1.1 Introduction

Since independence, India has made immense advancements in the social sectors of education and health. Educational institutions have increased by more than five times from 1951 to 2011 to reach 13.9 lakhs. The enrolment in institutions has also gone up enormously from 23.8 million to 248 million i.e., a rise by more than ten times (GOI-MHRD, 2014). Even after more than five decades of developmental efforts, educational status among social groups is found to be highly skewed in India. Despite several programmes implemented towards the provision of compulsory education, especially for
SCs/STs, the illiteracy rate continues to be quite high among them. Literacy is the basic necessity for each person in social development. UNESCO (1997) defined Literacy as an activity embedded in social and cultural practice aimed at bringing social and cultural transformation. At the same time, the educational status of women is significantly lower than that of male counterpart in all social groups and such disparity is high among Scheduled Tribes.

In India, Scheduled Tribes constitute 8.6 percent of total population numbering 104.28 million (Census of India, 2011). More than half of the Scheduled Tribe population is concentrated in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Jharkhand and Gujarat. The Tribes generally reside in isolated places situated in remote areas of forests, islands, hills etc. These communities are not able to access basic facilities such as schools, hospitals and other amenities due to their remoteness. All these factors have led to the socio-economic backwardness of the community.

Educational advancement is regarded as the main catalyst for social development. Statistics show that tribes lag much behind in educational attainments compared to other communities in India. The important reason for the low level of education among tribes is the peculiar nature of their habitations. Lack of sufficient educational institutions in tribal areas, poverty, lack of nutritional and healthcare programmes, poor enrolment and high dropout from schools are the major problems faced by Scheduled Tribes in India. All these point to the need for development of education among the Tribes. The fact is that, it is only from the Fifth Five-Year Plan onwards special attention has been given to the education development programmes of tribes. This indicates that the policies for the empowerment of tribes commenced only after several decades of Indian independence.
Despite the government initiatives, including the Tribal Sub-Plans (TSP) giving great emphasis on the education of tribals, the problem of educational dropouts is high among the tribes compared to the mainstream population (Mitra and Singh, 2008). Dropout rate is high even when comparing with that of Scheduled Castes. This is of particular significance to Kerala, the State excelling other States in almost all development indices, and the marginalized group like Scheduled Tribes remains excluded from these development processes. Kerala is regarded as an educationally forward State compared to other States in India. This is marked by high levels of literacy rate, improved enrolment of students etc. (Naidu and Nair, 2007). Though the overall educational development indices were much above the national level, the disparity in educational attainment between non-SC/ST populations and tribal communities still continues and remains a dilemma.

The total Scheduled Tribe (ST) population of Kerala is 4, 84,839 constituting 1.45 percent of the total population of the State\(^1\) (Census of India, 2011). Significant concentration of STs is in the three districts viz. Wayanad, Idukki Palakkad and Kasaragod accounting for well over 60 percent of the total tribal population in the State. The Scheduled Tribes are overwhelmingly rural as 89.3 percent of them reside in villages. Since majority of them resides in remote areas and difficult terrains, they remain isolated from the mainstream population. This could be attributed as the major reason for their social and economic deprivation. The present study tries to identify the exact problems facing tribal education of Kerala.

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\(^1\) Total population of Kerala is 33,406,061 and ST population numbers 484,839 (Rural – 433,092 and Urban – 51,747) as per 2011 Census estimates.
Chapter 1

1.2 Tribes in India
1.2.1 Meaning and Features

The term ‘tribe’ is derived from the Latin word ‘tribus’ designating a particular kind of social and political organization existing in all these societies. Originally, it was used to imply three divisions among early Romans. Later on, it was used to mean the ‘poor’ or the ‘masses’. In India, the term ‘tribe’ has legal and administrative connotations. British census officials-cum- anthropologists first used the term ‘tribe’ for the purpose of enumerating social groups in India and the term was used from 1881 to 1991 Censuses (Panda, 2006). The Dictionary of Anthropology mentions tribe as a social group, usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organization. The tribes in India differ from one another depending upon the region, language, customs, culture, religion, racial traits and so on. Prior to independence, Government of India Act 1935 used the term ‘backward tribe’. Later, the Indian Constitution has retained the terminology with slight modification using ‘Scheduled’ in place of ‘backward’. However, the Constitution does not have precise definition for the term ‘tribe’. Article 366 (25) of Indian Constitution refers Scheduled Tribe as those who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342. Article 342 says that Indian

---

2 Passed in August 1935 and known to be the largest Act in parliament at that time. The Act intended to introduce the degree of autonomy to the provinces of British India.

3 342 (1) The president may with respect to any state or union territory and where it is a state after consultation with Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts or groups within tribes or tribal community which shall for the purposes of this constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory as the case may be.

(2)Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or parts of or groups within any tribe or tribal community, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.
President after consulting with the concerned Governors of State or Union territory can specify the tribe or tribal groups through public notification. Still there exists no clarification as to whom to be included under the category of Scheduled Tribe. Lokur Committee 1965\(^4\) identified certain criteria for specification of a community as Scheduled Tribe. They are:

- a) Indication of primitive traits
- b) Distinctive culture
- c) Shyness of contact with the community at large
- d) Geographical isolation; and
- e) Backwardness

Historically, Tribes in India are called as ‘Adivasis’ literally means ‘original inhabitants’. Tribal society tends to be egalitarian, with its leadership based on their ties of kinship and personality rather than hereditary status. Tribes in India can be categorized into three ethnic groups’ viz. (a) Mongoloid (b) Austric and (c) Dravidian or Mediterranean\(^5\). Tribes in North-Eastern part belong to Mangaloid and Austric. Tribes such as Naga, Kuki, Chakma, Abor, Mishmi, Mikir, Khasi, Garoo comes under the category of Mongoloid. Whereas Oroan, Santhal, Ho, Bhumij, Biyar, Kandha, Savaras tribes belong to Austric. Tribes residing in Bihar, Gujarath and southern States are Dravidians according to their language.

\(^4\) Established by Govt. of India in June 1965 for reviewing of the existing lists of SCs and STs and presented report on August 25, 1965. The committee devoted most of its attention to several technical changes in the list including a number of minor exclusions and inclusions.

\(^5\) There are wide discussions on the classification of tribes. Different anthropologists have categorized Indian Tribes into more than three groups. But controversies are going on with regard to inclusion of different categories.
1.2.2 An Overview of Tribes

Tribal communities are living across worldwide but majority are concentrated in Africa and India. India stands second behind Africa in terms of tribal concentration. Tribes in India are scattered all over the Indian States except Punjab, Haryana and Union territories such as Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry. Tribes in India come to 104,281,034 constituting 8.6 percent of the total population. Most of the tribes are concentrated in central parts of India comprising Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand (Table 1.1). There are more than 533 tribal groups already identified, having heterogeneous social, religious and cultural difference between them. Some of these groups have sub-categories within them. Among these tribal groups, 75 communities are categorized under Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG)\(^6\). PTGs are most vulnerable and economically backward communities within Scheduled Tribes. Numerically, most highly populated tribes are *Gonds* of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra; and *Santhals* of Bihar, Odisha and West Bengal with more than 4 million populations for each group. Kerala has a tribal population of 484,839 divided across 36 different communities. Though Madhya Pradesh has the highest tribal population, the concentration of them is only 21.1 percentages to the total population. Highest tribal concentrated States are located in north-eastern parts of India. Mizoram has the highest concentration with 94.3 percentage of total population followed by Nagaland and Meghalaya (Table 1.1). Location of tribes in India can be divided into five territorial groups taking into account of their historical, ethnic and social structural relations (Sharma, 1998). These are as follows:

---

6 Central Government has initiated four criterions in identifying Primitive Tribal Groups. They are (a) pre-agricultural level of technology and economy, (b) very low rate of literacy, (c) declining or near stagnant population, and (d) a subsistence level of economy
Introduction and Review of Literature

a) North-East India – Tribes residing in Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura.

b) North and North-West India – The Sub-Himalayan region includes Uttar Pradesh, Jammu Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh

c) Central and East India – Consisting of West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh

d) South India – States of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka formerly known as Madras and Mysore regions; and Kerala

e) Western India – Includes States of Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Gujarat

Figure 1.1 Percentage of ST to Total Population

Source: Census of India, (2011)
Large numbers of tribal communities are in the State of Odisha with 62 categories while Kerala have 36 tribal communities among 4.8 million population. North eastern side of India represents more representation of tribal population to total population which is clearly evident from Figure 1.1. In Mizoram, 94.4 percent of the total population is STs, Meghalaya and Nagaland also has ST representation above 85 percent. While Southern States like Kerala and Tamil Nadu, and Northern States like Uttar Pradesh have low representation of STs to total population.

More than 89 percent of the tribal communities regard themselves as part of Hindu religion. Among rest of the tribes dominant religions are Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Many Tribes located in parts of Jammu Kashmir follow Islamism. Muslims are also seen in a few tribes residing in parts of Maharashtra and Lakshadweep. Most of the Christian Tribes are located in North-Eastern States. Majority of the tribal languages belong to Austic, Dravidian and Tibeto-Chinese families though the language differs among each community.
### Table 1.1 Tribal Populations in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Union Territory</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Proportion to Total Population (Percent)</th>
<th>Total Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>15316784</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>10510213</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odisha</td>
<td>9590756</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>9238534</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>8917174</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>8645042</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>7822902</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>5918073</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>5296953</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>4248987</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>3884371</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>2555861</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>1710973</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>1493299</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>1336573</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1166813</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>1134273</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>1036115</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>951821</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>902740</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>794697</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>484839</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>392126</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
<td>291903</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>206360</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadra &amp; Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>178564</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>149275</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakshadweep</td>
<td>61120</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaman &amp; Nicobar Islands</td>
<td>28530</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>15363</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>India</strong></td>
<td><strong>104,281,034</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.6</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Census of India, (2011)*
Chapter 1

Table 1.2 Profile of Tribes in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>Year (2001)</th>
<th>Year (2011)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>84,326,240</td>
<td>104,281,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>59.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male literacy</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female literacy</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivators</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture labourers</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census Data, (2001 and 2011)

The population of tribes has been increasing over the years and now they constitute more than 10 Crore (Census of India, 2011) in number registering 23.7 percent growth from 2001. Compared to national sex ratio for all communities, it is much more favourable among tribes as there exist 990 females for 1000 males against the national average of 943 females for 1000 males (Table 1.2). The literacy rate of Scheduled Tribe as per 2001 Census is 47.10 percent which stands much below the national literacy of 64.84 percent. But, there was a tremendous increase in literacy rate of STs from 29.6 percent in 1991 to 47.10 percent in 2001. The literacy rate of STs further increased to 59 percent, but still it is much below the general literacy level7 (Census of India, 2011). Male-Female literacy rate indicates the gender discrimination existing in education among tribes. Male literacy stands high with 68.5 percent compared to female literacy of 49.4 percent which means there is a difference of 19 percent between them showing clear gender discrimination in the case of opportunity for education. Census, 2011 data shows that tribes are generally dependent upon primary sector for their income.

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7 As per 2011 Census data, effective literacy rate of India is 73 percent (male -80.9 % and female 64.6 % literacy rate).
and livelihood aspects as 34.5 percent are cultivators and 44.5 percent are agriculture labours. These together constitute 79 percent which is engaged in agriculture sector.

1.3 Tribes of Kerala

There are 36 notified tribal communities in the State, numbering 484,839 as shown in Box 1.1.

Figure 1.2 District-wise Percentage of ST to total ST Population of Kerala

Source: Census of India, (2011)
**Box 1.1 Scheduled Tribes of Kersala**

1. Adiyan
2. Aranda (Arandan)
3. Eravallan
4. Hill Pulaya (Mala Pulayan, Kurumba Pulayan, Karavazhi Pulayan, Pamba Pulayan)
5. Irular, Irulan
6. Kadar (Wayanad Kadar)
7. Kanikkaran, Kanikar
8. Karimpalan
9. Kattunayakan
10. Kochuvelan
11. Koraga
12. Kudiya, Melakudi
13. Kurichchan (Kurichiyan)
14. Kurumans (Mullu Kuruman, Mulla Kuruman, Mala Kuruman)
15. Kurumbas (Kurumbar, Kurumban)
16. Mahamalasar
17. Malai Arayan (Mala Arayan)
18. Malai Pandaran
19. Malai Vedan (Mala Vedan)
20. Malakkuravan
21. Malasar
22. Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan (Excluding the areas comprising the Kasaragod, Kannur, Wayanad and Kozhikode Districts)
23. Mavilan
24. Malayarayar
25. Mannan (to be spelt in Malayalam script in parenthesis)
26. Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan
27. Palleyan, Palliyan, Paliyar, Palliya
28. Paniyan
29. Ulladan, Ullatan
30. Uraly
31. Mala Vettuvan (in Kasaragod and Kannur Districts)
32. Ten Kurumban, Jenu Kurumban
33. Thachenadan, Thachenadan, Moopan
34. Cholanaickan
35. Malapanickar
36. Vettakuruman

Source: Scheduled Tribe Development Department, (2012)
Each community is so heterogeneous in terms of culture, belief, livelihood strategies, social organization, economy and developmental perspectives. Major tribal communities in Kerala are Paniya, Kurichchya, Kuruma, Kattunayakans, Uralies etc of Wayanad, Irulas of Attapady, Muthuvans, Malayarayan and Uralies of Idukki and Kottayam and Kanikkar of Thiruvananthapuram. Five tribal communities are notified as primitive considering the stage of transition into modern society. They are Kattunaikans of Wayanad, Koragas of Kasaragod, Cholanaikans of Nilambur Valley and Malapuram district, Kurumbar of Attappady and Palakkad districts and Kadars of Cochin.

Table 1.3 District-wise Distribution of Tribal Population in Kerala, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage of ST to Total Population</th>
<th>Percentage with in Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KERALA</td>
<td>484839</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasaragod</td>
<td>48857</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>10.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannur</td>
<td>41371</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayanad</td>
<td>151443</td>
<td>18.55</td>
<td>31.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kozhikode</td>
<td>15228</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malappuram</td>
<td>22990</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>4.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palakkad</td>
<td>48972</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>10.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrissur</td>
<td>9430</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernakulam</td>
<td>16559</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idukki</td>
<td>55815</td>
<td>5.04</td>
<td>11.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottayam</td>
<td>21972</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alappuzha</td>
<td>6574</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathanamthitta</td>
<td>8108</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollam</td>
<td>10761</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thiruvananthapuram</td>
<td>26759</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>5.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Census Data, (2011)
Figure 1.2 depicts district-wise ST population as percentage to total ST population, indicates the concentration of STs in Kerala. With regard to the inter-district differences, the size of tribal population is the highest in Wayanad. It has 31.24 percent of tribal population of the State, which constitutes 18.55 percent of the total population in the district. The second largest tribal concentration is in Idukki with 11.51 percentages (Table 1.3). Other significant concentrations are in the districts of Palakkad (10.1 percent), Kasaragod (10.08 percent), Thiruvananthapuram (5.52 percent), Kannur (8.53 percent), Malappuram (4.74 percent) and Kottayam (4.53 percent). Alappuzha district has the least tribal concentration as well as population of tribes. It can be further noted that tribes are more concentrated in hilly areas of the State. Tribal population in Kerala segregated across all the Districts but majority is concentrated in Palakkad, Idukki, Wayanad and Kasaragod as it constitute 62.93 percentage of total population.

1.3.1 History of tribal communities of Kerala

Though there is no strict definition of an *Adivasi*, it is generally assumed that they are the original inhabitants of a region or locality, leading an isolated life having very minimal contact with the rest of the population. A number of characteristics have also been attributed to Adivasi communities of India. These include:

a) They have strong ethnic boundary based on kinship.

b) They have own dialect instead of languages.

---

8 The Constitution of India does not define Scheduled Tribes as such. Article 366(25) refers to scheduled tribes as those communities who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution. According to Article 342 of the Constitution, the Scheduled Tribes are the tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within these tribes and tribal communities which have been declared as such by the President through a public notification.
c) They lead a life based on subsistence economy.

d) Their customs and traditions are distinct from that of other communities.

e) Unlike castes, which form part of a complex and inter-related local economic exchange system, tribes traditionally were self-sufficient economic units.

f) Their society was egalitarian, with its leadership based on ties of kinship and personality rather than on hereditary status, and

g) Traditionally their religion recognized no authority outside their community.

However, many of these criteria may not apply in specific instances, in defining an Adivasi, particularly in Kerala. For instance, language does not always form a criterion for many Adivasi communities of the State, as the majority of them speak Malayalam or a dialect close to Malayalam. Similarly, they cannot always be viewed as people living apart as the degree of isolation of various Adivasi communities of the State is varied depending on the localities in which they inhabit. But typically an Adivasi community of the State consists of lineages whose extended families provide the basis for social organization and control. They were the aborigines of a region before the arrival of any settler peasantry in the locality where they inhabit today.

Tribes residing in Kerala were primarily engaged in the occupation of agriculture or allied activities. Among all Tribes, Adiya, Irulas, Paniya, Kurichchian and Kanikkars are leading cultivators (Luiz, 1962). Their major produces include rice, ragi, cholam, tapioca, ginger and cardamom. Tribes such as Malai Vedan, Maha Malasar, Kadars, Malai Pandaram and Kattunayakan...
engage in hunting as their primary occupation. The diet followed by Tribes of Kerala is non-vegetarian. Tribes have headman named ‘Muppan’ and his wife as ‘Mooppathy’. Mooppan is consulted before finalising marriages and is expected to attend all weddings and funerals within his territory. Each community has different customs and traditions relating to the authority and jurisdiction of mooppan. For Irula community, they permit mooppan to have two wives and Mannans provide spacious hut with coat to sleep for mooppan. Most of the tribes followed Makkathayam i.e. ‘succession through male line’ (patrilineal rule) except Kurichchians, Kunduvadias and Malayarayas. Taboos are more popular in tribal societies. Important taboos are connected with puberty, and woman in menses and childbirth.

1.3.2 Profile of tribal communities in Kerala

In all, thirty five communities have been enlisted in the Scheduled Tribes list of the State. The majority of these communities are concentrated in Wayanad, Palakkad, and Idukki districts which together accounts for more than 62 percentage of total tribal population. Most of the Adivasi communities of the State inhabit in the Western Ghats in proximity to the forest ecosystem. The distribution of tribal population of major tribal groups in Kerala is shown in Table 1.4.

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9 As amended by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment Act) 1976 and as amended by the Constitution (Scheduled castes) Orders (Second Amendment) Act, 2002 (Act 61 of 2002) vide Part VIII- Kerala- Schedule I notified in the Gazette of India, dated 18 December, 2002 and (As amended by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act 2002 (Act 10 of 2003) vide Part VII- Kerala- Second Schedule notified in the Gazette of India dated 8 January, 2003) thirty five communities have been included in the Scheduled Tribe list of the State. In previous listings a few other communities have been erroneously enlisted in the Scheduled Tribe list. However, their names have been removed from the ST list of Kerala since 2003.
Out of thirty five Adivasi communities notified as Scheduled Tribes by the GOI, Paniyan is the largest with a population of 81,940 forming 22.5 percent of the total tribal population of the State and Kurichchan is the second largest community with a population of 32,746 constituting 9 percent. Five other Adivasi communities, viz. Muthuvan, Kanikkaran, Irular, Kuruman and MalaiArayan having a population ranging from 21,000 to 32,000 along with Paniyan and Kurichian constitute nearly 75 percent of the total Adivasi population of the State. Some of the communities such as Aranadan, Kudiya and Wayanad Kadar are only very few in number having a population less than one thousand.

Table 1.4 Population and Sex Ratios of Major Tribes in Kerala

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population Total</th>
<th>Population %</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
<th>Child Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Paniyan</td>
<td>81940</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>40001</td>
<td>41939</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td>971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kurichchan</td>
<td>32746</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>16474</td>
<td>16272</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MalaiArayan</td>
<td>32332</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>15916</td>
<td>16416</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kurumans</td>
<td>26177</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>13123</td>
<td>13054</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Irular</td>
<td>23998</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>12038</td>
<td>11960</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Muthuvan</td>
<td>21266</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>10764</td>
<td>10502</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kattunayakan</td>
<td>14715</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7425</td>
<td>7290</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>1,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Uraly</td>
<td>11103</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5545</td>
<td>5558</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>1,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Adiyan</td>
<td>10715</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5141</td>
<td>5574</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>1,037</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated from Census Data, (2001)

Until the middle of the last century, most of the Adivasi communities in the State have been leading a relatively isolated life, having very minimal contact with the caste society of Kerala. However, in the past few decades,
they have undergone remarkable changes owing to the socio-economic transitions that Kerala has experienced since the middle of the last century. Exposures to modern education, political process and media have altered the traditional life style of these communities. These changes are well expressed in their food habits, dress, religious practices, language, worldview, community structure, social interactions etc. Most of the community members are well conversant with Malayalam. Even in the households, Malayalam is increasingly becoming common language replacing local dialects. Most of the community members follow the ‘locally standardized’ religious practices. Traditional political structure is no more powerful as it used to be among most of the communities a few decades ago. All these factors have contributed remarkably to the detribalization of Adivasi communities in Kerala and being a “tribe” in Kerala today has only very little to do with customs and practices and kinship-based political structure. Today, the connotation “tribe” refers to the endogamous communities that have been leading a relatively isolated life until the beginning of the last century, living close to the forest ecosystem, depending on the subsistence economy. Owing to their relative isolated life, they have been able to keep many of their traditions and practices intact.

Generally, it is assumed that the Adivasi communities remain outside the caste system, there does a sort of hierarchy exist among communities in certain localities. For instance, in Wayanad, the landed Scheduled Tribes such as Kurichchian and Kuruman claimed a higher status over the rest of the Adivasi communities of the district and even practiced ‘untouchability’ with other Adivasi communities and even had a patron-client relationship with them. Again, in regions such as Wayanad, the Adivasi communities viz. Adiyans and Paniyans were occupying a position very similar to that of the
Dalit communities such as Pulayan and Cheruman in local caste relations. The basic characteristics in defining ‘tribe’ has transformed over the years but still they stand far below the mainstream population in parameters such as education and health.

1.4 Statement of the problem

Research works on tribal communities in India has different dimensions. Much of the studies vary according to different regions, cultures, caste etc. Studies on tribal education in India particularly focused on various aspects such as policies and programmes implemented for tackling educational backwardness of tribal students, factors affecting the education of students, literacy, etc. The existence of difference in culture, religious belief, nature and remoteness of habitation and dialect restrict the researchers from making generalization of results across the whole nation.

Educating the weaker section of our society including the tribals is very important as education is a necessary pre-condition for socio-economic development and a crucial element in sustaining the social exclusion. This fact is substantiated by the stipulation of educational interests of the weaker sections in the Directive Principles of State Policy and our Constitution. The modern values emerging along with modern education and clashing with the age-old belief system of the tribal societies resulted in the tribes becoming antagonistic to modern education.

Education plays an important role in every human being’s life. As Scheduled Tribes are considered marginalized groups residing in interiors of forests and far away from the mainstream population, they require proper
education to develop the human resources necessary for economic and social transformation. Promoting early childhood education will lay foundation for later learning and skill development. Considering the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes all over India, it shows an increasing trend which indeed a good sign of acceptance of education as a *sine qua non* for the improvement of physical quality of life. But here the gap between the ST and total population at national level still shows a significant difference (Table 1.5). The inter-state comparison between literacy rates among Scheduled Tribes also shows a huge disparity. These variations are a reflection of the differences in economic, social, cultural, religious and demographic characteristics of the different tribes and their exposure to the forces of modernization, urbanization and industrialization (Mitra and Singh, 2008).

### Table 1.5 Literacy Rates of STs and Total Population at National Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>29.45</td>
<td>36.23</td>
<td>52.21</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Tribes</td>
<td>11.30</td>
<td>16.35</td>
<td>29.60</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gap</td>
<td>18.15</td>
<td>19.88</td>
<td>22.61</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, (1971 to 2011)

Though, Kerala has achieved remarkable development in social sector, described as ‘Kerala Model of Development’, it is observed that the development process fell short to encompass the tribal communities in its development process (Davis and Sunitha, 2009), which makes them outliers in the process of development (Kurien, 1995). On account of this, still they are the most vulnerable community in the state. It is reported that 24.2 percent of
tribes fall Below Poverty Line (BPL) whereas the corresponding State average is only 9.4 percent (GOK, 2008).

In many societies, there exists discrepancy between the mainstream population and the marginalized including tribes in acquiring human capital (Mitra and Singh, 2008). Here too, Kerala is no exception. There are many reasons for this sorry state of affairs. One major reason is the prevailing high rate of poverty and the other is the over dependence on natural resources/agriculture causing increasing child labour among the tribes. Poverty is a significant deterrent to tribal children as they often dropout of school for helping their family in occupation and their families cannot afford the cost of education as they are deprived of economic resources. Education is a major non-income factor determining the development of any economy or society (UNDP, 2000). In the State, school education is free, students belonging to SC/ST and other eligible sections are being provided with lump-sum grants to the tune of ₹ 140-330 for buying study materials, cloths etc (Praveen, 2009).

The incidence of poverty among the Scheduled Tribes in Kerala is only half the all India figure which suggests that the poverty alleviation measures implemented in the State have been more effective compared to the rest of India (GOK, 2008). However, when the incidence of poverty is examined at the State level, the situation reveals the vulnerability of the tribal community in the State. The poor among the scheduled tribes in Kerala constitutes 3 percent of the total BPL population in Kerala, while their total population in the state is only 1.14 percent (Appendix 1.1). With regard to the incidence of
poverty among all sections, it is found that the incidence of poverty in ST population is about 3 times that of the general population.

The income and livelihood situation of tribal communities in Kerala presents a mixed picture. While some communities like Kattunayakan are still in hunter-gatherer stage, other communities who have lost their land to settlers and encroachers work as agricultural or non-agricultural labourers (Wayanad Initiative, 2006). The livelihood options of the majority of the tribal communities are dependent on primary sector with very minimal dependence on other avenues of employment. Eventhough there is not much variation in the reported income of tribal communities, there is substantial difference in the levels of indebtedness among land owning communities like Kurichya, Kuruma and the backward communities (Wayanad Initiative, 2006).

Scheduled Tribes are subject to educational backwardness along with other backwardness which prompted the governments to make elementary education as priority scheme in all the Tribal Sub-Plans from the Fifth Five Year Plan it got a thrust with the formulation of National Policy on Education (NPE 1986). This was not only because of the constitutional obligation [Article 15(4) and (5)] that stipulates creation of equality, promoting conditions including reservation of seats in educational institutions, but also because of the felt necessity for the total development of tribal communities in the changing socio-economic scenario which is possible only through the instrument of education. Education is a powerful indicator of social and economic development among the backward groups including tribes (Mitra and Singh, 2008). These communities reside, normally, in the remote interiors which are inaccessible
terrains or hilly areas thus they remain as underdeveloped. Besides, they live in small habitations without basic infrastructures like transportation and communication. Moreover, they have their own structural impediments which make them deprived and excluded with regard to almost everything that a contemporary mainstream society has access to, the major one being education.

The situation in Kerala is not different, as the structural impediments preventing the tribal communities from being on par with the mainstream communities are in existence here as well. The literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes in the State is only 57 percent as against 90 percent among the general population and 79 percent among the Scheduled Castes (NCSC, 2002). Likewise, the share of ST students in the total school enrolment in the State is only 1.63 percent in 2008-09 (GOK, 2009). The disparity in literacy and educational level between the STs and the general population is continuing despite a number of educational support programmes made available to them. The two major reasons for this situation are the low enrolment ratio and high dropout ratio of ST children in educational institutions as compared to general students and even SC students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All Communities</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>4.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>3.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-11</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-12</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>3.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DPI- Kerala, (2014)
When we look at the dropout rate of boys and girls belonging to ST category, it shows an increasing trend as the level of education increases (Appendix 1.2). The tribal dropout rate is high compared to SCs and general population. The present study on education of tribes in Kerala particularly addresses issues such as low literacy level, low enrolment and high dropout rate of students. In this context, it is vital to make an investigation into the problems of tribal students and suggest solutions to improve the situation.

1.5 Review of literature

Significant studies on tribal folk in Kerala started way back from the close of 19th century. Research by Thurston, Iyer, Luiz, Ayyappan, Mathur and Kunhaman are some of the relevant works in this field. Anthropologists were the first group which has shown keen interest in tribal research. Their focus was on customs, rituals and living condition of tribes. Later, sociologists and economists made significant contributions to tribal research by analyzing the issues or problems related to tribal folk.

Thurston (1907) in his study gives a detailed note on hill tribes of Kerala. The study is anthropological in nature that pinpointed customs, beliefs and the life of tribal groups. The work by Thurston which can be viewed as ground-breaking in the field of tribal research formed a platform for further research in this area. Iyer (1909) makes a study on Cochin tribes and later a similar work is done on Travancore tribes by the same author. Comparing with Thurston’s work, Ananthakrishna Iyer’s is of sociological dimension. The researcher discussed social and cultural aspects of the tribes. The important drawback of these studies can be exclusion of the economic dimension of the tribes.
A detailed account on each tribal group of Kerala is given by Luiz (1962), the former chairman of Kerala State Tribal Enquiry Committee. His study is a comprehensive research in this field. The author has described 48 tribal communities in detail, their origin, traditional occupation, beliefs, customs and other socio-cultural traits. Though the approach of the work is sociological in nature, it is different from previous works done on tribal folk of Kerala. The researcher does exploratory research but fails to come up with issues faced by the tribes.

Ayyapan (1948) is the first to make remarks on educational backwardness of tribal folk. The study focuses on tribes located at Malabar regions especially Kurichchan and Paniya groups. The research work, analyses from anthropological line, tries to bring out the problems existing in tribal communities. He addresses socio-cultural aspects and customs prevailed in Paniyans and Kurichchans as reasons for their educational backwardness. Social taboos among Kurichchans abstained girls from having education, and Paniyans by tradition, were reluctant to provide education. The researcher stressed the importance of education in socio-economic transformation of tribes.

Studies on tribal education in India emphasize poverty and poor economic background of the families as the major causes for educational deprivation among the tribal communities. Also, poor health is a major hindrance in the promotion and participation of tribal children in education (Sujatha, 2002 and 1999). The works by Sujatha have made significant contributions for analyzing problems in tribal education. Sujatha\textsuperscript{10} analysed

\textsuperscript{10} Study on ‘education among Scheduled Tribes’ published by India Education Report (2002)
the issues of tribal education from a broader base. Jayachandran (2002) has identified female literacy level, female work participation rate, poverty, caste status and household size as the major determinants of school attendance in India in general.

Saxena (2002) investigates into reasons for the absenteeism of students in schools by collecting information from parents and teachers. Both these groups are agreeing on certain factors such as children’s help in work, their free nature and lack of interest in studying. Apart from these regular factors, the author identified some interesting reasons for student absenteeism. As far as tribes are concerned, they celebrate too many festivals which cause student irregularity. The parents argued that the irregularity of teachers, and sometimes, the classes remain suspended; in such cases, the children roam around the schools and gradually lose their interest in attending classes. Therefore, the author argued that it is important to ensure regularity of teachers and working of schools to encourage the parents in sending students to school. Saxena also suggested that adjusting holidays in schools with that of tribal festivals rather than giving holidays for Diwali, Dasarah etc which tribes are not involved could reduce student absenteeism. Another important thing noticed by the author is that student absenteeism is high at the time of agricultural sowing and harvesting seasons which is due to the fact that students often help in supporting these activities.

One of the major challenges in providing education to tribal children is setting up school facilities in small, scattered and remote tribal habitations (Gautam, 2003). The majority of scheduled Tribes live in sparsely populated
habitations in the interior and inaccessible hilly areas of the country, and this is a major constraint in attaining formal education\(^{11}\).

Recruitment of well qualified teachers in tribal areas and determination of the appropriate language as medium of instruction remain as a major problem in educating tribal in South India (Mahanty, 2006). The continuing dropouts at different levels of education at schools manage only a few to finish high schools. Thus, only limited number of students is eligible for higher education from tribal community. The researcher also mentions that the tribes engaged in the occupation of hunting and gathering as well as shifting cultivation face problem of non-enrolment in schools as they frequently engaged in migrating settlements in connection with their search for employment.

The audit report on ‘Educational Development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes’ (2007) points to many issues such as underutilization of funds, non-availing of central assistance, diversion of funds etc. This indicates inefficient financial management by the authorities with respect to the implementation of schemes. Besides, delayed/non/short release of funds creates problems in educational development of ST students. Sah and Sisodia (2004) identify two major factors governing the literacy rate of boys and girls located in tribal areas. First factor is the poor socio-economic condition of tribal people and secondly the lack of political will and administrative

\(^{11}\) The Tribal Development Plan\(^\text{11}\) exhibits (Appendix 1.3), that 79.3 percent of habitants have primary schools within 1 km radius. Similarly, 67.2 percent have upper primary schools within 3 km. The report points out that still there exists the problem of inaccessibility to primary schools (20.7 percent) and 32.8 upper primary schools (32.8 percent).
commitment to provide adequate primary and secondary education in such remote and tribal belts.

Mitra and Singh (2008) points out that the tribal children often enroll in primary education and then dropout of school in order to help family. Female dropout rate is high among tribal communities as they are expected to help out family in household chores. They also identified the discrepancy existing in female literacy level of tribes in India using census data. The reasons for the low tribal women literacy rates were also analysed by the researcher with the help of existing literature. Poverty is identified as the core variable leading to low literacy achievement, low gross enrollment ratio and high dropout rate of Scheduled Tribes. The work lack empirical evidence to prove reasons for the underlying problem.

A qualitative research by Bagai and Nundi (2009) on tribal education in India draws insights into reality of present situation of tribes. The study discussed about the educational backwardness of tribal areas and tried to find out the reasons for the same. Bagai and Nundi identify language of instruction in State language as a major problem faced by ST students. The tribal children have limited contact with State language, and tend to speak in their own dialect. Their unfamiliarity with State language creates hurdles in understanding lessons at pre-primary and primary levels. However, Kerala has developed bilingual materials at district levels in Kasaragod, Wayanad, Malappuram and Palakkad (Gautam, 2003). A few other problems identified by Bagai and Nundi are the continuing problem of teacher absenteeism in Tribal schools and seasonal migration of tribes. As a result the education of these children is seriously affected.
Dutta (2012) gives a detailed note on problems with education of tribal women in India and recommends the inclusion of Tribes for sustainable growth. The focus of this paper is particularly on education of tribal women, issues and identifying causes for slow progress on educational development of tribal women. The researcher uses existing literatures for identifying reasons for the poor growth in education of tribal women, the variables identified seems to be less relevant considering the transformation of tribes.

During the early years of tribal research in Kerala, much of the works focused on the traditions, customs, way of life and similar socio-cultural traits of tribal groups. Drastic changes emerged in tribal research during these years and many research works today addresses the problems faced by the tribes including education. Chandrasekhar et al. (2001) address the problem of inequality existing across different social groups. Over the years, Kerala has been able to overcome three great obstacles of mass education, specifically, caste, class and gender discrimination. The public provision of education in Kerala is much better than that of other states in India. Though it is equitably distributed between sexes, social groups and regions, the traditional patterns of inequality still remain across social groups. The study also points out that Scheduled Tribe is one among the three communities facing inequality in education.

A study under Adiyam, Kattunaykan, Kurichian, Kuruman and Paniyan tribal communities in Panamaram panchayat in Mananthavady Taluk of

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12 Submitted for international conference on ‘Inclusive and Sustainable Growth Role of Industries, Government and Civil Societies’ Organized by IMT & BAIF
Wayanad district, Krishnan (1999) observes that there exists inter-tribal difference in the utilization pattern of educational development schemes provided by the government. The attitude of tribes changed positively in educating their children including girl children. Still the dropout rate remains high as a result of the higher opportunity cost of education compared to the benefit of children joining the labour force at very early stage. Moreover, the awareness of educational schemes also differs according to the communities. Only Kurichians and Kurumas have higher awareness about the educational scheme and large portion of Paniyans, Adiyans and Kattunayalans are unaware of these schemes. Overall, the study was able to outline the problems associated with tribal education in Kerala.

Omanaseelan (2002) has conducts a study on status of formal and non-formal education programme prevalent for scheduled tribe students in Kerala. The author used observation technique for analyzing formal and non-formal education by visiting tribal schools, ashram schools, residential schools and a selected few tribal settlements. The study highlights the inadequacy of proper infrastructure facilities at non-residential schools compared to that of ashram and similar residential schools. The work was more generic in nature and lack in-depth analysis on the problem stated. Different dimensions of the problem with respect to formal and non-formal schooling are missing in the study.

Varghese (2002) studies socio-economic transformation of tribes and the role of development programmes. The study was conducted with special reference to Wayanad district using survey and observation method. Varghese used comparative analysis between Kurichchans and Paniya community in
Introduction and Review of Literature

terms of living conditions, nature of the family, landlessness, income and impact of co-operative movement. The author criticizes the tribal welfare authorities in light of poor development progress of tribal groups and inefficiency in implementation of welfare schemes. Kurichchans show positive response while Paniyans have negative attitude to educational welfare programmes showing disparity within tribal groups. However, the researcher failed to identify the underlying reasons for this disparity.

A study on dropouts’ students of Wayanad district by Mathew (2002) points out that the tribal parents have less concern about their children’s education. The absence of proper involvement by the parents is regarded as a very important factor for the dropout of students, as parents can contribute and influence their children’s studies. The study highlights that the parents usually abstain from PTA meetings and they come to schools only for collecting educational stipend of their children.

A study by Centre for Socio-economic and Environmental Studies (CSES, 2007) suggests ‘PadithaVeedu’ (Study home), a new institution to be established in each Ooru (habitation/settlement) to improve the quality of education among Scheduled Tribes. It will provide a home like environment. But the study has no empirical support to prove the requirement of home like environment necessary for the ST students.

Rajasenan et al. (2013) analyse the standard of living of tribes in a forward, backward dichotomous framework. The study covers major tribal communities of Kerala and unfolds inter-communal disparity in elements of physical quality of life such as education, health and livelihood. The authors
use three point scales, low, medium and high to determine the level of education among the communities. It reveals that the six communities such as Kattunayakan, Aadiya, Paniya, Muthuva, Irula and Uralis have low level of education out of the nine considered for the study. Interestingly, the fact is that only MalaiArayans have high level of education, shows the extent of educational deprivation among tribes, requiring unique inclusive policy option for the overall development of the tribes.

Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP), Cochin prepares a Human Development Report (2009) for Scheduled tribes in Kerala (2009). The report covers human development indices across the nine tribal communities considered for the study. The report points out that tribal community in Kerala are facing less accessibility to seek higher levels of education. In the State, there are about 189 Arts and Science colleges which include 39 government colleges and 150 private colleges. Among them, the least number of colleges is situated in tribal populated districts such as Wayanad, Idukki and Kasaragod\(^{13}\) causing inaccessibility to higher education for tribal students.

Davis and Sunitha (2009) find that the ST population stands far behind the general population in literacy rates, average years of schooling, retention rates and pass percentage at higher secondary exam levels in Kerala. The percentage point of difference on average years of schooling is high (i.e., more than 50 percent) in the tribal concentrated districts. The study identifies the dialect used by the community coupled with economic backwardness and socio-cultural reasons as barriers to enrolment at schools.

\(^{13}\) For Wayanad, Idukki and Kasaragod the number of colleges are 6, 8 and 5 respectively
Introduction and Review of Literature

The government has implemented single teacher schools in tribal areas to supplement primary schools education among them. An analytical study on these single teacher schools done by Menon (2013) which gives a detailed account on the curriculum, pedagogy and teacher-training aspects of single teacher schools. The problems faced at primary schooling by the tribes also were covered in the study. But, the author lacks sufficient literature support to substantiate the problems identified under primary schooling, considered as a major limitation of the work.

Paul (2013) discusses education of tribes in a study primarily carried out on income, livelihood and education of tribal communities in Kerala which can be viewed as a comprehensive work in this field. The coverage of the study is limited to 9 major tribal groups, six from Wayanad, two from Idukki, and one from Palakkad. A snapshot of tribal literacy, enrolment and dropout situation is visible in the study and it highlights familial aspects such as poverty, looking after youngster, adverse family environment as major impediments to tribal education. The most significant contribution of the study can be the classification of tribal groups into forward and backward based on standard of living index.

An analysis of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) approach by Rajasenan and Rajeev (2013) show how inclusive was the effort taken under TSP in overall development of the tribes. The study is critical in nature, tried to give detailed account on TSP with particular reference to education, health and social development of tribes using data published by the Scheduled Tribe Department. The author gives special mention to education of tribes, inter communal disparity is sorted out using correspondence analysis.
The study by Chathukulam et al (2011) on ‘Tribal Sub-Plan formulation and implementation’ is another significant study in TSP. The researcher used secondary information for analysing TSP allocation, categorized funding mainly into education, housing, health and resettlement of landless tribes. The educational expenditure pattern analysed from 2002-03 to 2010-11. The study could not bring a detailed analysis of educational expenditure under TSP and its impact on development of tribes. Kunhikrishnan (2009) elucidates Tribal Sub-Plan of Kerala as implemented in the State particularly for the period after decentralization during 1996-97. The study highlighted the huge proportion of unspent TSP amount by the authorities indicating inefficiency at the implementation side.

The situation of underdevelopment of tribes analysed by Rajasenan and Abraham (2013) is much more a kind of descriptive research. They focused on education, employment livelihood and variables indicating basic amenities of household. The study signifies the need for such study in the context of Kerala acclaimed as ‘model’ for human and social development as the STs remain excluded from robust central tendency of the State.

George (2011) makes a study on higher education in India from the angle of exclusion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes. The study gives a detailed note on enrolment at higher education from social group perspective and explains reasons for exclusion of SCs/STs. The researcher also tried to find out the reasons for lower educational attainment of these groups. Rajasenan et al (2010) find no presence of SC/ST among top 101 ranks in professional engineering entrance examination conducted by the Commissioner of Entrance Examinations (CEE), Kerala.
Introduction and Review of Literature

Baiju (2011) analyses the development and welfare programmes implemented by the government addressing poverty, land alienation, health care and social development of tribes. The work focuses on implementation side of the programmes and explains the reasons for not reaching the ultimate beneficiaries. The study evaluates welfare schemes and their implementation from four dimensions viz. awareness, eligibility, accessibility and availability among tribes located in Thiruvananthapuram district. The study reveals that as the remoteness of the habitation increases, the awareness on educational schemes comes down and the proportion of respondents availing the benefits of the scheme is less than three-fourth of the eligible respondents. The delay from government side is found to be the reason for this. The work has certain limitations as it fails to find more reasons for low usage of the schemes by the eligible candidates and lacks in-depth analysis on implementation side of various schemes.

Kakkoth (2012) conducts a significant study on perception of tribal school dropout with particular reference to Ashram schools. The study observes subjective experience of Ashram school dropout children from an anthropological and sociological perspective. School dropout reasons were analysed from the perspectives of headmaster, teachers and staff by carrying out a Case study on Indira Gandhi Memorial Model Residential School, Nilambur14. The researcher observes that the percentage of students coming back after vacation/holidays to the school is very low, nearly 30 percent comes back and rest 70 percent returns weeks or months of reopening of the school, gradually leading to dropout. The study also observes that non-tribal teachers

14 Exclusively set up for PTGs, located in Wayanad district of Kerala. Admits students from Kattunayakan, Pathinaickan and Cholanaikan tribal groups
have less exposure to tribal way of life or their value system which creates problems to the students. Lack of generalization of the findings is the major drawback of the study.

Reviewing available literature, we can see that most of the studies are qualitative in nature and failed to explore the exact cause for low enrolment and high dropout rate in schools. Absence of statistical methods for interpretation of results is seen as major limitations of the studies. An empirically connected study in this area will definitely help the policy makers in making changes according to insights obtained from the study. This thesis intends to find out the determinants of education among tribes from an empirical perspective.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Education has been discussed from the era of classical period of economic thought. Smith\textsuperscript{15} (1776) believed education as a basis for good administration. Likewise, the economists in this period discussed the benefits of education. Significant development started during neo-classical period (1870–1930). Marx\textsuperscript{16} (1859) in his base-superstructure model suggested that dominant class has complete control over all ideologies. Base explains ‘means of production’ and superstructure includes culture, the state, education etc.. Later, Weber\textsuperscript{17} (1864-1920) used ‘structure domination’ in educational system.

\textsuperscript{15} Adam Smith, in Wealth of Nations, stressed the importance of education in economic growth of a nation
\textsuperscript{16} Karl Marx’s A Preface to The Critique of Political Economy explains the base-superstructure model. This discuss economic as base which shapes the superstructure that includes ‘education’.
\textsuperscript{17} Max Weber, German economist and sociologist, in his theory of Stratification, discussed social inequality
Introduction and Review of Literature

After the neo-classical period economists have not shown importance on education. The importance was on output and employment generation. Late 1950s onwards a few of them have shown interest in ‘economics of education’. The present study using Capability Approach is being developed by Sen (1995). Capability Approach is about freedom and the development of an environment sustainable for human flourishing. It refers to what people are able to do, rather than to what resources they have access to (Walker, 2005). Traditional theories focused on income and other related variables for analyzing social equality. Unlike these theories, Capability Approach by Sen considers the extent of freedom to achieve capabilities as each person endowed with a set of capabilities which improve his or her overall living well-being.

Sen refined and transformed the concept of ‘entitlement’ into capabilities which is advocated in his study of ‘famines and poverty’. Traditionally, it is believed that famines occur due to decline in food production and supply in the region. But his study on Bengal famine showed that famines occur not mainly because of fall in supply of food, but because of loss in ‘entitlements’ of the people and ‘the purchasing power’ to acquire and have access to food. The study highlighted the cause of hunger and deprivation not only due to fall in food production, but also distribution of food to the economic, social and political arrangements which can directly or indirectly influence people’s capabilities or abilities to acquire food and to achieve health and nourishment (Alexander, 2008). Entitlements mentioned in the study are transformed to ‘capabilities’. ‘Entitlements’ is used to depict lack of capabilities or abilities to meet necessities for base survival, and capabilities is used to refer to a wide range of capacities and opportunities required for human well-being as a whole.
Capability set represents various alternative combinations of functionings from which the person can choose one combination (Sen, 1995). The choice of selecting valuable functionings and the opportunity to develop the capability through achievement of functionings require freedom. Thus capabilities stand for the extent of freedom that a person has, in order to achieve different functioning.

1.6.1 Functionings and Capabilities

The concepts used by Sen in Capability approach are those of ‘functionings’ and ‘capabilities’. The Capability Approach by Sen is based on the notion of life and living as a combination of various doings and beings, with quality of life to be assessed in terms of our capability to achieve valuable functionings (Walker and Unterhalter, 2010). To be precise, a person’s Capability can be assessed on the basis of well-being and the freedom to pursue well-being. Well-being is seen in terms of quality of a person’s ‘being’. Capability approach focuses on individual’s valuable ‘doings and beings’ where he has freedom to achieve his valuable choice from a wide range of options. A person’s living assists a set of interrelated ‘functionings’ i.e. beings and doings. Thus, we can say that a person’s achievement is a vector of his or her functionings. Functionings may vary from adequately nourished, being in good health, with access to quality education etc. Capability function represents various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that a person can achieve and it reflects the person’s freedom to choose from possible livings (Sen, 1995).

Sen developed Capability Approach as an alternative to utilitarian\textsuperscript{18} concept that used to comprehend poverty, living condition and well-being.

\textsuperscript{18} Utilitarians in general want the equality of total utilities enjoyed by different people. The utilitarian formula requires the maximization of the sum-total of the utilities of all the
Unlike utilitarian concept, Capability Approach does not focus on how much an individual consumes or the utility accumulated to evaluate well-being but this approach is based on the capabilities related to the possibilities and choices that possess to achieve valuable ‘human functionings’. Capability Approach does not look well-being from the angle of how rich a person is. We can say that it is not the income which matters the capabilities or well-being of a person but it is the freedom on the opportunities or choices made available. Sen integrates securing and expanding intrapersonal and interpersonal freedom (individual agency and social arrangements). Freedom in the opinion of Sen, depends upon social and economic arrangements, and political and civil rights. If there is any exclusion on a person’s freedom to achieve the alternatives or choices on social arrangements it restricts that persons capability set.

Capability Approach (CA) emerged as an instrument for measurement of inequality in various spheres associated with human being as it focused on components of human well-being such as education, health, security which are not directly acquired by an individual. Traditional approach used real income, resources and primary goods for individual and social evaluation. Sen identified these variables as mere means to freedom. The drawback of income in inequality measurement is that it does not take into account social and physical aspects determining human diversity. CA moves away from the space of commodities, incomes, utilities etc to constitute elements of living. The central concept of CA is the idea of having life is reflected with well-being and agency. A person’s capability to his or her well-being arises from two distinct but interrelated considerations. First, the achieved functioning which constitute well-

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people taken together [Sen, 1995]. Equality under utilitarian concept takes in to account equal treatment of human beings in the form of gains and losses in utilities.
being and secondly, capability to achieve functioning constitutes freedom to achieve well-being. This framework is explained in Figure 1.3.

Functionings constitute those elements which create well-being while, capability represents a person’s freedom to achieve well-being. Besides, the achieved well-being is related to capability. Therefore, capability is related not only to freedom to achieve well-being, but also to achieved well-being.

**Figure 1.3 Capability Frameworks**

Sen (1995) explained inequality on the basis of characteristics and circumstances. Human beings differ in their personal characteristics such as age, sex, physical and mental abilities which are important variables in assessing inequality. These characteristics form different dimensions in assessing inequality. Equality in income of two persons may still leave inequality in the ability to do what one would value doing. Thus, inequality in terms of one variable (e.g. income) may take us in a very different direction from inequality.
Capability Approach concentrates on freedom rather than on means to achieve freedom and it identifies the real alternatives that a person has. Sen also made a difference between ‘freedom’ and ‘right’. Policy of government to form social state is attached to freedom that people are enjoying to achieve well-being. If the authority concerned is not incorporating the exact way to achieve ‘goodness’ of social state, it merely stands as ‘right’ of individuals for achieving substantial freedom.

1.6.2 Capability Approach and Education

Capability Approach of Sen is a broader framework which is widely used in various spaces of inequality measurements. It is used to analyze situations of ‘deprived people’ and, in turn, helps in framing favourable policies to make necessary improvements in resources and ability to increase their choices which make them most valuable. This approach is aimed at making correct choice of variables for improving the quality of life of people. Well-being of a person depends on freedom to achieve security, education, health and other variables having direct impact on improvement quality of life. As already discussed; Capability Approach focuses on two sets of elements i.e. capability and functionings. The capability set constitutes alternative combinations of functionings, a person can choose to have.

Education is both instrumentally and intrinsically valuable for human flourishing, and in this regard, education is one of the functions affecting the capability set of a person. Extent of freedom in achieving basic education is essential for overall development. In fact, it is clear that a basic minimum education or schooling is necessary for an individual in attaining well-being. Any exclusion in acquiring the basic education certainly reduces the capabilities of the individual. Freedom to educate will expand overall development in capability of a
Education as functioning depends on freedom or choices, and any exclusion among these creates problems in education (Figure 1.4). Improvements in different means to freedom extend real freedom or choice.

**Figure 1.4 Functioning Framework**

- Freedoms or Choices
- Exclusion of freedom or choice
- Perceived problems
- Means to freedom

In the context of education, the people’s desire varies according to different classes. Low income group or marginalized groups have limited educational opportunities. On the other hand, high income group can have high level of education. If both the groups are satisfied with the same, then there is no problem in terms of utility on desire satisfaction. This is quiet incomplete under capabilities approach in determining educational well-being. Focus on capabilities is not just an evaluation of satisfaction. In a country like India where social stratification is based on caste system, it is a fact that Scheduled Tribe is the most deprived community and it requires development in education, healthcare and other aspects of well-being.

Capability Approach is mostly used in qualitative measurements rather than in quantitative measurements. Tribes in India are far behind educational attainments compared to all other communities. Most often, there is high rate of students’ absenteeism and discontinuation of studies reported from among these groups. This results from their lack of freedom and flexibility to attend
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the class and complete the schooling. Literatures related to tribal studies highlight medium of instruction as a major hindrance in the progress of their education at school levels. In addition to the freedoms mentioned above, we can also add freedom to comprehend lessons for achievement of education. These, indeed, result in chronic absenteeism and lack of interest in studies, finally, leading to dropout of students from studies.

In the present study, the focus is to identify the variables determining the education of tribes and the problems associated with schooling. This thesis goes in line with the theory of Capability Approach propounded by Sen and looks into educational aspects of tribal students from capability perspective as tribes, who reside in interiors of forests far away from the mainstream population, have limited choices or alternatives in all aspects of well-being including education.

1.7 Significance of the study

Backwardness in education is regarded as one of the major hindrances in social advancement of Scheduled Tribes and due to this very reason, both the State and the Central government have given greater importance to plug in this widening development gap. The governments have implemented several programmes and schemes to improve the education of tribes including full fee concession for the students belonging to ST category. Apart from this, lump-sum grant and special stipend are also being given to them in order to encourage education among them. But still, rampant dropout is prevalent among them especially in tribal hamlets of Wayanad, Palakkad and Idukki districts. On account of this, continuing dropout at school level, only a few students manage to complete matriculation or higher secondary level of schooling. This factor leads to low attainment of higher education among them as only a few students are eligible for higher education. Thus, low enrolment at higher education leads
to low human capital formation among them. Several factors are responsible for this sorry state of affairs, of which the most important are social, economic, cultural, low education attainments of parents, use of tribal language in tribal hamlets and lack of exposure to the mainstream society.

Scheduled Tribes, broadly referred to as indigenous groups, normally reside in the interiors or remote forest areas which are much far away from mainstream population. On account of their nature of habitat, they are excluded from social development processes. The case of Tribes in Kerala is also not different. The available statistics on education signifies the fact that they lag much behind in all aspects of education. This situation of tribes is not much widely discussed in Kerala. The continuing dropouts as well as the inequality in education need to be examined and analyzed. The available literature shows that there is hardly any such studies that discussed the discouraging educational situation of the tribes in Kerala. The present thesis intends to fill this gap.

1.8 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study is to understand the problems of tribal education in Kerala, and to make suggestions for the improvement of the situation. The specific objectives are:

- To analyse the education among the tribes in Kerala through capability framework.
- To compare and analyse education of tribes with other social groups and within tribal sub-groups.
- To identify social, economic, cultural and institutional factors determining education of the tribes.
- To evaluate the existing policies and programmes, to identify their drawbacks and to make suggestions, which have policy implications.
1.9 **Hypothesis**

The hypotheses formed for the present study are as follows:

- Ho - literacy of parents determines education of children
- Ho - Poverty and education are interlinked
- Ho - There exists high correlation between family environment and dropouts

1.10 **Methodology**

1.10.1 **Sampling design**

The study is based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data is collected through a well-structured questionnaire from Palakkad, Idukki and Wayanad districts using stratified random sampling technique. These districts were selected to ensure representation of population. A total of 400 samples were taken from these districts. Secondary data were collected from various government and other sources. A detailed note on primary and secondary sources used for the study is stated below.

1.10.2 **Primary data**

The young children among the tribal communities in the State who are structurally constrained from going on with their formal education and the students continuing with their studies at 10th level constitute the population for the present study. The samples were collected from three locations of Wayanad, Palakkad and Idukki districts\(^\text{19}\). The tribal children from the schools

\(^{19}\) Tribal population in Wayanad, Palakkad and Idukki accounts 62 percent of total ST population of Kerala (Census, 2001)
located in the districts of the State comprise the sampling frame of the study (Table 1.7). The locations include Mananthavady in Wayanad District, Attappady in Palakkad District and Munnar in Idukki District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage across Districts</th>
<th>Percentage to Total STs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wayanad</td>
<td>136062</td>
<td>17.43</td>
<td>37.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idukki</td>
<td>50973</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palakkad</td>
<td>39665</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>10.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Worked out from Census, (2001)

The sample consists of both dropout students and non-dropout students (Figure 1.5). Dropouts are those students who have dropped out from the school at any stage of schooling. Non-dropouts are those students who are continuing studies at 10th level without being dropped out from any class. Out of these 400 samples, 280 are dropouts and 120 are non-dropouts. From the sampling frame, a total of 7 tribal communities selected for the study. Paniya, Kuruma, Adiya and Kurichchan were selected from Wayanad. From Idukki two communities (Mannan and Muthuvan) and Irula selected from Palakkad district. Stratified random sampling is used for sample selection. The stratification is done at school level viz. lower primary, upper primary and high school. Besides, in-depth interviews with the important stakeholders would be done with semi-structured interview schedule. The unit of observation was the selected student from the schools. Case studies also form part of the methodology.
1.10.3 Secondary data

Important sources of secondary data are stated below

- Data and related information were collected from journals, published articles, magazines, and newspapers. Besides, unpublished data were gathered from research organizations/institutions, internet sources etc.

- Records relating to the study are also collected from various educational, tribal offices and other departments of government including Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (KIRTADS), Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA), Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) etc.

- Data were also collected from Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) offices of Idukki, Wayanad and Palakkad districts. Details regarding Multi Grade Learning Centres (MGLCs) functioning in Kerala were obtained through interaction with Research Officers in SSA office.

- Educational indices relating to Scheduled Tribes in Kerala were adopted from Census published by GOI, Economic Review published by Planning Board of Kerala, Directorate of Tribal Welfare, DPI (Directorate of Public Instruction) office Trivandrum, Directorate of Collegiate Education and Directorate of Technical Education.
1.10.4 Data analysis

The major tools used in this analysis are Chi-Square tests, t tests, correspondence analysis and logistic regression.

- Logistic regression - to find out determinants of dropout of students
1.11 Limitations of the study

The study was conducted backward districts such as Idukki, Palakkad and Wayanad. Except for Wayanad, the habitations of tribes are located in remote areas which were difficult to access. In many times, we found difficulty in identifying dropout students. Lack of proper information from the part of government authorities due to improper management of records by the departments was another challenging task associated with the study.

1.12 Chapterisation Scheme

The entire study divided into six chapters which are shown in Figure 1.6. Chapter 1 deals with introduction to tribal education. This Chapter covers background of the study and review literature connected with tribal education in India and Kerala. In addition to educational literature, a brief profile of tribal communities in Kerala is also mentioned. The conceptual framework of the study also included in this Chapter. Methodology adopted for the study is also given here.

Chapter 2 starts with community profile of tribes located in the districts of Palakkad, Idukki and Wayanad. A comparison of literacy and educational attainment across various tribal communities is presented in this Chapter. An
Chapter 1

in-depth analysis of the various dimensions of high dropout rate and low level of education is presented here.

Chapter 3 begins with a historical review of the educational polices implemented in India since independence. Critical analysis is made on those educational policies which intended towards the upliftment of tribal children. This includes, the educational allowances, scholarship and educational expenditure under tribal sub-plan. The Chapter concludes with an analysis on effectiveness of such programmes.

Data collected through primary survey from the respondents is analysed in Chapter 4. Detailed analysis is carried out to identify exact problems faced by the tribal students and to identify the conversion factors leading to dropout of students. Variables identified through primary survey compared among gender as well as dropout and non-dropout respondents. Standard statistical techniques were used to make inferences.

First part of Chapter 5 deals with perception of tribal students to education. This is also analysed through survey data. An empirical analysis of different factors leading to high dropout rate of tribal students is mentioned in this Chapter. Finally, the Chapter links the results obtained with that of theoretical framework which is followed for this particular study and the objectives set for the study.

Chapter 6 deals major findings and conclusions of the study. Recommendations are also made on the basis of the findings.
Figure 1.6 Scheme of the study

Social Structural Determinants of Education among Tribes in Kerala

CHAPTER 1
Introduction and Review of Literature
Background of the study, Statement of problem, Review of literature, Theoretical framework and Methodology

CHAPTER 2
Tribal Education
Educational profile of tribes in Palakkad, Idukki and Wayanad Districts
District and State level analysis of Education of Tribes with other social groups

CHAPTER 3
Educational Policies and Programmes and Institutional Setup
Background of the study, Statement of problem, Review of literature, Theoretical framework and Methodology

CHAPTER 4
Determinants of Dropouts
Comparison of social, economic, cultural and institutional variables collected though primary survey across gender, educational status and tribal groups

CHAPTER 5
Educational Perceptions and Inferences
Analyses factors leads to dropout of students. Linking of results with that of theoretical framework and the objectives of the study

CHAPTER 6
Conclusion
Findings and concluding remarks

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