Chapter 1

Introduction
In its broadest sense, education is a cultural process. This process transforms each newborn infant from biological to social being. According to Spencer "education must conform to the natural process of mental evolution-that there is a certain sequence in which the faculties spontaneously develop, and certain kind of knowledge which each requires during its development and supply this knowledge". While speaking on education he discusses three different types of education i.e. intellectual, moral and physical education. For him "in intellectual education the process of self development should be encouraged to the uttermost. Children should be led to make their own investigation, and draw their own inferences. They should be told as little as possible. Humanity has progressed solely by self instruction; and that to achieve the best results, each mind must progress somewhat after the same fashion, is continually proved by the marked success of self made man" (Spencer 1861:62). He says moral education teaches the child the rational knowledge of right and wrong conduct, which results from personal experience of their good and bad consequences. Further, that the child suffering the painful effects of its own wrong actions, must recognizes more or less clearly the justice of the penalties. For Spencer, physical education of children in various ways include feeding, clothing, exercising and mental application.

According to Durkheim (1956:71) "education consists of a methodical socialization of the young generation". Durkheim (1956:70) saw the major function of education as the transmission of society's norms and values. Its function, is to arouse in the child (1) a certain number of physical and mental states that the society to which he belongs considers should not be lacking in any of its members; (2) certain physical and mental states that the particular social groups (caste, class, family, profession) considers,
equally, ought to be found among all though who make it up. It is society as whole and each particular social milieu that determine the ideal that education realizes. He maintained that, society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity, education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing the child from the beginning the essential similarities that collective life demands. Without a certain diversity all cooperation would be impossible; education assures the persistence of this necessary diversity by being itself diversified and specialized. If a society has reached a degree of development such that the old division into castes and classes can no longer be maintained, it will prescribe an education more uniform at its base. If at the same time there is more division of labour, it will arouse among children, on the underlying basic set of common ideas and sentiments, a richer diversity of occupational aptitudes. If it lives in a state of war with surrounding societies, it tries to shape people according to a strongly nationalistic model; if international competition takes a more peaceful form, the type that it tries to realize is more general and more humanistic. Education is, then, only the means which society prepares, with in the children, the essential conditions of its very existence.

Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.

Parsons (1964:130) explaining the function of formal education through ‘school class’ in American society argues that, “from the functional point of view the school class can be treated as an agency of socialization. That is to say, it is an agency through which
individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles. Although he accepts that school class is not the sole agency of socialization, he is convinced that “in the period extending from entry into first grade until entry into labour force or marriage, the school class may be regarded as the focal socializing agency” (ibid). The socialization function may be as the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities which are essential prerequisites of their future role performance. Commitments may be broken down in turn into two components: commitment to the implementation of the broad values of the society, and commitment to the performance of a specific type of role within the structure of the society. Capacities also be broken down into two components, the first being competence or the skill to perform the tasks involved in the individual’s roles, in the second being “role-responsibility” or the capacity to live up to other people’s expectation of the interpersonal behavior appropriate to these roles. The school class may be regarded as a primary agency by which these different components of commitments and capacities are generated, it is, from this point the view of the society, an agency of “manpower” allocation (ibid).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: 54) approached that the major role of educational system is “cultural reproduction”. They viewed that the every institutionalized educational system owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfillment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of
which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between the groups or classes (social reproduction).

An education system can not fulfill its essential function of inculcating unless it produces and reproduces, by the means proper to the institution, the conditions for pedagogic work capable of producing within the limits of the institution’s means, i.e. continuously a habitus as homogeneous and durable as possible in as many of the legitimate addressees as possible and given that, in order to fulfill its external function of cultural and social reproduction, an education system must produce a habitus conforming as closely as possible to the principles of the cultural arbitrary which it is mandated to reproduce – the conditions for exercise of institutionalized pedagogic work and for the institutional reproduction of such pedagogic work tend to coincide with the conditions favoring the function of reproduction, in as much as a permanent corps of specialized agents, equipped with the homogeneous training and standardized, standardizing instruments which are the precondition for the exercise of a specific, regulated process of pedagogic work, i.e. the work schooling the institutionalized form secondary pedagogic work, is predisposed by the institutional conditions of its own reproduction to restrict its activity to the limits laid down by an institution mandated to reproduce a cultural arbitrary and not to decree it(ibid).

According to Tagore quoted (in Saiyidain1966:57) Education is not merely a means for the growth and fullness of the individual but is also concerned with the whole physical and social milieu in which his life is lived. If the masses of people lived in a poor and inadequate environment, education must have its meliorative impact on it. It can became dynamic and vital only when it is in constant touch with our complete life,
economic, aesthetic spiritual, and our schools are at the very heart of our society, connected with it by the living bonds of varied experience”. His rural education was to be integrally co-ordinated with the everyday needs of children, giving them an opportunity to carry out all kinds of practical activities in the school farm, the garden, the dairy, the poultry farm and the kitchen. They would learn games, songs, carpentry, weaving and their crafts and relate their reading, writing and arithmetic to their practical experience (ibid).

At Sevagram Conference Gandhi (1937) was of the view that "Education has been cut off too long from the concrete, meaningful realities of life; It must be placed right back into it in order to enrich it. It has run away from experience, from work from social relationships and taken refuge behind a barricade of books but dead and dreary text books”. In the early, education of children books must yield priority of place to productive work, to which he called 'basic craft' and the stimulus for the acquisition of knowledge must arise out of this socially useful productive work in which the child is happily engaged. The whole world around him is school and the living, breathing source of vital curriculum-the physical environment or the world of nature, from which arise all the sciences, the social environment or the world of man which is the source of all the humanistic studies like history, literature, philosophy, art, psychology, economics etc. and productive work or the crafts which form a bridge between these two worlds, using the resources of the former to achieve purposes which belong to the latter.

Zakir Husain (in Saiyidain 1966:185) advocated the process of education broadly consists in the establishment of a living and fruitful relationship between the mind of the child and appropriate and congenial elements of this heritage which it assimilates, in gradual
stages, for its enrichment. The cultural wealth of a nation or community becomes the educative medium for each generation; it keeps going a constant dialogue between the generations, all the preceding peoples and ages speaking to the new comers through the language of their cultural and material achievements. The vitality of this inherited cultural wealth does not depend on its passive assimilation or blind worship but on the readiness and the ability of the individuals educated through it to protect and cherish it and to 'cleanse it of decaying material'. The process of creation and re-creation is not less but more important than that of preservation.

Patel (1991) says education plays a major role in the process of transformation, since it has unlocked the doors of modernization and paving the path for national integration. As education is capable of attacking and revolutionizing the basic thinking and attitudes of the tribes, it is regarded as one of the most effective and forward looking instrument of tribal social transformation. Thus education is a vital and powerful instrument for a child's development. Any education that alienates a member of a society from its culture and tradition is not education at all. It is meaningless to learn the science and arts of an alien society at the betrayal of one's own tradition and culture. It is also suicidal to impart a kind of education that moulds the learners to become puppet in the hands of a greedy society. This is much more relevant in the context of tribal society. It is in this context that the present study of tribal education and development needs to be examined.
Education and Educational status of Tribals

The tribal communities have their distinct physical and diverse cultural traits, have some common characteristics like nature of rurality, specialty of illiteracy, economic backwardness, social deprivation, primitive religious belief, distinct language and political organization (Ghurey1959, Naik1984, Bailey1960 and Elwin1964). So far they have remained isolated partially from the greater culture. Education therefore, must be accorded a top priority in the tribal areas, so as to help the tribal communities to satisfactorily negotiate with the transitional phase of socio-economic change. Hence it is considered as a key parameter in generating a new awareness among the people by disseminating the knowledge and information for promoting change.

It is generally felt that development without education will remain as a myth. Socio-economic development and educational development should be viewed as interdependent process, both should, therefore go hand in hand. Educational development without economic development would not usher in better living. That is why, changing economy affects the education and educational development affects the economic patterns. In the words of Neal Jacoby (1970) “Education holds the key to development: Development is not just change in terms of saving - income ratio, or export-GNP ratio; development is an enormously complex process involving changes in customs, habits and ways of doing things”.

Rath (1981) views that the economic development of the tribal people is closely related to their educational development. He also suggests that programmes of economic development and the spread of education should go side by side if both are to succeed with the adoption of the Constitution. Further the promotion of education to scheduled
tribe has become a special responsibility of central and state governments. Article-46 of the Indian Constitution lays down a Directive Principle of State Policy. It provides that, "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the people in general and in particular of S.Cs and S.Ts, and shall protect them from social injustices and all forms of exploitation". Indeed education is the key to development. It can broaden the world view of tribals, equipping them to meet the present day challenges. However the spread of education is dependent on several social and economic forces. Ever since the plan era started, governmental efforts in the field of tribal education have been directed to remove educational disparities between the tribals and non-tribals. But the total picture of the spread of education among the tribals is not very encouraging. The scheduled tribes are educationally backward. The percentage of literacy among the tribals in the country is 31.15% as against the general literacy level of 65.38% as per 2001 Census. Where as in Orissa the percentage of literacy among the tribals is 37.37% as against the general literacy level of 63.61% as per 2001 Census. Similarly the percentage of literacy among the tribals in Rayagada district of Orissa is 20.23% as against the general literacy level of 36.15% as per 2001 Census.

With regard to literacy rate among the tribal female in comparisons to that of male is of a very disappointing one. As per 2001 census the percentage of literacy among the tribal female in Orissa is 23.73% as against 51.48% among the tribal male. Similarly in Rayagada district the literacy percentage of tribal female is 10.07% as against 31.16% among the tribal male as per 2001 census. The National Policy of Education (NPE) 1986, regarded STs, SCs, women, minorities and other educationally backward sections as the deprived groups needing special attention. The 1986 Education Policy Resolution called
for a strategy of educational development to correct regional imbalances and minimization of intra and inter-group disparities.

In Orissa, Ashram Schools are providing free boarding & lodging facilities to the tribal pupils. Besides offering a good study atmosphere, providing good results than the ordinary general schools. Due to years of isolation from other segments of society, tribal face the problem of verbal and non-verbal communication. Their languages & dialects are in the rudimentary stage, so they are placed at a great disadvantage. Most of the states in India impart education to tribal & non-tribal children alike through the medium of regional languages. This results in low achievement of the tribal pupil in the examination.

Social factors play important role in their successful implantation of educational programme for any society, more so for a tribal society. Tribal people have never been given an equal status by their non-tribal neighbours and like the sudras of the Hindus have denied the benefit of education. It goes without saying that education, in whatever form may be, has to be disseminated to the tribal who can not at this stage understand its benefit. Therefore they can not go in search of education, instead education has to be taken to their doors.

It is feared that the educated tribal boys and girls may loose their moorings and being cast adrift without any goal. Some tribal societies have shown a weakening of the traditional social institutions after some of their members have been educated. These social barriers and psychological complexes have to be overcome. Here the importance of social education could be emphasized. It is believed that (as studied by Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe Training and Research Institute, Bhubaneswar) to teach the children, we have first to teach the parents. Poverty is a great obstacle to successful education. For a
tribal family, a school going child is an asset. So children are expected to contribute a little income towards the family. At some places the economic assistance given by the Govt. is not enough to attract the parents to take advantage of them and send their children to school.

**Statements of the Problem**

Social scientists and social reformers had envisaged that education will bring change in the lives of the tribal people like any other social group. But it is sad to note, that after years of different plans and programmes related to education by the government the desired level of education and socio-economic development for the tribals have not yet been achieved. There seems to be a wide range of gap between planning and implementation as well as the implementing agencies and the beneficiaries in this regard. These gap should be abridged so as to bring the tribal at par with the main stream society.

It is not that tribals did not have their own system of education. The tribal communities had been living in isolation and had their own traditional education system since time immemorial. From the perspective of the tribes living in Rayagada district, the main function of this education has been making individuals a responsible members of their respective society (pilot survey). Hence for any educational programme to succeed, there should be a policy which caters to the basic needs of the tribals living in a particular area. Which can make their lives more happy. A general observation of the education system in the tribal society of Orissa in general and Rayagada district in particular reveal that government, voluntary agencies, missionaries and village councils are running their own educational institutions with their own specific programme. This has not benefited
the tribals which is evident from the low literacy level of the tribes. In Orissa the percentage of literacy among the tribals is 37.37% as against the general literacy level of 63.61% as per 2001 Census. Similarly the percentage of literacy among the tribals in Rayagada district of Orissa is 20.23% as against the general literacy level of 36.15% as per 2001 Census. Therefore, it is high time that the state government should frame its own policy, keeping with the basic needs of the tribals of the area and see to it that the various agencies like voluntary agencies, missionary schools and village councils adhere to the educational policies laid down by the state.

During the pilot study it was found that the dominant institutional agency for imparting education in Rayagada district is Ashram schools/Residential schools. In these Ashram schools the tribal children are drawn from the villages usually with vernacular linguistic background. But the teachers who teach here in these schools are not from the same background. Hence, when the teachers teach, the children are not able to follow, which retards the speed of learning of the children. The other problem faced by the children is that they are not able to identify with the curriculum as there is nothing which belongs to their society. Their icons, world view, environment etc. all is missing. There is also the problem of adjustment in the hostel because they are forced to lead altogether a new life away from their parents. Hence there is the need of socialization of both knowledge givers and knowledge seekers, so that the communication, identification and motivation in the education system related to tribals in the area can be made more functional.
Review of literature

A comparative review of literature is of immense help in any research endeavor. The function of review of literature is to determine what theoretical and empirical work has already been conducted previously, assist in delineation of problems, providing insight into methods and procedures and thereby tress out the research gap so as to abridge it on the basis of present investigation. With this express purpose in mind the researcher has embarked upon reviewing the available and pertinent literature, related to this proposed work.

Lerner (1962) reports that disadvantaged children are more present oriented and they have vague and indefinite notion about the future and little sense of pattern and regularity.

Das (1963) in his Article “Reorientation of Ashram School Education” said that the Ashram Schools in Orissa were highly praised by the visitors and dignitaries from outside the State. The standard of education in Ashram schools at the present time has been no way inferior to other general schools in the State, which reveals that, provided with adequate opportunities the tribal boys and girls can compete with the non-tribals.

Bose’s (1963) study on socio-psychological background of adolescent children of West Bengal Himalyan Region, in relation to Co-curricular participation, revealed that the children belonged to middle socio-economic class were found to be educationally backward with religious and communal feelings and there was no rigid, inter tribal group relations. They were found to be low in morale and fairly communal due to thwarted social participation, flexible in the aspects of emotion and temperament and without any cognizable extent of economic frustration. The efficiency of group processing technique
was proved in physical education in building up a better psychological structure for social and personal adjustment in the formative ages (i.e. 14 to 16 years for tribal children).

Dasgupta (1963) has discussed the reservation of seats in Colleges, Schools and technical schools and also analysed in detail about tribal economy with reference to education among the santhals of Chhotanagpur area.

Lakra (1976) in his study “Impact of Education on the Tribal of Ranchi District” concludes that intelligent students pick up jobs, the un-intelligent ones become delinquents and the educated youth go towards cities. They are neglecting the tribal occupations of agriculture and handicrafts.

Shah (1992) in her book titled “Tribal Education: perspective to prospects” surveys in the district Chamoli – a border area of the State of Uttar Pradesh (India) observes that in India, educational programmes are usually designed to meet the requirements of the average ability, whereas, tribal students are still far-far below the national average and therefore the programmes of government have failed to meet out their needs. Moreover, tribals are to alien to the cultural characteristics of a sophisticated institution like school, colleges and other educational institutions, which might also contribute in pushing them out. Thus, it is worthwhile to understand this phenomenon in proper perspective and device some means to improve their educational status.

Kundu (1994) reports that tribal education in India is beset with a multiplicity of problems, such as problems in the existing policy and programmes; Socio economic, cultural and ethnic problems; linguistic problems and in appropriation of the existing education system for tribal learners. He further observes that these problems in tribal education are responsible for the large-scale dropouts among the tribal pupils, their poor
performance in schools and colleges and ultimately for the little spread of education among the tribals of India.

Nambissan (1995) in her article “Gender and Education: The Social Context of School Girl Children in India” outlines that social processes within the family and school have implications for the education of girls. Cultural norms and expectations regarding women’s roles and hence gender socialisation, is likely to vary across social strata. Gender socialisation within family results in differential accuation of abilities and aptitudes among boys and girls. Gender norms are relatively more flexible among poorer and lower caste communities and hence may not be reasons for non-enrolment of girl children in school. On the other hand poverty appears to be a major factor that denies education to the girl child.

Taradatt (2001) in his book “Tribal Development in India (Orissa)” critically analyses various constitutional safeguards, development policies, approaches, plans, strategies and schemes enunciated and implemented for the tribal areas and the people in post independence India. He underscores the vitiating atmosphere due to too much of politics that has increasingly complicated the task of developing tribal areas and people. The author feels the induced and continuing tendency in some intellectuals, administrators, leaders and NGOs to magnify the so-called conflicts between the tribal and non-tribal people seem to be causing more damage to the process of their integration and development.

C. Jeffrey, P. Jeffery and R. Jeffery (2005) have discussed that since the 1960s, Dalits investment in formal education in rural Uttar Pradesh has seen a marked rise, in part through emulation of higher caste. The Chamars of Uttar Pradesh view education as
a means of escaping their former discrimination along the lines of caste and constructing an alternative future liberated from a stigmatised illiterate identity. The Chamar netas believed that the educated demonstrate modesty, style and good sense, which the uneducated lack. The pro-Dalit Bahujan Samajwadi Party has also been instrumental in promoting a vision of empowerment through a formal education and entry into white-collar employment for the Chamars.

Bara (2005) in his article "Seeds of mistrust: tribal and colonial perspectives on education in Chhotanagpur, 1834-c.1850" brings out that up to 1840s Chhotanagpur did not even figure on the educational map of India despite the fact that Chhotanagpur was administratively under the province of Bengal (Calcutta) considered as the Oxford of the east by the British Government. This was due to lack of commitment in government policy and a pattern of uneven growth and the tribal particularly the Munda, Uraon and Ho largely stayed away from the new educational institutions of the British. He further underscores that the resolve to educate the tribal led the government to employ the Christian missionaries in the field after 1850. The agency of the missionaries greatly removed the difficulty for the tribal in joining colonial education. The missionary schools thus became the schools of the tribal in Chhotanagpur.

Sharma (2006) in his article "Post-Independence Policies of Tribal Development in India: A Critical Appraisal with Special Reference to Sub-Plan Strategy" outlines that the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy over the years clearly shows that it has resulted in a quantum jump in the level of plan allocation for the tribal areas. On the other hand, even though the highest priority was formally given to elimination of exploitation, that part remained a
non-starter. The concerned states have not even cared to make regulations for “peace and good governance”.

The mentioned sources of literature have also highlighted the contribution of education to development. It is viewed that education is fundamental to the social development. Illiteracy is invariably associated with deprivation and socio-economic underdevelopment. Realization of this basic truth ultimately found expression in the resolution “Education for all” at the world conference on education held in March, 1990 at Jontien, Thailand. The vast literature of social science acknowledges education as the most important co-relate of development. Education enriches life and helps an individual to develop his personality. It is of special significance for rural masses, who are facing a new situation in the development process to adjust themselves to the changing conditions. The role of education, as a direct investment, can be appreciated considering the spectacular recovery of war torn economy of Europe and Japan after the 2nd World War. The fast reconstruction of the economy was based largely on the skill capital in this nations, which is indestructible over a short period. While a number of devices can be adopted for solving the problems of transition, sound foundation in the developing economy for sustained growth can be laid only through a system of universal education, up to a particular level. In the process of change, communication of ideas assumes a vital role. At the more local and practical level, education helps in breaking down the barriers on the way to change and assists the rural people to understand and adopt the new ideas, particularly, where these result in long term rather than immediate and more obvious benefits to the community (Batten, TR.1959)
It has been confirmed through various studies that the children of illiterate parents fall behind in scholastic achievements (Myrdal 1968). One detrimental effect of an illiterate home begins in pre-school years, the formative stage of life, when attitudes are shaped and that would tend to persist. The educational programmes help to train the people to place responsibilities before rights. Education has also a determining influence on the rate of which economic progress is achieved and benefits which can be deprived form it.

Economic development naturally makes growing demand on human resources and in a democratic set up it calls for values and attitudes in the building of which education plays a dominant part. Considering the contribution of education to the development and recognition of the right to learn, emphasis has to be made on its universal out-reach, which co-relates to the development of the nation's economy. Thus there is a nexus between universalisation of elementary education, continuing non-formal and adult education. Although the sources referred here have given a credible account of the role of education in tribal development, yet they remain vague and at time silent on certain issues that this research would like to address. Most importantly none of the above mentioned literature brings out an effective linkage between education and development in the context of tribal society. Keeping in view of the above mentioned literatures the researcher has taken the proposed work, which will do justice for this purpose.
**Approaches to Tribal Development**

Since the 19th and the 20th centuries, sociologists, social anthropologists and social reformers have taken great interest in tribal educational development and its effects on tribal society. Nehru (1958), Elwin (1939, 1963), Mahapatra (1968), Ghurye (1963) have in fact provided several insights in this regard, which are still today taken as the starting points by contemporary sociologists and social anthropologists for their studies. Therefore this proposed study will also consider the views of the aforesaid reformers and theorists.

Nehru (1958) sought that tribes should “develop along the lines of their own genius” and he further assured that in no case should there be any imposition in the name of their development. In his own words: “I am not at all sure which way of living is better ours or theirs. But in some ways, I am quite certain their is better. A great deal of things could be learnt from their culture especially in the frontier areas. They are people who sing and dance and try to enjoy life: not people who sit in stock exchanges and shout at each other and call that civilization” (Nehru, 1952). Addressing an all India conference of the tribals held at Jagdalpur (Baster district of the then Madhya Pradesh) in March, 1955, he advised his tribal brethren in the following words: “we want that you should be educated and should do your part in the welfare of our country” (Nehru, 1955).

For the first time Nehru (1958) gave a “Panchsheel” i.e. five fundamental principles for the tribal upliftment, as an integrational approach which was later confirmed by the researches of anthropologists. From the experience of the working of the “Panchsheel” for the tribals, we find (i) that we should not force tribals to do things, (ii) that tribal rights aim at saving tribals from exploitation, which can be possible only by integrating
them with their neighboring people, (iii) that only tribal officers may work in the area
with some local bias and in these conditions experienced non-tribal officers have proved
themselves to be anthropological in approach (iv) that tribal programmes be very simple
and (v) that one has to “serve the tribals in a dedicated spirit”.

Elwin (1964) Adviser on tribal affairs to the Government of Assam recommended
isolation of tribal groups in certain extreme cases. His “National Park” policy of keeping
the tribals as “museum specimens” became the model in tribal education and
development for the administration. Later, Elwin in the second edition of his book
developed what he meant. He clarified “we do not want to preserve the tribesmen as
museum specimens, but equally we do not want to stop the clock of progress, but we do
want to see that it keeps the right time. We may not believe in the myth of noble savage
but we do not want to create a class of ignoble...”. These above views of Elwin promoted
the administrator/policy maker to open ashram schools for the education of SCs&STs in
the country.

The declaration of a “few particular areas of tribal concentration as Scheduled
Areas and Tribal Areas“ is again an example of isolation. The subcommittee, with Shri
A.V. Thakkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi as Chairman, constituted by the
constituent Assembly, had emphasized that the great need of the aboriginal was
protection from expropriation from his agricultural land and virtual serfdom under the
money lender. It further recommended “considering the past experiences and the strong
temptation to take advantage of the tribal simplicity and weakness it is essential to
provide statutory safeguards for the protection of the land “ (Elwin 1963: 15-16).
Various social anthropologists have viewed tribal education and development on the line of "assimilation approach". The assimilation of the tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is a continuous process and the culture contact weight the neighbouring population is held responsible for it. Kroeber opines that, "normally we may expect assimilation only when the outlook of one society is inclusive and when this society is definitely the stronger and its culture is more advanced". In India, the tribal people have come in contact with different Hindu and other communities and situations have different degrees of cultural contact leading to assimilation in different parts. Some tribals have gradually accepted the Hindu way of life and others have converted to Christianity.

The process of assimilation with regard to tribal education and development has been a part and parcel of the Indian tribal culture. Mahapatra (1968) feels that there was an age old process of cultural assimilation in Orissa especially among the tribes like the Binjhal, Bhuiyan, Gond, Kond etc. All this points to gradual assimilation into the Hindu peasantry at various levels as Kshatriya agricultural clean caste or even low caste. Ghurye(1963) characterised the tribals as backward Hindus and argued that any attempt to isolate them from the mainstream of Indian life would be meaningless. He further underlined the status of the tribals in the total social structure. He continued to pursue the question of integration of the tribals with the mainstream society. In the revised book "The Scheduled Tribe" published in 1959, he brought the problems of tribal integration in the latest political and Constitutional situation in the country. O'Malley (1912) views the Khonds of Puri, were so Hinduised as to resemble the lower Oriya Castes of the Hindus. The Soaras of Puri are considered good enough to serve as cooks in the temple of
Jagannatha. Thus the tribal people to some extent have assimilated themselves in the neighbour folk people and have been fairly intimate contact with them. Which has also reflected in their educational advancement.

Majumdar opines that there are three distinct zones with specific problems awaiting solution and no two areas have similar problems. He finds two types of efforts that have been made for the welfare of the tribal community viz. (i) Reform Approach and (ii) Administrative Approach. In the reform approach he includes the social reformer and the administrator backed by the social scientist. He is of the view that anthropology is not merely an academic discipline, it is also an applied science and has worked everywhere as a hand-maid to politics, imperialism and colonialism. Reform he says, should be brought about among the tribals only by first understanding the tribal dynamic. Expert knowledge of anthropological methods and techniques of approach should be used both by the administrators and social reformers. He however, concludes that the reform approach can not solve the problems of the tribals, unless and it is important, the tribal leadership is initiated in the matter of tribal reform.

Under the administrative approach, according to Majumdar, the State and Central Governments have helped the tribals in a stereotyped way-so many wells have been dug, so many schools have been opened, tribal education is being imparted through their own dialect, etc. What has been done in Hyderabad is being done repeated in Assam and Chotanagpur. This is not correct. The welfare programmes should be suitably adjusted to the requirements of each area. Again he prefers going in for nationalisation of welfare activities to leaving the destiny of the tribals in the hands of so called politicians.
Thus, in brief, dealing with a subject embedded in tribal education and development it would not be appropriate without a discussion of the approaches that have had a profound impact on the discipline. Therefore I would like to carry out the proposed research by drawing relevant perspectives and insights from the above mentioned approaches given by different administrators and social anthropologists which would help to address the issue under consideration.

The following two tables show the disappointing results of educational and developmental aspects of the tribal across the country. It proves how we have failed in dealing with tribal education and development after years of successive plan era.

**Table-1.1**

**Urban & Rural Literacy rates of Scheduled Tribes by gender (2001)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Male Rural</th>
<th>Female Rural</th>
<th>Male Urban</th>
<th>Female Urban</th>
<th>Male Total</th>
<th>Female Total</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Meghalaya</td>
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<td>53.97</td>
<td>88.95</td>
<td>84.58</td>
<td>63.49</td>
<td>59.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>East</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>37.57</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>74.18</td>
<td>55.28</td>
<td>39.76</td>
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<tr>
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<td>69.80</td>
<td>45.77</td>
<td>51.48</td>
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<td>48.20</td>
<td>57.38</td>
<td>29.15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
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<td>27.24</td>
<td>67.47</td>
<td>45.89</td>
<td>53.55</td>
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<tr>
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<td>34.60</td>
<td>71.01</td>
<td>51.78</td>
<td>59.18</td>
<td>36.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>39.88</td>
<td>82.98</td>
<td>64.70</td>
<td>67.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>25.22</td>
<td>75.74</td>
<td>42.97</td>
<td>62.10</td>
<td>26.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
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<td>18.34</td>
<td>60.61</td>
<td>39.54</td>
<td>48.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>77.18</td>
<td>52.50</td>
<td>92.03</td>
<td>81.15</td>
<td>77.71</td>
<td>53.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
South
Andhra Pradesh  46.09  24.48  66.16  45.99  47.66  26.11
Kerala        70.20  57.28  84.96  77.70  70.78  58.11
Tamil Nadu    47.19  29.48  66.56  50.68  50.15  32.78
India         57.39  32.44  77.77  59.87  59.17  34.76

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India.

### Spatial Variation (Data According HDI, 1999-2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidence of Poverty among STs</th>
<th>States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely High (&gt;50%)</td>
<td>Orissa, Jharkhand, M.P. (including Chattisgarh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (30 to 50%)</td>
<td>West Bengal, Maharshtra, Assam, U.P. (including Uttaranchal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate (20 to 30 %)</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low(&lt; 20%)</td>
<td>North East</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Objective of study

1. To assess the level of education among the tribes in Rayagada district of the State of Orissa.
2. To find out whether the tribal had any form of educational institutions of their own and the nature and functions of such institutions in their society.
3. To enquire about their views and the meaning they attach to formal educational institutions vis-à-vis their traditional ones.
4. To identify the factors hindering educational development among the tribals.
5. To find out the provisions made by the government, which facilitate educational development among the tribal people.
6. To find out the association between educational development and tribal development.
7. To examine the suitability of present strategy for imparting rightful education which can influence the socio-economic development.
8. To find out the impact of globalization and urbanisation among the educated tribal youth.
9. To find out the perceptual gap between the educated and un-educated tribal youths relating to development.
Hypotheses
The following hypotheses are formulated for the proposed study.

1. Despite several plans, programmes and strategies of development, the desired level of education among tribals is not yet achieved.

2. The tribal had informal educational system for socialization of the younger to the adult human being.

3. The tribal attach negative views on the formal educational system of the government.

4. Socio-cultural factors cause major hindrance to the educational development of the tribal.

5. The failures of the provisions for tribal development are attributed to the non-involvement of the locals at the implementation level.

6. There exists a positive association between educational development and tribal development.

7. The existing strategies of education is obsolete to serve the purpose of tribal development.

8. The educated tribal youths prefer to move out of their villages in search of jobs in cities and towns.

9. There exists a wide perceptual gap between the educated and un-educated tribal youths.

Research Methodology
The research design was comprised of an exploratory-cum-explanatory study seeking to reveal Education and Development: A Sociological of Tribal Villages in Orissa. The rational of choosing three villages namely Sagada, Keraba and Karanjasingh of Gunpur block of Rayagada district in Orissa as the universe of research is one, that this proposed district is recognized as the scheduled area, where the tribal constitute more than 50% of the total population. Three villages Sagada, Kereba and Karnjasing of Gunpur block with 738, 532 & 507 population respectively were selected for the field work. The reason for
taking these villages for field study was that, there are primitive tribal groups (Lanjia Souras) who reside in this villages. Further number of government programmes/projects for their development are also being run in the area. Therefore this area was helpful in the research. Keeping in view of the objectives of study we selected a sample of 264 respondants with random sampling technique. The representative samples were drawn from educated and uneducated tribals. The samples included members from teachers, parents, educated and uneducated tribal youths etc. living in the said villages for research.

For collecting primary data from the sample we used unstructured interview scheduled. The use of unstructured interview scheduled was necessary because it would have been difficult to converse with the respondents as their spoken language is Oriya/local dialect. Moreover many of them were illiterate and could not read, if the data were collected from the questionnaire. The interview scheduled were translated into oriya so that there was no communication problem. The qualitative data about the problem were substantiated with this help. Secondary data also were collected from government reports assessed by ST & SC Development Department, Government of Orissa. Further other sources of secondary data about the study were collected from Oriya and English literature written or preserved about the tribals. We extracted data for our studies from articles in magazines and newspapers, books, documentary files which have dealt with the related area of research.

Data collected from the above mentioned three villages reveals that out of the total 264 respondents 156 or 59.09% respondents were male and the rest 108 or 40.9% were female. Of the 156 male 96 or 36.36% were in the age group of 15-30 years and the other 60 or 22.27% male respondents were in the age group of 30-45 years of age. It is
interesting to note that there were no male respondents in the age group of 1-15 and 45 and above category in the sample. Of 108 or 40.9% tribal females selected 36, 48, 12, and 12 were divided in the age group of 1-15, 15-30, 30-45 and 45 and above years respectively.

192 or 72.72% respondents were married and 72 or 27.27% were found to be unmarried. In the other categories like widow, widower, divorced and separated there were no respondents. Of the 192 married respondents 108, 72 and 12 are in the age group of 15-30, 30-45, 45 and above respectively. Similarly of the 72 unmarried respondents there are only two age groups, i.e 1-15, and 15-30 numbers 36 and 36 respectively.

We have 132 or 50% families in the income group of Rs.100-500, 96 or 36.36% families in the income group of Rs.500-1000, 24 or 9% in the income group of Rs.1000-1500 and only 12 or 4.5% respondents fall in the range of Rs.2500 and above income group. The low economic status of the tribals in the area is evident from the fact that there are no respondents who had income of Rs.2000-2500. Of the 132 or 50% respondents found in the income category of Rs.2000-2500/- 12, 96 and 24 were in the age group of 1-15, 15-30 and 30-45 respectively. There was no respondent in the age group of 45 and above. Similarly of the 96 tribal belonging to the income category of Rs.500-1000/- 24, 48 and 24 respondents were in the age group of 1-15, 15-30 and 30-45 respectively. All the 24 or 9% respondents in the monthly income of Rs.1000-1500 belong to the age group of 30-45 years of age. Where as all the 12 or 4.5% respondents in the income group of Rs.2500 and above belong to the age group of 45 and above years.
While evaluating the educational status of the respondents we have found that 48 or 18.18% respondents had primary level of education, 144 or 54.54% respondents were having education in the range of primary and VIII class and 72 or 27.27% respondents had education in the range of class IX-XI. From this we can infer that the tribals have very low educational status as they did not have a single person in the range of graduation and above. Of the 48 or 18.18% primary level educated respondents 24 each fall in group of 15-30 and 30-45 years of the age respectively. There are no respondents in this educational achievement in the age group of 1-15 and 45 and above years of age. Further 144 or 54.54% primary to class-VIII educated tribal respondents 12, 108 and 24 belong to the age group of 1-15, 15-30 and 30-45 years of age respectively. There are no respondents in this educational status in the age group category of 45 and above. Similarly of the 72 or 27.27% tribals who have educational qualification in the range of class-IX-XII 24, 12, 24 and 12 respondents belong to the age group of 1-15, 15-30, 30-45, 45 and above years respectively. There are no respondents in this educational status in the range of beyond primary and class XIII and above.

As far as occupational diversity among tribals is concerned, tribals do have of occupational status. 12 or 4.5% respondents belong to the category of government employee. 108 or 40.9% respondents belonged to self-employed category. Similarly 108 and 12 respondents fall under the agricultural labourer and housewife respectively. No respondent was found in the retired category. Further when we observe the respondents belonging to government employee category we see that all of them are in the age group of 45 and above years. Of the total 108 or 40.9% self-employed tribals 12, 60 and 36 respondents were in the age group of 1-15, 15-30 and 30-45 years respectively. Similarly
of the 108 or 40.9% respondents agricultural labour class 84 and 24 respondents were in
the age group of 15-30 and 30-45 years of age respectively and there are no respondents
in the age group of 1-15 and 45 and above years in this category. Of the total 12 or 4.5%
house wife category all are in the age group of 30-45 years. The other age groups 1-15,
15-30 and 45 and above has no respondents belonging to house wife category. Similarly
of the total number 24 or 9% respondents in the ‘Any other’ occupational category are
students and fall in the age group of 1-15 years of age. There are no respondents
belonging to this category in other three age group in the sample that is in the age of 1-
15, 30-45, and 45 and above.

As we have already stated that tribals have two types of families, nuclear and joint
families. Out of total 264 respondents 180 or 68.18% said that they live in joint families
and rest of them live in nuclear families. From the above we can infer that still tribals
prefer joint family system. Further the sample also suggests that respondent of 15-30 and
30-45 age group prefer joint family more because their number is 72 and 60 respectively.
Similarly it can be inferred from the above that young people within the age group of 15-
30 prefer nuclear family as they account for 85% of the total 84 respondents.

It is interesting to note here that almost all the 264 respondents in the selected
sample for the present study are followers of Christianity. It is important to mention here
that the people of all the three villages studied i.e Sogoda Keraba and Karanjasingh are
the followers of Christianity. Hence all the respondents are Christians.
Field Experience of the Research Scholar

After the finalization of the Interview Schedule draft, I had to translate it into Oriya language for collection of my field data. Gunpur block of Rayagada District in the state of Orissa was the universe of my study. When I proceeded for the pilot study to the concerned area the people were reluctant to meet me and did not respond to my work as I was new to the people and to the area. It was very difficult for me to explain them about my research work and they were not prepared to listen me. I had to return from the place after my first visit to the area. Later I understood that the tribal people of that area are mostly Christian by religion and I was advised to approach to the local Church Priest and explain about the research purpose. When I did so the parish priest Fr. Khirod Montry was very cordial and was ready to help in convincing the people. He accompanied me to the villages and explained them about the purpose of my research and asked them to cooperate me. I had just started taking interview with the people then there was a naxal attack on the police personnel in the adjacent Malkangiri district in the month of June-2008. I felt it was not proper for me to stay in the field as the area which also has a considerable influence of the naxals. I returned from the field for the second time without collecting any substantial field information.

I resumed my work when the naxal situation was bit normal. When I started interviewing with the people some of the elderly people neither spoke nor understood Oriya language as they knew only their local dialect (i.e. Suara language) which I could not follow. It was very difficult for me to explain them, so I took the help of younger people who explained them in their local language and informed me in Oriya. On interviewing with the people regarding my topic related issues they were not able to
convince me due to their language problem. But some younger people tried to help in explaining their local problems.

One of the villages i.e. Kamjasing is situated at the top of the hill, I remember our motor bike could not climb, we had to keep the bike in between the mountain and climbed the mountain on foot about 2 k.m to reach the village. In this way I interviewed the non-Oriya speaking tribal people which took almost 2 hours for one interviewee. I stayed for a month (July-August-08) and did my study in the field. It was a very nice and enriching experience. I sincerely hope the research findings will enable in explaining sociological analysis to a great extent.

**Relevance of the Research**

After years of different schemes, plans, programmes, welfare activities by Govt. (Central and state) as well as various agencies, the desired level of education and socio-economic development for the tribal have not yet been achieved. The finding of the present study definitely throw new light on this and assist in abridging the gap between planning and implementation. Suggestions and recommendations given after the research findings will definitely enlighten the policy makers and social activities for the overall developmental work for tribal in the state.

Hence the present research on "**Education and Development: A sociological Analysis of Tribal villages in Orissa**" is considered as one of the important and challenging subject matter of sociological Investigation. The sociological topics like "Tribal Education", "Tribal Literacy", "Tribal Development", "Tribal Economy", "Tribal Culture" etc. are the favorite subject matter of Sociologists, Social Anthropologists and Anthropologists. The study becomes more significant when we
relates both education and development of the tribals. The task become more challenging when we undertake the study of Primitive Tribal Group like the ‘Saora’ of Orissa, whose education and socio-economic development are much below than the other tribal communities in the state. However a Socio-anthropological attempts have been made to highlight different facets of education and development of the “Saora” tribe. We have also discussed various Constitutional provisions and Govt. policies for the tribal education and development so as to get a clear picture of it.

The study also has discussed all the Five Year Plans and the steps taken in different plan periods for the education and development of the tribals. It has also attempted to find out the lacuna and the existing gap between planning and implementation level. As a result of which the educational and socio-economic development of the tribals are far from satisfactory. Majority of them remain illiterate and poor and are still living isolated and cut off from the mainstream society.

The first chapter is the introduction of the present research topic, which includes, Statements of the problem, Review of Literatures, Approaches to Tribal Development, Objectives of Study, Hypotheses, Research Methodology, Field Experience of the Research Scholar and the Relevance of the Research.

The second chapter discusses the theoretical frame work of the study basically understanding of education and development, wherein we analyse both the educational theory and developmental theory separately as both are independent variables in the study. In both cases the discussions have been from the classical theorists till the modern ones. For this purpose top most care have been taken to make the theoretical analysis more illustrative and comprehensive so as to make the study more relevant and
meaningful. The educational theorists include Parsons, Durkheim, Bowles & Gintis, Bourdieu & Passeron, Spencer, Tagore, Gandhi, and Zakir Husain. On the other hand the Development theorists are Peter Worsley, Adam Smith, Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Furtado, Myrdal, Hoselitz, Smelser, Samir Amin and Amartya Sen.

The third chapter discusses the research setting, area, population, socio-economic context and the general profile of Sagada, Keraba and Karanjasingh villages under Gunpur block in Rayagada district of Orissa is the universe of study. From these villages 264 samples have been selected basing on different socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Apart from analysing different tribal community, their habitat and geographical distribution in the state this chapter also illustrates the different primitive tribal groups in general and the Saora tribe in particular. The Saora’s economic, geographical, social, political and religious belief and practice have been discussed extensively. In the changing world order the Saora’s life pattern has not remained untouched which is also shown in this chapter.

The fourth chapter is related to the policies and programmes of educational development of the tribal and the various provisions related in it. In this chapter there is an extensive discussion on the educational development of the tribals. Apart from discussing traditional institutions for tribal education, it also analyses the tribal women’s education and the related policies in it. Coupled with this the chapter discusses about the primary, upper primary and non-formal education of the tribals. There is also an extensive illustration of govt. policies on hostel facilities, scholarship, reading and writing materials. There is also field report analysis related to tribal education so as to know the actual picture in the ground level.
The chapter fifth marks the socio-economic development of tribals which is basically the evaluation of different tribal development programmes. This chapter finds the illustration of KBK projects which include ITDA, TSP, MADA, Cluster Approach, Articale-375(1), Micro-project etc. This analysis includes different plans and programmes of both central and state government which have been meant for the tribal. For this, different approaches of tribal development are also highlighted including Isolation, Assimilation and Integration and also Tribal Panchseel of Nehru before analysing in the context of Orissa. There is also discussion of the resources/funds for the tribal Sub-Plan like Flow of Funds from State Plan, Central/Centrally Sponsored Schemes, Special Central Assistance including Article-275(1) and Institutional Finance. To know the actual benefit of the plan and development schemes this chapter also discusses the field information in details to substantiate and make the study more relevant. There is also field report analysis on the Evaluation of Tribal Development programmes to find out the actual practical reality.

The chapter sixth discusses education as means for socio-economic development. This chapter shows basically the association between educational development and tribal development and also highlights the role of education as an effective means for socio-economic development of the tribal. In this segment govt.policies which have been designed for tribal education and role of school education among the scheduled tribes have been highlighted. Apart from the above role of education on economy and occupational mobility of tribal in both pre-and post-independence period have been analyzed. An extensive discussion on the contribution of education to development before analyzing social development and importance of
material and non-material benefits have done in this chapter. In the segment of NGOs and Tribal development there is a remarkable highlights on the importance of NGOs intervention and their participatory mobilization & awareness generation and implementation of educational programmes. There is also the discussion of field report analysis on the association between educational development and tribal development in this chapter.

**Conclusion** deals with the concrete finding of the present study. It gives complete sociological explanations of this problem. Suggestion or constructive views for the better implementation of govt. policies on tribal education and socio-economic development have been made to treat them at par with the rest of society.
REFERENCE


Nehru, Jawaharlal. 1958. Foreword to the second edition (1959) of Verrier Elwin’s A Philosophy for NEF, Shillong: Advisor to the Governor of Assam.


