CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
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Education is learning things, acquiring knowledge by experience and introspection. Education is an adjustment of man with himself, others and nature to fulfil man's aims in his life and enable him to use the potential of his body, mind, personality, surroundings and circumstances, so that he may accomplish maximum for himself and for others. Education has to be related to life. It should reflect the needs of the community. It is concerned with the whole life in its manifestation. Life has multifarious facets such as physical, mental, social, cultural, economic, religious and political.

Education helps community achieve the desired levels of development. Indeed, it enables them to utilise the opportunities for their advantage. Thus, it serves as a means to achieve these ends. Belshaw observes that "education is both a goal and or means ------- education creates and channels occupational skills, and may be articulated with the total socio-economic system in an instrumental or anti instrumental way. The bearing of education upon development must be decided through a juxtaposition of all these considerations" (1972: 80-94).
Education is a harmonious development of the individual in the context of the community to which he belongs. There is always interaction between the environment and the individual. The personality of the individual is moulded to a large extent by the culture in which he is born and brought up. Thus education is related to culture. Educational anthropology has developed out of this understanding. The term 'education' has been variously defined. These definitions comprehend it from a general process of 'enculturation' to that of a process of 'schooling'.

Herskovits (1951: 310-326) considers that both enculturation and education are universals in culture but whereas schooling is not. No doubt, every society has certain standardized procedures of training its members within the contours of its culture, mostly in an informal atmosphere, but they cannot be equated with schooling, as it is a formalized process.

Whether it is enculturation or schooling, both are inter-related to culture. Kneller states that "education reacts to events in other parts of culture and may on occasion affects these events itself" (Kneller, 1965: 13).

Education is a stabilizer of culture whereby culture is transmitted from one generation to the other, thus it maintains continuity and instrument for adaptation and change.
Spindler observes that "education, in every cultural setting, is an instrument for survival. It is also an instrument for adaptation and change" (Spindler, 1972: V).

Clyde Kluckhohn (1962) says that "from primitive tribes to modern civilizations, the task of education has been first and foremost that of transmitting, expounding, and in some cases refining the great values of culture".

Education takes various forms. Parents pass on accumulated knowledge and information to their children. A child also gets education from the persons he/she comes into contact, also gains something through observation of things around him/her. All the experience the human beings gain in the process of enculturation can be called informal education. Formal education passes on this accumulated knowledge and information in an organized and systematic form, and at the same time developing abilities of the receivers to acquire knowledge for future generation. It is aimed at creating reading, writing and understanding abilities in the child.

However, this institutional arrangement, though in vogue for centuries, is not accessible to one and all. There are several reasons for it. One of them is that such institutional arrangements is not either available to the isolated population or the sections of the population who are economically poor and unable to avail it. If a society is highly
segregated in the form of social, economic and geographic entities and disparities, any attempt to provide education based on the model institutional arrangements for the betterment of different sections of society is not possible and it cannot ensure mass participation. Therefore, given the structure of a society, if mass-based education has to be provided, the society has to make such institutional arrangements which would take care of social, cultural, economic and geographic inequalities.

The Scheduled Tribes are an important segment constituting 7.51 per cent of the national population. There are 450 tribal communities in India. Among these, there are tribes like the Bhil, the Gond, and the Santal with a population around four millions each, large enough to people a Nation.

Andhra Pradesh has the largest concentration of tribals in South India. According to 1981 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh is 3.18 millions constituting 5.92 per cent of the total population of the state. The tribes in Andhra Pradesh inhabit the Plains as well as the Agency Areas. The tribes inhabiting the Agency Areas are the Andh, the Bagatha, the Chenchu, the Gadaba, the Gond, the Kolam, the Koya, the Savara, the Jatapu, and the Konda Reddi etc., whereas the tribes of the Plains are the
Kattunayakan, the Rona, the Sugali, the Yanadi, and the Yerukula.

The Scheduled Tribes in terms of demography, physical barriers, ecology, economy and other socio-cultural aspects are different from the rest of the population. Despite many developmental and educational programmes launched for the benefit of the tribal communities, they still remain backward both educationally and economically.

Sachchidananda (1967: 99-108) points out that the numerous programmes of socio-economic development undertaken in the tribal areas in India are not making much headway mainly due to the ignorance and illiteracy of these tribals. Even to take an advantage of the various development schemes, a certain degree of education is a must.

Education is essential to teach the tribals improved methods of agriculture and other economic pursuits and to educate them not merely to retain and value their own tribal culture but to take their due place in the social, cultural, and economic life of modern India. The need for providing education as well as bringing these sections of population into the mainstream of development process is seen and recognized by many social reformers and political leaders. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of education, Sri Thakkar Bapa, a social reformer initiated moves to improve the educational standards of the tribal communities in the country. One such institution he developed was 'Ashram School'.

The Indian Constitution envisages special provisions in the Post-Independence period for the promotion of education of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and the special responsibility lies with the Central and State Governments (Article 46).

Despite many efforts, the educational development of tribal population in India has not made a major breakthrough. One of the major bottlenecks of overall economic development of tribal areas in the country has been slow growth of literacy. Immediately after the country's Independence, Government of India and the other State Governments realizing this lacuna started establishing primary and upper primary schools in the tribal areas on a war-footing. Unfortunately the educational progress of tribals is still at snail's pace.

The Government and its developmental agencies are quick to realize that as far as tribal areas are concerned, increasing the number of schools indiscriminately does not solve the problem of illiteracy among the tribal communities. Further they understand that to make a headway among the tribal communities, a different type of school to surmount the structural impediments inherent in tribal cultures and the environment in which they are found has to be established.
Following are some of the structural impediments of tribal cultures and their environment, which even today hinder the progress of education in tribal areas:

1. Tribal children are economic assets to their families and so the parents are not willing to lose this benefit by sending their children to the educational institutions.

2. Since schools cannot be established in each tribal village which is unviable, the children have to walk long distances braving the vagaries of nature to attend school every day.

3. Since the tribal communities have no tradition of formal education they have negative attitude towards formal education.

4. Each tribal community has its own dialect and not conversant with the regional languages used as medium of instruction, thus the children find it difficult to understand the instruction in the classroom.

5. A communication gap exists between the teachers and the taught because of ununderstandable medium of instruction used in the schools and also irrelevant curriculum.

The cumulative effect of all the structural impediments as mentioned is that the tribal parents lack motivation to
send their children to the schools. Enrolment figures are very poor and a large part of even these enrolled drop out after some time. Wastage and stagnation are serious problems in tribal education.

To overcome these structural impediments in tribal education, the Committees and Commissions like Renuka Ray Committee, Elwin Committee, and Dhebar Commission have recommended the establishment of 'Ashram Schools'. Ashram Schools are residential schools where the teachers and the students live together continuously. All the requirements of the children like food, clothing, books, bedding, toilets, etc., will be provided by the Government, so that the tribal parents will force no burden at all on account of admitting their children into the Ashram Schools. The establishment of Ashram Schools was envisaged as a direct intervention to tackle the socio-economic and geographic inequalities of the tribal population. The concept of Ashram School stems from the objective of providing an atmosphere in which the inmates are offered full opportunities to develop their personality and outlook marked with high sense of responsibility towards their own community.

*The concept of 'Ashram School' is based on traditional Indian Schools namely 'Gurukula'. In Gurukula the students live with the teacher acquiring knowledge while serving the teacher.*
The aims and objectives of the Ashram Schools as envisaged in various Committees and Commissions and Study Groups set up for Tribal Welfare may be briefly pointed out as follows:

1. The fundamental objective of establishing Ashram Schools is to motivate the tribal parents in sending their children to schools and reduce the absenteeism, stagnation and wastage.

2. Stress should be laid on these schools on vocational/craft based education to the tribal children. It is of great importance that the crafts introduced in the Ashram Schools should be those which the tribal parents are likely to carry on in later life and which will be of real economic value to them.

3. Ashram Schools should also act as cultural centres for creating a new outlook among the tribals. They should revive and encourage tribal songs, dances and tribal festivals. In short they should also concentrate on their culture.

4. Education should be based on respect for the cultural life and traditions of the tribals.

5. Education imparted in these schools is expected to avoid the danger of snob-values which may separate the school students from the other village youth.
If the snob-values are created, the ashrimities would prefer to go always from their homes and villages and also look down upon their culture.

6. The Ashram Schools are expected to fulfill the fundamental needs, viz., to build up the team of tribal people who, with a broad and liberal outlook, will be able to administer their own areas and fill the posts which are at present held by non-tribals in tribal areas.

Broad policy suggestions for the Ashram Schools as envisaged by various Committees and Study Groups on Tribal Welfare Programmes are as follows:

I. Ashram Schools should be inter-village Schools.

II. Most backward tribal groups should be covered.

III. The policy of recruitment of teachers in these schools as laid down is:

1. Tribals should be trained to work in Ashram Schools.

2. If sufficient number of tribal teachers are not available, non tribal teachers with aptitude to work in tribal areas should be appointed.

3. The teachers working in Ashram Schools should know at least one tribal language.
4. The teachers should have sympathetic understanding of the customs of the tribals.

5. Terms and conditions for working in the tribal areas should be attractive with regard to residential accommodation and medical facilities.

IV. Tribals living within a radius of 5 kilometres from the school will not be admitted.

School systems often moulded on the western pattern when introduced in the developing, non-western, non-literate societies come in conflict with the local socio-cultural factors. Thus the incongruity between the school system imposed from outside and the socio-cultural factors which often limit the utility of the school system as a means of planned change. "To understand that the school system is capable of achieving and in what way cultural factors are frustrating it, was must see education within the context of culture as a whole -----.. Any sensible plan for making the school a spearhead of culture change must take into account the forces that the school is up against" (Kneller, 1965: 14-15).

These observations on the school - community axis become relevant in the context of the school system functioning in the tribal communities of India. It may be noted that 'School' plays an important role to bring change among tribal communities.
The Government of India through its Agencies of Tribal Development pioneered in the establishment of a number of Ashram Schools throughout the tribal areas of the country. In 1960-61 there were 189 Ashram Schools in the country enrolling 11,000 students. In 1970-71 the number of these institutions was increased by 7-8 folds and the students enrolled in them were by 4 to 5 folds (958 schools and 53,056 students). In the year 1986-87, the number of Ashram Schools was increased to 1609 enrolling 83,049 students.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh through its Agencies of Tribal Development took an active part in the establishment of hundreds of Ashram Schools throughout the tribal areas of the State. Ashram Schools were established for the first time in the Scheduled Areas of Andhra Pradesh during the year 1960-61 by the State Government and the number of schools was increased from 22 schools with an enrollment of 990 students during 1968 to 410 schools with a student strength of 30,603 by 1986-87.

Anthropologists have evinced a keen interest in recording the socialization and enculturation practices among primitive societies. These studies have made significant contribution in understanding the educational practices in the cultural perspective. Margaret Mead through her 'Coming Age in Samoa' (1928) followed by 'Growing up in New Guinea' (1930) set the trend. Margaret Read (1959) in her book
'Children of their Fathers: Growing up among the Ngoni of Nyasaland' describes how the Ngoni try to bring up their children, and how the training revolves around 'respect' - the core value. Cora Du Bois (1944) attempts to study Alorese through a psycho-ethnological approach. Studies by Raum (1940) and Dennis Wayne (1941) also come under this category.

The interest evinced by earlier generation of anthropologists, in the study of traditional informal educational practices continued to inspire the later anthropologists also.

Spiro (1955) provides us with an interesting analysis of 'Education in a Communal in Israel' where he describes how the values of society are handled by a collective educational system. His later contribution (1958) provides us with a more elaborate insights into the process of socialization.

Jules Henry (1960) presents us with a first cross-cultural outline of education from the point of view of the goals, objectives, training practices and the personal through whom children are reared. Similar studies in this category were conducted by Hostetler (1963) in Amish Society, Hostetler and Huntington (1968) in Hutterite Society.

Recently some of the books published deal with socialization theory and the models on methodological tools useful in the study of socialization based on empirical research.
These publications also deal with the practices of training, goals and role of formal education, cultural transmission, culture change, etc., covering many societies.

Philip Mayer (1970) looking at socialization from the social anthropology perspective, defines socialization 'as the inculcation of skills and attitudes necessary for playing given roles'. He has given stress to roles and role systems in Anthropology. Speaking of emerging global socialization crisis in the context of the role of formal education he observes that there is much painful uncertainty about the roles for which the young are being or ought to be prepared, and about how the task should be divided between family, school and peer groups.

Whiting, Child and Lambert (1966) provide us with a useful field guide in the study of socialization. Goslin (1969) presents us with a very detailed work on socialization theory and research. Thomas Rhys Williams (1972 b) while discussing the models of learning and the process of socialization, applies this knowledge to analyse the Papago enculturation through the concept of 'reward' and 'punishment'.

The studies on enculturation, as pointed out by Spindler (1963: 60) "are contributions to our knowledge of how education functions to preserve cultural continuity, but few of them ------- have been explicitly concerned with problems of culture change".
Mead's (1955) analysis on the approach to be adopted for introducing formal education in developing communities, Egan's (1956) analysis of education and cultural continuity among Hopi Indians, Brameld's (1957) study of changes in the cultural life of Puerto Ricans due to education, Mair's (1957) compact treatise on the role of applied anthropology in transforming developing societies giving the due recognition to their cultural life, along with that of Herskovits (1943), Bruner (1956), Spindler (1963) are expectations to the above observation.

The recurrent themes of the later studies on Education have been that of how the newly introduced formal educational institutions and the values imparted through them fit into the organised scheme of things in the individual cultures; how they can be adopted to the changing needs of the cultures concerned, how the social, economic, political and cultural factors play a crucial role in the acceptance or rejection of the formal education in developing societies; and the flaws in the educational systems in the developed societies, especially in the context of minority group education etc.

Belshaw (1972: 80-94), speaking on the role of formal education in the context of development, points out that "the immediate problems have therefore been of ethics and of educational content as they affect the ability of a child to learn effectively those matters which help him to take his
place in a changing society, yet with a respect for the values which he is deprived from his own culture". He further states that this problem needs "a very intimate analysis of the total context in which the school system finds itself". He also observes that formal education is not only means for development and if a heavy burden is placed on it, it may receive antagonism and in turn becomes ineffective.

Riessmann (1962: 3), speaking on the need for education for culturally disadvantaged children, and the role of culture, observes that "while there may be aspects of culture of the deprived individual that would be better changed, it is necessary for the educator to work within the framework of culture as it exists. In other words, the culture should be accepted as given".

Ruth Landes (1965) analyses how cultural differences hinder the communication process between the teachers and the taught in American minority schools. She deals with the teachers, training minority groups like Negroes and Mexicans, and the way cultural differences between them and taught act as barriers of communication. She advocates cross-cultural orientation for the teachers.

In "From Child to Adult: Studies in Anthropology of Education", edited by Middleton (1970) the common focus is on the generational transmission of culture to the social functions of schooling in a modernising peasant-based nation.
Many papers in this book deal either in describing the process of cultural transmission as inducting the younger generation into a continuing cultural system (Fortes, Rankin, Egan, Hogbin, Williams, Nadel, and Herskovits) or in examining the strains created by national school systems with an allowed intention of national development and culture change. In another study Foster (1965) attempts to measure social change in Ghanaian Society in the context of formal education through a historical perspective. He further studies the impact of formal education on traditional social and economic structures and conversely, the effects of those structures upon the functions of the schools. Parmee (1968), Brameld (1968), Thanhault (1971) also dealt with education in the change perspective.

Specifically, some studies have looked at the role played by 'schools' in the process of development, modernization and change.

Nash (1971) deals with cultural and economic modernization with a particular reference to the role of village schools in Mexico, Guatemala and Burma. He is of the opinion that schools can be effective as a means of change only when there are simultaneous changes in other walks of life. He analyses how schools need not always contribute to change but as well may act for stability as in the case of Burmese Schools.
George Spindler (1963) has made a pioneering comprehensive publication with a cross-cultural perspective, on education and culture. Beginning with a historical review of the nature of relationship between anthropology and education, it proceeds to view at education, with a number of relevant articles in the cross-cultural perspective. Later, under the general editorship of George and Louise Spindler a series of case studies in education and culture were published. In the editor's view "to understand education we must study it as it is - imbedded in the culture of which it is an integral part and which it serves" (1972: V). As one of the case studies in this series, Peshkin (1972) examines Kanuri School Children of Nigeria in the context of social modernization by employing Deutsch's concept of 'Social Mobilization' and studies the nature and process of confrontation among the different socialization environments - home, school and community and how the newly introduced western schools are in disharmony with traditional Koranic Education.

Grindal (1972) attempts to view the contemporary Sislas of Ghana as members of two socio-cultural worlds - the traditional and the modern - and looks at the nature of modern education in relation to development of the individual and the process of socio-cultural change.

Gezi (1971: 92) edits a very useful collection of essays which looks at education in a variety of situations and contexts - culture change, social system, political
development, race, ethnicity and integration and economic development. Summarising the selection on 'Education and Culture Change' for native and minority children he observes that "the major issue ------- is neither to teach native and minority children to appreciate and live within the confines of their culture, nor to offer them modern curriculums that allegedly can prepare them to live in western modern societies. But the real issue is to find the ways in which the school can integrate false values with modern knowledge and to provide a greater measure of native and minority group control of community schools so that they can decide the kind of education they want for their children".


The reports published by Committee on Special Multi-purpose Blocks (1960), Education Commission (1964-66) and
others also have contributions to the field of Tribal Educa-

tion.

The research Institutes like National Council of Educa-
tional Research and Training Institute (1967), Tribal Research
Institute, (1971) and National Institute of Educational Planning
and Administration (1983) have also made a significant contri-
bution to Tribal Education.

Haimendorf (1944) in his article "Aboriginal Education
in Hyderabad" deals with the educational needs of Gonds in
the backdrop of their socio-cultural life. He says that the
main aim is not simply achieving literacy levels, but prepa-
ing the Gonds to cope with the changing situation for "it
was realised that school education was of little value, if
it was not combined with instruction in practical matters"
(Haimendorf, 1944: 104).

Madan's 'Education of Tribal India' (1952) focuses
attention on the role of economic factors in the spread of
education among Scheduled Tribes.

Chattopadhyaya's 'Tribal Education' (1953) stresses on
the need for agriculture-based curriculum. He says that
there is need for a survey of the prevalent system of educa-
tion of a tribe before trying to educate the members of it.
He cautions that without such measure the introduction of
schools may result in a good deal of wasted effort.
In his book, 'Socio-Economic Aspects of Tribal Education', Sachidananda (1967) discusses that education accelerates the process of economic development. He concludes that "education, economy and society are closely interrelated --- of all the items in the development programme for the tribes, education is the most important as it is both the means and the end of real progress" (Sachidananda, 1967: 108).

Sharma (1976: 38) in his article 'Planning for Educational Development in Tribal Areas', discusses the various aspects of planning of Tribal Education. He says that "the physical and administrative planning has to be simultaneously accompanied by academic planning".

Some of the authors have stressed on the role of medium of instruction in tribal education. They stressed the importance of adopting mother tongue as medium of instruction at least up to primary classes, for a better and quicker comprehension of knowledge disseminated. Elwin (1960: 90) observes that "an important reason why the schools do not fulfil their real function in tribal societies is the astonishing indifference on the part of educationists to the local language".

L.R.N. Srivastava (1968: 284) points out that the tribal students are always at disadvantage and their comprehensive abilities remain to be poor due to using regional language as medium of instruction in tribal schools. Chaterjee (1960)
and N.K. Das Gupta (1959) have studied the problems of medium of instruction.

Mahapatra (1967), Chattopadhyaya (1953), Elwin (1964), Sachchidananda (1967), Srivastava (1967) have studied the curriculum aspects of Tribal Education. According to them the text books should include the tribal culture like the life of the tribals, their folklore, songs, history and the lives of their cultural heroes.

The importance of the role of a teacher in tribal education has been emphasised by many writers. L.R.N. Srivastava (1968: 290) says that "the teacher is the pivot of educational structure in tribal areas and due to the poor working and living conditions and social status many teachers are unable to play an effective role". Another important point raised is that due to the fact that many of the teachers working in tribal schools are non-tribals with a different background and outlook, their effectiveness in getting minimised as initiators of change, and in many cases are introducing inferiority complex among the communities in which they are working.

Elwin (1960: 91) points out that "many school teachers throughout the country seem to feel it their duty to change the dress, ornaments, style of hair and general appearance of a child directly he joins a 'school'.
The indicators for the acceptance or rejection of formal education by a community are enrolment, regular attendance and successful completion of schooling.

Naik (1971) employing the concept of 'co-efficient of equality' analyses the enrolment figures of Scheduled Tribes in various categories of educational institutions and comes to conclusion that the co-efficient of equality of the Scheduled Tribes in all institutions is two-thirds of other communities and there is sharp reduction in the co-efficient of equality as one moves up the educational ladder, and rates of wastage and stagnation at the primary and secondary stages are much higher for the Scheduled Tribes than for other communities.

G.P. Reddy (1970) has said that the causes for wastage in tribal education of Andhra Pradesh are due to poor economic conditions of the tribals and indifference of tribal parents towards education. L.R.N. Srivastava (1970, 71) and Sachchidananda (1967) have done a considerable work in this direction.

M. Rebellow (1978) in her article "The School Dropouts" contends that one of the principal reasons for the high dropout rate in the tribal areas at the primary stage is the curriculum. She suggests that the curricula have to be built on local situations, though it is essential to have a core of basic subjects at the same time.
The Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Andhra Pradesh (1971) has brought out a lengthy report on absenteeism, stagnation and wastage. This report shows that these triple problems are interrelated. The main reasons for absenteeism, stagnation and wastage are economic role of children in family as wage earners, indifference on the part of parents and students toward education, poor school environment, poor teaching and low receptivity of the tribal children.

Recently some studies have attempted to analyse the impact of formal education on Scheduled Tribes, in the context of culture change and modernization, and simultaneously tried to identify the causative factors for the slow progress. Sarma (1968) has studied the part played by education in the modernization of the educationally backward Bhils in his study 'Bhil Students Between Tradition and Change'.

T.B. Naik (1969) has also selected the Bhil Tribe for his study 'Impact of Education on the Bhils' and analysed the role of education as a means of social change and its impact in the context of various core aspects of traditional life such as family, marriage, kinship and leadership. Sita Toppo (1979), L.P. Vidyarthi (1969) and Sachchidananda (1964) have offered contributions in this direction.

Ambasht (1970) in his study 'A Critical Study of Tribal Education' among the Oraon and Munda of Ranchi district of
Bihar presents us with the process of development of formal schools especially the role played by missionary schools and voluntary agencies. He also analyses the village schools, teachers, primary education and emphasis the need for special education.

R.Y. Kumar (1981) has studied the Residential and Non-Residential Schools of the Bhadragiri Block of Vizianagaram district, Andhra Pradesh. He has examined causative factors for non-enrolment, absenteeism and wastage. He has also analysed the impact of school system on the students and parents level.

E.V. Rathnaiah (1977) has made studies on the structural constraints in tribal education with a special reference to the Gonds of Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh. He shows that how tribal education is being affected by ecological and socio-economic constraints labelled under external constraints, and the constraints in the school system itself labelled as internal constraints.

Some of studies have attempted to analyse the Ashram Schools. In his article "Taiwada Ashram School - An Experiment in Tribal Education", J.S. Apte (1960) advocates for Ashram Schools and shows that they can serve as an effective weapon and instrument for social transformation.
Vyas' article on "Why this Emphasis on Vocation Bias in Education in Ashram?" deals with the aims and objectives of Ashram Schools. It is of great importance that the crafts introduced in the Ashram Schools should be of those which the boys and girls like to carry on in later life and which will be of real economic value to them.

L.K. Mahapatra (1953) and Patnaik, N. (1957) have made noteworthy contributions in this direction.

Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Andhra Pradesh (1971) has conducted a study on Ashram Schools. This study covers entire state of Andhra Pradesh. It shows that Ashram Schools have no physical facilities and equipment like proper accommodation, buildings, play grounds and the teaching aids, craft and games equipment. It also highlights the problems of absenteeism, stagnation and wastage.

National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi (1983) has conducted a study on Ashram Schools. This study covers five states of the country. It reveals that the high socio-economic status tribal groups are utilising the Ashram School facilities more than the low-socio-economic status tribal groups. According to this report, retention of the students in the Ashram Schools is better than that of Non-Ashram Schools.

Earlier studies have failed to pin-point the exact problems of the Ashram Schools and a clear picture of them.
PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

Though the Ashram Schools have been functioning for the past three and half decades in the State, we do not really know how far they have been successful in having achieved their objectives and policies. Though the growth rate in literacy in the tribal areas of the State is much better now than prior to the establishment of Ashram Schools, it is not sufficient enough to catch up with that of the general population in the State.

The following table indicates relative growth in tribal literacy since Independence and comparative picture of State level as well as national level literacy percentage.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Census Period</th>
<th>India General</th>
<th>India Tribal</th>
<th>Andhra Pradesh General</th>
<th>Andhra Pradesh Tribal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>28.29</td>
<td>8.54</td>
<td>21.19</td>
<td>4.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>34.45</td>
<td>11.29</td>
<td>24.57</td>
<td>5.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>36.17</td>
<td>16.35</td>
<td>29.54</td>
<td>7.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen from the Table 1 that there is a wide disparity in the literacy levels between all India and Andhra Pradesh State regarding literacy among general population and more so among tribal population. The literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh is not even half of
the national literacy amongst the Scheduled Tribes. The percentage of literacy rate (1981 Census) among Scheduled Tribes is 7.84 while the general state average for the entire population is 29.54.

Sharma (1976: 2) observes that "a general review of the educational scene in the country brings out the tribal areas stand at a much lower level in terms of literacy and enrolment of school-going children compared to other areas. The level of economic development of these regions is also considerably low".

The problems faced by the Ashram Schools in the State are absenteeism, stagnation and wastage. In a survey carried out by the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Andhra Pradesh in 1970-71, the percentages of absenteeism, stagnation and wastage were 31.60, 38.31 and 57.92 respectively.

Naik (1971: 14) comparing the enrolment of Scheduled Tribe students to that of other communities observes that "the co-efficient of equality of the Scheduled Tribes in all educational institutions is only two-thirds of that of other communities--------. The rates of wastage and stagnation at the primary and secondary stages are much higher for Scheduled Tribes than for other communities or even for the Scheduled Castes".
Further it is observed that not all the tribal communities are utilising this facility equally. Some tribes are utilising the facility of Ashram Schools to the maximum extent possible, while a few others are showing only minimum interest. Students belonging to minority tribes with socio-economic status and lower level of literacy rate are not found in good number in Ashram Schools (NIEP, 1983: 233).

This situation points out the need to invigorate the existing school system in tribal areas, which warrants to identify the areas of discord between the school and community. Such an exercise will be immensely useful to redefine the role of school in the context of planned change and contact situation. The present study is an attempt in that direction.

At the outset, the present work attempts to understand the institutional framework of the Ashram School system and to bring out the deficiencies, if any, in the context of the community in which it is functioning. So far studies made in the field of education for Scheduled Tribes have concentrated more on investigating the deficiencies of the children and parents bearing on their socio-cultural background, concepts, beliefs, attitudes etc., but paid relatively less attention to deficiencies in the school system itself. As noted by Cohen (1971), "so much has been made of the deprivations children are supposed to have inflicted upon the schools that hardly any serious thought has been given to
the institutional deficiencies of the schools which regularly are inflicted upon children".

The primary aim of the present work is to deals with the relationship of the various institutional aspects of the school system and more so the 'Schooling Process'. The secondary aim is to assess the cultural change among the tribals due to the impact of Ashram School Education.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The following are the main objectives of the study:

1. To study the infrastructure of the Ashram Schools,

2. To study the state of teaching-learning process in the Ashram Schools,

3. To identify the problems of absenteeism, stagnation and wastage in the Ashram Schools, and

4. To study the impact of Ashram School education on the local tribal communities.

METHODOLOGY

Selection of the Area

Seethampet Mandal in Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh was selected for the study of Ashram Schools. Srikakulam district in the State occupies a unique place in the history of tribal rebellions and unrest in the country. The Naxalite movement which was started at the Naxalbari of West Bengal spread to the tribal areas of Srikakulam district after its
separation in the place of origin. The tribal communities of Srikakulam district in general and Seethampet Mandal in particular are active participants in the rebellion locally called as Naxalite movement. It is a rebellion against the socio-economic, political and cultural injustices perpetuated against tribal communities of this area. Further, Seethampet Mandal is one in which majority of the population belong to the tribal communities.

There are two important tribal communities in this area. They are Jatapus and the Savaras. Some differences exist between those two communities. While the Savaras are shifting cultivators supplemented by hunting and gathering, the Jatapus, the settled agriculturists. In the rebellion the Jatapus are active participants whereas the Savaras are more passive though they are good sympathisers. Furthermore, the Jatapus are politically more conscious than that of the Savaras. The Jatapus are diligent in the sense that they make use of developmental infrastructure created by the welfare and development agencies of the Government.

The Ashram Schools

There are six Ashram Schools located in the Seethampet Mandal. Of them four are primary schools, one is an upper primary school and the remaining one a high school. The primary schools are located in the villages of Polla, Sambham, Vondrajola and Samarelli, and the upper primary school
in the village, Malli while the high school in the village, Donubai. All these six Ashram Schools found in Seethampet mandal were selected for the study.

Field Work

The researcher devoted himself the first six months to reading all available books and journals relating to tribal education. This was done by visiting various libraries in the country. Later, a month's time was devoted to making a pilot survey by visiting different Ashram Schools in the area.

The data collected in the pilot study was analysed and the imbalances found in the Schedule were corrected through additions and deletions. Besides these Schedules, an Interview-guide was prepared for interviewing the teachers in the Ashram Schools as well as the students.

After making the pilot survey, Schedules were prepared for being applied on the students and teachers. A scheme of how to work, where to work and what to work upon was decided. Thereafter the actual field work was undertaken.

This is a micro study and the research strategy is in tune with the anthropological tradition of intensive field work. Thus the data gathered are more qualitative than quantitative. The statistical data employed in the thesis are in the nature of supporting evidence. Schedule,
Interview-guide, observation and case-study methods are the research tools used in this study.

The Schedule was administered to the 20 per cent of the total students of all the six Ashram Schools picked up at random while at the same time necessary care was taken to cover both the communities, the Jatapus and Savaras. The total number of students in all the six Ashram Schools was 935 and the total number of students interviewed was 187.

The number of teachers working in all the six Ashram Schools was 31. Since their number was small a separate Schedule was administered to all of them.

A proforma was prepared for each school on various aspects from the state of school building to the availability of teaching materials.

Half of the parents of the selected students were interviewed with the help of Interview-guides. The Interview-guides were conducted in order to elicit opinion of the tribal parents towards the system of education in general and Ashram Schools in particular besides to get information on their wards studying in the Ashram Schools.

A few students who have left the Ashram School were picked up and interviewed with the help of an Interview-guide to extract information on their life after their schooling.
An attempt was also made to meet the parents of dropouts to understand their attitude and reasons for dropouts from the schools.

A number of case-studies was collected from the students, tribal parents, teachers and dropouts to substantiate the observations whenever it was necessary.

A fieldwork note book was kept to note down the observations made every day. It was proved more valuable at the time of writing the field report.

Problems in the Field Work

The most important problem encountered in the field work was the suspicion of people. In the area where Naxalite movement is popular, people look at the strangers with suspicion thinking that they might be the policemen in plain clothes. It became a tough task for the researcher to convince the people that the study was purely meant for academic purpose and not for any other ulterior motives. Another problem faced by the researcher was from the teachers of the schools. They were always reluctant to talk about themselves and the students since the revelations might be exposed to the public which would be harmful to the schools. Particularly, the wardens of dormitories did not show any interest towards conducting field work.
To overcome these initial difficulties in the field work the researcher used persuasive tactics coupled with the pressures from the senior teachers of the schools and wardens of the dormitories. Even with the students particularly with the Savara students it was not a smooth-going affair, they were not very articulate and were afraid of meeting and talking with the researcher. The Savara students are not well versed in the regional language and the researcher had to depend on Savara elders who speak both regional language and Savara language. There was however no difficulty in talking with the students of Jatapus community. Even these students were timid in the beginning. Later when the researcher established good rapport with them, they became more and more available.

While interviewing the parents of students the researcher faced language problems. Necessary help was sought from Ashram School teachers and Village Development Officers who acted as interpreters while interviewing the Savara parents.

Of all the problems faced by the researcher the most important was tracking down the boys and girls who have passed out of Ashram Schools as well as the dropouts. Despite best efforts, only a few of them could be interviewed.

Inspite of all these difficulties and limitations the field work was carried out successfully and the sufficient data generated from the respondents was enough to understand the problems and prospects of Ashram Schools in this area.
The field work was done in different phases in different months. The total time spent in doing field work was one year. The last phase was the statistical analysis of data which took about six months. Thereafter it took about one year in writing the thesis and a few months in getting the first draft and the final thesis typed.

CHAPTERISATION

The data are organised under VII Chapters.

I. Introduction

The problem, objectives and methodology are presented in this Chapter.

II. Area and the Tribes

The Chapter gives the geographical and the socio-cultural background of the tribes of the area of the study.

III. Infrastructure of the Ashram Schools

In this Chapter, an attempt is made to discuss the management of the schools, structure of schools, students particulars, teachers, physical facilities and equipment of the schools.

IV. Teaching-Learning Process

In this Chapter, subjects of studies, medium of instruction, position of vocational craft instruction, the role of teachers, teaching methods and cocurricular activities have been studied in detail.
V. Absenteeism, Stagnation and Wastage

This Chapter analyses the problems of absenteeism, stagnation and wastage among the tribal students.

VI. Impact of Ashram Schools on the Tribal Communities

The impact of Ashram Schools on the tribal communities has been analysed in this Chapter.

VII. Summary and Conclusions

This Chapter summarises the major findings of the study and also provides a few suggestions for the improvement of the Ashram Schools.