the schools varying with
regard to design and type of school building, social composition of students and teachers, per capita expenditure on student, the sex of the head of the school, the nature of the management etc.

7. In addition to some of the factors that have been pointed elsewhere, some specific features such as the cultural pressures for an early marriage, for training the females to 'motherly' roles, the beliefs regarding the location of schools have also been discussed in the studies among tribal communities.

8. The failure of the teachers to play their 'role', the medium of instruction, the irrevant content of the syllabi are also similarly specific to the tribal education in India.

9. The scope of the studies being very narrow, these studies offered no insight into the problem by studying all the aspects of formal education, and so no framework has been offered for future research.

The changing situation and the need for a new approach:

The early studies among different tribal communities and the suggestions made there upon brought out many changes in the formal education system in tribal areas. Initially studies pointed out the lack of infrastructural facilities for formal education. Efforts were subsequently made to improve the situation by providing pucca buildings
and appointment of teachers. The poverty of the tribals was discussed in relation to the economic value of the children and the social roles of adult females and males to look after the younger ones, in the later studies. The role of the Ashram schools where a better academic environment could be provided and where the tribal parents will be relieved of their financial burden as far as their ward's education is concerned, has also been highlighted. Similarly, the need for opening of Anganwadis and Balwadis to relieve the adult females of their social responsibilities to look after their younger brothers and sisters has been stressed.

The failure to explain the phenomena of unsatisfactory utilization of school services and the academic failures of tribals in India may be particularly due to lack of indepth ethnographic studies of schools and specific communities demonstrating the culture-school congruence. The cultural differences in value orientations and learning styles in schools and community need a special emphasis for understanding of this phenomena. The present study is an attempt in this direction.

The Savara of Seethampeta block of Srikakulam district have been selected for a case study. The Savara perceptions and ethnographic account is aimed to explain the phenomena of why only some children attend school and also why majority of those attending fail in their academic
pursuits. It is proposed to observe how the Savaras evaluate their perceptions with regard to formal educational system like, what is taught, how it is taught, who teaches, how long it is taught, etc against their cultural values, norms, beliefs and demands for encouraging their wards to attend school. Similarly, it is intended to identify how the lack of certain cultural resources or social survival skills lead to lower educational attainments and withdrawal of the children.

The fact that certain children of the same community become academically successful lead us to believe that the school-community cultural differences become salient under certain conditions. Taking the model of Jules Henry into consideration, it might be possible to know how the negative influences of culture could be over come by maximizing other factors. In this regard it is proposed to identify the socio-economic and demographic differences between the school going and non-school going children and also identify the differences with regards to different aspects of formal education like enrolment, attendance, performance and drop-out behaviours of children with differences in schools.
METHODOLOGY

As has been stated earlier, the objective of the present study is to enquire into the reasons for the low achievement of tribals in the field of education. The purpose of this research is to explain poor response from these groups to formal education, in general, through a cultural analysis of both school and the community. Keeping in view the objectives of the study, it was proposed to undertake a case study of one of the tribal groups in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

For the purpose of this study, it has been desired to choose a community: 1) whose literacy and educational attainments have been recorded as very poor, compared to others, and 2) amongst whom no indepth studies were conducted in the field of education. Following the above criteria, Savara tribal community, a primitive tribal group (PTG) inhabiting the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh has been selected. The selection of Srikakulam district is keeping in view the fact that about 28.2 % of total Savara population in the state of Andhra Pradesh inhabit that particular district.

As the nature of the study demanded, data more of qualitative nature, it has been desired to select not more than three villages for an intensive field-work.

Seethampeta Block in Srikakulam district is most
populous as far as Savara tribe is concerned. For this reason, it has been proposed to select the three villages for intensive field-work from this Block. Since the observation of school culture formed part of the study, only those villages in which at least a Primary school was located needed to be selected. This criteria eliminated the selection of some villages in the Block. The following three villages were selected, finally, for reasons of availability of minimum facilities to conduct anthropological field research:

1. Mutyalu;
2. Manapuram; and
3. Manda

However, for the collection of secondary data with regard to enrollment, attendance, performance, stagnation, and drop out of school children, all the 16 Primary Schools functioning in villages predominantly inhabited by Savaras have been selected. This data is for an understanding of general response to formal education, and also for an analysis of differences in response to formal education with differences in schools. The list of the villages where the schools were located is presented below:

1. Mutyalu
2. Manapuram
3. Manda
4. Sarangi
5. Jonaga
6. Seedi
7. Tadipai
8. Gondi
For the purpose of the study, field-work was carried out for about 18 months during the years January, 85 and November, 86. The time spent and the activity undertaken at different places was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Activity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January, 85 - March, 85</td>
<td>Stay at Block Head Quarters Meetings with officials at the office of the ITDA, Block Development Officer, Deputy Inspector of schools etc. Collection of data for selection of villages and schools from secondary sources. Visit to different Savara hamlets for finalisation of selection of villages for intensive field-work. Collection of Secondary data data from schools located in different Savara hamlets. Interviews with teachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 85 - September, 85</td>
<td>Field-work in Mutyalu village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 85 - March, 86</td>
<td>Field-work in Manda village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July, 86 - November, 86</td>
<td>Field-work in Manapuram village</td>
</tr>
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While doing the field-work in the three selected

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<tr>
<td>9. Kusumuru</td>
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<td>10. Gadidapai</td>
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<td>11. Antikonda</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Kottakota</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Valagadda</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Manda Colony</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Thottadi</td>
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<td>16. Chinnamanuguda</td>
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villages, one full month was spent for observations in the school.

The researcher had conducted field-work amongst Jatapu and Savara tribal communities inhabiting the Seethampeta Block earlier. The contacts and the data obtained during that time also helped immensely in the present study.

Data collection;

The researcher had to pay visits to different Savara hamlets for the selection of suitable village for intensive field-work, initially. He took advantage of these visits and data collection from school records relating to enrolment, attendance, performance stagnation and drop out of the Savara boys and girls, as well as other data relevant for comparison of different schools with regard to performance was completed during that time.

The data required to make an ethnography of the tribe was collected while living in the three Savara villages for a total period of 16 months. The census data as well as the data on household types according to the genealogical composition, numerical strength, the marriage, the primary and subsidiary occupations, etc, which was intended to be quantified was collected from all the households in the three villages. The qualitative data on the socio-economic and religious organisation and socialization was also
collected from respondents in all the three villages. The information obtained in each of the villages on these different aspects was checked and rechecked in other villages to achieve greater reliability of the data.

For the data relevant for the understanding of organization and functioning of schools in the Savara hamlets, the researcher visited the schools in each of the three selected villages on 30 working days, while conducting field-work in the respective villages. The data with regard to interaction patterns between the students and the students and the teachers, the teaching and learning process etc. were obtained by spending time in the school itself from the time of its opening to closure in a day.

In accordance with the nature of the study, greater importance was attached throughout the field-work for an understanding of values that are emphasized in the Savara community, the way the values guide the actions of the people in performance of different tasks relating to family, marriage, economy, polity, religion etc., the process of internalization of values of the community by the Savara children etc. Similarly, collection of data on attitudes and perceptions of the adult Savara towards different aspects of formal education also received a priority.

While making observations in school, the
researcher recorded the school culture as it emerges in the organization of activities of the school and the interactions of school personnel and the pupil.

The qualitative data was collected by recording the statements of the people during their interactions with one another and with the researcher. The researcher recorded the events as they occurred in the field to infer the values, perceptions and attitudes of the people with regard to different aspects of real life situations in the community and school.

**Rapport establishment:**

The need for a good rapport particularly when case studies and such other qualitative information is to be collected, is undisputable. Trusted and friendly dealings with informants would only provide information. The researcher adopted different methods for initial contact and rapport establishment with the three selected villages. The differences in the approaches are explained below.

The Mutyalu village was familiar to the researcher. This is because, he had selected the same village for field-work earlier. An accidental event that took place while proceeding from Palakonda to *Kusimi* (the nearest village from where the villagers of Mutyalu avail bus facilities) in a private bus earlier created good
impression amongst the villagers of Mutyalu, while travelling along with some other Savara people of the village. During the journey, the researcher pleaded on behalf of the parents of a child for charging only half fare for whom the conductor of the bus was demanding full fare. The parents of the child felt extremely happy for helping them in getting the concession. This couple later passed on the message in the village that `the researcher was a good person and that he came to the rescue of the poor people'. Thus, this unintentional and dramatic incident helped immensely to lay down a good foundation for building rapport in Mutyalu village.

In view of the familiarity and rapport with the villagers of Mutyalu, the researcher directly approached the President of the Gram Panchayat, Mr. Basanna, and other members of the village and revealed his intentions of living with them for a few months. The initial contact in the case of Manda village was through the Auxiliary Nurse and Midwife (ANM) working at the sub-centre at Chinakamba village. As Manda village came in her jurisdiction, the ANM used to frequently visit that village. As dactaramma, she is very familiar to the villagers.

The ANM introduced the researcher to some, whom the villagers consider, "peddamanushulu" (village elders). The "peddamanushulu" included, the President of the Gram Panchayat, two members of the Gram Panchayat and two others
whose economic status was better.

The researcher approached the members of the local voluntary organization at Manapuram for his introduction to the villagers. It was informed earlier to him, by some teachers working in the schools in villages neighbouring the Manapuram, that the people of Manapuram have great respect to the "Brothers", the members of the organization.

The members of the local voluntary organization did not introduce formally to the villagers as done in the case of Manda village by the ANM. The Brothers introduced the researcher as another Brother of the organization who had joined them.

The first seven to ten days at least in all the villages were spent without collecting any data through formal interviews. Efforts were made during these days to meet as many villagers as possible and get acquainted with their first names. In Mutyalu village the researcher preferred to sit for long hours at the place where the Panodu used to undertake his work. As many adult members used to visit that place and sit for long hours, the researcher had the opportunity to involve in informal discussions and establish friendship with the members. Similarly, in Manapuram village, the researcher had spent considerable time at the tea stall and informally met the members of the village who visited it. In his meetings,
the researcher tried to explain the purpose of his visit and win their confidence. The researcher had faced little difficulty in Manda village initially, for it was thought by them that his visit was connected with some Government enquiry. Only after a prolonged effort, the researcher was able to overcome this problem.

In the initial stages of field-work, after having succeeded in establishing rapport with some members, the socio-economic census data of each household was collected. The collection of this data and general genealogical information helped further to establish good relations with members of each household. When the villagers found some difference in the researcher's method of enquiry and eagerness to learn about their way of life, the people slowly started conversing with the researcher freely. Whatever reluctance was faced initially, was overcome slowly with personalized conversations about their fields, individual problems etc.

Use of a tape recorder helped in establishing friendship particularly in the Manda and Mutyalu villages. Since many members in these two villages were not familiar with this gadget, they were very much delighted to hear their recorded voices. The equipment generated curiosity and helped researcher in getting cordial welcome in all the houses in the villages.
Medicines brought for personal use were offered to ailing patients during the field-work. Eatbles (such as papads and biscuits) were freely distributed to children. At the time of field-work, the villagers were facing acute shortage of kerosene. When the researcher distributed kerosene, the excess of which he carried, the villagers were happy. This helped to gain the confidence of elderly people and the women. During the field-work, minor presentations were also accepted by the researcher without any reservations. No distance was maintained in the dealings with children and youth.

During the later stages of field-work, the people were more open in their discussion with the researcher. The people in all the three villages treated him as their kinsman. Kinship extensions were established. The `peddamanushulu' many-a-time asked the researcher to join their team while settling family and personal disputes that would come to them. Similarly, the heads of different households freely approached him for his advice in dealing with their personal problems, more particularly when they had to deal with Government officials for selection as one of the beneficiaries in some scheme.

**Tools of the study:**

Traditional anthropological tools were used for gathering qualitative and quantitative data from each household in the village and the functionaries involved.
An account of the type of data collected through each method is given below.

**Interview schedules:** Three different semi-structured interview schedules were designed for collection of qualitative and quantitative information from selected respondents.

(a) **Household schedule:** The schedule was used for collecting socio-economic data about each of the household by administering it to the head of the household. The schedule was aimed at obtaining information relating to members in the household, type of family, family composition, economic status, health status, including morbidity and mortality, details of educational attainments of members of the household, etc.

(b) **Schedule for the school teacher:** The schedule was administered to gather data pertaining to teacher characteristics like, his family background, educational attainment, teaching methodology, conceptions of his role, attitude toward tribals, job satisfaction, relations with members of the village where he is employed etc.

(c) **Schedule for parents of the school going age children:** The schedule contained questions to know the views of the parents with regard to education, school, teacher, and also to get an idea about the degree of interest evinced in their ward's education etc.

**Interviews:** The technique of interview was very
frequently used for data collection. Indepth interviews were conducted with different members of the households for information on socio-economic organisation, the child rearing and socialization process, the rituals, and religious life of the people etc., with the use of interview guide. The school drop outs were also contacted and interviewed similarly to know the circumstances under which they had to discontinue their studies.

Language and use of interpreters: As many members in all the selected villages were able to speak Telugu, the researcher did not face great difficulty to communicate with them. However, at times when the researcher desired to follow the conversations between the Savara men, women and children ( as for example, when the adult members of the village called a meeting to discuss certain issues relating to celebration of festivals, leasing of tamarrind grooves to the non-tribals, settling of disputes between the members of the village or when members in a particular family met to discuss the work distribution or when the parents or other family members were passing remarks at the activities of the children, or during the conversations amongst the children while playing or undertaking some work or when the members of two different villages met to decide about marriage payments etc.) the researcher had to depend on interpreters. The local Savara boys who could speak Telugu well, were employed for the job of interpretation. In Mutyalu village, the help of local
school teacher who was conversant with Saavara language was also taken many times. Similarly in Manda village the local Anganwadi teacher (female) assisted the researcher in translating the conversations made in Savara language into Telugu.

**Use of tape recorder for interviews:** Initially, the researcher used an audio cassette recorder for recording the interviews and later transcribed the information to the schedule. But, on many occasions, it was felt that the respondents were not able to feel free as they were extremely conscious of recording arrangement. Hence, this method was not adopted throughout. Only when the interviews were conducted at the room of the researcher during the night time, when the researcher was not able to take the points on paper because of lack of electricity facilities, the use of cassette recorder was resorted to. But, then most of the times, the informants were not aware of its use.

**Time and place of recording:** No specific timings were maintained for interviewing. During day time most of the villagers, both males and females, used to be away from their houses for work. So mostly the interviews were conducted in the evenings after their return from fields/forest. The place of interview was also not strictly adhered to. Many a time, this depended on the convenience of the respondent. While conducting interviews, the neighbours and some other kin's men of the
interviewee used to be present and also participate in the discussion. The concept of personal privacy for these people being very different from that held by others, the presence of other members at the time of interview did not affect the interviews. The presence of more than one respondent at the time of interview helped also in checking the accuracy of the data. In fact on a number of occasions, the respondents took the help of other members to recollect some events of the past.

**Case studies:** Case study method was also frequently used for collection of specific and detailed information on a particular subject. Case studies of children in different categories of families viz: single parent, joint, extended etc. were collected as it was thought, that data would be very useful for an understanding of the factors which influence both positively and negatively, in the response to school education in the Savara community. Throughout the field work, the researcher resorted to observation of both participant and non-participant types, for finer details and verification of data collected through the use of several techniques of data collection. Further, through observation, it was possible to check the disparity between what people say and what people do.

**A brief outline of the selected villages:**

The total number of households in each of the three selected villages, Mutyalu, Manda and Manapuram are, 38,
TABLE 1.1(a)

Distribution of population by age, sex and marital status in Mutyalu village.

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<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
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TABLE 1.1(b)

Distribution of population by age, sex and marital status in Manapu-ram village.

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| Marital status       |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| F                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| Married               |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| E                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| M                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| Unmarried             | 8   | 9    | 10    | 2     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -   |    |
| A                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| L                     | -   | -    | -     | -     | -     | 1     | 1     | 2     | -     | -     | -   |    |
| S                     | -   | -    |       |       |       | 2     |       |       | 2     |       | -   |    |
| Total                 | 8   | 9    | 11    | 15    | 10    | 5     | 7     | 4     | 5     | 3     |    |    |

| Marital status       |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| T                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| Unmarried             | 14  | 19   | 19    | 6     | 1     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -   |    |
| O                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| T                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| Widowed               | -   | -    | -     | -     | -     | 2     | 1     | 1     | 3     | -     | -   |    |
| A                     |     |      |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |     |    |
| L                     | -   | -    |       |       |       | 2     | 1     | -     | -     | 2     | -   |    |
| Total                 | 14  | 19   | 20    | 16    | 26    | 19    | 12    | 14    | 10    | 9     | 7   | 1  |
TABLE 1.1(c)
Distribution of population by age, sex and marital status in Manda village.

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<th>16-20</th>
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66
22, and 32 respectively. Mutyalu and Manda villages consisted of two non-tribal households each, the non-tribal households were three in number in Manapuram village. One of the non-tribal households in case of both Manapuram and Manda was that of a 'Panodu' family. The total population of each of the selected villages varied between 161 and 198. The distribution of population of each village, according to sex, age and marital status is presented in the Table 1.1. The most important observations we may make with regard to the distribution of population by age, sex and marital status are:

1) The sex ratio of the population in each of three villages, namely, Manapuram, Manda and Mutyalu is 102, 116, and 112 females per 100 males respectively.

2) The significant percentage of population falls in the age-group 21 - 25 years in Manapuram and Manda villages while the majority of the population in Mutyalu village belong to the age-group of 16 - 20 years.

3) The percentage of married persons is 63.3%, 57.3% and 53.0% respectively, in Manda, Manapuram and Mutyalu villages. The census count also indicates that a great percentage of men and women are married by the age of 21 - 25 and 16-20 years respectively.

The literacy and the educational attainments of men and women by age groups is presented in the Table 1.2. As the data indicates a great majority of the population in the three villages are illiterates. The number of persons
### TABLE 1.2

Distribution of population by age groups and educational attainments

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<th>AGE-GROUP (in years)</th>
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<td>IL L P S+</td>
<td>IL L P S+</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 6</td>
<td>14 - - - 14 - - - 12 - - - 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-15</td>
<td>21 6 27 - 8 4 24 3 15 3 23 - 134</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>46 2 1 2 18 8 10 6 29 - 6 2 130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>36 - - - 22 6 3 - 33 1 - - 101</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>26 - - - 23 1 - - 25 - - - 75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 45</td>
<td>16 1 - - 15 1 - - 12 - - - 45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>159 9 28 2 100 20 37 9 126 4 29 2 525</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IL = Illiterates, L = Literates, P = Primary, S+ = Secondary and above
who received Primary education are also a few and such persons are aged less than 6-15 years.

**Political leaders:** The members of the three villages have been participating actively in the elections, particularly at the level of Gram Panchayats. Basanna and Mangadu, the residents of Mutyalu and Manda villages have won the elections for the post of Gram Panchayat of their respective villages. Mangulu of Manapuram village contested for the post of President of Kottakota Gram Panchayat, but lost the election in the year 1986. In the three villages, a total number of five persons have also won the elections to become members of the Gram Panchayats. Manapuram earned the distinction with the election of Smt. Sumbari as the only female member of the Gram Panchayat.

**Youth associations and Mahila mandals:** The youth of the Manapuram village organised themselves to establish a youth association. The association has a membership of 38 members and is registered under the Societies Registration Act. This youth association undertakes a number of programmes for the benefit of all the members of the village, under the guidance of the local voluntary association. The Women Welfare Officials of the Block organised the women folk in Manda and Mutyalu villages to form Mahila Mandals. However, the Mahila Mandals in both the villages have not been actively undertaking any activity.
Location: The three villages selected for the study are located in three different directions from the Seethampeta village, which is the Block Head Quarters. Mutyalu lies to the East, Manapuram to the North, while the Manda village lies in the North-East direction. Mutyalu and Manda villages are located on hill slopes, but Manapuram is in plains. Manapuram village has been established when certain Savara families from 2-3 hamlets migrated to occupy the Government constructed colony after the Naxalite movement in this part of Andhra Pradesh in the early 70's.

Communication facilities: Physical communication facilities are poor to all the three selected villages, though Manapuram village being a roadside village in the plains enjoys better communication facilities than the other two villages. Manda village is connected to another village by name, Gondi via which passes the road linking Palakonda and Kotturu, by an all weather road. Mutyalu village is located on a hill slope. At the foot hills Kusimi village is located. Kusumi is connected by a tar road to Palakonda. But, to reach Mutayalu, one has no other option than to climb up the village by foot from Kusimi. On the other side of the hill on which Mutayalu is located, a bigger village by name, Sarubujjili is located.

Manapuram village is located at about 15 kms. from the Block Head Quarters, on the side of the road connecting Seethampeta and the Veeraghattam town. Villagers of Manapuram may avail bus facility from their
village itself, as two State Road Transport run buses between Veeraghattam and Palakonda pass via their village. The inhabitants of other two villages can avail bus facility to reach town only after covering a distance of about 2 – 4 kms. by foot. However, bicycles and bullock carts do serve the purpose of transportation of men and goods for the inhabitants of Manda village, sometimes.

The nearest town from where the rail facilities are available for the residents of all the selected villages is Srikakulam Road at a distance of about 40 – 60 kms. from their villages. The residents of Manapuram and Mutyalu need to change atleast two buses to reach Srikakulam Road.

Postal and communication facilities: For the residents of all the three selected villages, Postal facilities are available only in the neighbouring villages at a distance of about 3 – 5 kms. Manda village, however, has a special distinction. In the year 1986, telephone connection was provided to the President of the village Panchayat under the rural telephone services. This is the only Savara hamlet in the entire Block where telephone facility is available.

Electricity: At the time of field-work, only Manda village has been provided with the facility of electricity. The electrification work for Manapuram and Mutyalu villages was
under progress.

**Health care facilities:** For the services of a qualified Medical Officer posted at the Primary Health Centre, the villagers of all the three selected villages need to travel 5-8 kms from their respective villages. However, the residents of the village Manda may avail the services of a trained multipurpose health worker posted in the sub-centre at Chinnakamba village, located at about three kms from their village. The residents of Manapuram benefit from the medical services provided by one of the qualified personnel of the local voluntary organization (Girijana Seva Samithi), founded by the Brothers of St. Gabriel. While there were no Health Guides in two villages, namely Manapuram and Manda, one of the school drop-outs of the village has been selected for this post.

**Non-Formal Education Centres:** Government sponsored N F E centres are `functioning' in two out of the three villages. These two villages are, Mutyalu and Manda. In Manapuram village, the local voluntary organization runs a Ratri Badi (night school) to benefit the school drop-outs.

**Anganwadi centres:** Anganwadi centres started under the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) by the Central Government, are located in all the three selected villages. The centre is located in its own building in Mutyalu village, while in the other two villages, they are functioning at the residence of the teachers in charge of
the Centres.

**Fair Price shops:** The fair price shop managed by the G C C, which supply rice, kerosene, oil and other essential commodities at subsidized prices is located only in Manapuram village. The other two villages are deprived of this facility. The inhabitants of these two villages would go to the neighbouring villages by foot to purchase the commodities from G C C run fair price shops.

**Weekly Markets:** The nearest village where a shandy is organized once in a week, are located at a distance of about 3-5 kms. for all the three villages. The place where the shandy is organised, the distance of the place to the village, and other details have been presented below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Place of shandy</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Transport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manapuram</td>
<td>Polla</td>
<td>SAT</td>
<td>4 kms.</td>
<td>bicycle, bus and by foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutyalu</td>
<td>Kusimi</td>
<td>FRI</td>
<td>3 kms.</td>
<td>by foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manda</td>
<td>Seethampeta</td>
<td>MON</td>
<td>5 kms.</td>
<td>by bus 3 kms. by foot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exposure to mass media:** Exposure to mass media, particularly to print media, in all the three villages is very limited. Though no family subscribed for supply of newspaper in any of the three villages, some members in Mutyalu and Manapuram reported borrowing the paper from the local school teacher and the members of the local voluntary organisation, respectively. Only 16 households owned radio
sets in the three villages. The residents of three villages get exposure to film media when they watch movies in the nearest town (seven to nine kms. away). Occasionally, the District Public Relations and Information officials arrange exhibition of films on environment, health, family planning and other themes in their own villages.