Chapter VII

CASE STUDIES

This chapter presents ten cases of which six are of students and four of the teachers working in Ashram schools. As stated earlier, we had taken indepth interviews of some respondents to have a better insight of the problem.

Care was taken while selecting the cases to represent various levels of socio-economic milieu of the respondents to get the cross sectional views on various issues relevant for our study. All the cases are given numbers to protect the identity of the original respondents.

Students
Case One:

Student of Class X

Case one belongs to valmiki tribe and his mother tongue is 'kupya', a dialect of Oriya. He had his home at Dumbriguda, a place 16 kms away from the Ashram high school where he was studying. His father is a cultivator, with four acres of land. They had sown Jowar in two acres and oil seeds - valasalu in the remaining acres of land. His mother is a housewife and both the parents are illiterates. He had two sisters and the elder one of the two had never gone to the school. She has been helping the mother at home and
father in the fields. His younger sister aged 13, was a student of class eight. His father's younger brother, who had divorced his wife, was also staying with the respondents family and was employed as a watchman in the police station with a monthly honorarium of Rs. 250/-. The respondents house was of semi pucca in nature.

Case one has been studying in the same Ashram high school from class-I and feels that the school is comparatively better in this area. He has stated that he is studying to get a Government job. He likes social studies and finds mathematics and science very tough. He says "Only in class sixth we were taught Maths. We don't know some basics such as multiplication, algebra etc." He opines that the syllabus is 'difficult' and expressed that none of his teachers took special care to help them cope with the syllabus.

Case one's main leisure time activity is playing and going out to the main bazaar in the evenings. Though he has never failed in any class previously, his performance was rated as average by his teachers and by the respondent himself. He had secured 48% marks in the quarterly examinations held that year. He reflects upon the poor quality of food provided in the hostel, insufficient note books and other stationary being supplied to the students and the drinking water problem. He could manage to buy the note books, long books, graph papers etc. from the bazaar as
his father gives him Rs. 100/- every month for his pocket expenses. Every month he used to go home to get money from his parents.

He is very active in extra curricular activities. He is very fond of matching movies. He watches around four movies a month. He often wins school level prizes for his mimicry and dance performances where he imitates famous movie personalities. Volley ball and cricket are his favourite games which he plays regularly. His reading was limited to movie magazines only.

He seems to have strong faith in God and Lord Venkateswara is his preferred deity. He also believes in the existence of magical powers and that people indulge in magical practices to harm others. He emphatically says that he dislikes his tribal customs and practices. He remarked, "I don’t like tribal songs. I like movie songs. I like Ugadi festival".

He says that reservations for scheduled tribes, has provided hostel facilities. Otherwise he opines.."We would have had to study on our own like plains people. We are given books free of cost... We will be given preference in employment. Even if we study one class less, we’ll be given preference". He also opines that illiteracy and lack of basic necessities which are main problems of tribal people in that area, could be rectified through these reservations.

Case one aspires to go in for college education and to
ultimately become a Bank officer. Contrary to this, he also expressed his other future aspirations - "I would like to become a movie star. I am confident that I can enact any role. I am not worried about my Job".

Case Two:

Student of Class X

Case two is a seventeen years old lad who belongs to Bagatha tribe and his mother tongue is Telugu. He hails from a tribal hamlet of Saraketa in Hukumpet mandal. This is located nearly 40 kms away from the Ashram high school where he is presently studying. They own a semi-pucca house with eight family members. His father was educated upto the upper primary level and is looking after the agriculture. His mother is an illiterate house wife. They have eight acres of land out of which one acre produces paddy and the remaining land is used to grow Jowar and commercial crops like oil seeds and coffee. His mother's younger sister is also married to his father. He has two brothers and one sister all of them were younger to him and are studying. His grandmother also stays with them. His grandmother and mother's sister (father's second wife) help his father in agricultural activity.

Case two had been studying in the same school from

1 This is anthropologically referred to as sororate marriage.
class one. He opines that his education is mainly to help him to get some Government Job. The records on the other hand has registered his name under frequent absentees. He has a liking for social sciences and expresses difficulty with Maths. He further complains, "I can't solve problems. Maths Teacher is not interested in teaching, most of the time, he takes classes at his quarter. He rarely comes to the school. All of us have to go there". For him other subjects were manageable except maths and English. He states that he can not follow these subjects in the class room and the teachers do not clarify doubts. usually he takes help from his classmates as the teachers are not cooperative.

As the uniform supplied to him by the School is not of his size, he was not wearing the uniform. He had several complaints on teachers and his school. He used to go home very frequently on the pretext of being ill. As he further explains, "Last month completely I did not attend. I was not well. I had to buy books. I asked my parents some money. They said they won't give. I quarreled with my father and stayed back at home. My father brought me and handed over to the head master".

Case two dislikes his school because the work schedule was boring. He complains that the headmaster asks the students to tend his garden at his residence, even during class hours. He substantiates that the headmaster is very strict and short tempered person. He says that the
headmaster gets very angry and hits us badly even for minor errors. He also believes that many of the drop-outs left the school because of the tough headmaster. He also narrates an incident of this kind... "one of our classmate by name Dumbu, had left the school recently. Head master used to hit him badly during supervisory study hours. He could not take it and left the school. Now he is at his place Sabaraguda doing nothing. Many other students too left the school like this".

He also complains about the quality of food being provided in the hostel. He says, "food is usually bad, rice is never cooked properly and everyday we are given cabbage only cabbage". He complains of mosquitoes, bed bugs and insufficient water. He also alleges that the wardens swindle money and are not interested in improving conditions.

Case two participates in sports and games and won prizes at school level. He states that they watch movies once a week. He did not have any preferences regarding movies, he sees all the movies which are screened there. He is not inclined to read any newspaper or magazines. He says that his teachers did not encourage tribal songs and dances. Though he likes to dance, he was not give a chance to do so by his teachers. He also says that his teachers abuse the tribal students. He substantiates that his teachers say openly in the class that the 'minds of the tribals have not grown in proportion to their bodies'.
He expresses his faith in God and Lord Eshwar was his preferred deity. He believes in magic as he says, "Some ladies in our village did it to my younger brother and now he cannot walk properly. He did not like the tribal festivals and has had a liking for Hindu festivals like Sankranti and Ugadi. He is not aware of Reservation for the Tribes. He stated that the main problems of tribal people were exploitation by officials and moneylenders. He did not have any future aspirations. After class X he wants go back to his village.

Case Three:

Student of Class X

Case three belongs to Valmiki tribe and is a christian. His mother tongue is Oriya. He is sixteen years old. His native village, Malagadda is 8 Kms away from the Ashram high school where he is currently studying. His family is living in a pucca house. Both his parents are illiterates and are engaged in agriculture. His elder brother got married and was educated upto primary level. Both his brother and brother's wife work in the field along with his parents. He has an elder sister who stays at home and looks after the domestic chores. They have 20 acres of dry land and mostly grow Jowar in the entire land.

Case three has been studying in the same school from class one. He feels that the school is good because it has
an attached hostel. His aim is to secure a Government Job. Mathematics was his favourite subject and expresses difficulty in Sciences and English. He feels that the syllabus is vast and tough. He has a habit of reading the lessons taught in the class, on a daily basis. He also has stated that no teacher has ever taken any special interest in his studies. He never failed in any class and secured around 52% marks in the quarterly examinations held that year. He says that he can't follow certain subjects as the teachers explain very fast and do not repeat the lesson taught once. He wanted his teachers to clarify his doubts but hesitated to do so.

Case three also expresses his dissatisfaction over the facilities provided in the school, both the pairs of uniform given to him were not of his size and are very tight for him. He had to depend on his father for buying stationary etc. as the supply was inadequate. He complains that blankets were not provided during winters and also that the drinking water provided was insufficient for the whole school.

He participates in sports and won prizes in school but was not inclined to cultural activities. He neither watched movies nor read newspapers/magazines. He feels that the teachers are harsh with the students, particularly with class X students.

As a christian, he expresses his faith in Jesus Christ.
He believes in magic also. He explained, "I've seen many people dying after their rivals used 'Shillangi', and he further say, "Atma-Rakshana mantras are there to protect ourselves from shillangi". He opines that God only determines all the events in life. He does not like the tribal practices. He said, "they are backwards and we christians are forward". He likes celebrating christmas.

Case three is very much aware of the reservations for Schedule tribes. He said, "The reservation for S.Ts provides all facilities for us. Unlike others, we get all the benefits. We will be given preference in employment", Nobody had told him about this but he learned by observing "the differences between us and plains people as they won't be given hostel seat, free food and books like us". He further believes "If we want to go for higher studies Government would bear our expenses. Even if we study lesser than the other students (Non-S.Ts) we will get Jobs". He opines that the tribals do not have access to basic facilities.

He is aspiring to become a lawyer and help the poor. He expresses his desire to study in Visakhapatnam after his 10th class. However he is not very confident that his parents can afford to send him to a city. He is also apprehensive to go back to his village as his parents may ask him to work in the field.
Case Four:

Student of Class IX

Case Four belongs to Konda Dora tribe and 'Konda' (a dialect) is his mother tongue. He is about sixteen years old and is from a small tribal hamlet near Ananthairi mandal around 35 Kms from the school where he is studying. His father has two wives and his mother is the second wife. None of them had formal education. He has two elder brothers and one younger sister and neither of his siblings went to school. Both his elder brothers are married and live in the same household - a semipucca house with three rooms. They own only six acres of land. His father, mother, two brothers and elder brother's wife have taken to agriculture, they at times also work as agricultural labourers on daily wages.

Case Four has had his previous education upto class seven in Ashram U.P. school in Ananthagiri. Since he could not get admission at Ashram high school, Ananthagiri, he joined here for class VIII. He finds it difficult to understand the class room lectures. He faces problems with the basics like spellings, calculations, pronunciation etc., which makes him find many subjects tough and the entire syllabus vast. He was unduely afraid to clarify his doubts with the teachers. Some times the Telugu teacher embarrasses him, for his writing and pronunciation. As he explained, "My Telugu teacher makes me stand in the class"
room facing the students and recite poems from the text book. Many times when I fumble and I invite the teachers wrath and teasing from my classmates”. He finds school life boring and is often home sick.

Case four did not have any complaints on food and other facilities but wants to leave the school. He did not express any future aspirations for higher studies. He wanted a job after class X. He was studying there because his father put him in school and is interested in business. When asked what business he wants to take up, he expressed his preference for hotel business.

Case four believes in God and in the magical powers. He likes festivals like Itikela Panduga and Sankranthi. He has had special adoration towards their family deity ‘Pothuraju’ (tribal deity). He was very fond of ‘dima’ dance. He opined that, ‘fate’ only determines the life of any human being.

Case four is aware of reservations for Scheduled Tribes. He is aspiring for a Job or a loan to start business after class X. He explained that the tribal people in the villages are facing lot of hardships. He opines that drinking water is a major problem, particularly during summer. He feels Government does not help the tribal people. He explains that, for getting a Government motor for the bore well, his father had to give bribe to the officer concerned.

He also feels that education would not be of much help
to the tribals. He said, "Even if we study there is no use. We have to pay money to get a job. Many boys in my village are jobless even after passing out of the school. Tribals are poor and cannot give money to get jobs". He feels that the plains people get all the benefits and earn money. He also opines that the non-tribal students study well because they speak well and write well. According to him teachers also like the day scholars (most of them are non-tribals) because they study well. He also says that the teachers get irritated when the students talk in tribal dialect among themselves. He suggests the teachers to provide special classes to the poor tribal children studying in schools.

Case Five:

Student of Class X

Case five belongs to Kotiya tribe and Adivasi Oriya is his mother tongue. He is around sixteen years old. He hails from Borra village which is 16 Kms. away from the Ashram high school where he is presently studying. Both his parents are illiterates and are agricultural labourers. They have only two acres of dry land. His two sisters, are also studying in the Ashram primary school at Borra. He has been studying in the same school from class one. There is another Ashram high school at Borra, his father preferred this school mainly his stay away from home would make him study well. His main objectives of education are to acquire
knowledge and to find a job.

He has special liking for mathematics. He said, "After solving a problem I get the feel of achievement". He had secured 62% marks at class VII Public examination. For him, physical science and English are problematic. He says, "It's difficult to understand these subjects. I try to read as many times as possible but they are difficult for me. It also depends on the teacher's style. Mathematics teacher explains well. Head master teaches English and he goes very fast. Sometimes he says that we cannot learn English and copying would be the only alternative left to pass the public exam".

He likes the school because he can study as well as play with other children. He need not have to go home as his father frequently comes to see him. But he expressed his dissatisfaction over the hostel as the quality and method of cooking are not good. He also feels that the same items are being repeated for several years. He misses non-vegetarian food. He says that the warden incharge skips giving soaps and oil to the students. He feels difficult to manage the winter as he is not given blanket. He complained that the note books are not supplied as per the requirement. He remarks that the uniforms provided to the students and all of the same size for all students in a class.

He is very active in sports and won prizes. He also takes part in cultural activities. He was very good at
drawing and drew several sketches. He acts in dramas also. He also states that the school does not encourage their folk dances.... "we stage 'dimsa' (dance-drama) songs and dances. When some officials visit the school, our teachers ask us to perform, otherwise no such performances are practiced in the school". He expresses his desire to learn Tamil and Malayalam languages.

Case five does not have any faith in God but likes to celebrate all festivals. He believes in magic and feels that it is powerful. He believes that "for those who suffer from ghosts and spirits, magic is the right medicine". He likes all his tribal customs. He says "when I go home I don't wear pants, I wear dhoti". He likes Sankranti, Itukula Panduga etc. He likes Itukula Panduga most as it is filled with fun and the festival goes on for a week.

He is aware of reservations for scheduled tribes through his father. He says, "without reservations none of us can go forward". His father got loan, for buying cattle, from Government. He was very optimistic that he would get a job of his choice. Even if he fails to get a job, he said that he would get some loan to start something on his own.

He is clear about the problems of Tribal people. He points out that many of them depend on cultivation and face difficulty in buying seeds and fertilizer. He expresses several future aspirations. He says, "If my parents encourage I would like to study medicine and become a
doctor. My parents encourage studies but can't afford it. Higher studies needs a lot of money even with scholarship. He wants his sister also to study at least up to Class X.

Case Six:

Student of Class X

Case Six belongs to Valmiki tribe she speaks Oriya and telugu. She hails from a village 6 Kms away from the Ashram high school where she was studying she is staying with her parents and commutes by bus. Both her parents are illiterates. She has two elder sisters and one younger brother. One of her elder sisters is married and stays with her husband. The other sister is not educated and helps her mother at home. Her younger brother is studying in class VII in the same school where she is studying. Her father had a petty business. They stay in a pucca house constructed by the Government under housing scheme.

Since she is studying well in the village primary school, the teacher advised her father to admit her in the high school. She joined the Ashram high school at class VI. She is always regular to school and scores above average marks in the examinations. She likes all the subject but expresses difficulty in Science and Mathematics. She finds these subjects very tough. She is not satisfied with the teaching. She feels that the teachers in high schools do not encourage much. She also has problems of studying lessons at
home as she reaches her village around six in the evening. She helps her mothers for some time. She finds it difficult to study at home. Despite all these difficulties, she is prompt in her home work. She expresses difficulty in understanding some lessons as there are no teaching aids and the teachers Just explain orally what is there in the text and her aim is to get a Job.

She hesitates to ask the teacher for further explanation as the teachers generally do not encourage. She feels that the teachers generally ignore the presence of girls as there are only a few of them in the class. She says, "Their (teachers) focus will be mainly on boys. They don't ask us whether we have any doubts. They don't even scold us. They maintain a distance with us".

Case six likes to play everyday but did not find time. Only during the annual sports competitions she participates in athletic events and wins prizes. She is aspiring to learn 'Bharatanatyam' but does not find time for that and also because there is no one to teach in the agency area. She did not know much about magic. She expresses faith in God and Lord Shiva is her preferred deity. She likes 'Deepavali' festival.

Regarding reservations for scheduled tribes she says, "I don't know about that but I came to know that girls are given jobs after class X". She knew that there was some preferential Treatment for girls. She was aspiring to become
a teacher after her Intermediate. She said that as a teacher she can impart education to many. But she wants to take up teaching job outside the agency area preferably in Visakhapatnam. She feels that the tribal people are being cheated by everyone. She feels that the Government should give them sufficient money to develop themselves like the people in the plains.

Case six feels that the teachers do not approve if girls talk in the class. She explains... "when we talk among ourselves (girls) the teachers say that girls should be clam and should not behave like boys. When boys make noise in the class the teachers just say 'silence'." She expresses the fact that are no toilets for girls. They go to their teacher's quarters to use the toilet or go far away from the school to a secluded place.

She does not like their tribal practices. Only her mother and the elder sisters perform all the prayers and rituals. She feels that the plains people consider the tribals as backward because of their dressing and other living habits. She is aspiring to be a woman, much akin to those of plains. She is confident that her father will send her to college as he can afford and also that she is his pet daughter. She suggests for separate hostels for tribal girls nearer to their homes where they can come of study during the night time.
Teachers:

Case one:

Secondary Assistant

Case one is about 40 years of age and belongs to the Valmiki tribe, with Telugu as her mother tongue. Her educational qualifications were S.S.C in which she got third class. In addition she secured secondary Teachers Training certificate. She has completed six years of service in the Ashram school. She was born and brought up in a village in the Agency area. Her father was the village Sarpanch. Her husband is also a Government employee. She is looking after the girls hostel attached to the Ashram high school. She lives adjacent to the hostel. She worked as a Nurse earlier and later joined as a Teacher. She handles classes three to five. She teaches Telugu and Maths for these classes.

Case one expresses her dissatisfaction over both the performance of the students and their parents encouragement for education. She opines that the tribal children are not motivated enough to take modern education. She explains that most of the students are admitted in Ashram schools to avail the facilities free of cost. She opines that the parents are interested in shifting their responsibility of children and thus admit them into schools. She agreed that there were a few good students studying in the school who would progress in life. But she feels that the majority of the students will not make any good out of this schooling. She said,
"upto class X we see that most of them are through but after that, many of them do not go for higher studies. Those who fail in class X despite our efforts end up their studies".

Case one felt that the parents do not have sufficient inclination for education and their vision for future is very limited. She says... "Mainly they (parents) lack awareness. When parents come to see their wards in the hostel I heard them saying 'why do you want to come home here you have good facilities'. They are less interested in education". She complains about the inadequate teaching aids in the school. She also feels that the budget provided by the Government is insufficient to run the hostel.

She remarks that many students of tribal background find the syllabus very difficult particularly subjects like Mathematics, Science and English. She also finds that the present education would not help many tribals. She points out that the tribal children need only Telugu and simple mathematics to manage their future life. She suggests that a few meritorious tribal children can be selected for intensive training who can go for higher studies. She feels that by bringing every tribal child into the school system, the Government policy is creating many misfits as they can neither take up good careers nor handle agriculture.

Regarding Ashram schools, she is emphatic that these schools are better than other Government schools in their
functioning and results. She says... "Here all facilities are provided. In other Government schools, teachers do not bother about teaching". She feels that the teachers in Ashram schools are working excessively when compared to other Government teacher for the same salary.

Case one also remarks that the tribal people are not making use of the facilities provided by the Government under various schemes. She disapproves of tribal practices and customs and states that she and her family live in a "modern style". She explains, "we (her family) live like Hindus. We do not have any close relatives alive, and with others we do not maintain regular contacts. Many of our tribals are backward. They lead a very dirty life. When somebody comes to our house they think that we are from the plains".

As a teacher with tribal background she tries to explain to the parents about their children's performance. She is in contact with the parents as and when the occasion arises. She feels that there is no point in explaining to the parents as they can not understand any thing to do with education.

Case one stated that only because of reservations she could secure the teaching Job and feels that the Government Policy is very helpful for tribals. She complains that some of her colleagues belong to upper castes, and that she cannot handle the teaching.
As a matron, she says that the girls want to be free and go out. She complains that some girls develop contact with the outside youth. She said, "Atleast 20% of the girls are indisciplined. They do not care about anybody. Some of them even Jump the wall to go out". Lack of water facility inside the hostel is also considered as one of the reasons for such incidents. She explains, "when they go out for bath, many students of the nearby Junior college try to meet these girls".

Case Two:

Physical Education

Case two belongs to the Scheduled Caste. He has completed B.A. and passed the examination in third class. In addition he did B.P.Ed course. He comes from a village of Anakapalli Mandal in visakhapatnam district. He has put in a total service of seven years in Ashram Schools. His father is a police constable. His main activities are training students in sports and games and taking them for sports meet etc. This includes intimating parents about sports meet and suggesting former students of Ashram schools about police, CISF, Forest Department selections etc. He is a father of two children. One son is studying in the same school where he was working. He is staying in a rented house.

He considered the students as being more attached to the parents. He says that even parents show lesser
affection towards their children than those of Non-tribals. This result in frequent absenteeism. Some times parents come and take their children for some function at home. He felt that only 5% of the students have real problems at home and all others just give problems at home as reason for their absence. He feels that the facilities in the school for children's education are more than sufficient. He points out that when facilities are provided people do not avail them properly. He says... "when we say education is free, it loses value". He complains that the parents do not consider education as an instrument for progress. The parents are forced by authorities in some cases to send their wards to school. Case two remarks... "its not their felt need. How can we force them to admit their children in school?".

He considers the Scheduled Tribe students as sincere than the Non-Scheduled Tribes. The students here accept their mistakes and will be even ready for punishment also. He points out that the tribal students have more stamina and interest in sports than non-tribals. He feels that the facilities for sports and games in Ashram schools is inadequate. He explains..."when we conducted sports training camp at Vizag, we found lot of progress in children's capabilities. It is possible because there are more facilities and equipment in Vizag".

Interestingly, he is advocating vocational education for tribal children more so because they are good at any
physical work and artistic execution.

Case two explains that the tribal children have athletic and gymnastic skills but there are no facilities for these events in Ashram schools. He says that the school requires a separate track on the field. He blamed higher officials for not showing interest in providing facilities in this respect. He states that there is no specific annual budget for sports and the bills are passed only after the events are over.

He supports the reservations for Scheduled Tribes and said that many of them have not yet benefitted by them. He felt that the leaders among tribals must take initiative to develop their community economically and socially. He also expresses his liking for tribal customs he says...

"They are the most enjoyable people than anybody. Life is peaceful here. They celebrate festivals even today with the same gaiety, as their previous generations did in the past. Some parents invite my family for these festivals. I attended most of their functions in the last few years".

He liked their dances, songs of other arts. He expresses his distaste at the way the tribals are exploited by everybody taking advantage of their innocence. Case two is not satisfied with the job conditions. He feels that the teachers working in the agency area should be given more salary than those working outside Agency area. He remarks
that the Ashram school teachers have less chances for promotion. He feels that it should be made compulsory to stay in agency area throughout the service. He said, "we also want to go outside. Now I am young I am enjoying in this area. But after some years when my children grow up I'll have to shift to some urban area. Our service rules would not permit that'.

The education for tribals, he says... 'may not help them much. They can be given some education with vocational training'. He suggests that the students who have finished education with vocational component should be given preference in Government employment particularly technical Jobs. He feels that without any such activity in schools, the tribal children find the education as boring and routine.

Case Three:

Head Master

Case Three belongs to Koppula Velama Caste which is scheduled under the OBC category. He had done B.Sc and B.Ed. He originally belongs to Vizianagaram district. He has worked for nearly 18 years in the Ashram schools. His father is a land lord. They own land at their native village and his brothers look after the agriculture. He states that he gets rice, jaggery, dal etc., from home every year. He is father of two children, who are studying in Visakhapatnam.
As there is no quarter at his workplace, he stays in a rented kacha house, as there are no pucca houses in the village where he is working.

He teaches English and natural science for class X students. He considers that students show more interest in activities other than education and do frequently go home. He is of the opinion that strict punishment would prove effective on students. He feels that many of them could not cope up with the syllabus and try to escape from school. He blames the parents for not showing any responsibility towards their wards. He remarks, "They (parents) must insist on their children to stay in the school regularly. Then only we can do something useful". He also feels that the students are not aware of the importance of education and are more interested in movies etc. He explained, "they (students) are more interested in movies and other cultural activities. If there is any Oriya drama staged and they try to go even if it is 10 Kms away from the school and watch throughout the night".

He also points out that the students show lot of interest in sexual contacts. Opposite sex attraction is one of the reasons for low performance of the students according to him. He complains that even if the parents are aware of these things they don’t bother much which encourage the children further.

He reflects upon the inadequate hostel facilities.
provided for the students. He says... "they cannot sleep freely. There are more students than the hostel's capacity. The food provided in the hostel is different from what they get at home. They like non vegetarian which is not provided in the mess".

He points out that the foundation at primary school is weak and students who come to high school are to be started with basics. He explains that "they cannot utter even a few words in English, nor write. They have problems with spellings". He feels that there should be more supervision and more facilities in the schools for betterment.

He considers the job in Ashram schools as burdensome than other Government schools. He says...

"We work for the whole day since it is a residential school. Moreover, the task set before us is too difficult. The tribal students are less articulate, less exposed and are less motivated. We have to impart formal education to them and show good result every year. Otherwise both the parents and officials blame us. It is easy to teach non-tribal students as they are more exposed and their foundation is good. So teachers working in other schools need not worry about teaching".

Case three is not satisfied with the job. He explains that the officials have different perceptions and insist on results and each officer has a different idea on school education. Moreover he is fed up of working in the Agency
area as he had been working there for 18 years. He says...

"Its like a punishment for us (teachers) to stay permanently in one place. My children are studying in Vizag only once a week I go to see them. All other officials come and work in the agency area for a few years and go back to the plains. We are the only sufferers". He said that he lost all enthusiasm he had and now took the job as a routine.

He says that the tribals will benefit from reservations and that it's a good policy. However, he remarks that why his children cannot be considered under the reservation quota, as his family has been living in the agency area for 18 years and facing similar conditions of life like tribal people. He said, "our children (teachers' children) should be given atleast second preference after Scheduled Tribes students because they grew up in similar environmental conditions and have had the same exposure". Case three expresses his displeasure on all aspects of his job, nature of work and the perks.

Case Four:

Telugu Pandit

Case four belongs to an upper caste and is about 40 years old. His educational qualifications are B.A. and Basha praveena Diploma in Telugu. He has secured the degree in second class. He has a total service of 14 years in the Ashram schools. He hails from a small town outside the
agency area in Visakhapatnam district. He has two children who are staying with his parents at Gajuvaka near Visakhapatnam. He has some irrigated land of two acres which is rented to his relatives who send him biannual rental charges.

He handles classes VII, IX & X. He considers his students as disciplined but not studious. He opines that parental attachment and lack of awareness as reasons for low educational performance of his students. He also considers that the single teacher schools are spoiling the educational system as they fail to lay good foundation in basics. Many of his students in high school sections have difficulty in reading and writing Telugu. He is critical of the syllabus as he says, "they (students) don't need to learn poetic grammar and by heart the poems. How they are going to help them. There should be separate text books for these students. It they learn to read and write prose that is enough. Government does not think which is essential for whom". He remarks that the schools in the agency area do not have sufficient teaching equipment and the budget released for mess charges is inadequate.

He is of the opinion that the high schools cannot be productive when the foundation for primary education was so weak. He feels that the officials do not think and only insist on the school's final examinations results only. He is displeased that everybody blames the teachers and do not
bother whether students are studying or roaming. He suggests detention method to be implemented for all classes and only then one can expect good results.

Case four also feels that it is difficult to train the tribal children who are less articulate than the non-tribal children. Moreover, he feels that the very climate of agency areas makes one lazy and dull and hence one should not expect brilliancy in these children. He explains, "By 40 (years) we have health problems related to bones and muscles. After working here we lost the thinking power and become dull. The tribal people are lazy and dull because they have been living here for several years. We will also become like that.

He is also very much dissatisfied with the job. He points out the less remuneration, more working houses, official bossism, lack of facilities as reasons for his dissatisfaction. He is angry and said, "I am ready to go on voluntary retirement it they permit me to do so with 15 years service why should I work with ITDA I might as well work in any private school."

Case four is also critical of reservations for S.Ts. he states that it it is useful for poor people than they are useful otherwise no use in reserving all the posts for S.Ts. He says... "Reservation will stay till democracy lasts in India, whether we like it or not. For every vacancy they (officials) want S.T. candidate. They do not get qualified
candidates for Science, Maths, English etc. All the posts lie vacant.

He also suggests to remove the separate hostels as they are being used as lodges and students just eat and roam around without attending classes. In his opinion hostels should be attached to the schools, like in some of the Ashram schools. He also feels it difficult to manage co-education schools in the agency area as many students get attracted towards the opposite sex.

He has pointed out that there are no systematic service rules for teachers working under ITDAs and officials threaten them (teachers) with frequent transfers. He is also in despair as there are no promotion chances for him in the near future.

Case four is not willing to comment on the cultural practices of tribal people. When says he said that even tribal people have become cunning and selfish. He opines... "Even the students have caste feelings. They complain against us with all allegations. If it is some other teacher with a tribal background they do not complain against him". He opines that the development of tribal people is not possible in the near future.
Analysis of Students' Cases:

The six cases of students presented in this chapter represent different socio-economic background. Case one and six belong to Valmiki, Case two to Bagatha, Case three to Valmiki Christian, case four to Konda Dora, and Case five belonged to Kotiya tribal group case six is a girl student whereas other cases are of boys. Except case four who is from class IX all others cases are drawn from class X. Further, case one, case four and case five has their tribal dialect as mother tongue whereas case two has Telugu as mother tongue and cases three and six had Oriya as their mother tongue.

Economically, cases two, three and six are from reasonably better off families than the cases one, four and five. Cases two and three are from families who had more than six acres and case six can also be fitted into this as her father is doing business. The other three cases viz, one, four and five came from families who had less than six acres. However, Case five and Case three are extremes on the economic scale as the family of former owns just two acres of land and the family of Case three owns twenty acres of land. Only the father of Case two had education up to upper primary level and the parents of the remaining cases did not have any education. Except case four and six who had their primary/upper primary education in different school, all the remaining cases has been studying in the same school.
Despite differences in their backgrounds all these students stated that their aim is to secure a Government job. This indicates the general aspiration of tribal students for a Government Job irrespective of their socio-economic background.

When it comes to the syllabus all the cases have stated that it is vast and difficult. Most of the cases expressed difficulty with subjects like Maths, Sciences and English. It is interesting to note that the students varying educational performances expressed similar type of difficulties with the syllabus. Cases three, five and six are above average students, Case one is an average student and cases two and four are below average category. Moreover, cases one, three, five and six are considered as regular in attending school as well as in studies whereas cases two and four are irregular. Despite all these differences, all the cases express difficulties with the syllabus. Most of them explained that they have problems with basics in Languages and Mathematics.

Except case one, all other cases have complained about teaching and the teachers in Ashram schools. They state that the teachers teach rapidly, do not explain properly, and do not show interest in teaching. Case four has narrated an incident whereby the teacher embarrassed him in the class for wrong pronunciation and reading. Case five points out the teacher's discouragement in the class. Case six
describes how the teachers discriminate girls and their indifferent attitude towards girls and girls participation in the class. Case two has narrated how the head master abuses and hits the children harshly. Case four explains the discrimination shown by teachers towards tribals.

Majority of the students dislike their tribal cultural practices and show preference for Hindu festivals. One of the Cases even consider the tribals as backward only cases four and five express their likeness towards their tribal culture. Except two cases, all the remaining are aware of reservations provided for Scheduled Tribes and they have indicated as how it helps them in realising their future aspirations.

Cases two and five expressed high aspirations, case six was having moderate aspirations and the cases one, two and four expressed low level of future aspirations. Despite these differences in aspirations, one can consider their level of awareness is reasonably good.

Most of the cases express problems with regard to the facilities in the school and hostel on the whole they have indicated their displeasure over the syllabus, way of teaching, attitude of teachers and problems with the facilities; they expressed dislike towards their cultural background and likening for Hindu/christian customs; Further, they considered that the teachers discourage and discriminate on the lines of ethnic and gender basis, and
conveyed that the school does not encourage their traditional art forms.

Analysis of Teacher's Cases:

The four cases of Teachers presented in this chapter represent four social categories viz Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Caste, Backward classes and other castes. Despite the differences in their socio-economic background, their opinions, attitudes and Job satisfaction are observed to be similar.

Most of the cases opine that the students' performance as two due to vast syllabus and weak foundation at primary and upper primary stages. They express their reservations about the suitability of formal education to the tribal children. All the cases observe that the parents are less aware and less concerned of their wards educational performances. All the teachers including the one from Scheduled Tribes consider that the students in Ashram high schools are more interested in other activities than studies.

Except case two, all other teachers have expressed their dislike for the terrible way of life including the case one who belongs to Scheduled Tribes. The teachers consider the whole environment as dull and supposed to have created dullness among them. They consider the tribals development as a dream in the near future, at the same time
accepting the exploitation of tribal by non-tribals.

All the four cases have expressed some inadequacy, in terms of infrastructure and budget, in these schools. In general they were expressing their displeasure at the way everybody was pointing at them for all omissions and commissions. They expressed their anger over official attitudes, policies and official domination over their specialised field.

It can be understood from the cases that the teachers lost motivation, enthusiasm and creativity as they felt 'relatively deprived' compared to those working in schools outside agency area prolonged stay, less of future opportunities in terms of promotion lack of facilities in Agency area and more importantly, the undigestible fact that they will have to work till their retirement often compel them to feel deprived. With this feeling in mind, when they compare themselves with their colleagues working in schools outside the agency area, their 'relative deprivation' further accentuated. This would have a detrimental effect on their Job satisfaction. It can be assumed that their 'relative deprivation' did not encourage or motivate them to show concern for the education of these disadvantaged children. Further, their anger out of this deprivation often results in negative attitude towards students performance and their cultural background.
In summary, it may be pointed out that the perception and attitudes of students and teachers are mutually contradictory. The students perceive that the teachers did not show interest, did not teach well and look down upon their ethnic background whereas, the teachers considered that the students are not interested in studies, not motivated, lack basic knowledge and cannot cope up with the formal education.

The above discussion reveal a few crucial aspects which are stumbling blocks for education in Ashram school.

a) The perceptions, attitudes and interests of students and teachers were contradictory in nature.

b) The syllabus prescribed for the tribal students is considered as vast and difficult both by students and teachers and it has no contextual relevance for tribal students.

c) The students studying in Ashram schools gradually dislike their cultural practices. This is probably the effect of the school on the children, as the teacher expressed a negative attitude towards the tribals way of life by their implicit and explicit comments, disapproval and by imposition of their culture i.e. of non-tribal Hindu culture, through the hidden curriculum. Further, the Ashram schools are not showing any signs of encouraging the tribal art forms or
skills.

d) thus, both curriculum and hidden curriculum in Ashram schools are influencing the children to distance from their ethnic background and imposing the dominant cultural values on the tribal students.

e) there are inadequacies in terms of infrastructure as expressed by students and teachers.

f) the teachers working in the Agency area are experiencing "Relative deprivation" which results into reducing their motivation and achievement levels as well as low level of job satisfaction.