

**EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AMONG TRIBALS
IN KERALA: A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO *WAYANAD* DISTRICT**

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this written account on **Education and development among tribals in Kerala: A study with special reference to *Wayanad* district**, submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Calicut is a bona fide record of research work done by **Mr. Pramod K. M.** under my guidance and supervision. No part of this work has been submitted earlier for the award of any other degree by any other university.

Calicut University Campus
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DECLARATION

I, Pramod K. M., do hereby declare that this written account titled **Education and development among tribals in Kerala: A study with special reference to *Wayanad* district** submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education is a bona fide record of research work done by me under the supervision of Dr. K. P. Meera, Associate Professor and Head, Department of Education, University of Calicut.

I also declare that the thesis has not been previously formed the basis of the award of a degree, diploma, title or recognition.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Part I

Statement of the Problem

Objectives of the Study

Significance of the Study

Scope and Limitations of the Study

Methodological Concerns

A Short Description of the Research setting

Organisation of the Chapters

Part 2

General Situation of the Tribals in Kerala

The tribal population is seen in almost all parts of the peninsular region of India. They are broadly called as *adivasis* - meaning the original inhabitants of the land. As any population of the country, they have also contributed to shape the culture and society of the region. However, it is doubtful that they had achieved their due share of the development that has taken place in the post-independent India. The general features of their subsistence economy have not been changed positively to catch up with the changing nature of society and economy. The general perception on the tribals by non-tribal populations are ridden with the humiliating attitudes and thus their self image is mostly driven by others which hinder them to assert and articulate their rights and negotiating for development. As part of the process of development, what could be observed is that they become largely alienated from their indigenous land and territory. The tribal notion of progress thus mismatch with dominant or mainstream notion of development. The similar experience of social life could also be shared with other social groups such as *dalits*, religious minorities, women, and sexual minorities, who keep a distance from the socio-economic, educational and political sphere of the society. Thereby the question of social justice could be discussed in the larger backdrop of the conceptual engagement of social inequality and difference, discrimination and marginalisation. The question of education and its interconnectedness with the idea and outcome of development is the central concern of the thesis which has elaborated at length and observed empirically in the subsequent chapters.

Part I

In a democratic setting of Indian society which is characterised as representative and secular, the marginal social groups and communities also be represented and incorporated in the structural making of political structure of India. Though the Constitution lay stress on the need of inclusion and

development of these sections of society in principle, the practice of development paints altogether a different picture. Thus, the historically contingent social inequality on the basis of tribe or caste, class or status, state or regions reflects in the ongoing developmental process too. The study raises these perspectives while interpreting questions and problems such as socio-economic and educational inequalities and its relation with the question of development, putting tribals of Kerala in place. To have the discussion in focus, the study empirically observes the tribal population of the *Wayanad* district that contains high density of tribal population compared to other districts of Kerala.

The rationale of the selection of this district are, a) the high rate of tribal population (as per the census report 2001, 37% of the total tribal population in Kerala resides in *Wayanad*), b) high rate of school drop-out (Directorate of Public Instruction data, 2001-02 shows the drop-out rate of tribal students is 4.19%, which stands second being *Malappuram* first), c) the district which has implemented several programmes of tribal development especially in the field of education, d) the active presence of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working for the development of tribal population, e) the low level of HDI (Human Development Index) calculated and reported by the Government of Kerala (2009).

Statement of the Problem

"Education and Development among Tribals in Kerala: A Study with Special Reference to *Wayanad* District".

Objectives of the Study

It is to be well stated that subsequent governments - both central and state - have formulated progressive policies and programmes with a view to develop the conditions of tribal population and invested huge outlay to

improve the quality of their life mainly through education. However, a brief review of the literature also state that the conditions – material and social – prevail in its backward state compared to other social groups. It is in this context that the study intends to critically problematise the interconnectedness of education and the question of development. It analyses the role of education in the development of tribals which has treated as a key variable which determine the outcome of progress or development. Thereby, the educational aspects of this social group have observed within the larger tribal developmental discourses of the state. Broadly, it puts education of the group in the discourse of Kerala development.

The specific objectives are

1. To study the socio-economic status of the selected tribal groups in the area under study,
2. To understand the social perception on ‘tribe’,
3. To critically examine the state’s developmental initiatives for the development of tribal population,
4. To highlight the role of education in the development of tribals,
5. To identify the barriers to the expansion of education among tribals.

Significance of the Study

Any sorts of tribes or communities have their own social structures which have historically evolved according to their socio-cultural specificities. These social features are also applicable to various societies, regions and nationalities. These societies or nations form certain structures of the society which are hierarchically stratified and classified according to the inbuilt distinctions among them. Those groups which are dominant naturally hold

political power and manipulate socio-economic resources in an inequitable way. In this process some gets more and others get less. In a country with multiple religions, dominant religion determines the nature of political power. In a capitalist society, dominant and powerful economic classes determine its political structure-that could be industrialists or corporate entrepreneurs. More elaborately, for instance, in the United States of America one could observe powerful Whites and subordinated Blacks, as a question of racial distinctions. These distinctions are more vertically and horizontally visible in the Indian context as it is hierarchically divided the society into tribes and castes and many versions of sub castes with a principle of graded inequality. The religious minorities and majorities also work within these structures of society. The dominant groups subsequently subjugate the minorities and emerge themselves as agents of socio-economic discriminations.

Though the preamble of the Constitution of India ascribes that India is a secular, democratic republic, it would not enable some segments of population to access opportunities for development. This could be seen as a structural problem of Indian society. At the same time, it gives due emphasis on the well-being and welfare of its population irrespective of religion, caste, creed, colour and gender. It has also laid stress on reservation and other mandatory rights to the deprived social groups to make the nation modern and egalitarian. But in practice, though after a long years of independence, the Indian society is not free from its traditional and religious notions and values which often works as a barrier to be modern and developed. However, the social structural rigidities in Kerala has been identified as thin and narrow due to its specific developmental trajectory. The socio-religious reform movements of various social groups and the Communist movements which lay stress of equal distribution of economic resources made Kerala society different. Consequently, the tribal groups in these parts of India portray slightly different story of its social presence unlike in other parts of peninsular

India. But, contrary to its eulogised development discourse (Lindberg, 2001; Kurian, 2000; Osella & Osella, 2000; Kurien, 1998; Tharakan, 1997; Rammohan, 1996; Kurien, 1995 & Jeffrey, 1993), the case of tribal population in the selected region delineate a different and not a homogenised development experience of the people of Kerala, often described as a model. The specificities of these experiences, especially on the question of education and its association with the processes of development has been empirically observed. The employment of both qualitative and quantitative methods culled out certain facts which are otherwise not noticed through a general observation of Kerala society and economy.

There are scholars who have specifically studied certain social groups' development experience in the background of the debate around Kerala Model of Development or experience. Such groups are tribal folks (Kunhaman, 1985; Chathukulam & John, 2006) lower caste groups (Saradmoni, 1980; Sivanandan, 1989; Prabhash, 2001; Pramod, 2004) traditional fisher folks (Kurian, 2000) and hereditary ritual practitioners (Komath, 2003). But, these studies has not been specifically focussed the question of education in an in depth manner and the volume of such genre of literature is scanty. The study entitled as 'Education and Development among Tribals in Kerala: A Study with Special Reference to *Wayanad* District' has been placed itself in this gap. This study viewed that the education is the chief prerequisite of any sorts of development. So, it is important to analyse the facts and issues that affect the developmental policies and strategies already employed. The study is significant as it also tried to critically evaluate the tribal developmental policies in general and educational policies in particular. It also tried to make suggestions, that might be helpful for the policy makers to assess the existing situations and formulate other ways of conceiving the concept of tribal development. It can also be looked the question of education of the tribals to formulate a different and timely adaptable pedagogy to

address issues and problems which are part of the contemporary social situations.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

It is to keep in mind that the tribal folk in Kerala are not a homogeneous group. Their cultural characteristics are highly depended on the environment of their inhabitation, traditions, rituals and customs, mode of farming and livelihood strategies. But, the study conceived the concept of tribe as a general category without detailing the internal distinctions. It is not practical to collect data and conduct a detailed field survey or doing ethnography among the entire tribal groups of Kerala. Therefore, the study set a limit to an area, *i.e.*, a region called *Wayanad*. Consequently, observations and interpretations that are put forwarded in this thesis is therefore constrained and confined within the specific socio-economic and geographical world of the tribal population of selected region.

Methodological Concerns

The study largely concerned on the qualitative turns of social scientific enquiry. It could, therefore be categorised as a qualitative research. It has relied on multiple research methods and techniques that include questionnaire, participatory observation, interviews, informal discussions and conversations, and surveying secondary data. It also adopted methodological insights from varied social science disciplines and its branches such as social anthropology, ethnography, sociology, development studies and economics. For the general discussions of the educational status of the tribal population the study explored various sources of information, along with the data gathered through fieldwork, which are available in the form of census reports, various statistical reports by government agencies, research institutions and non-governmental organisations.

A Short Description of the Research Setting

The Selected Area of Study

Wayanad is selected as the site of field study. The district *Wayanad* lies between north latitudes 11° 26' 28" and 11° 58' 22" and east latitudes 75° 46' 38" and 76° 26' 11" and is bounded on the north by the *Virajpet taluk* of *Kodagu* district, on the east by *Heggadadevankote* and *Gundlupet taluks* of the *Mysore* district of Karnataka state and the *Gudalur taluk* of *Nilgiri* district of Tamil Nadu, on the south by the *Ernad taluk* of *Malappuram* district and *Kozhikode taluk* of *Kozhikode* district and on the west by *Quilandy* and *Badagara taluks* of *Kozhikode* district and *Tellicherry taluk* of *Kannur* district. The district is having an area of 2131 square kilometres and lies on the southern tip on the *Deccan Plateau*. 38% of the total area is covered by forests. The name *Wayanad* of this beautiful hill station of Kerala is believed to have derived from the word *Vayal-Nadu*, means the land of paddy fields (Indian Institute of Management, 2006; Varghese, 2002).

As per the historical observation the organised human life existed in this region, at least ten centuries before Christ. Countless evidences about New Stone Age civilisation can be seen on the hills of *Wayanad*. Recorded history of this district is available from the eighteenth century. In the ancient times, this land was under the sway of the *Rajas* of the *Veda* tribe. In later days, *Wayanad* came under the rule of the *Pazhassi Rajahs* of *Kottayam royal dynasty*. When *Hyder Ali* became the ruler of *Mysore*, he invaded the region and brought under his control. In the days of *Tippu*, *Wayanad* was restored to the *Kottayam royal dynasty*. After the *Sreerangapattanam* truce *Tippu* handed over the entire *Malabar* region to the British. This was followed by the continuous and violent encounters between the British and Kerala *Varma Pazhassi Rajah* of *Kottayam*. When the *Rajah* was driven to the wilderness of *Wayanad*, he organised the war – like *Kurichya* tribals into a sort of people's

militia and engaged the British in several guerilla type encounters. In the end, Pazhassi Rajah killed himself somewhere in the interior of the forest. Thus, *Wayanad* fell into the hands of the British and with it came a new turn in the socio-geographical space of this area. The British authorities opened up the plateau for cultivation of tea and other cash crops. Roads were laid across the dangerous slopes of *Wayanad* from *Kozhikode* and *Thalassery*. These roads were extended to the cities of *Mysore* and *Ooty* through *Gudalur*. Through the roads poured in settlers from all parts of Kerala and the virgin forest lands proved a veritable goldmine with incredible yields of cash crops (Government of India, 2012).

When the state of Kerala came into being in 1956, *Wayanad* was a part of *Kannur* district; later in 1957 *South Wayanad* was added to *Kozhikode* district. By amalgamating the *North Wayanad* and *South Wayanad*, the present district *Wayanad* came into existence on the First November 1980 with its head quarters at *Kalpetta*. Present *Wayanad* district consists of three *taluks*, namely. *Sulthan Bathery*, *Vythiri* and *Mananthavady*. The total population of the district is 780,619 (Census of India, 2001). The district has a mixed population of Hindus (50%), Christians (23%), Muslims (26%), and Jaina (1%). *Wayanad* is a place where majority of the tribal population of Kerala belongs, consisting the tribal communities notified as primitive tribes. Till the arrival of settler peasantry from plains, *Wayanad* was essentially tribal. However today they form only 17% of the total population of the district. Population of Scheduled Castes is relatively small in *Wayanad* in comparison with the rest of the districts of Kerala. Of the total population of the district, 136062 (17.3%) are Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Tribes in the district accounts for 37.36% of the total tribal population of Kerala, which is 364189 (Census of India, 2001). Population of *Wayanad* is basically agrarian with the majority of the working population of the district is involved with agriculture, either as cultivators or agriculture labourers. Census of India

2001 reveals that 47.3% of the total work force of the district is involved with agriculture while the figure for Kerala is 22.8%. 30.5% of the total labour force of the district is agricultural labourers (Government of India, 2010; Indian Institute of Management, 2006).

General Educational Profile of *Wayanad*

In the period of British regime, *Wayanad* was under the *Malabar* district of the former *Madras* state. There were only a few educational institutions that were undertaken by private individuals and Christian missionaries. The history of education in *Wayanad* began with the arrival of the settlers from the plane lands (Krishnan, 1999). In *Malabar*, the government policy to promote elementary education was not adequate. There was hardly any special programme for promotion of backward communities' education which was mainly through missionary effort in the case of Princely States, *Thiruvithamkur* and *Kochi*. In 1930s there were some improvements in general educational levels because of the added efforts of local bodies (Mathew, 1987; Tharakan, 1997). The first school in *Wayanad*, the precursor of the present Upper Primary School, *Mananthavady* was established in the year 1869. By 1900, there were six schools in the region. The *Malabar District Board* also started schools during the late 1940s and early 1950s. After the formation of the state of Kerala, 26 schools were started in 1957 in several remote areas of the district. The government has ever since shown special and keen interest in the educational progress of this area (Krishnan, 1999).

Immediately after the formulation of the Constitution of the nation, India declared the policy of universalisation of primary education as one of the prime national objectives. This constitutional assertion forced the central and the state governments of different times to undertake initiatives in this regard and provided huge amount of money. However, the tribal people of

this area remained more or less unchanged or even became more pathetic in their socio-economic status. To a larger extent they failed to utilise effectively the constitutional provisions and affirmative policies of the state for educational development and subsequent socio-economic mobility. Even after total literacy campaign the drop out in the primary level students continues unchanged. Most of the tribal students dropped out from schools even without completing the primary or middle schooling. Many of the primary schools are single teacher schools where neither teachers nor students are regular in their attendance (Geetha, 1998).

At present, in *Wayanad*, there are 301 schools, consisting of 149 Lower Primary Schools, 79 Upper Primary Schools, 29 High Schools, 32 Higher Secondary Schools, six vocational higher secondary schools, and six special schools. Besides, a *Kendriya Vidhyalaya*, a *Jawahar Navodaya Vidhyalaya*, and eight CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) schools and one ICSE (Indian Council of Secondary Education) school are functioning in this district. With regard to higher education, this district has six Arts and Science Colleges under government and aided sectors, two Polytechnics, one Industrial Training Institute, four B. Ed (Bachelor of Education) Colleges and three Teacher Training Institutes. Besides, there is an engineering college, a veterinary college and Institute of Hotel Management and Catering Studies (Indian Institute of Management, 2006; Government of India, 2010). As a special requirement to educate tribal children in *Wayanad* there are 28 pre-metric hostels and five special schools consisting two Model Residential Schools and three *Ashram* Schools. In Kerala there are 108 pre-metric hostels and 18 special tribal schools under Kerala Scheduled Tribe Development Department. Through these establishments the governments have been providing basic infrastructural facilities, food, learning aids, health care, guidance and counselling, career guidance to all the students with free of cost (DIET, 2007). However, whatever may be the educational infrastructure

already in *Wayanad* under government and non-governmental agencies the educational status of the tribals in the region shows highly backward and pathetic condition.

Organisation of the Chapters

The first chapter is divided into two parts. The first part delineates the perspective, objective, methodology, scope and limitations of the study, and a brief description of the research setting. The second part provides a brief discussion on the tribal situation in Kerala and specifically the area selected for the fieldwork. The second chapter put in place a review of literature that discusses major concepts and concerns of the study in communion with other related studies. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides a discussion on related concepts in the perspective of present study and the second part is on the review of related studies. Third chapter primarily deals with the methodological frame of the study. Fourth chapter is divided into five parts such as 1) Understanding the field, 2) Social perception on tribe, 3) Issues concerning state's developmental initiative for the tribal groups, 4) Education and tribal development: An interface, which analyses the role of education in the development of the tribal groups which lay stress on the major barriers to expansion of education among tribals and 5) Chapter conclusion. The last chapter summarises the chapters, analyses and make suggestions.

Part II

General Situation of Tribals in Kerala

Kerala has a very small share of tribal population. The tribal population is spread through out the state, most of them are found in the forest regions of the state. The district *Wayanad* (37.36%), *Iddukki* (14%), *Pallakkad* (10.89%) and *Kasargod* (8.33%) are the districts where tribal population is concentrated, with 71% of the total tribal population of the state. According to the Census of India Report 2001, the tribal population in Kerala was 3,64,189 which account for 1.14% of the state's population. In terms of concentration of tribal population *Wayanad* placed first and the district *Alappuzha* to be found last with 0.86% (Table 1). In the year 1991, in a survey undertaken by the Kerala Forest Research Institute (KFRI), *Peechi*, there were 17,156 tribal families living within the forest of Kerala in 671 settlements the remaining portion of the tribal population living outside the forest (Tharakan, 2007). The Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are overwhelmingly rural, as per 2001 census. 96.1% of them reside in rural villages. Most of the tribes speak a local variant of *Malayalam*. The vulnerability of tribal lives have amplified by the time due to the cultural, traditional, attitudinal differences, dialect variations, difference in the notion of wealth and life, and lack of access to resource mobilisation.

Table 1

Distribution of Tribal Population in Kerala, 2001

Sl No.	District	General population Total	Schedule Tribes (STs)				
			% distribution of district population	Total	Male	Female	% of total population
1	<i>Thiruvananthapuram</i>	3,234,356	5.74	20,893	9,890	11,003	0.65%
2	<i>Kollam</i>	2,585,208	1.43	5,190	2,447	2,743	0.2
3	<i>Pathanamthitta</i>	1,234,016	1.8	6,549	3,184	3,365	0.53
4	<i>Alappuzha</i>	2,109,160	0.86	3,131	1,565	1,566	0.15
5	<i>Kottayam</i>	1,953,646	5.04	18,340	8,972	9,368	0.94
6	<i>Idukki</i>	1,129,221	14	50,973	25,510	25,463	4.51
7	<i>Ernakulam</i>	3,105,798	2.76	10,046	5,079	4,967	0.32
8	<i>Thrissur</i>	2,974,232	1.33	4,826	2,293	2,533	0.16
9	<i>Palakkad</i>	2,617,482	10.89	39,665	19,990	19,675	1.52
10	<i>Malappuram</i>	3,625,471	3.36	12,267	5,996	6,271	0.34
11	<i>Kozhikode</i>	2,879,131	1.63	5,940	2,924	3,016	0.21
12	<i>Wayanad</i>	780,619	37.36	136,062	67,394	68,668	17.43
13	<i>Kannur</i>	2,408,956	5.48	19,969	9,793	10,176	0.83
14	<i>Kasaragod</i>	1,204,078	8.33	30,338	15,132	15,206	2.52
	Grand Total	31,841,374		364189	180,169	184,020	1.14

Source: Census of India, 2001.

Among the Scheduled Tribe communities notified by the state (Table 2), *Paniyan* is the most populous tribe with 22.5% of the total tribal population of the state. *Kurichya* is the second largest tribe constituting nine percentage of the state's total Scheduled Tribe population. Six other tribal communities, namely *Muthuvan*, *Kanikaran*, *Irular*, *Kurumar*, *Marati* and *Malai Arayan* along with *Paniyan* and *Kurichya* constitute 73.6% of the total tribal population of the state. Tribes having population below 500 are eleven

in number. Out of them, *Kota*, *Kammara*, *Kochuvelan* and *Kodakapus* are the smallest groups each having population less than 50. The over all sex ratio of the total Scheduled Tribe population is 1021, it is significantly higher than that of the national average, that is, 978 for the total tribal population (Census of India, 2001).

Table 2

*List of Tribal Communities in Kerala**

Sl. No.	Tribal communities
1	<i>Adiyan</i>
2	<i>Arandan [Aranadan]</i>
3	<i>Eravallan</i>
4	<i>Hill pulaya [Mala Pulayan, Kurumba Pulayan, Karavazhi Pulayan, Pamba Pulayan]</i>
5	<i>Irular, Irulan</i>
6	<i>Kadar [Wayanad Kadar]</i>
7	<i>Kanikaran, Kanikkar</i>
8	<i>Kattunayakan</i>
9	<i>Kochuvelan</i>
10	<i>Koraga</i>
11	<i>Kudiya, Melakudi</i>
12	<i>Kurichchan [Kurichiyen]</i>
13	<i>Kurumans [Mullu Kuruman, Mulla Kuruman, Mala Kuruman]</i>
14	<i>Kurumbas [Kurumbar, Kurumban]</i>
15	<i>Maha Malasar</i>
16	<i>Malai Arayan [Mala Arayan]</i>
17	<i>Malai Pandaram</i>
18	<i>Malai Vedan [Malavedan]</i>
19	<i>Malakkuravan</i>

20	<i>Malasar</i>
21	<i>Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan</i> (excluding the areas comprise the Kasargode, Cannonore, Wayanad and Kozhikode districts)
22	<i>Malayarayar</i>
23	<i>Mannan</i>
24	<i>Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan</i>
25	<i>Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan</i>
26	<i>Paniyan</i>
27	<i>Ulladan [Ullatan]</i>
28	<i>Uraly</i>
29	<i>Mala Vettuvan</i> (in Kasaragode and Kannur districts)
30	<i>Ten Kurumban, Jenu Kurumban</i>
31	<i>Thachanadan, Thachanadan Moopan</i>
32	<i>Cholanaickan</i>
33	<i>Mavilan</i>
34	<i>Karimpalan</i>
35	<i>Vetta Kuruman</i>
36	<i>Mala Panickar</i>

Source: Government of India. (n.d.). Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Annual Report - 2011

Note: Census of India, 2001 published a list of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala confining 35 communities.

**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 dt. 8.1.2003*

Among tribal communities of Kerala five groups have been identified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG), they being *Kattunayakan, Cholanaikan, Kadar, Korga, and Kurumba*. They are concentrated in the districts of *Wayanad, Kasargod, Pallakkad and Malappuram* (Tharakan, 2007;

Government of Kerala, 2005). According to the Baseline Survey Report, Kerala Institute of Research, Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Tribes (KIRTADS) during 2006-07, the PTG population is 24,285 (six percentage of total Scheduled Tribe population) and the number of households is 6523 (Table 3).

Table 3

Population Details of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG) in Kerala

Name of PTG	Total population	Male	Female	No. of families
<i>Kattunaikan</i>	18576	9275	9301	5055
<i>Cholanaikan</i>	363	202	161	82
<i>Kadar</i>	1695	800	895	486
<i>Koragas</i>	1572	800	772	422
<i>Kurumbas</i>	2079	1049	1030	478
Total	24285	12126	12159	6523

Source: Baseline Survey Report (2006-07), KIRTADS, Government of Kerala.

The pre-independent Kerala comprised of three major political divisions: *Thiruvithamkur*, *Kochi* and *Malabar*. *Malabar* was a part of the directly ruled *Madras* presidency while the other two were indirectly ruled princely states, which had differential impacts on each tribal group. In *Thiruvithamkur*, for example, in 1903 Hillman Settlement Act was promulgated to offer special protection to tribal people. But in *British Malabar*, especially in *Wayanad*, where the feudal system prevailed, the tribal labourers should be soled along with agricultural land or pledged or even taken on lease. The majority of tribal folk in *Wayanad* were slaves who later became bonded labourers. In most of the area they remain in their earlier

employment status, as low paid agricultural labourers (Chathukulam & John, 2006). The Work Participation Rate (WPR) of the Scheduled Tribe population is 46.3% which is lower than that of all Scheduled Tribe population at the national level (49.1%). The Work Participation Rate of male (57.5%) is higher than their female counterparts (35.4%). The highest proportion of tribal work force in the state is agricultural labourers (Census of India, 2001). Community wise details of the Scheduled Tribe workers in varied economic categories given in Table 4.

Table 4

Community Wise Details of the Scheduled Tribe Workers in Four Economic Categories

Economic category	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	House hold industry workers	Other workers
All STs	11.2	47.1	3.1	38.6
<i>Paniya</i>	1.2	69.1	0.4	29.3
<i>Kurichya</i>	22.1	43.5	0.5	33.9
<i>Malai Arayan</i>	27.5	12.7	1.5	58.2
<i>Marati</i>	3.1	8.1	18.6	70.2
<i>Kuruma</i>	13.2	43.9	0.7	42.2
<i>Irular</i>	12.9	59.4	1.5	26.2
<i>Kanikaran</i>	11.4	40.8	2.3	45.5
<i>Muthuvan</i>	28.2	39.5	6.4	25.9

Source: Census of India, 2001

Tharakan (1978) observed that the most prominent problem faced by the tribals was the progressive land alienation and consequent proletarianisation (reduction to the lowest economic status where labour is sold in the absence of own means of production) and the large scale influx of settlers from the plains of *Malabar* and *Thiruvithamkur*. In post-colonial Kerala the tribals were characterized by poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy,

socio-economic and sexual exploitation by settlers and the depletion of their traditional resource base (Vaidyar, 1997).

National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, Chairman Kunwar Singh told news reporters after a review meeting of the state-level programmes (on January 2007) “I thought, Kerala being a highly literate state, situation of tribals would be much better than other states. But, I found that their condition was worse compared to other states”. He said that one of the major problems faced by the tribals was they were not able to cultivate the lands given to them due to many reasons. The government should take steps for proper utilisation of tribal lands, he added. Terming as ‘pathetic’ the condition of tribals in Kerala, the commission observed that most of the tribal hamlets in this literate state lacked basic amenities like drinking water, roads, health care centres and electricity connections. The tribal villages in some of the hamlets were in a very bad condition (United News of India [UNI], 2007).

Right to land is also a prevailing serious issue among the tribal folk in Kerala. The alienation formed on their own land makes their lives more vulnerable (Government of India, 2008a). District wise details of the landless tribal families are given in the Table 5.

Table 5

District wise Details of Landless Tribal Families - 2001

Si. No.	District	No. of tribal families
1	<i>Thiruvananthapuram</i>	13
2	<i>Kollam</i>	68
3	<i>Pathanamthitta</i>	117
4	<i>Alappuzha</i>	68
5	<i>Kottayam</i>	153
6	<i>Idukki</i>	190
7	<i>Ernakulam</i>	5
8	<i>Thrissur</i>	271
9	<i>Palakkad</i>	5389
10	<i>Malappuram</i>	339
11	<i>Kozhikode</i>	226
12	<i>Wayanad</i>	14031
13	<i>Kannur</i>	1395
14	<i>Kasaragod</i>	226
15	Grand Total	22491

Source: Govt. of Kerala (2001a), *Adivasi* Master Plan Committee Report 2001.

More than 28% of the tribal population in Kerala is without houses as per the 1996 economic survey. The per capita health expenditure of the tribal population is higher than that of general population. They have been living in the high deprivation and poverty (Table 6). As of on 31 March 2001, there were 25,407 registered unemployed tribal people in the age group of 15-40 years. As per Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) survey, 40% of the tribal population in Kerala are below poverty line compared with 25.75% for the general population (Chathukulam & John, 2006).

Table 6

Poverty among Tribals in Kerala

Sl. No.	District	Total no. of tribal families	Tribal families below poverty line	% of tribal families below poverty line
1	<i>Kasaragod</i>	5,355	2,555	47.71
2	<i>Kannur</i>	3,635	196	5.39
3	<i>Wayanad</i>	23,287	14,063	60.39
4	<i>Kozhikode</i>	1,215	288	23.70
5	<i>Malappuram</i>	2,363	1,247	52.77
6	<i>Palakkad</i>	8,610	4,571	53.09
7	<i>Thrissur</i>	967	430	44.47
8	<i>Ernakulam</i>	1,212	118	9.74
9	<i>Idukki</i>	11,516	6,422	55.77
10	<i>Kottayam</i>	3,999	749	18.73
11	<i>Alappuzha</i>	651	47	7.22
12	<i>Pathanamthitta</i>	1,647	722	43.84
13	<i>Kollam</i>	925	95	10.27
14	<i>Thiruvananthapuram</i>	4,059	2,161	53.24
	Total	69,441	33,664	48.48

Source: Government of Kerala, Tribal Sub-Plan 1999-2000.(As cited in Chathukulam & John, 2006).

The Human Development Report (HDR), 2005 reported that the incidence of deprivation is found to be the highest for *Wayanad*, *Idukki*, and *Palakkad* districts had a deprivation index of above 40. *Thiruvananthapuram*, *Kasargod*, *Pathanamthitta*, *Kollam* districts were below them with deprivation index ranging in between 30 to 40. It is interesting that the 61% of tribal population in the state is concentrated in the three districts *Wayanad*, *Idukki* and *Palakkad* with high incidence of deprivation (Table 7). It indicates

that while Kerala had significant improvement in literacy, health and poverty reduction; there is unequal access to resources by different social groups which can reduce individual welfare (Tharakan, 2007; Government of Kerala, 2006a).

Table 7

District-wise Index of Deprivation by Social Groups, 2001

Si No.	Name of the district	Scheduled Caste (SC)		Scheduled Tribe (ST)		Others		Over all	
		Index	Rank	Index	Rank	Index	Rank	Index	Rank
1	<i>Thiruvananthapuram</i>	54.4	13	60.1	10	37.0	11	39.5	11
2	<i>Kollam</i>	47.8	8	50.7	5	27.7	7	30.4	8
3	<i>Pathanamthitta</i>	50.3	10	54.6	7	27.8	8	31.1	9
4	<i>Alappuzha</i>	45.9	6	40.1	3	27.7	6	29.6	6
5	<i>Kottayam</i>	42.1	4	43.1	4	23.1	3	25.1	3
6	<i>Idukki</i>	40.8	2	65.3	13	40.9	13	42.7	13
7	<i>Ernakulam</i>	29.3	1	37.2	1	14.0	1	15.5	1
8	<i>Thrissur</i>	42.0	3	37.5	2	21.9	2	24.7	2
9	<i>Palakkad</i>	52.9	12	65.3	12	37.1	12	40.4	12
10	<i>Malappuram</i>	46.2	7	56.8	8	26.5	4	28.6	5
11	<i>Kozhikode</i>	48.8	9	50.9	6	26.6	5	28.3	4
12	<i>Wayanad</i>	51.5	11	66.0	14	41.6	14	46.3	14
13	<i>Kannur</i>	43.8	5	57.7	9	28.7	9	29.7	7
14	<i>Kasaragod</i>	62.7	14	61.3	11	34.1	10	37.6	10
	Kerala (Total)	45.5	--	57.9	--	26.9	--	29.5	--

Source: Human Development Report, 2005 (As cited in Tharakan, 2007)

Tribal Literacy and Educational Level

The overall literacy rate of the Scheduled Tribe population as per 2001 census is 64.4%; it was 57.2% during 1991 census. There has a substantial increase in the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala (Table 8). It is higher than the national average of 47%. Male and female literacy among the

tribes according to 2001 and 1991 census are 70.8%, 58.1% respectively. Among the numerically larger tribes *Malai Arayans* have the highest percentage of literacy, that is, 94.5% followed by *Kanikaran, Kurichya, Kuruma, Marati* (71.4%). *Marati, Kuruma, Kurichya, Kanikaran, and Malai Araya* have shown higher female literacy ranging from 60%-93% whereas *Muthuvan, Paniya* and *Irular* have shown lower female literacy in the range of 31% - 43% (Census of India, 2001).

Table 8

Growth of Literacy among Scheduled Tribes (1971-2001)

Si. No.	Year	Literacy rate among STs
1	1971	25.72
2	1981	31.79
3	1991	57.22
4	2001	64.4

Source: Census of India, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001

The state government has been employing several programmes for the educational upliftment of the Scheduled Tribes for the past few decades. But unfortunately the levels of awareness and utilization of these schemes are relatively low among the tribe folk. Even the total literacy campaign launched in 1991-92 did not succeed in incorporating tribes. A special project titled Tribal Literacy Project was launched for tribals once the total literacy campaign was over. This programme covered several programs incidental to the cultural and socio-economic advancement of tribals. During 1995-96, the literacy programs were transferred to the *Panchayat Raj* Institutions. In spite of all these it is to be noted that majority of these developmental programmes in the tribal settlements could not make any desired impact (AHADS, 2006). Some statistics regarding education of the Scheduled Tribes are shown in the Table 9, 10 and 11.

Table 9

Educational Level of the Scheduled Tribes

Si. No.	Level of education	ST (in %)
1	Illiterate	26.36
2	Literate without formal schooling	0.33
3	Below primary	16.12
4	Primary	12.5
5	Middle	26.32
6	Secondary	8.22
7	Higher secondary	5.26
8	Graduation and above	4.9

Source: Government of Kerala. (2006).
Human Development Report 2005

Table 10

Enrolment of Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste Students at School Level as on 01-04-2011

Si. No.	Section	Total	ST (% of total)	SC (% of total)
1	Lower Primary (L.P)	1591154	2.12	11.17
2	Upper Primary (U.P)	1424068	1.82	11.19
3	High School (H.S)	1442534	1.23	10.47
4	Total	4457756	1.74	10.95

Source: Directorate of Public Instruction (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Table 11

School Drop Out among Scheduled Tribe

Si. No.	Section	ST		
		No. of students	Drop out	%
1	L.P	33775	540	1.60
2	U.P	25926	572	2.21
3	H.S	17811	721	4.05
4	Total	77512	2626	3.39

Source: Directorate of Public Instruction (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Tribal Situation in *Wayanad*

Wayanad is a home land of various tribal communities. This district is the highest tribal habituating region of Kerala. 17% of the district population is tribes (Government of Kerala, 2006). Details of *Panchayath* wise distribution of tribal population in the district depicted in the Table 12.

Table 12

Panchayath Wise Distribution of Tribal Population in Wayanad

Si No.	Name of Panchayath	Total population	ST population	% of ST population
1	<i>Ambalavayal</i>	34345	4775	13.90
2	<i>Edavaka</i>	31168	4910	15.75
3	<i>Kaniambetta</i>	29516	6035	20.45
4	<i>Kottathara</i>	16636	4600	27.65
5	<i>Mananthavady</i>	45477	6819	14.99
6	<i>Meenangadi</i>	32067	7099	22.14
7	<i>Meppady</i>	39849	3516	8.82
8	<i>Mullenkolly</i>	29519	2741	9.29
9	<i>Muppainad</i>	24033	988	4.11
10	<i>Muttill</i>	31227	4562	14.61
11	<i>Nenmeni</i>	44096	7086	16.07
12	<i>Noolpuzha</i>	26184	10288	39.29
13	<i>Padinharethara</i>	24823	2647	10.66
14	<i>Panamaram</i>	42922	10056	23.43
15	<i>Poothadi</i>	39687	7262	18.30
16	<i>Pozhuthana</i>	17397	3266	18.77
17	<i>Pulpalli</i>	34293	7143	20.83
18	<i>Sulthanbathery</i>	42059	4894	11.64
19	<i>Thariyode</i>	11843	2649	23.37
20	<i>Thavinhal</i>	38654	6790	17.57
21	<i>Thirunelly</i>	27450	11178	40.72
22	<i>Thondernad</i>	22455	4374	19.48
23	<i>Vellamunda</i>	36415	5720	15.71
24	<i>Vengappally</i>	11072	2661	24.03
25	<i>Vythiri</i>	17820	875	4.91
26	<i>Kalpetta Municipality</i>	29612	3128	10.56
	Total	780619	136062	17.43

Source: Census of India, 2001

The district's population is constituted by tribals belong to 15 communities (Government of India, 2010; Indian Institute of Management, 2006). The major communities found in the district are *Paniya* (44.77%), *Mullukuruma* (17.15%), *Kurichya* (17.38%), *Kattunaikkan* (9.93%), *Adiyan* (7.10%), and *Uralikuruma* (2.69%). They are broadly categorised into three economic or occupational categories viz., agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, and forest dependants. *Paniya* and *Adiyan* communities who were traditionally bonded labourers and *Uralikuruman*, traditionally artisans, constitute the major part of agricultural labourers. They form nearly 55% of the total tribal population of the district. *Kattunayikka* who have been classified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG) almost entirely depend on forest for their livelihood either as forest labourers or the collectors of Non-Timber Forest Produces (NTFPs). They constitute nearly nine percentage of the total tribal population of *Wayanad*. *Kurichya* and *Mullukuruma*, traditionally agricultural communities forming 35% of the total tribal population by and large are marginal farmers. Others form nearly one percentage of the total tribal population. Among the tribal communities of *Wayanad*, *Adiyan*, *Paniya*, *Kattunayikka*, *Uralikuruman* are the most vulnerable sections. Traditionally cultivating communities like *Mullukuruma* and *Kurichya* are relatively better off than other tribal communities. The *Kurichyans* are small land owners, whereas the members of other tribes are mostly wage labourers (Indian Institute of Management, 2006). *Mullukurumar* and *Chettis* also held cattle for consuming and, until recently, selling milk and ghee, so cows and buffalo were sent into the forest's grassland for grazing (Munster & Vishnudas, 2012). The *Uralikurumar*, traditionally weavers and potters, occasionally used the forest for swidden cultivation of millets and vegetables. Additionally, they collected bamboo from the forest for weaving baskets and gathered clay from the forest's wetlands for making pottery (Padmini, 2001; Munster & Vishnudas, 2012).

Historically, the tribal communities in the region were heterogeneous in their culture, kinship organisation and gender relations. These groups lived in economic and ritual interdependence with each other and with *Hindu* castes. They were situated in hierarchical relationships with each other. For example, members of the *Mullukurumar* and *Kurichyar* tribal groups were the region's landholding agriculturalists. They cultivated rice and other cereals on the communally owned, wet land and some dry land near the forest with the help of agricultural labourers from the *Paniya* and *Adiyar* communities (Munster & Vishnudas, 2012).

Since the formation of Kerala in 1956, the government has been spending sizeable funds for the development of tribal communities. The government had conceived large scale rehabilitation projects in order to address rampant poverty of the tribal communities in *Wayanad*. This included *Sugandagiri Cardamom Project*, *Pookkot Dairy Project*, *Priyadarshini Tea Estate and Cheengeni Coffee Project*. Almost all these projects aimed at their livelihood enhancement, are defunct. The output from those still functioning is not very encouraging. Alternative government measures to address the tribal issues also failed to provide intended results. Apart from the livelihood development project, government had implemented a large number of programmes for the health and education. However, majority of the tribal children of *Wayanad* is not in school and morbidity rate is high among the tribal people of *Wayanad*. Landlessness is the one of the other crucial issues in development of tribal communities of the region. Nearly two third of the total tribal population of *Wayanad* were traditionally landless. The intrusion and exploitation of the other non-tribal peoples, in varied forms, get deepen the issue largely. High poverty, low literacy and education, low nutritional intake, high tobacco and alcohol consumption, high exposure to chemical fertilisers and pesticides, poor sanitation and hygiene condition *etc.* still

forming big obstacles to the development of this social group (Indian Institute of Management, 2006).

Alienation from land is one of the major issues elevated in the realm of present tribal life in *Wayanad*. Organised as well as unorganised tribal land struggles in *Wayanad* are one of the celebrating topics of news papers and channels at present. This issue of land alienation has a history. Munster and Vishnudas (2012) has portrayed a brief history of tribal land alienation in *Wayanad*. They wrote that the story of the tribals' land alienation in *Wayanad* goes back to the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, when the tribal kingdom under the *Vedar* kings (*Mullukurumar*) was abolished by the *rajas* of *Kottayam*, a neighbouring chiefdom. The expansion of the administrative system of *Kottayam* to *Wayanad* resulted in a far-reaching transition of land relations. Temple economy and village division of labour replaced tribal self-governing. Slowly, the ownership of land and power was transferred to the hands of high-caste *Nairs* who were appointed by the *raja* as caretakers of the temples and administrators of the region (Kjosavik & Shanmugaratnam, 2007; Kurup, 2010). *Paniyans* and the *Adiyars* became bonded labourers under the upper-caste landlords (*jenmis*) of *Wayanad* (*Chettis, Nairs, Nambiyar* and *Jains*).

Large-scale dispossession of *Wayanad's* tribals continued during colonial times, when the British imperial government introduced land titles and new concepts of ownership and property in resource use (Kurup, 2010). Through the Indian Forest Act of 1882, scientific forest management was established on an all-India level (Rajan, 2006; Sivaramakrishnan, 2009; Rangarajan, 1996). The land was surveyed, divided into administrative blocks, and ownership rights of forests were fully taken over by the government. Forests with the most valuable timber were designated as 'reserved forests', whereas all non-forested areas which were not 'private

forests' became 'revenue land'. In the name of science, government forests were managed on commercial lines as sources of revenue for the state. The customary community rights of the tribals to the forest were denied (Bijoy & Raman, 2003), their traditional use of the forest was criminalised and forest use was restricted to the collection of minor forest produce (Philip, 2004; Kjosavik & Shanmugaratnam, 2007). After Independence, the Government of India took over the ownership and management of forests and continued a coercive control over forest resources in the name of conservation under the Wildlife Protection Act 1972 and the Forest Conservation Act 1980. However, the Forest Department made use of the traditional knowledge of communities such as *Kattunayikka* and *Uralikurumar* for managing the forest. The *Uralikurumars* were largely appointed by both the British and the Indian Forest Department, until the 1970s, as elephant trainers, and for trapping and taming wild elephants. Yet they remained in the forest as illegal occupants at the mercy of the Forest Department. They were transferred from one place to another, depending on the department's work requirements such as establishing elephant pits, cutting trees, planting new seedlings of teak trees and other works related to the management of teak and other timber plantations on forestland.

Between the 1930s and the 1970s, a further wave of violent alienation of *Wayanad's* tribals from their land took place, caused by the large inward migration of Christian settlers from *Thiruvithamkur*, southern region of Kerala to *Wayanad*. Encroachments and illegal transfers of tribal land – mainly of agricultural land held under customary leases by *Kurumar* and *Kurichyar* – again led to extensive dispossession of the tribals. Therefore, these traditional farming communities became agricultural labourers under the migrants (Prasad, 2003).

The tribals were the original inhabitants of *Wayanad* region. But once the British era opened roads to this region and commercial plantations began to sprout, there occurred a migration of settlers to this region and during 1940s this migration enhanced tremendously displacing the indigenous tribal people of the area. The tribes lost their land and dwindled in numbers. The native tribal people of the district belong to various sects. They are mostly physically distinguishable with darker skin and stout built physique. They often live in houses made of thatched roof, mud, bamboo and brick houses set in swampy valleys and plateaus (Government of Kerala, 2012a). The process of implementation of mainstream notions of development and historically occurred migration and consequent invasion to the tribal land made the tribals landless labourers and the poorest section of *Wayanad's* society. They are largely confined into the overcrowded colonies and being as most vulnerable due to several kinds of exploitations and structural violence.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Part 1

Review of Related Concepts

Education

Development

Tribe

Development and Tribals

Part 2

Review of Related Studies

Education and Indigenous People: A Global Scenario

Impact of Education on Tribes

Education of Tribal People in India: Some Observations

Conclusion

In this chapter the researcher trying to reproduce the earlier observations, concerns and opinions of different researchers and social scientists on the concepts education, development, tribe and tribal development in the context of present study and condition of education of indigenous tribal people in its global, national and local contexts.

Part - 1

Review of Related Concepts in the Perspective of Present Study

Education

Education is about the way in which human beings live their lives. Its function is to improve the quality of life. Education is a process and it is continuous in every walking hour of life. Every incident leaves its mark on the person however small. Education is a lifelong process of acquiring new knowledge and skills through both formal and informal exposure, the information, ideas and experiences. And it is a systematic formal transmission of skill, knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and norms (McCulloch & Crook, 2008).

Among the global society, immediately after World War-II, expectations concerning the role of education in development were high. Expansion and improvement of education were generally considered as essential to development. Governments in developing countries were prepared to invest heavily in education. Families saw education as the main way to improve their children's chances in life. International organisations were eager to provide financial and technical support for the construction of new educational systems (Szirmai, 2005).

Dominant views as to the purpose of education vary from one society to another. In a new and ethnically diverse nation, education could be a tool for forging a common national identity. In a society undergoing rapid economic development, education could be a vehicle for preparing for new urban and industrial rhythms of life. In a revolutionary society, education might be directed towards winning hearts and minds to the revolutionary cause (Bilton, Bonnett, Jones, Skinner, Stanworth & Webster, 1996).

Education's broadest function has been to act as caretaker and dispenser of certain cultural resources of society (Sills, 1972). Short (1971) rightly observed that education is the keeper of a society's identity. This conservative function of the education as the custodian of society's identity has been occurred only through making the education accessible to the entire population of the society.

Education will enhance the prospects for better occupation and socio-political leadership and all these cumulatively increasing the social status and reputation of an individual in the society. In ordinary life situation education becomes power as it equips people to handle sophisticated roles in life. The education process with its different specialisation, different levels of certification process which goes along with it, distributes the younger generation to various roles. The result is greater occupational mobility and social climbing and a radical rupture with the statues quo (Prabhash, 2001).

Education is perceived as a powerful instrument to create modern society. In other words, in the modern world, education is the most important mechanism for socio-economic mobility. Education is regarded as a necessary prerequisite for economic growth (Schultz, 1989). Education is a precondition for development (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003). Sen (1999) observed education as freedom. Individual's freedom to perform a particular function in society is extremely important in the realm of development.

Education is a socially devised process for the benefit of the people individually and collectively. Thus education has a 'social purpose' (Yadav, 2008). This social purpose of education has owed a great role in poverty eradication, minimising socio-economic inequalities and strengthening of socio-cultural harmony. The Indian Education Commission (1964-66) views education as the only instrument capable of bringing about changes on a grand scale (Government of India, 1966). Education and social status are closely interrelated. The concept of education itself can elucidate this interrelationship. Education refers to actions or patterns of actions, which intentionally aim to influence the development of a person (Vanderstraeten, 2000) and society/economy as a whole.

As an important mechanism of social mobility, education should serve all the sections of society. If it does not do so, it will be caused to arise some significant issues such as reproduction of socio-economic inequalities based on the preferences such as class, caste, race, ethnicity and regionality. And it will exacerbate the problems such as socio-economic marginalisation, cultural subordination, unequal exercise of political power, exploitation and displacement from land faced by the disadvantaged sections of society.

The National Policy on Education-1986 document clearly pointed out that education is essentially for all. This is fundamental to country's all-round development, material and spiritual. Education has an acculturating role. It refines sensitivities and perceptions that contribute to national cohesion, a scientific temper and independence of mind and spirit – thus furthering the goals of socialism, secularism and democracy enshrined in the nation's constitution. And education develops manpower for different levels of the economy. In sum, education is a unique investment in the present and the future. This cardinal principle is the key to the India's national policy on education (Government of India, 1998). Education will facilitate to shape the

skilled and sophisticated manpower for future society. And it also creates attitudes, values, world view and thought. Srinivas (1995) interestingly observed that a key element in upward mobility is education, for without it good jobs will not be available, living standards cannot be improved, good marriages cannot be contracted and access to other elements of high status denied.

There are strong link between education and poverty reduction. Economic growth is a necessary requirement for progress towards poverty reduction. While there are many countries that could be far more efficient in converting economic growth into poverty reduction, no country in history has made sustained attack on poverty in the midst of economic decline. Economic growth matters because it determines the size of the economic cake to be shared out among members of a society, and hence the average level of income; and education matters to economic growth because it provides the skills and abilities on which the latter depends (Watkins, 2000).

The process of education can be divided as formal, non-formal and informal education. The present study is focused significantly upon formalised system of education. The formal education system provides a specialised context for growth and for the unfolding of potential. Formal education is a systematic and organised system of education. Such formalised system of education is structured and administered according to a given set of laws and norms, presenting a rather rigid curriculum as regards objectives, content and methodology (Dib, 1988). The aim of formal education is to prepare the child for the transition from the confined but diffuse relationships of the family to the more impersonal and diversified relationships of the larger society (Sills, 1972).

Education and Human Capital Development

The contemporary development discourse was recognising education as a powerful instrument of social transformation and the building of modern nation-society. Education also plays crucial role in the formation and development of 'human capital'. Educated human capital has greater role in effective social justice oriented development and makes the nation, society and economy more democratic. At present education has become the central component of discussions on development. It is seen as an intrinsic aspect of human well-being and a catalyst for social progress (Anand & Sen, 1997; Dreze & Sen, 1995).

Human capital - the knowledge, information, ideas, skills and health of the individuals - is now considered as the most important form of capital in modern economies (Becker, 2002). The formation of human capital is now become the important foundations of the modern economic growth theory (Vogel & Keen. 2008; Mankiw, Romer & Weil, 1992; Romer, 1989). Most of the economists now agree that, even under reasonably favourable condition, expenditures for education constitute an investment that pays high dividends (Schultz, 1963). Investments in education will enhance the prospects for better occupation and cumulatively increasing the social status and prestige of the individual and the whole society.

Leigh (2011) observed that some scholars viewed education as investments in human beings and these investments when used in exchange for human labour, yield returns in the form of increased salary or wage return. Educated workers thus contribute to their own wealth as well as the wealth of the society at large. Florida (2002) goes a step further and suggest that a highly educated populace is a necessary condition for the development of a 'creative economy', which he defines as one dominated by knowledge, information, and innovation. The economic success of individuals and also of

whole societies depends on how extensively and effectively people/society invests themselves (Becker, 2006).

Education can be considered as the basic industry for the nation building (Clara, 1995). Most theorists acknowledge a central role for the state in education. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the British economist Alfred Marshall (1890) wrote in his *Principles of Economics*, “knowledge is our most powerful engine of production. the most valuable of all capital is invested in Human beings. Presently, the widely accepted powerful way of enhancing human capital economically, socially, politically and so on is education”. Aristotle (1942) wrote, “if we take into account a good life education and virtue have superior claims”. And he also pointed out that, “...the legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of the youth”. Aristotle has also recognised the economic role of education in society and the need of the state to support education to assure the general welfare. Adam Smith, one among the greatest classical political economists, realised that a good education can confer great indirect benefits to society (Clara, 1995).

There are a number of academic and research literature that have shown the strong linkages between education systems, economic development and political development (Thyne & Moreno, 2008; Sylwester, 2000; Barro, 1991; Almond & Verba, 1963; Lipset, 1959). As education connects more closely to the economy and the political order, the role of education in assigning status to individuals and groups also sharpens and intensifies. The paths of social mobility run through the school; the system divides the young and assigns them to adult statuses by means of years of schooling and specific occupational preparation (Sills, 1972).

Harbinson and Mayers (1964) said that education is both a flower and seed of economic development. Educational attainment affects and alters

human capital, leading to changes in labour productivity and adoption of new production techniques that ultimately leads to output growth (Temple, 2001; Romer, 1989). In this sense education is one of the most important means of upward mobility of individuals as well as the whole society. So, the nation-state may shape the provision of educational opportunities and determine the structure of the educational system through its educational policies (Fuller & Rubinson, 1992).

Goel (1975) opined that education affects economic development both directly and indirectly; directly through productivity, employment, composition of labour force, division of labour and mobility of labour; and indirectly through savings, limitation of the size of family and by inculcating the right kind of attitudes and skills and by removing some of the obstacles to social change and progress.

Education is one type of fixed capital. The most valuable of all capital is that which is invested in human beings. Investment in human resource is recognised as one of the best types of investment since it develops skills, improves health and brings out the built in potentialities hidden in the human stock of a nation. Education is one of the few sure roads to socio-economic progress and development. Though there are a number of ways for acquiring human capital, the major single source of human capital has always been formal and informal education. Formal education can accelerate the acquisition and accumulation of more and more human capital (Clara, 1995).

Education occupies crucial place in human resource development, the appropriation of knowledge, values, and skills and promotes socio-economic growth of the society. Education was central to Nehru's vision of a modern, secular, democratic and prosperous nation-state. Education was perceived as being able to provide the human capital required for the developmental project. Nehru also believed that education should improve the position of

groups historically marginalised by society (Jeffery, Jeffery & Jeffery, 2005; Govinda, 2002). Ahluwalia, the Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission, Government of India, pointed out in the preface of Eleventh Five Year Plan document that, an educated labour force is critical for achieving faster growth. And he further mentioned that the education is the key to ensure greater inclusivity (Government of India, 2008).

Not only individuals would benefit from investment in education. Society as a whole would also benefit from an increasing supply of better educated workers and citizens (Szirmai, 2005). Education has a greater role in society to incorporate all the individuals as well as social groups effectively in the process of production and subsequent development of the economy. Education is an important social resource and means of reducing inequality in society. It helps the individual to improve his social status in varied ways. Knowledge, skills, values and attitudes, acquired through education, help one to lead a desired quality of life (Chakrabarty & Ghosh, 2000).

There is a strong correlation between economic development and the spread of education especially higher education (Holmes, 2008; Fergany, 2000). Education is a very important determinant of employment, income and mobility of the people. This is all the more so in a knowledge driven economy and society. More importantly, equal access to education, is increasingly viewed as a basic duty of a progressive government and mature society (George, 2011). Mercy (2005) also observed that education is a powerful instrument for individuals to achieve upward social and economic mobility and achieve power and status in a society. It is a source and means of equality, mobility and socio-economic empowerment both at the levels of individual and societal.

The Oxfam Education Report (2000) rightly observed that the investment in basic education is the powerful engine of accelerating economic

growth, especially in developing countries (Watkins, 2000). Education could assist a move from deprivation to development, from dependency to liberation. The system of education has acted as a major channel of individual mobility and social change (Barik, 1997). Barnett (1988) pointed out that education provides skilled people who become productive 'human capital'. It forms the basis of national consciousness and then enables political sophistication. Culturally, it releases people from the bonds of superstition and enable them to act rationally rather than traditionally. There is no doubt that a better educated population leads to the betterment of the society. Education leads to individual creativity, improved participation in the social, economic, cultural and political life of society, and hence to a more effective contribution to human capital. There is now strong evidence of ways in which education, through its influence on attitudes and behaviour and its positive impact on health, productivity, production of the environment, family planning and child care can transform the cultural, social and economic lives of the people and communities (Rao, 2002). So, the denial of education to any sections of the society in whatever grounds, it may be caste, class, tribe, distance etc, should be considered as a crime against national/societal development. There is a fair level of consensus that equal access to education is the key factor in maintaining or increasing social mobility (Erola, 2009; Ishida, Muller & Ridge, 1995; Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993; Muller, Luttinger, Konig & Karle, 1989; Hout, 1984; Hauser & Featherman, 1976; Hauser, 1969). However, it is evident that education is an important societal good; it is not distributed equally across the world (Thyne & Moreno, 2008) and across varied social groups (Nicolas, Desilva & Rabenstein, 2009, Schnepf, 2007; Schoon, Parsons & Sacter, 2004; Werfhorst, 2002; McLoyd, 1998; Rumberger & Larson, 1998; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Suarez-Orozeo, 1987). World Bank reports that children from poor households have much lower enrolment rates, at increasingly higher levels of education, than

children from richer families (Gioacchino & Sabani, 2009). Erikson and Jonsson (1996) pointed out that those children of working class families even if they are bright students, are less likely to continue to a subsequent educational level than children of higher class families with the same ability level.

Inequalities in educational opportunities are prevalent in many societies (Werfhorst & Luijkx, 2010). This problem of inequality and access to education are more vicious in underdeveloped or third world countries. In most of the under developed nations, including India, a vast majority of children hardly complete primary education, and a great majority of children never receive any formal education at all (Jain, 2005). It may be the main cause of the underdevelopment situation of India and other similar economies. Alienation of the larger mass from education arrests the economy in inefficient production techniques, low productivity, and wastage of human capital. So, we must want to make a new national as well as global strategy to incorporate all the individuals as well as social groups who were denied access to formal education or who consciously keep away from formal education due to varied socio-cultural, political, economical reasons. In the present global as well as national or local situation we can found the major chunk of the people or social groups who were denied or keep away from formal education is indigenous tribal population. We want to incorporate any of these excluded or marginalised sections of the society to the mainstream of the society and economy. True development in the socio-economic conditions of these sections is the highly prioritised immediate prerequisite of the development of the national and global societies. Education has a greater role in this process. Education commission (1964-66) of India rightly noticed that one of the important social objectives of education is to equalise educational opportunity, enabling the backward or underprivileged classes and individuals to use education as a lever for improvement of their condition (Jha, 2008).

Backwardness in the modern education is one of the major developmental constraints of the indigenous tribal people of the world. The modern education has greater potential and role in making the people competent to live - find livelihood, good job, make good and secure family, avoid exploitation, good health, enjoying the modern facilities, and so on. Education is an important agency to make the people more economic and political by imbibing modern socio-economic and political rationality. Education must receive higher priority especially in a democratic country where all the progress depends essentially on the common people's understanding and accepting the general goals of the society and economy (Clara, 1995). So, we want to make our whole population competent and effective citizens and a better stock in human capital. Otherwise, the aim to reach socio-economic prosperity will fail. It is true that in a larger extent we failed to attain this aim among tribes, *dalits*, women, minorities etc.

Role of Education in a Democratic Society

In a democratic country or society, education has a greater role in attaining development by keeping principle of equality and welfare to whole population in all avenues of their socio-economic life. We can see a genre of literature which illustrates the interconnection between democracy and education. Perry (2009) pointed out that Rousseau, Jefferson, or even Plato and Aristotle considered the relationship between democracy and education centuries ago. Later, Dewey (1944) examine the topic in depth in his work *Democracy and Education*, first published in 1916, Dewey discusses both the democratic qualities and outcomes of educational policy and practice. In terms of democratic out comes, Dewey agrees with the commonly held notion that education must help develop an informed and active citizenry. More important, however, he argues that education must also promote a collective sense of good personal initiative and adaptability and a personal interest in

social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social change without introducing disorder.

Socially desirable citizenship with proper aim and vision, civilised humanity and skilled labour power are the necessities of the existence of a democratic society. All these qualities are powered through education. The opinions on education in such a sense can be drawn from the observations on education by varied eminent educationists. For Plato, a greatly acknowledged philosopher in Classical Greece, education is the process of development of the mind and body of man so that he/she eagerly pursues the ideal perfection of citizenship. According to Aristotle, a Greek philosopher and a student of Plato, education is the process of training man to fulfil his aims by exercising all the faculties to the maximum extent as a member of society. This aim is discovered by reason and by his freewill. Benjamin Rush, an American leader, educator and a humanitarian, observed that education is an endeavour for the making of better people, better nation and consequently a better humanity. For Pestalozzi, a Swiss educationist and educational reformer, education is the activity of integrated and gradual development of individual's abilities (Ahmad, 2008).

As social institutions, educational systems should follow the same broad aims of promoting interaction and shared understanding and interests among diverse groups, such as social classes or ethnic or racial groups. Dewey argues that curriculum should not be fragmented into isolated, discrete components, nor should social classes or other groups be restricted to particular type of education, such as vocational education for the working class and academic education for the upper classes. Rather, Dewey argues for a diverse array of curriculum that is integrated into a larger whole and that is open to all (Perry, 2009)

According to the emancipatory, transformative and critical theorists, education is democratic in as much as it leads to the liberation of oppressed classes and transformation of oppressive social structures. Democratic education is that which empowers individuals to free themselves from oppressive circumstances. Paulo Freire, one of the most influential educational theorists of the twentieth century, argues that the path to liberation comes through critical awareness of one's reality (Freire, 1992). Educational practices that support this aim are democratic and liberating. Expanding on Freire's insights, Giroux (1989) argues that schools are also sites of struggle, conflict and negotiation. In other words, students are not just passively acted upon by more powerful forces in society. They also interact with and challenge these forces, and in this way schools are democratic public spheres, sites where students can participate in the betterment of their society. Perry also found that Dewey, Freire and Giroux share two common themes. First is that education is an important vehicle for both individual and societal development, growth and transformation. The second is that education should be both democratic and democratising. The educational systems in democratic countries are rarely completely democratic or undemocratic. Rather, systems are more likely to exhibit degrees of 'democraticness', with the ultimate aim being to become as fully democratic as possible. The ways in which educational policy is conceived as democratic often vary by national context (Perry, 2009).

Development

Development as a concept is loaded with value judgements (Samal, 2001). To provide everyone with ever-increasing opportunities for a better life is the ultimate purpose of development. Development means 'many things to many people'. Different categories of people such as technical experts, public servants, service sector professionals, agriculturists, businessmen, social,

political and religious leaders are certainly entitled to have their perspectives on development but for the bulk of the people, development connotes sufficient food, adequate housing, reasonable clothing, secure employment, the opportunity to widen their horizons and the conditions to have free and peaceful interactions with those around them. In the economists' approach to development capital occupies a position of prominence. The cause of underdevelopment or backwardness is considered to be the inadequate generation and availability of capital. Consequently the way to achieve development is through the more adequate and more rational use of capital (Kurien, 1998).

In the traditional approach development defines strictly in economic terms. For the traditional approach development implies a sustained annual increase in the Gross National Product (GNP). Objectives of poverty elimination, reduction in economic inequalities and employment generation are mentioned in passing reference only, and in most cases, it is assumed that rapid gains in overall growth in GNP or per capita national product would trickle down to people in one form or the other (Misra & Puri, 1998).

Development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly predicted or planned and administered, or at least influenced, by governmental action. Thus, the concept of development consists of (a) an aspect of change; (b) a plan or prediction; and (c) involvement of the government for the achievement of that planned or predicted goal. The term 'development' is also used for the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspirations. It, therefore, must relate to transforming the entire society enmeshing together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects on all-round balanced upward change (Basu, 1985; as cited in Reddy & Kumar, 2010).

Over the period the above said approach changed to a new welfare oriented approach of development. Jacob Viner was probably the first economist who in the early 1950s argued that it was not correct to claim that a country was achieving economic progress as long as the incidence of poverty in the country had not diminished (Viner, 1953). During the 1970s some economists redefined the concept of economic development in terms of the reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within the context of a growing economy (Misra & Puri, 1998). Kindleberger and Herrick (1977) wrote, “economic development is generally defined to include improvements in material welfare, especially for persons with the lowest incomes, the eradication of mass poverty with its correlates of illiteracy, disease, and early death; changes in the composition of inputs and outputs that generally include shifts in the underlying structure of production away from agricultural towards industrial activities; the organisation rather than the situation of a privileged minority; and the corresponding greater participation of broadly based groups in making decisions about the directions, economic and otherwise, in which they should move to improve their welfare”.

Until 1970s', development was used in the sense of 'growth' indicating a quantitative increase or progress in production, income, consumption of food etc. and thus emphasised mainly on economic aspect rather than social, political and cultural aspects. Thus, the decade of 1970s' heralded a new era in the field of development economics throughout the world by making a departure from the age-old belief that growth is synonymous with development. Development then came to be viewed as an improvement in the 'quality of life' of all sections of people, whereas growth was understood as an index of aggregate performance of economy measured through the GNP apparatus (Samal, 2001). These days the concept of development mainly means to the human development. The report of Human Development Index (HDI) refers a long and healthy life expectancy at birth, knowledge as

measured by adult literacy rate, a decent standard of living as measured by per capita income in purchasing power parity in terms of US dollars as the variables of development (UNDP, 2006).

The term development involves all aspects of human activity. In still broader context, nations have been defined as developed or developing. But how can one justify that one is more developed than those who are to be developed. These questions have become very sensitive nowadays when one finds underdevelopment in some sphere or the other everywhere. For example, a society or nation may be more developed in the economic front; however, it may be underdeveloped on the social front. So, one cannot define development in some aspects only; rather, it should be viewed multi-dimensionally (Reddy & Kumar, 2010).

Development must, therefore, be conceived as a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of absolute poverty. Development, in its essence, must represent the entire gamut of change by which an entire social system, tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups and social groups within that system, moves, away' from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory and towards a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better (Todaro, 1993). International Labour Organisation (ILO), defined development as a process which involves improvement in the quality of life of weaker sections and a greater participation and involvement of the masses in the processes of decision making in the economic, social, political and cultural life of a society. According to Seers (1972) development means creating condition for the realisation of human potential.

Mehmet (1978) observed that development invokes mobilisation of natural resources, augmentation of trained manpower, capital and technical know-how and their utilisation for the attainment of constantly rising national goals, higher living standards and change over from a traditional to modern society.

Development implies change, and this is one sense in which the term development is used; to describe the process of economic and social transformation with in countries. This process often follows a well-ordered sequence and exhibits common characteristics across countries.

A concept of development is required which embraces the economic and social objectives and values that societies strive for. Goulet (1971) distinguishes three basic interrelated components and core values in this wider meaning of development, which he calls life-sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom.

Life-sustenance is concerned with the provision of basic needs. The basic needs approach to development was initiated by the World Bank in the 1970s. No country can be regarded as fully developed if it cannot provide its entire people with such basic needs as housing, clothing, food and minimal education. The major objective of development must be to raise people out of primary poverty and provide basic needs simultaneously.

Self-esteem is concerned with the feeling of self-respect and independence. No country can be regarded as fully developed if it is exploited by others and does not have the power and influence to conduct relations on equal terms.

Freedom refers to freedom from the three evils of 'want, ignorance, and squalor' So that people are more able to determine their own destiny. No man is free if he cannot choose; if he is imprisoned by living on the margin of

subsistence with no education and no skills. The advantage of material development is that it expands the range of human choice open to individuals, and societies at large.

Using Goulet's concept of development, therefore, and in answer to the question 'development for what?', one can say that development has occurred when there has been an improvement in basic needs, when economic progress has contributed to a greater sense of self-esteem for the country and individuals within it, and when material advancement has expanded the range of choice for individuals (Thirlwall, 1994)

Development is a multi-dimensional and multi-linear process (Basu, 1985). Development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly planned and administered or at least influenced by governmental action. Thus the concept of development consists of an aspect of change, a plan or prediction and involvement of the government for the achievement of that planned or predicted goal. The term development is also used for the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspiration (Diamant, 1967). The focus of development is now increasingly on equitable distribution of wealth and income, full utilisation of manpower, better utilisation of natural resources, and protection of human environment. Hence, development means change plus growth *ie.*, it includes growth, modernisation, increase in social facilities (Varghese, 2002).

For the development of the whole economy/society/nation it is necessary that each and every individuals or social groups should have to realize the need of the development, to be aware of the means of development and clear about the potential of development. The benefit of the development should penetrate to all population. But, in fact, we can find a kind of biased development among in all the local and global societies. The real issue is that the development has always benefited some people and continues to do so,

while many people are left out and pushed out. It is this paradox that needs to be considered (Kurien, 1998). The tribals and other toiling masses and are always the losers of development and the gainers are international bureaucratic capital and the rising middle class (Pathy, 1998).

There are a number of comprehensive indices of development by assigning weights to various indicators. All these indices have assigned great importance to education as an indicator of development (*see*, Hagen, 1962; Niewiarosk, 1965; UNRISD, 1970; Adelman & Morris, 1967; Harbinson, Maruhnic & Resnick, 1970). The present study also viewed that education is the most important aspect of development. And also recognises that educational attainments are the most important pre-requisite of development.

Tribe

In a general perspective, the concept 'tribe', is invariably associated with primitiveness, savagery, and wildness. However, the origin of this concept is modern. With the rise of colonialism it has been used politically. One of the exigencies of colonialism was to know the basic features of the colonized people, so that the local cultural factors and sentiments could either be optimally harmonised or done away with as colonial interest demanded in various epochs of colonialism. The term, therefore, was found useful not just among the newly discovered people in remote parts of America, Africa and Australia, but also in the relatively advanced regions of India, China and the Arab world (Bara, 2004).

For Verrier Elwin, the word 'tribe' has been derived from the Latin root, the middle English term 'Tribuz' meaning the three divisions into which the early Romans were grouped, came to evolve into the modern English tribe. Similarly, various authors have described the tribes by different nomenclature. As Ghurye named them 'Backward Hindus', Das and Das

renamed them as 'Submerged Humanity', few named them Aborigines, Primitive Tribe, *Adivasi*, *Vanyajati*, *Vanabasi*, *Adimjati* and *Pahari* (Tirpude College of Social Work, n.d.).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the concept was assimilated into the evolutionary theory of race. The tribes or aborigines were ascribed the lowest position in human civilisation, of which the highest level was said to have been achieved by the white man of the west (Bara, 2004). In the present academic literature, the word 'tribe', denotes a group of people living in primitive conditions (Arulselvam & Maheswary, 2011). The constitution of India identifies certain ethnic minority groups, traditionally referred to as tribes or tribals as 'Scheduled Tribes'. Akhup (2009) noticed that the tribes are the objects of various categorisation processes from the perspective of 'others' (Jenkins, 1997). In the context of various struggles for subsistence and development they asserted and identify themselves as '*adivasis*' (Devalle, 1992) or 'indigenous people' (Xaxa, 2003). Dieu (1996) highly critically argued that while entering to the modern age, most nation-states had evolved national identities determined and defined by the dominant ethnic groups. This process usually excluded certain ethnic minorities, in particular the people that were variously named 'tribals', 'savages', 'barbarians', 'slaves', 'original peoples', or 'indigenous people'. They got into an international concern only after centuries of neglect, the United Nations declared 1993 the year of the indigenous people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

According to Majumdar (1958) the tribe is a collection of families or common group bearing a common name, the members of which occupy same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, professions and have developed a well assured system of reciprocity and mutuality or obligations.

According to Bottomore (1962) the term 'tribe' means a social group. A social group may be defined as an aggregate of individuals in which: (1) definite relations exist between the individuals comprising it; and (2) each individual is conscious of the group itself and its symbols. In other words, a social group has at least a rudimentary structure and organisation (including rules, rituals *etc.*) and a psychological basis in the consciousness of its members.

As International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1968) in general usage, the word 'tribe' is taken to denote a primary aggregate of peoples living in a primitive or barbarous condition under a headman or chief.

Beteille (1977) defined tribe as a society having a clear linguistic boundary and generally a well defined political boundary. It is within the latter that 'regular determinate ways of acting' are imposed on its members. The tribe also has a cultural boundary and this is the general frame for the mores, the folkways and the formal and informal interactions of these members.

According to Dube (1977) tribe can be considered as an ethnic category defined by real or putative descent and characterised by a corporate identity and a wide range of commonly shared traits of culture.

According to Hoebel (1977) a tribe is a social group speaking a distinctive language or dialect and possessing a distinctive culture that makes it off from other tribes. It is not necessarily organised politically.

As Chatopathyaya (1978) a tribe ordinarily has an ancestor or a patron deity. The families or groups composing the larger units are linked through religious and socio-economic functions.

Vidyarthi (1981) describes tribe as a social group with definite territory, common name, common dialect, common culture, behaviour of an endogamous group, common taboos, existence of distinctive social and political system, full faith in leaders and self-sufficiency in their distinct economy.

Verma (1990) defined a tribe as the highest political unit, comprising several districts, which in turn was composed of clans. It occupies a definite geographical area and exercised effective control over its people. Permanent settlement in a particular region gave geographical identity to a tribe.

For Chaudhari (1992) the tribe is a group, which lives in a common territory, has a common dialect, uniform social organisation and possesses cultural homogeneity, has a common ancestor, political organisation and religious pattern.

According to Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, edited by Marshal (1998) the term tribe usually denote a social group bound together by kin and duty and associated with a particular territory. Members of the tribe share the social cohesion associated with the family, together with the sense of political autonomy of a nation.

Mohapatra and Mishra (2000) noticed that in the Imperial Gazetteer, the term tribe, has been defined as a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so.

According to Collins Discovery Encyclopaedia (2005) in social science/anthropology and ethnology tribe means a social division of a people, especially of a preliterate people, defined in terms of common descent, territory, culture, *etc.*

As the Columbia Electronic Encyclopaedia (2007) defined, tribe is a social group bound by common ancestry and ties of consanguinity and affinity; a common language and territory; and characterised by a political and economic organisation intermediate between small, family based bands, and larger chiefdoms.

As per Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia (2008) tribe is any of a variety of social units, including some defined by unilineal descent and some defined by ethnic origin. Cultural anthropologists now usually apply the term to a unit of social organisation that is culturally homogeneous and consists of multiple kinship groups – such as the family, lineage, or clan – that prohibit marriages within themselves but endorse or marriages with persons of the other kinship groups. Most tribes are organised as unitary political entities, within which people share a common language and culture. Some tribes are spread across large territories and individual members may never meet or know all the other members. Some are small groups, confined to a limited territory, sometimes a single small island, within which everyone knows everyone else very well. What unites societies of such diverse scales as being ‘tribal’ is their own internal sense of ‘being a single people’, but – anthropologists would add – a people that lacks the equipment of citizenship, a constitution, or a formalised legal system that would define them as a nation-state.

According to the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (2009) the tribe means a unit of socio-political organisation consists of a number of families, clans, or other groups who share a common ancestry and culture and among them leadership is typically neither formalised nor permanent.

The Concept of Tribe in Indian Context

In the Indian context, the term has been used and is being used somewhat indiscriminately. Several groups of the inhabitants of India before the advent of the *Aryans* were referred to as tribes. The *Aryan* invaders themselves were described as tribes by some. In later historical writings, the extant of small republics were referred to as belonging to particular tribes. Some writers have called even the *Rajputs* and the *Jats* as tribes. Still later the term was restricted to the autochthonous, the aboriginal, and the primitive groups. While there are no precise indicators to mark out the tribes from other groups they are assumed to have some, if not all of the following characteristics:

- Their roots in the soil date back to a very early period; if they are not the original inhabitants, they are at least some of the oldest inhabitants of the land.
- They live in the relative isolation of the hills and the forests.
- Their sense of history is shallow for, among them, the remembered history of five to six generations tends to get merged in mythology.
- They have a low level of techno-economic development.
- In terms of their cultural ethos, *ie.* language, institutions, beliefs and customs, they stand out from the other sections of society.
- If they are not egalitarian, they are at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated.

Even these are rough and ready indicators, and are not helpful beyond a point in the identification of the tribes within the Indian population. Since identification of tribal population from those of the non-tribals has become a

continuous administrative exercise, the issue has been heavily politicised for personal and political gains because of the special benefits and status accorded to the Scheduled Tribes (Samal, 2001).

In India, the term or category tribe began to be used during colonial rule. According to Xaxa (2004) the need for a census by the colonial government invariably led to a collection of detailed and classified information leading to the identification of certain groups of people as tribes. Kamat (2001) has conducted an interesting investigation in the concept of tribe in the context of India. He observed that the historians trace the genealogy of the term tribe in India to the coloniser's imperative to produce knowledge about the colonised. Initially tribe was used to describe various groups of people along axes of common ancestry, or of occupation: 'regal tribe', 'wild tribe', 'pastoral tribe' 'agricultural tribe' or even 'mixed and imperfect tribes' (Sengupta, 1988). However, in the late nineteenth century, there was a call, among colonial administrators and anthropologists for a more scientific classification of the colonised (Cohn, 1996). This resulted in the composite use of race and caste categories that placed groups along a continuum ranging from high-caste *hindus* to those who did not fall within the fold of any of the major religious or of the caste system. The latter group of people came to be known as tribes or primitives. Thus the identification of a person or group as tribal was located within a discourse of evolutionary progress, in which the high-caste *hindu* groups became the measure of civilization (Sengupta, 1988). The hierarchy of caste and non-caste groups was further racialized to denote high-caste *hindus* as belonging to the *aryan* race.

These classificatory systems created the framework for a systematic practice of sorting and hierarchizing tribal groups with rest to their talent for hard labour in diverse conditions (Ghosh, 1994; Simeon, 1995). Thus, an

increasingly scientific classification of tribes was predicted on a more generalised interest in segmenting the useful from the useless, the civilised from the savage, and the modern from the primitive, all with a view to integrate each into relations of capitalist production.

Vidyarthi (1975) has classified the tribal population of India into six occupational types. These are hunters and food gatherers, hill cultivators, plain farmers, simple artisans, cattle keepers, and industrial urban workers.

During the initial periods, the criteria to identify and classify the primitive people were ambiguous. Somewhat clearer ones have been introduced since the colonial government began the census operation. In the census report of 1891, J. A. Bains, the Commissioner of Census, classified the castes according to their traditional occupation. Under the category of 'agricultural and pastoral castes', he formed a sub-heading called 'forest tribes'. In the census report of 1901, they were classified as 'animists' and in 1911 as 'tribal animists' or people following 'tribal religion'. In the census report of 1921, they were specified as 'hill and forest tribes'. The 1931 census described them as 'primitive tribes'. The Government of India Act, 1935 specified the tribal population as 'backward tribes'. However, in the census report of 1941, they were classified as 'tribes' only (Verma, 1990).

In the post independence period the term tribe has undergone further change. The Constitution of India neither defines nor lays down any criteria for specifying the Scheduled Tribes (*for* Constitutional provisions for Scheduled Tribes *see* Appendix. 2). As per Article 366 (25) of the Constitution, "the Scheduled Tribes means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 (i) to be the Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution." Article 342 (i) of the Constitution lays down that "The President may, after consultation with the Governor of a state or that of a

union territory, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within the tribes or tribal communities or parts which shall, for the purposes of this Constitution, be deemed as Scheduled Tribes in relation to that state or union territory, as the case may be". While the Scheduled Tribes are specified by the President under Article 342 (i) of the Constitution by a public notification, the Parliament may, by law, include or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes any tribal community or part thereof in any state or union territory (Samal, 2001).

Under the Constitution of India certain tribes have been specified as the 'Scheduled Tribes'. Only those tribes which have been included in the list of 'Scheduled Tribes' are given specified assistance and reservations envisaged under the Constitution of the nation. The main criteria adopted for specifying communities as the 'Scheduled Tribes' include: 1) traditional occupation of a definite geographical area, 2) distinctive culture which includes whole spectrum of tribal way of life, that is, language, customs, traditions, religious beliefs, arts and crafts, *etc.*, 3) primitive traits depicting occupational pattern, economy *etc.* and 4) lack of educational and techno-economic development (Verma, 1990). Similarly, Patel (1994) argued that the Government of India identified the tribes based on certain characteristics of their behaviour, such as primitive way of living, habitation in remote and less accessible area, and nomadic habits.

In the post colonial period, the classification of Scheduled Tribes has been haphazard, and has served to exclude rather than include the legitimate demands of marginalised people. For instance, many communities that historically have been recognised as tribes have been excluded from the Scheduled Tribe list prepared by the Government of India (National Front for Tribal Self-Rule, 1995; Pathy, 1984). Similarly, many communities who live within Scheduled Tribe areas do not consider themselves to be tribes nor are

they considered as such by others. Yet they share a history of being exploited and confront economic, ecological, and political issues similar to those of tribals (Kamat, 2001).

Development and Tribes

The developmental and monetary investment in the indigenous tribal people's areas all over the world can be classified as two. The first type of developmental investment is the investment for big projects such as large irrigation and electricity generation dam projects, big mining projects, huge industrial estates, big agri-business ventures *etc.* All these huge ventures highly engaged in natural resource exploitation with the view of economic and capitalist development, and it also causes high displacement of indigenous tribal people from their natural habitation. And the second type of the developmental and monetary investment is based on the socio-economic empowerment and welfare of indigenous tribal people; it can be called as 'tribal development'.

Tribal development can be explained as strengthening of the qualitative as well as material aspects of tribal life without disturbing their cultural, habitual and environmental aspects. It can be defined as upliftment of the tribal individual as well as the tribal communities which are at different stages of socio-economic and cultural spheres of growth (Verma, 1990). State policies and programmes in respect of tribal development are broadly of two kinds in India – protective and developmental. The 'protective' includes constitutional and legislative rights that safeguard the interest of the tribes. 'Developmental' measures include programmes and activities that are initiated for promoting the welfare of the tribal people (Xaxa, 2004).

Varghese (2002) pointed out that the goal of tribal development in India were best summarised in Nehru's foreword to Verrier Elwin's book on

A Philosophy for NEFA (1959). Nehru's this five point observation regarding tribal development later known as *tribal panchasheel*. They are;

- 1) People should develop along lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their traditional art and culture.
- 2) Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected.
- 3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work to do administration and development. Some technical people from outside will no doubt be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- 4) We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural interactions, and
- 5) We should guide results not by statistics or the amount of money spends but by the quality of human character that is involved.

This five point formula enunciated by Nehru's stand as the corner stone of the India's government policy on tribal development. This was further elaborated by Verrier Elwin, who emphasized the need for the tribal people to come to terms with their own past avoiding danger of pauperism and without creating a sense of inferiority. Elwin stressed on recognising the contribution of the tribal people in helping the India society as a whole, so that they may feel as they are the part and parcel of India as any other citizen.

During Pre-British period, the tribal communities in India remained either fully or partially isolated from the country, and they remained backward. The British policy of isolation increased the misery of the tribal communities. The founders of Indian Constitution seriously considered the

miserable conditions of the tribals who were segregated from the national mainstream and provided for special measures. Since independence, the government has initiated several Five-Year Plans, programmes, policies and laws and has made efforts for gradual socio-economic development of Scheduled Tribes, but they still remain the weakest sections of the society. During these various Five-Year Plans, there has been a considerable increase in the fund allocation for the tribal areas. But most of the tribals were not able to draw benefits from the facilities provided by government because of large-scale corruption among officials and improper implementation of tribal development schemes (Reddy & Kumar, 2010).

In India the efforts to tribal development starts since independence with a view of their socio-economic development. Since the inspection of the First Five-Year plan (1951-56), the India government has formulated a series of development policies pertaining to the welfare of tribes. To ensure that the constitutional mandates listed above and translated into various policies and programmes and put into effective action, high priority for the welfare and development of tribal communities right from the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan is being accorded (Lal, 2000). The government started tribal development in the form of National Extension Schemes (NES) in 1951. This programme was followed by the Community Development Project (CDP) in the First Five-Year Plan period (Sikidar, 1990). The various schemes in the Community Development Blocks (C.D blocks) covered a wide spectrum of activities in agriculture, animal husbandry, education, health, communications, social services, rural industries and Panchayats (Sharma, 1984).

After independence, in India, the welfare and development of the tribal communities has been the national goal and special responsibilities of the central and various state governments. The government has become very keen

for the upliftment of tribal people since they are required to take part in the endeavour of nation building along with the other sections of Indian society. In addition to this, tribal development in India has assumed greater significance in the context of growing awareness among these people for right place in the broader society. The government's deep concern for the welfare of these people manifests in the launching of several policy initiatives and creation of a wide network of development administration to bring about a radical change in the socio-economic scenario of these primitive communities. However, the efforts of the government could not make much impact in terms of generating new forces that promote change of the socio-economic and political life of tribal societies (Sisodia, 2004).

Sharma (1980) classified the developmental problems of tribes in India, broadly, into the four categories, such as socio-cultural problems, political-constitutional problems, economic problems, and protection of tribals from exploitation.

The National Forest Policy 1988 pointed out that there is a close relationship between the tribal people and forest. And the policy rightly observed that it is a primary task of all agencies responsible for forest management, including the forest development corporations should be to associate the tribal people closely in the protection, regeneration and development of forests as well as to provide gainful employment to people living in and around the forest (Government of India, 1988).

The main victims of the unequal competition of the resource sharing, possession and control were the indigenous peoples who had not only lost their land but also lost their traditional life support system with the massive depletion of forest resources. The operationalisation of the economic development measures of globalisation always inversely affects the indigenous population. The broader effects of globalisation have usually

intensified their oppression and maximised the ongoing exploitation of their labour and the extraction of natural resources in their traditional lands (Fenelon & Murguia, 2008). There has been a steady erosion of the tribal life support system, of lands and the forest, leading to an increasing pauperisation of the majority. There is also a loss of language, and a real danger of indigenous people or tribes becoming minorities in their on land (Xaxa, 2004).

Massive deforestation and exploitation of other natural resources have taken place for the purpose of industrialisation, which is seen as a solution to all economic and social problems. During the period from 1951 to 1979, it is estimated that about 4.5 million hectares of land was deforested for non-forestry purposes in India. Estimates have shown that the annual rate of deforestation was about 0.15 million hectares during 1950 to 1970 and it may have increased to about one million hectares since the later part of the seventies (Joshi, 1987). Human - Environment relations are confronted with major problems due to degradation of forests. Local communities mainly the tribals are usually the most immediate and the adversely affected by such degradation (Rejimon, 2000).

Arulselvam and Maheswari (2011) pointed out another side of tribes and development. They argued that the benefits of the high economic growth largely confined into cities or urban centres. This concentration of the economic growth and development further enlarge the differences in living standards between the urban and rural areas. Most of the tribal habitations are situated in the rural and remote areas. This kind of urban centeredness of economic growth and development will increase the vulnerability of the marginalised groups, especially Scheduled Tribe population. Sreekumar and Parayil (2006) argue that the state's developmental projects for the benefit of 'larger society' did not cover indigenous tribal folk often displacing and

dispossessing them, programmes intended exclusively for their benefit only marginalised and deprived them further.

Tribals of India are the aboriginal or indigenous people or the vulnerable groups of the country (Chaudhari, 1992). Geographically and culturally, they are at widely different stages of social as well as economic development and their problems differ from area to area within their own groups. The tribesman lives not only for himself alone, but also he is an integral part of the community to which he belongs. The identity of interest between the individuals and community is real, bearing profoundly on tribal attitudes. It makes for the emergence of essentially human qualities like comradeship, fellow feeling and social awareness. Because these reasons, the British adopted the policy of isolation and tried to keep the tribals away from the main stream of Indian life. The Scheduled District Act of 1874 had kept most of these areas administratively separate. The same situation was allowed to continue under the Government of India Act of 1919 and 1935. However, after independence, this policy was abandoned and a new policy of tribal development and integration was initiated (Padhi, 2005).

Toppo (1994) briefly explained the policy approach of the nation towards tribal development. Before and after independence the anthropologists, social reformers, missionaries, development planners and leftist activists adopted various strategies for tribal development. The anthropologists followed the policy of 'isolation', *i.e.* leave them alone policy. This resulted in exploitation by non-tribals, money lenders, contractors, *zamindars* and middlemen. Further, the policy alienated tribals from the national streams. Realising the problem, the social reformers and missionaries adopted the policy of 'assimilation' (Sharma, 1989). By assimilating socio-cultural, economic and technological patterns of others, they estranged themselves from their own tribal customs, culture and institutions. Therefore,

the policy was blamed for 'detrribalization'. But the failures of isolation and assimilation policies forced the planners and social activists to strike 'the middle of the road' policy, known as the policy of 'integration'. The policy stressed national integration which means that each group maintained its own identity, developed and progressed in their own way at their own pace while forming a part of the great country that is India. The objective of the policy was also to integrate schemes with the social and cultural environment of tribals. But in the course of the implementation of schemes, it was found that instead of schemes adopting the tribal milieu, the policy compelled the tribals to adopt schemes. It gave rise to the problem of tribal habitation and cultural defilement.

Verrier Elwin Committee Report (1960) pinpointed the lacunae and proposed better alternative programmes. The committee suggested agriculture and allied subjects as top priority (irrigation, reclamation, conservation of soil) and implementation of programmes in compliance with tribal background. In the meantime Dhebar Commission (1961) was constituted under Article 340 of the Constitution to make a comprehensive review. The Commission noted the slow pace of development and rather meagre investment in the tribal areas. The protective measures were sporadic and inadequate. The Commission crystallized and analysed the tribal situation, their problems and suggested a comprehensive legislation for effective protection for tribals living within scheduled areas and outside. In the Third Five-Year Plan period (1961- 66) Tribal Development Blocks came into being, based on the general pattern of Community Development Blocks, but more intensive in character. The objective was to bring about rapid improvement in socio-economic standard of the tribals. It covered about more than two thirds (40%) of tribals of the country with about 500 Blocks, which were created during the plan period. An assessment made by the Vidyarthi Task Force indicated that it had fallen short of expectations though it brought

a change in the outlook of tribals, particularly, in the field education agriculture of and (Hanain, 1983). With some changes, the Tribal Development Blocks continued through the Fourth Plan and beyond. These programmes in practice became too rigid, although varying conditions demanded different approaches to their problems. The development effort was consolidated by extending the period of operation rather than extending the area coverage. The programme was reviewed by the Shilu Ao Committee (1969). It was felt that the Tribal Development Block area proved to be too small a unit for large investments in infrastructures, economic development and several services that these Blocks could not accommodate schemes like soil conservation, major and medium irrigation, secondary and technical education. This called for evolving a new strategy for the development of tribal areas. The Planning Commission appointed a Task Force on Development of Backward Classes which suggested micro, meso and macro level development. Area development and tribal development were to be suitably intermeshed in the integrated development programme (Hanain, 1983). The earlier experiences showed that areas developed without developing the tribals therein could not succeed. The dissimilar situations between regions of tribal concentration and in areas of dispersed tribal population required different developmental approaches. Taking the tribal problems into considerations, the concept of sub-plan was evolved.

According to Chakravarty, Shukla and Suresh (2007) the tribals are more backward not only than the general population, but also than the Scheduled Caste population and the other acknowledged backward social groups with Constitutional protection. In fact the condition of tribal population of India in post-independent period has worsened. The tribal folk are the most adversely affected ethnic group due to developmental projects like dams, factories and mines. They constitute only eight percentage of national population, but 40% of displaced persons due to developmental

projects are tribal folk. The tribal rights in basic resources such as land, forest and water in fact in the entire environment have been seriously eroded as non-tribal peasants, traders, business men and other categories of aliens have forced in to tribal land with opening up of tribal areas and with industrialization. The tribal people are the overwhelmingly illiterate, lower and inferior health and poorest social group having more than 50% population below the poverty line. It is the reality that the most of the tribal people in India has been living in inferior and insufficient socio-economic conditions but the governments centre and state have been spent lot of funds to the area of tribal development. According to the Economic Survey 2006-07 the outlay for the welfare and development of tribal communities went up by 10.54% from Rs. 1498.92 crores in 2005-06 to Rs. 1615.58 crores in 2006-07. The outlay of 2006-07 includes Rs. 816.71 crores provided as Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Tribal-Sub Plan which includes Rs. 220 crores for development of forest villages and Rs. 400 crores as grant-in-aid under Article 275(1) of the Constitution, which includes Rs. 150 crores for minor irrigation of tribal lands. Here the interesting thing is in the contradiction of the government financial statements and the real tribal life. Nobody knows what happened to the government's financial assistance developmental programmes (Government of India, 2007).

Vijayalakshmi (2002) rightly pointed out that the tribal people's exclusion from social and economic domains is reflected in their poverty, limited access to basic goods, low education, poor housing, and health and other basic amenities. While analysing the different aspects of tribal life one can find that this exclusion is the main reason for their present backwardness.

Metha (2000) summarised the long term and short term objectives of the tribal development in India. The long term objectives are (1) to narrow the gap of development between tribals and non-tribals, (2) to improve the quality

of life without disturbing their ethnicity. Then the short term objectives of the tribal development are (1) elimination by all means by rapid socio-economic development, (2) improving organisational capabilities, and (3) building up inner strength of the tribal people.

Sujatha (1994) has explained the trajectory of concept of tribal development in India. According to her, the concept of tribal development has changed over time. It began within the fold of rural development under community development programmes way back in early fifties. Although a complementary system was created in the form of Tribal Development Blocks, it soon crumbled and in 1954 Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks were superimposed and taken further on whatsoever little achievements they could yield. A stage has come for planners and administrators to review it in retrospect and to give it new directions for accomplishing the task vigorously. Different review committees and study groups pointed out that progress among tribes in all aspects was rather slow, and priorities and programmes decided at macro level often did not match local needs and aspirations. The tribals are not being homogeneous, as they vary in their geographical distribution, their levels of socio-economic development and their degree of exposure to modernity. The benefit of special efforts could not reach the disadvantaged equally and timely. This is common even in the field of education. During the formulation of Fifth Five-Year Plan, therefore, the Expert Committee broadly classified the problems of tribal development into three categories such as problems of areas of tribal concentration; those of dispersed tribes; those of small tribal groups still leading primitive life. This classification gave birth to the formulation of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy, for major tribal concentrated areas, involving area development approach. The sub-plan envisages two important things to tribal development. As first, it ensures the flow of benefits from all sectoral programmes to tribal population in tribal concentrated areas. And the second

is it provides an integrated delivery of services in these areas. The sub-plan areas have an added advantage of integrating various developmental activities, besides flexibility in planning and resource allocation for different developmental programmes. In the sub-plan strategy, education, among other things, is accorded high priority, particularly in the context of universalisation of elementary education.

Rath (2006) observed the benefits of governmental interventions in the tribal areas of the country. The creation of separate Tribal Development Blocks in the second Five-Year Plan (1956-61) and of a Tribal Sub-Plan (the main components of Tribal Sub-Plan strategy are Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), and Pockets and Primitive Tribal Group Projects) within the state plan in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79), and formation of Large Agricultural Multi-purpose Societies (LAMPS), Tribal Development Corporations, Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (TRIFED) and other institutions have contributed significantly to increase in production as well as marketing of the products in tribal areas. The Crash Special Nutrition Programmes and Crash employment Programmes in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74) aimed at supplementing the diet of tribal infants to save them from malnutrition. The Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997-2002) focused on the issue of empowerment that is, social and economic empowerment as well as social justice.

Arulselvam and Mahesuary (2011) pointed out that one of the distinguishing features of the tribal communities in India is that the majority of them live in scattered habitations located in interior remote and inaccessible hilly and forest areas of the country. According to him nearly 22% of tribal habitations have less than 100 population and more than 40% have 100 to less than 300 people. It can also be observed that this scatteredness may become the obstacle to their faster development.

Sirsalkar (1990) conducted a study among the tribes of Maharashtra and he discussed the problems of their economic development. He found out the causes that forced the tribals to follow subsidiary occupations to supplement their income and withdraw themselves to inaccessible forests and hilly areas where the soil was barren. On the basis of field survey four factors were identified *viz.*, uneconomic holding of land, lack of skill, lack of monetary resources and exploitation by the unscrupulous traders and money lenders.

Gupta (1989) made a study on the economic conditions of the *Baigas*, the *Kols* and the *Gonds* of *Baghelkhand*, Madhya Pradesh. This study revealed that the primary causes of poverty were: low income, poor soil, uneconomic holdings, primitive techniques and absence of employment potentialities. Secondly, it was due to unaccounted exploitation by the money lenders, traders, contractors and the privileged classes. He suggested that these problems should be tackled at three fronts, namely economic, social and administrative.

Sachchidananda (1967) pointed out that the numerous programmes of socio-economic development undertaken in the tribal areas in India were not making much headway mainly because of the ignorance and illiteracy of the tribes. Even to take advantage of the various developmental schemes a certain degree of education is necessary. Similarly Dash (1989) observed that ignorance and illiteracy are the two major responsible factors remaining at the root of all sorts of problems in tribal life. The tribals due to lack of education and requisite skill are not able to take advantage of the new economic opportunities which have been grabbed by the outsiders migrated to the tribal areas. It not only deprives them of the opportunity in the new ventures but also alienates them from their resource base *i.e.* the land and subjects them to exploitation by the middlemen and contractors in forestry operations and also

by the money lenders (Verma, 1990). Garnaik and Barik (2012) observed that education among tribals is given high priority for the simple reason that it is a key factor of socio-economic development of the tribal community. Education enables them to perform their role to be useful citizen in democracy. Development of the state lies with the development of the backward people who are socio-economically disadvantaged and educationally backward in relation to total population. Education is the cornerstone of development.

The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Commission noted that 'The most important factor is the concentration of tribal population. This is particularly necessary when intensive efforts for protection and large-scale development are contemplated. Obviously, such efforts will be partly wasted, and the tribals will only benefit to a small extent, if they are not there in sufficient numbers' (Dhebar, 1962). Perhaps the most distinctive feature of tribal life is the very attitude toward life itself. The tribals are a carefree people, hedonistic in their simple pleasures (Weiner, 1978).

Whatever may be the conceptual terrain of tribal development, the tribals in India remain pathetic in their standard of living and human development conditions. Based on various committees' reports and studies on tribal development, efforts have been subsequently made to improve the tribal situation by providing various kinds of provisions and schemes. However, unfortunately, the tribals have not been able to derive sufficient benefit from this process of planned development. It is true that tribal development problem in the country cannot be considered as stereotyped phenomenon. It varies from one region to another (Reddy & Kumar, 2010).

Part - 2

Review of Related Studies

Education as a human right has high significance in the context of development of indigenous people. According to United Nations (2009) education is recognised as both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realising other human rights and fundamental freedoms, the primary vehicle by which economically and socially marginalised peoples can lift themselves out of poverty and obtain the means to participate fully in their communities. Education is increasingly recognised as one of the best long-term financial investments that the nation can make. Education of indigenous children contributes to both individual and community development, as well as for participation in society in its broadest sense. Education enables indigenous children to exercise and enjoy economic, social and cultural rights, and strengthens their ability to exercise civil rights in order to influence political policy processes for improved protection of human rights. The implementation of indigenous people's right to education is an essential means of achieving individual empowerment and self-determination.

Education and Indigenous People: A Global Scenario

Currently there are about 300 million indigenous people living in over 70 countries. The World Health Organization (WHO) has emphasized that indigenous people have higher rates of infant mortality, lower life expectancy, and more cases of chronic illness than the non-indigenous populations in their home countries. It is argued that the indigenous people are among the poorest of the poor. They suffer from extreme discrimination and lead a life of misery and destitution. The development discourse, therefore, needs to concentrate on finding an effective strategy to mitigate these crises (Rath, 2006). In most of the countries indigenous people have less access to education than other groups, and they are often subjected to curricula designed for other cultural

groups which ignore their own history, knowledge and values (McNeish & Robyn, 2005).

A document prepared by United Nations (2009) entitled 'State of the world's indigenous peoples' rightly observed that the indigenous people all over the world face a number of obstacles to participating in formal education systems. Some of those obstacles have to do with their marginalised situation; others are the direct result of national policies. And this document also noticed some of the major barriers of the educational development of the indigenous peoples. Poverty, discrimination and marginalisation are the leading causes of low educational performance which further exacerbate indigenous children's vulnerable status. Lack of public funding, lack of primary schools, lack of teachers, inadequate curricula and high cost of parents all contribute to an insurmountable obstacle for many indigenous students. These problems are particularly acute in rural areas that suffer from poor infrastructure and where schools are often located at considerable distances from the community centres and are poorly equipped and understaffed. The deep-rooted discrimination and prejudice the indigenous students and their parents often have to be faced making the school environment unfriendly and uncomfortable. School children also often have to cope with abuse at the hands of school authorities and other students; mainstream cultures frequently have little understanding of the values, cultures and histories of indigenous peoples. In many countries, the issue of the school uniform versus traditional dress code is often a contentious one; other issues may have to do with cultural practices, which are not taken into consideration by school authorities. The essential contribution of children's labour during certain period of a year to the subsistence of their family; the problem of language – there are only too few teachers who speak the languages of indigenous peoples; limitation of the devoted resources to building and expanding existing bilingual and inter-cultural programmes;

inadequacy of educational materials which recognise the needs and realities of indigenous children and provide accurate and fair information on indigenous peoples and their ways of life; and teaching that is conducted by non-indigenous teachers are found other important barriers of education for indigenous children.

The educational situations of the indigenous people have been made clear from the literature pointing out the indigenous experiences by some of the social scientists. Hall, Layton and Shapiro (2006) found that indigenous people in Latin America complete less schooling than non-indigenous people. The authors borrowed the observations of some of the other social scientists worked in the same area to clear the argument such as Hernandez, 1988; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 1997; Psacharopoulos 1993; Hernandez, 1998; Golcher, 2004; and Repetto Vargas, 2003.

Hernandez (1988) conducted a study in rural areas of Peru found that 70% of *Quechua* speakers (indigenous population of Peru) had no schooling, compared with 40% of those Peruvians who spoke non-indigenous languages. Another study owned by Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (1997) have also found that the educational achievement of indigenous Peruvians are significantly lower than those of non-indigenous Peruvians. According to Psacharopoulos (1993) in Guatemala and Bolivia there the indigenous adults had fewer years of schooling, lower earnings, and lower returns from schooling than non-indigenous adults of these countries. Hernandez (1998) pointed out that in Argentina in 1980s, 93% of non-indigenous people had completed at least one year of schooling compared with only 44% indigenous *Mapuche* people. In Costa Rica, where about 20% of the population is indigenous, only one in 100 indigenous children who begins high school and completes it. Golcher (2004) observed that the isolation of many indigenous communities contributes to their educational attainment. While there are more than 200 schools for

indigenous students, many students have to walk for several hours to attend class. As said by Repetto Vargas (2003) in Chile there are 32% of non-indigenous and 23% of indigenous people complete higher education. He also observed that the financial barriers prevent many indigenous Chileans from entering higher education.

Ministerial Council of Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs and Curriculum Corporation Australia (2006) reported that many indigenous students continue to drop out at or before years ten and far too few remain at school to complete year 11 and year 12, or its vocational equivalent. Of those who do complete year 12, few obtain the score needed to gain entry into university or further studies. Most indigenous students regardless of their completion year, leave school poorly prepared to their non-indigenous counterparts. These outcomes limit the post-school options and life choices of indigenous students, perpetuating intergenerational cycles of social and economic disadvantageous.

Parsa (1980) an Iranian educationist and social scientist reported that as late as three decades ago the tribesmen were entirely illiterate, knowing very little of the developments and changes that were occurring in other societies. It was only in 1955 that the then Minister of Public Instruction approved a special plan for providing schooling for Iranian tribesmen. There are unresolved problems in the realm of Iranian tribal education remaining even now. According to the present statistics only one out of six school age children is benefiting from the tribal education programme. The most important issues facing educators particularly are those which concerned with tribal education at the elementary level, according to the author, are the following; administrative headaches due to the distance, remoteness and nomadic lifestyle of the tribes, lack of transportation facilities to their settlements, scarcity and inadequacy of educational equipments and facilities,

limited utilization of public instruction, little or no attention is given to adult educational needs in the tribal educational programme, multi grade class (classes in which one teacher supervises several age groups of pupils and directs different programmes in one class room), lack of in-service training for the teachers, medium of instruction (providing education of the children of the tribes is made additionally complex by differences in the language of the school and various languages of the different tribes. Most tribal people do not speak *Farsi* the Iranian national language, but only their mother tongue), and finally the cost of the tribal education which is very high compared with rural and urban education per student expenditure has been found to run much higher to train teachers and maintain tribal schools as compared with per capita costs to maintain students in settled communities, both rural and urban. The revealed issues regarding the education of the indigenous or tribal population of Iran by the author clearly marked that it is a problem prone area needed much interests and aids from the state and the society.

Impact of Education on Tribes

Education has great role in the development of society as a whole or any social groups or individual levels particularly. The Constitution of the nation, reports of the various educational commissions and the other government's plan documents pointing out the role of education in varied situations. For instance, the Article 46 of the Constitution of India states that "the state shall provide special care to the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people". And the Report of Education Commission (1964-66) categorically states, "the education of the backward classes in general and of the tribals in particular is a major programme of equalisation and national integration. No expenditure is too great for the purpose" (Government of India, 1966). The Third Five-Year Plan of India, in its introduction to the section on education, has rightly stated "education is the

most single factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress in creating a social order founded on values of freedom, social justice, equal opportunity” (Nambissan, 1983). Education is a crucial requirement for the sustained growth of a developing society and lack of it is largely responsible for the exploitation and pitiable plight of the tribals (Awais, Ala & Asif, 2009).

Rao (1999) observed that lack of proper educational opportunities and consequent low educational achievements are largely responsible for backwardness of the tribals and their areas. Exploitation and resultant deprivation and alienation of land in the tribal areas could be attributed to widespread ignorance and illiteracy. Literary and education will empower the weaker sections and facilitate the process of conscientious. Education is an effective catalyst for eradication of certain social evils and inequalities.

Encyclopaedia of Indian Tribes – Series I edited by Shashi (1995) noted that education is the key catalyst to the development of human resources. For the tribals, education is the pivot on which their success depends. Education disseminates knowledge. Knowledge gives inner strength which is very essential for the tribals for attaining freedom from exploitation and poverty. Due to ignorance arising out of illiteracy, the tribals have not been able to take advantage of economic opportunities. Opening of the tribals area in the wake of development process has brought in juxtaposition two distinct value systems one based on tradition and the other on technology and innovations. Harmonious synchronisation of the two systems is essential for development of tribal people. In this process education has to play a key role. The most important aspect of education in tribal areas is that of informing the community of the new innovations in science and technology as well as the developments in the socio-economic and political fields.

Verma (1990) argued that the education should create interest for better life and it will lead to the development of tribal community. The tribal equipped with knowledge will not only protect themselves from exploitation but will also be able to take advantage of the various developmental programmes.

Bhagavati (1985) argued that education provides the skills which lead to increased reward. It is also a reality, pointed out by several, that the formal education is the only way to uplift the historically as well as socially deprived and marginalised communities by getting a public sector employment.

Choudary (1985) in his study among Scheduled Tribes of North Bengal viewed that education is an important means of social improvement to Scheduled Tribes. He observed that educated tribes had more modern attitudes towards social institutions, occupation, religion, family, marriage and politics as compared to their illiterate counterparts.

Pande (1979) conducted a study on the education and social mobility among Scheduled Tribes and he found that the education and socio-economic status of them are closely related. For instance he noticed that among the educated members of the community showed high reluctance to the traditional social conditions and occupational structure. The emergence of elites among Scheduled Tribes in government jobs and power was another adaptive change.

Lakra (1976) conducted a study on the impact of education on the tribals of *Ranchi* district. The study revealed the changes that have occurred due to the education in the tribal population, especially in their socio-economic and political spheres. He found that education brought three fold benefits to them. They got emancipation from forced labour, got their land

back, and their self-respect reinforced. Education freed them from ignorance, social taboos, superstitions and poverty.

Education of Tribal People in India: Some Observations

In the context of India the education of indigenous tribal people is considered as the constitutional obligation of both the central and the state governments since independence. It is to be free and compulsorily provided to all children up to fourteen years of age enshrined in the Constitution of India. However, the following review will help to make an awareness regarding the present condition of education of indigenous tribal people in India.

Awais, Ala and Asif (2009) observed that the drop out rate among tribal school children is alarming. Various steps taken by state governments to check drop out, including free distribution of books and stationery, scholarships, reimbursement of examination fees, free bus travel and mid-day meals have had an impact but still fall short. The performance of certain states in providing matching grants, maintenance of service and management of hostels is not encouraging. The pace of construction of hostels has been very slow and the basic amenities provided substandard. Low literacy especially among tribal girls and high drop out rates at elementary and higher levels are areas of serious concern. The main causes are poverty, contents of the education, inadequate educational institutions and supporting services in tribal areas, absenteeism, medium of instruction and education policy.

Chakravarty, Shukla and Suresh (2007) enlisted the prevailing issues in educating tribals in India such as the unavailability of educated tribals, high drop out in the primary school level, high incidence of illiteracy, lack of suitable infrastructure facilities, inadequate and untimely supply of study materials. The authors also pointed out that these problems are further aggravated by the lack of proper orientation of teachers and other

administrators about tribal life and culture, lack of participation by tribal communities in educational activity, lack of proper medical aid and balanced diet to tribal students, lack of monitoring mechanisms to motivate the drop outs for continuation of education and lack of suitable self-employment opportunities to the educated tribal youth and drop outs.

Government of India (2007) found that the two main challenges in education of tribal children are physical access to schooling at upper primary level and diverse socio-cultural context. In 2001, there were fourteen million tribal children enrolled in elementary schools as against 20.24 million in the 6-14 years age group. Thus 6.24 million were still out of school in 2001. The cohort drop out rates among tribal children was as high as 52.3% for primary and 69.5% for upper primary. For 20% of the habitations at the primary stage and 33% at the upper primary stage, access was still an issue in 2002.

Danda (2005) alleged that the effect of literacy education on tribes has been awful in his article on Verrier Elwin's interventions among tribals in the north-eastern belt of India (Elwin was a known anthropologist and policy maker and he served as deputy director of the Anthropological Survey of India, Anthropological advisor of North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA), Governor of Assam and Member of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe Commission). The author explained Elwin's observation regarding the issues of schooling and reasons for related educational deplorability of tribals of north-eastern India. Elwin chiefly puts forward the points as, 1) the management of the schools in the hands of very people who have been exploiting tribes, 2) schools are totally divorced from the life of the people and are staffed by the most inferior type of teachers who teach the tribes men to despise their own culture, 3) holidays are given on *Hindu*, *Muslim* and *Christian* festivals but not the festivals of aboriginals, 4) children are made to sing songs and pray to alien gods but never to the old gods of the soil to

whose worship their parents are deeply attached, 5) they study in foreign languages, 6) they read the lives of Indian liberal leaders and English Viceroy but here nothing of their cult heroes, 7) the children are made to wear filthy *Khaki* shorts and dirty little coats, 8) tribes are made to forget their own mode of recreation, like singing and dancing.

Guru, Panda, Pradhan and Padhi (2005) conducted a study among *Kamara* women which describes the inverse relationship between women's education and fertility. The *Kamara*, a tribal community has been living in the hills and forests of south-eastern part of *Raipur* district of Madhya Pradesh. The female illiteracy is at a very high level among the *Kamaras*. Among the respondents who had five or less years of schooling account for 25.83%. Respondents having high school education constitute only 10%. It is further noticed that illiterate respondents experienced higher of childbirth, whereas less number of children were born to women having higher standard of education. The differences observed in the incidence of childbirth for differential level of women's education are statistically highly significant indicating an inverse relationship between women's education and fertility.

A study among the *Mannan* tribe of *Kozhimala* in *Idukki* district of Kerala by Jacob (2005) observed that the state sponsored modern education system has made a new subjectification (Michel Foucault) among them highlighting supremacy, authenticity, and necessity of adaptation to the dominant political as well as social system. It legitimised many new practices like reluctance toward the old customs and traditions, adaptability to the State sovereignty, notion of individuality as against integration and status quo driven community life.

Kakkoth (2005) conducted a study among the Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) of Kerala and found that educationally they are far behind the other Scheduled Tribes in the state. And she identified some of the major reasons of

the educational backwardness of PTGs in Kerala such as high illiteracy, distance to schools and lack of schools in their areas, apathy of parents, financial backwardness, medium of education, lack of motivation

Subudhi (2005) conducted a study in *Garo Hills*, a tribal majority area of Meghalaya. He noticed that since independence, several developmental strategies and structures have been evolved for all round development of the people of the region where almost ninety percentage of people are tribals, belonging to different groups. Still the people of *Garo Hills* continue to face many problems in the education sector because the programmes of action are not functioning properly. No doubt, both central and state governments are giving more emphasis to development of tribal education and taking responsibility which hardly need be debated, but in spite of that, the tribal literacy of this region falls far short of the national average and demands different action plan from different sides. He identified the major obstacles of educational development of the area which are massive poverty, lack of capital resources, inadequate teacher people ratio, poor accessibility to school, lack of physical infrastructural facilities and high incidence of illiteracy.

Surendra, Narayan and Hebbar (2004) pointed out that the issue of instructional language in the education of tribal people (*adivasis*) and adamantly favouring the importance of tribal language as the medium of instruction. According to them most of the teachers teaching in tribal schools are non-tribals who tend to view tribal language, culture and social practice as being inferior to theirs. Psychologically, this was a strong negative impact on children, which again contributes to their dropping out of school. One way of tackling this problem would be to change the way tribal communities are being educated. For instance, if text books were to be prepared in the language of the tribals to express their cultural world-view and concepts, it would make it easier for tribal children to begin learning since they would be

already familiar with the language and content of the text books. It would also mean that they would have to learn only two skills, *viz.*, reading, and writing. In time they could gradually begin to learn the language of the state, which would put them on par with non-tribal students. At this point it might be pertinent to ask whether it would be at all possible to revive the various tribal languages. While recognising the difficulties of such an endeavour, we nevertheless feel that a concerted effort needs to be made in this direction.

Kelkar and Nathan (2003) pointed out that modern education sometimes affects adversely to the traditional social groups. According to them for many forest dwellers the major agency of change in their cultural system and gender relations was colonial education, which came through Missionary or religious schooling, followed later by public and secular schooling. These measures were designed to deny women the opportunity to participate as full members of the community. To substantiate the argument they explicated an example from a tribal group in *Sabah*, a Meghalayan village, called *Rugus*. Among *Rugus* tribe there was a custom named *babolizam*. According to this custom there was a woman priest and healer, having absolute power in making decisions which have to be carried out by the community. During the expansion of Christianity among the *Rugus* the missionaries would directly deal with the village headman which left the *bobolizam* in the dark on what the consequences were for their traditional religion. Further, the missionaries set up three types of schools: primary schools, farm schools, and domestic science schools channelled women into domesticity, denying their past role in productive and political life, and limiting its future.

Shyny (2003) conducted a study among the *Malappandaram* (*Hill Pandarams*) tribes of *Attathodu* settlement which is situated in *Perumedu Panchayath*, *Rani* Block in *Pathanamthitta* District of Kerala.

Malapandarams are seen in high forest tracks of Kerala. They claim that the autochthons of the Kerala forest are seen in all over Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The study pointed out that literacy level is below 10% in this community. Some members of older generation learned to read and write by interacting with forest officers and outsiders. Some of them cannot identify currency notes. Moreover the perception of being the victims of exploitation worsens their lives. From the analysis of their life experiences the author found that the basic education in the state level did not have a trickle down effect, especially in the tribal community. Education plays a major role in achieving freedom from exploitation, but the condition of illiteracy forced them to be away from the main stream development path and development schemes. But at present certain changes can be seen. Some of the children had studied up to the ninth standard by staying in the nearby tribal hostels under the tribal department. Lack of schools, teachers and lack of transport facilities has resulted in the low level of education among *Malapandarams* and other tribal communities in this area.

Suresh (2003) observes that the formal education is an agency which leads and influences the modernisation of the *Mavilan* community. In past days the *Mavilans* were totally ignorant about the importance and means of formal education. But today they are giving much attention to the formal and non-formal ways of education. However the educational standard achieved by the *Mavilan* is low standard compare to other tribal communities especially *Marati*. The main reason for their educational backwardness is the high drop out. They started attending school from 1963 onwards. But during that period percentage of drop out was very high. The parents were not aware of the formal education. Almost all the parents are illiterate and they are ignorant about the Government grants. The attitude of teachers and other students increases the rate of drop outs. In the past, the teachers used to beat the tribal children often for small mistake. The students from rich class as well as upper

caste did not consider tribal students as friends and they always avoid the presence of tribal students. Another fact is that school atmosphere was also difficult for the students, the tribal students' culture and life style was entirely different from other students and most of them failed in learning because of their poor family background. The curriculum and syllabus did not attract the students. In schools the medium of instruction is *Malayalam* but those students felt that instruction in *Malayalam* is strange language. Presently their educational standard much progressed. Most of the parents are aware of the importance of education. Now the transport facilities are improved. Most of the children speak *Malayalam* and they are not strange to *Malayalam*.

Vadakumchery (2003) explained educational experiences of tribals from the plains of central India. He studied tribal groups called *Bada* and *Chota Marias*. In the case of *Chota Maria* villages only primary level schools are in operation and the attendance is about 50% of the total children of the villages. Attendance of children, already students, drops down to a great extent during the summer when most of these children with other members of their families are engaged in collecting materials from forest ('*mahua*' flowers) and cattle feeding. And in the case of *Bada Marias* village, formal schooling facilities are found very hard. There is only one school for the whole of the eight villages. It is run by the teachers who come from outside the villages, near towns. They stay there during working days with much difficulty because the villages never provide them the facilities they have been enjoying in their home towns. Running of schools in *Bada* and *Chota Marias* villages is practically very difficult during the rainy season because this area is cut off for almost six months from the outside world. The author also pointed out that, as a serious issue is that the people of these groups also are not very keen that their children should be educated.

Yadappanavar (2003) pointed out that Scheduled Tribes in India occupy the lowest rung in the educational ladder. In spite of various public incentives, concessions, and welfare measures, their educational development is far from satisfaction. Specific constraints impeding education of different tribal groups have never been seriously taken into account by the policy makers and planners.

Ambasht (2002) argued that any educational programme whose content and processes have been developed and perfected outside the tribal ethos is viewed with difference. He further pointed out that an anthropological approach to education is required in tribal areas. The transition to a literate society must be smooth. Efforts need to be made to develop decentralised curricula, separately for each tribe, although with the same competency level as for non-tribals. The content should be based on the rich environment, folk songs, folk tales and other tribal cultural components. The lifestyle and learning styles of the tribal children will have to find place in the content and processes. For instance, the tribal child does not stay indoors except when he or she is asleep; confining the child within the four walls of an unventilated class room is itself a punishment. An environmental study approach may be more viable. This is just one example. Similarly, punishment, reprimand and rebuke are totally alien to the tribals' experiences. Any instructional process that uses these methods is not likely to be appreciated by either parents or children. And he also identified some other factors which may attract and repel the tribal child from school such as teachers' attitude and empathy and medium of instruction.

According to Ananda (2000) tribal parents' indifference towards education for their children is reflected in the poor enrolment in schools. A large number of teachers have pointed out that poverty is not the cause for not sending their children to schools but the problem is the tribal parents' attitude.

They are not interested in educating their children. They do not even bother to know whether the child is studying in the school or not. But they want to know whether their children are getting food from school or not. This indicates the basic indifference of parents towards the education of their children and this indifference is the product of their basic ignorance of the functional advantages of formal education.

Rao (1999) found that the literacy level among the tribals of Andhra Pradesh is extremely low when compared to national and state level statistics. And he observed that the tardy process of enrolment of Scheduled Tribe students is one of the major reasons for this low literacy level. He also found that the drop out rate is very high among the tribal students of Andhra Pradesh. According to him the major reasons of the high drop out among the tribal children are; abysmal poverty of the parents, inaccessibility of good educational institutions, absence of crèches and provision of midday meals, lack of awareness about the advantage and utility of education, medium of instruction, lack of basic facilities in educational institutions, non-availability of right type of teachers, stereotyped calendar of school holidays, unsuitability of contents of courses in tribal areas, lack of personal care, local cultural traditions such as child marriage, fear of not getting suitable educated spouses (in case of females), and lack of sufficient number of educational institutions.

Christopher (1998) mentioned on the educational backwardness of *Kanikar* tribe in *Peppara* wild life sanctuary, Kerala. The author showed the educational data, of the total population of 726 *Kanikar* in *Peppara*, 47% were literate. This includes both the educated adults (29%) who discontinued their education at various levels and the students (18%) who are still in school. Children below five years of age (10.6%) were not considered. 43% of the population are illiterates who had never been to school and are neither able to read nor write. Of the total literate, 82 individuals (24%) were taught

alphabets through non-formal education by the '*Saksharatha Mission*' (National Literacy Programme). Of the total literate adult population, 129 (61.14%) were educated in schools and among them, majority (67.44%) have discontinued their education at the upper primary level (U P). This is due to the distance of high school from the settlements. Further, expenses on books, uniform and equipments are a reason for terminating education.

Filmer and Pritchett (1998) conducted a study among the rural children of fourteen major Indian states and found that children belonging to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households have a lower probability of getting enrolled into elementary school. This may be because of economic backwardness, geographical isolation and shyness of contact with the community at large.

Panigrahi (1998) made some arguments on the educational backwardness of tribal population by exploring the major tribal dwelling district of Orissa, *Koraput*. The author pointed out that the *Koraput* district occupies the last position in the literacy rate of Orissa with 18.2% against the state average of 49.1%. The study has been observed that, the parents are also not much bothered for their children's education. The important case for the high rate of drop outs is that the child in a family is considered to be an extra hand of income of the family. Most of the population is being dependent on agriculture. The parents find it more beneficial to send the children to the field than the school. However there is a gradual change in the attitudes of the parents due to the efforts of the Christian missionaries.

Vasudevan (1998) describes the educational situation of *Koargas*, a tribal community found in *Dakshina Kanada* district of Karnataka state and *Kasargod* district of Kerala state. *Koragas* are a primitive tribe considering other tribes in this area. Literacy and education were a far cry in the case of *Koragas* in the pre-independence days. It continues to be so even though there

is a definite indication of progress which is infinitesimal. The illiterate constituted a portion of above 80%. Though efforts have been made since independence to bring them into the mainstream, the progress is far from satisfactory. Their inertia in this field has become proverbial and has a tinge of stoicism about it. Even cash doles and other incentives given to each child and parents, have not much attractions, as plucking cashew nuts, doing odd jobs are found to be more lucrative, despite the official remuneration which is a pittance only. Except in the town of *Udupi* and some other urban areas where they are exposed to the modern ways of social life, in the rest of the areas, it will take a long time for the *Koragas* to come to a reasonable level of literacy. Though literacy is increasing, a literate *Koraga* community is far off. Analysis of literacy and education for the three decades ending 1981, provide a gloomy picture, though since then slight progress has been made. Illiteracy reigned supreme with more than 80%, literacy with about 10%, and primary education could muster only about 8% for the period ending 1981 starting from 92%, 4% and 00.48% respectively in 1961. Matric, technical, and graduation were real casualties in 1981 and there was nothing appreciable or perceptible even in 1981. But the redeeming feature is that *Koraga* students who attend education institutions and have real aptitude for studies, are intelligent (this is not an exception) and do make real strides along with the advanced sections. Unlike some of the backward communities who got opportunities for education much earlier than the *Koragas*, who are 'late comers' the latter's progress has been commendable in that the ability to catch up with others is much more. There are a few engineers, arts graduates (holding post-graduate degrees also) and others having distinction in studies but their numbers is in one digit only.

Devan (1997) conducted a study among tribals of *Wayanad* district of Kerala. He pointed out that the educational status of tribes is still very low. Although a number of governmental measures have been taken to raise the

educational status of the tribals in the district, they have not reached up to the expectations. Though the major development and welfare activities of the scheduled tribe department is on education, the tribal population of Wayanad still remains most backward in educational achievements.

Reddy (1997) pointed out that the problems of tribal education identified are many and varied. These have their roots in the abominable illiteracy of the tribals themselves. Wastage and stagnation at school level has been identified as one of the problems. Wastage is due to the withdrawal and dropping out of the students before completing a prescribed course. Stagnation occurs when a student generally takes more than a year to pass a particular class. The author referred to another social scientist Sachchidananda (1967) who worked in the same field of tribal education pointed out that the majority of the tribal children confine to the same class beyond the prescribed period due to their failure to keep pace with the progress made in the class or their incapability to grasp things due to several factors. One of the causes of the wastage and stagnation is lack of encouragements from their parents and guardians, who themselves being illiterate hardly understand the usefulness of education of their children. As a consequence the students never feel like going to the school nor do they like to do their homework as there is none to motivate them. Further the absence of academic atmosphere in their homes causes their wastage (drop out) or stagnation (fail) at the examinations. Secondly, as children are normally helpful to parents in their agricultural operations, the latter take their assistance in their activities rather than sending them to schools. Thirdly, unfortunately somebody would fail in examination so the tribal parents never take pain to send their children to school again. Fourthly, the teachers do not show as much interest in the regular attendance of the students as they do at the time of their admission. Thus lack of interests found among both teachers and parents leads to a high percentage of wastage and stagnation. Added to

these is the age-old poverty of the tribals which is yet another stumbling block. The inadequate governmental help often drives the tribal children to buy their own books, note books, pencils and so on, which their parents cannot afford to provide.

Mann (1996) studied on two tribal communities from Himachal Pradesh and made some interesting observations. He argued that the modern education has made remarkable change in the traditional way of life and the world view of traditional social groups. The author first analysed the life of *Kinnaurese* tribes, who are the inhabitants of *Kinnaur* situated in the north-western part of Himachal Pradesh also called *Kinner*, *Kannaura* and *Khas* tribe. Traditionally *Kinnaurese* practice a version of polyandry (practice of female having more husbands than one at same time) in their family life. For this practice their rationale is that a single woman keeps the family men united and many women will always quarrel and separate the husbands. Modern education and consequent employment have prompted the young man to take a separate wife who can accompany him to his place of work. Moreover since he has an independent source of income and does not depend on the family land he cannot be forced to share a common wife. He can walk away with a separate wife and lead monogamous life. So the new economic avenues have made the younger generation bold enough to do away with age old custom of polyandry. But in *Kinnaur* education among women is still on a very low level and it will take a long time to make them aware of the benefits of the education. Poverty, early marriage, ignorance, isolation, long distances are some of the factors contributing to female illiteracy.

Next, the author studied *Lahaula* tribe's experience of shift in the traditional way of social/family life. Polyandry and *zomohood* are the traditional way of social life of *Lahaulas*. *Zomohood* is a kind of nunnery system *Buddhism* is followed. The *Zomos* are either attached with monasteries

or they stay in their respective parental house. Most of the marriageable but unmarried girls are absorbed in *Zomohood*. Author pointed out that the education is one of the major factors caused to decline of polyandry and *Zomohood* simultaneously. After studying and getting some training in employment, the girls become economically independent and are no more a burden for their family. They do not become *Zomo* but work as economic contributors. In such a cases family members' attitude is also softened towards them and they have allowed to have their way to getting education and employment.

Kundu (1994) found that one of the major causes of education making little progress among the tribals of India is the lack of suitable training for the teachers of tribal learners. The conventional teacher training can hardly be of any help to them as their situation, their learners, and the problems they face are quite different from that of the non-tribal schools. Further, almost all the teachers (about 95%) who teach tribal learners, are high-caste non-tribals, they are found to share the negative stereotypes of tribals with their dominant culture group people. They fail to understand their tribal students and their problems in learning because of the great difference between tribal and non-tribal cultures, and even many wish their students to be assimilated into the non-tribal culture, which they consider the only way left for their socio-economic upward mobility.

Geetha (1993) made a study among *Paniyar* tribe of *Wayanad* district of Kerala. The study found that the schools which again in the case of tribals is little effective even though most of the children go to school. They stop their education by becoming drop out as early as possible. There are many reasons for this. The *Paniya* children begin loitering around tea shops, cinema houses and market places a little before they join schools. A tribal hostel becomes a prison house for them. They try to escape from the atmosphere of

rules and regulations that surround hostels. The problem of language is a serious block. They fail to reach out with others in their studies because of the language which is strange for them. Continuous fail leads to shame and they go drop outs. Even though the government provides them with lump sum grant and the aid, the *Paniyar* parents are not in a position to encourage their children since the family level socialization is what they are incapable of. The tribal children with their shabby dress untidy hairs become conspicuous among the school children.

Barman (1992) elucidates the educational development of *Lepchas*, a Scheduled Tribe community, from village *Ngsaey* under *Kalim Pong -I panchayath* of the district *Dargeeling* of West Bengal. In the village *Ngsaey*, it is a striking feature of the *Lepchas* that the enrolment rate for the school age population is hundred percent. No children, if not physically impaired, are left from schooling. Stagnation and drop out rate is also not very high which means a steady development in education among them. Literacy rate in this village is remarkably high. The rate is much higher than the total *Lepcha* literacy rate in West Bengal. The high literacy among the elders influence the younger generations and led them to attain education in a rigorous way. Younger generation of the *Lepchas* in this village is getting more light of education. Their non-enrolment rate has been reduced to zero and stagnation rate is also not very high. The extent of literacy among the elders and younger generation would be obtained through the analysis of age group wise literacy rate. According to him the educational development of the *Lepchas* in this village is not free from some difficulties, such as higher number of students in comparison to the size of the class rooms, long distance to school, internal pressure from family to assist in the field for cultivation, issues related to the medium of instruction other than *Lepcha* language, characteristics features for instance extreme shyness *etc.*, improper school administration and so on.

Chauhan (1990) conducted a study on the educational backwardness of tribal women in *Bastar*. The district of *Bastar* being predominantly a tribal area and the most backward region of Madhya Pradesh. The author pointed out that the percentage literate among tribal women in *Bastar* is extremely low, and their drop out rate is quite high. The study briefed the impact of this backwardness at first, the tribal women of *Bastar* could not avail the opportunity of formal education. The government policies to a large extent are responsible for this. Second, those few of them are literate, it has not helped them in seeking a good employment, and a large number of them still work as unskilled labourers. Third, they have lost their traditional form of education which was in the form of customs, norms and values of the society without acquiring a new one. *Ghotul*, an institution of education and entertainment lost its significance which resulted in the confinement of tribal women at home. Fourth, education as tool of social change has not helped much to ameliorate the status of tribal women of *Bastar*.

Giridhar (1990) made some points regarding higher education of tribals, by studying tribals in *Jawhar Taluka*, which is purely a tribal area having more than 95% tribal population. It is a remote area of Maharashtra, situated in the midst of highlands. It is 150 kilometres away from Bombay. The author argued that the higher education in general has a special significance in this tribal life because tribals are having three basic problems *viz.*, poverty, exploitation, and ignorance. Due to these, all efforts made for the eradication of this poverty are becoming fruitless. Tribals do not get rid of poverty unless and until they are highly educated. The author found the existing problems related to education in the area are: a) The teachers and students are not getting the benefits of the facilities for the training and research at the appropriate time due to the remoteness of the place. b) The students are actually struggling for their fundamental needs. Hence it is rather difficult for them to take interest in higher education, without earning. The

author suggests some methods and strategies to overcome the mentioned problems such as earning and learning scheme, liberalise the methods of schooling by considering peculiar situations of the particular tribal area, give enough time to pay fees, provisions for alternative teaching arrangements during off periods, provision to open library and reading rooms for all the students at all the times, provision for residential/hostel arrangements, special programmes as per need/for needy. The author also made some valid opinions regarding educational issues be relevant in the tribal areas are,

1) The backward students are having inferiority complex in them. Hence we should concentrate on them and try to understand their problems; even to solve their personal difficulties also.

2) The college teachers must be always kept busy in academic and educational activities for the progress and development of our college students and for their individual level also.

3) Pertaining to the administration the problems can be solved on human ground.

4) The college working method in tribal remote areas should be changed into the way of Open University programmes.

Reddy (1990) in his study on the developmental issues of tribals in Andhra Pradesh revealed that, the tribal literacy rate of the state is being lower than other south Indian states. Female literacy is still worse. Tribal literacy is lower than that of *Harijans* and other backward communities.

Verma (1990) argued that the progress in the process of formal education and literacy is very slow among the tribals in India. The author identified and explained several factors which cause the prevailing slow progress, as follows,

1) The parents of the tribal children are hardly affording the cost of education due to their extreme poverty. The poverty also forced the children to assist their parents in agriculture and to find livelihood *etc.*

2) Presently the general contents of education have been extended to the tribal areas which in many cases are not relevant, particularly at the primary stage.

3) Inadequate educational institutions, boarding and lodging facilities and supporting services, such as the incentives in terms of scholarships, book banks, *etc.*, are very significant but, in practice, they are failed to attract the children.

4) The problem of absenteeism of the teachers and supervisors is a significant issue in the tribal schools. The children and also the parents cannot afford to waste their time and generally opt to drop out from the schools.

5) The tribal children are not generally able to follow the lessons given to them in the school in the language which is totally strange to them.

6) In spite of the recommendations and suggestions of various committees and commissions, no policy for the tribal areas has been evolved. In some states the schools in tribal areas are under the control of the social welfare department. Lack of administrative policy regarding the educational institutions in tribal areas adversely affects the education of the tribals.

Yadappanavar (1990) conducted a study with the objective of examining the attitude of tribal leaders towards girls' education fifteen leaders were interviewed in depth in knowing their views regarding their role in the spread of tribal education, their perceived importance of education and constraints in the utilization of opportunities for education towards girls. The study included six villages in *Paderu* block of *Vizag* district in Andhra Pradesh. He found that the local tribal leaders can help and assist

development workers in education and development activities. The initiative in the tribal workers should spring from leaders who are nearer to the masses. Tribal leaders who are also change agents can do a lot for educational development in tribal areas in minimizing the problems of illiteracy and drop out stagnation. These leaders are highly respected by the villagers particularly among the tribals. The drop out rate among tribals is alarmingly high in the elementary stage. A pertinent fact is that drop out is not always for academically weak students who are economically poor ones. It is here that leaders can play a vital role by identifying parents of such poor children helping them to get regular and remunerative employment under National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural-Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). It is assumed that the well educated leaders give more importance to education taking keen interest in the educational facilities available in their areas. As a result the wastage is likely to be lower in such areas. If the leaders consider that the social influence is satisfactory and the teachers are competent, their attitude to school would be positive and the wastage is likely to be low.

Dash (1989) conducted a study among the *Hill Kharia* tribes in *Mayurbhanj* district of Orissa. He found that most of the tribes are illiterate and ignorant and are still not conscious of education. And he observed varied reasons of their educational backwardness. First one is the lack of school facilities. He noted that out of all *Hill Kharia* settlements inside the forest area only in *Khejuri* village, one lower primary school is established and because of its situation in the forest village, no teacher is agreed to serve here. He also found that the cultural constraints are equally responsible for their high rate of illiteracy. As per the demand of tradition, when the parents set out for forest collections daily, the children are left in the settlement either to guard the huts or to take care of the domestic animals. Often the children who are capable enough, usually above ten years of age, accompany and assist their parents in

the forest collections as well as domestic activities. As a result of such cultural constraints where there are schools, only a few *Hill Kharia* children come to the school due to the personal effort of the teacher.

Furer-Haimendorf (1989) pointed out an example from Andhra Pradesh's educational history regarding the medium of instruction issue in schooling of tribals. The first major educational experiment launched among any tribal community of Andhra Pradesh was the *Gond* Education Scheme in *Adilabad* District initiated by the *Nizam's* Government in 1943. At the time when there was a determined drive to improve the position of the *Gondas*, *Pardhans*, and *Kolams*, it was realised that no advance could be maintained unless it was accompanied by the emergence of at least a small number of literate tribals. But what was to be the medium of instruction? The vast majority of *Gond* children did not speak or understand any language other than *Gondi*, but there were no teachers who knew *Gondi* and could communicate with *Gond* children. Hence there was no other solution to the problem than to produce *Gondi*-speaking teachers before any schools for *Gond* children could be established. Later, there were schools started with trained *Gondi*-speaking teachers in the district. Such schools provided instruction to first two classes through *Gondi* medium. This movement made considerable enhancement in the *Gondi*-speaking tribes.

Sharma (1988) has shown the interesting experiences from *Gujjar* tribe of Kashmir. *Gujjars* are a nomadic group. The provision of formal education and schools is difficult as they are moving. Adult literacy among *Gujjars* was found to be nil. Hence for the sample under study the parents are not able to prepare their children to go to school. The child is never prepared or trained to look for the school as a seat of any importance. He does not even appreciate the necessity of such an institution as he never sees or finds anyone who has gone to the school. For him the school is a world about which he has never

imagined. But the author also explained the status of school going child among the same tribe. It is interesting because they gave a princely status to the school going child called “*schooly baccha*” ie., school child in the community. He enjoys a better status in the community as compared to the other *Gujjar* children. He does not do any manual labour and does not take care of animals. *Schooly baccha* used to be better dressed than the other children. Parents neither ask for nor expect him to do any work with animals. While his siblings might do a lot of work he keeps on sitting and just watches. Whenever there was a visitor from the town or from the health department or from revenue department like *Sub-Tehsildar*, the school going child was to sit by the side of the father or mother who talked to the visitor. Other children would keep off, doing their work.

Narayan (1986) conducted a study among the most backward hill tribes of Bihar, named *Paharias*. He identified various factors that affect the spread of education among the *Paharias* such as, most of the schools are located in plains; it is far from their habitations, education is unrelated to the *Paharia* life, lack of well run schools, ignorance of parents regarding the usefulness of education, socio-economic problems, and appointment of *non-Paharia* and non-tribal teachers among *Paharias* who seldom visit schools.

Singh (1986) conducted a field study among the Scheduled Tribes of *Chottanagpur* region and he noticed that the immediate issue prevails in educating tribals in the region is the irregularity in school attendance. Hundreds of tribal students are found to be in the school registers but only a small number of them attend the school regularly. As a matter of fact, in the temptation of scholarships and other financial assistance provided by the government or other voluntary organisations, generally the tribal parents get their wards admitted in the schools, but they do not allow them to attend the schools regularly and properly. Further he found that the medium of teaching

and load of courses are out of orientation and mental susceptibility and receptivity of the tribal students. Then the study also reveals that even teachers themselves find it monotonous and fail to pay proper attention to the students. And the study also found that apart from the above mentioned problems, certainly the economic reason is the greatest hindrance in the way of proper development of education among the tribals of the region. Broadly speaking the tribal children support the economic activities of their family to a greater extent.

Shah and Patel (1985) examined in detail the educational development of the tribals residing in the rural areas of the Tribal Sub-Plan in Gujarat – the tribals are at the lowest level of the educational pyramid according to the existing data. The study showed the pathetic situation of educational attainment of tribals of this area. There is not a single male member with any formal education in the 44.5% of the tribal households, and there is not a single female member with any formal education in 75.6% of the tribal households. At the other end on 7% of the tribal households have at least one male member having attained SSLC/college education and only 2.2% of the tribal households have at least one female member having attained that level of education.

Koul (1983) conducted a study on the failed students among Scheduled Tribes at middle and matriculation level in Himachal Pradesh. He found certain characteristics of the Scheduled Tribe failure students compared to successfully completed tribal students such as lower verbal and non-verbal creative thinking, higher average age, lower socio-economic status, lower degree of adjustment in emotional and social spheres, more anxiety, poor study habits, more insecurity and lower self-conception.

Shah and Patel (1981) conducted a study among tribes of Gujarat on the social contexts of tribal education and they found that the enrolment rates

of tribal girls are very high. Rather than schools they are mostly attached to their home. They want to help their family in its occupational and household activities. This functional attachment with home is one of the major reasons of their low enrolment in school. Poor economic conditions and the traditions are the major barriers to tribal girls' education. The need for seasonal migration in searching of work also seems to be a major factor for not sending children to school

Chitnis (1978) conducted a study on educational problems of the deprived groups of Maharashtra. The study revealed that tribal students did not succeed in availing themselves of the educational facilities provided by the government.

Kulkarni (1974) conducted a study among the tribes of *Hursul* tribal development block of *Nasik* district. And he found that the major problem in tribal education of the region is related to the availability of teachers who is willing to take up a post in the remote villages of the area. Many incentives are offered by the government to such teachers. But lack of facilities with which one is accustomed to in non-tribal areas and the difficulty in getting adjusted to the tribal customs, beliefs and way of life may also act as deterrents for him/her.

Gupta (1963) conducted a study among the *Santal* tribe of West Bengal. This study has been found that the majority of the adult members of the community are apathetic or indifferent in their attitude to the need of educating their boys and girls. It has been so mainly due to two cases, *viz*, the system of education itself through which their children are being educated is not at all satisfactory. The present system is not adjusted to their immediate needs and interests. Secondly, they are suspicious of the sincerity of the non-tribal people who generally organise and run the educational institutions intended for them. He also identified some other reasons for the awful

condition of the educational status of *Santal* community such as the acute dearth of tribal teachers or right type of non-tribal teachers who can handle properly the tribal children; ignorance of tribal parents about the need and nature of school education which lead to irregularity in attendance and problem of wastage and drop out. And he also found that the most puzzling problem in tribal education in everywhere is the language or medium of instruction.

Conclusion

It is no doubt that the mainstream notion of development based on economic growth agenda will make these social groups more displaced, marginalized, deplorable and poor. Then generally a question will arise, how can the socially and historically disadvantaged and marginalised sections of the society can overcome this situation? It is sure that the finance capitalism may be global or local will not end its operations to accumulate more profits and wealth by exploring the natural resources and utilising and displacing the indigenous tribal people. Then how can they protect themselves from this flow? Basically it can be found as a problem of exploitation. The ignorant mass has been exploited by the advanced sections of the society. It is a common process that may occur in everywhere. If really wanted to end this issue the indigenous tribal mass should be equipped as or more than the exploitators. It is sure that education will help the disadvantaged sections of population to defeat such a condition.

From the above mentioned literature related to the focal point of the present study one can understand the situation of the indigenous population in its global as well as national or local context of 'development' regarding their state of development in general and educational condition in particular. It is also noticeable that the basic issues confronting the indigenous educational development is almost similar in most of the societies of the world, that may

be accessibility issues, poverty, geographical alienation, parental attitude, teachers attitude and availability, inefficient governmental interventions, societal attitude, lack of infrastructure, language, drop out, stagnation and so on. Although, it is the fact that the education is the only way of liberation and development of the indigenous population and the authorities of different countries have given sufficient importance to tribal education programmes they still remain extremely backward, ignorant and illiterate when compared to the non-indigenous mass. The incompetence due to the historical negligence of the socio-economic and political means of life makes them hard to get into the modern economic rationality and push them to margins of the society or get away from the so called 'mainstream of the society'.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Design of the Study

Smpling Methods

Sample

Methods and Techniques of Collection of Data

Sources of Data

Analysis and Interpretation of the Data

The Researcher in the Field

This chapter deals with the methodology of the study such as the design, sampling methods, sample size, methods and techniques, tools used for the collection of data. It also identifies the sources of data, its analysis and interpretation, and researcher's experience during the fieldwork as a participant observer.

Design of the Study

The study, methodologically, comes under the category of qualitative research. Shank (2002) defines qualitative research as 'a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meanings'. By *systematic* he means 'planned, ordered and public', following rules agreed upon by members of the qualitative research community. By *empirical*, he means that this type of enquiry is grounded in the world of experience. *Inquiry into meanings* indicates researcher's attempt to understand how others in the field make sense of their experience. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) claim that qualitative research involves an *interpretative and naturalistic* approach. It means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Ospina, 2004). The strength of qualitative research is that its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research setting. It provides information about the 'human' side of an issue – that is, often contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socio-economic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion.

To collect the necessary information the researcher used multiple techniques of the collection of data through the questionnaire, interview schedules, schedule of statements of opinion and participant observation. This study intended to take care of the socio-cultural dimensions and gather the

perspectives of the individuals too. The individual's perspectives also may influence the methodological perspective of this study. It has also adopted methodological insights from the social anthropology and ethnography. As an ethnographic field-worker, the researcher observed daily life-situations and participated in varied events of the region under study which is related to tribal life. Researcher made frequent and friendly informal conversations with the people in the selected region for fieldwork which helped to build a smooth rapport with the people of the region. The researcher conducted structured and unstructured interviews with the selected respondents as a major technique to gather information. The researcher also explored varied primary and secondary sources such as census reports and documents and reports published and prepared by various government and non-government agencies, research institutes, and individual researchers. It relied upon published books, research journal articles, unpublished theses and varied relevant web sources.

Sampling Methods

The researcher used non-probability sampling method such as purposive sampling in the selection of sample of respondents. In purposive sampling the researcher choose the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of his/her purpose and judgement. As its name suggests, the sample has been chosen for a specific purpose (Cohen, Manion & Morison, 2000).

Sample

The district of *Wayanad* is the selected area for field work. In order to carry out the study based on the pre-designed objectives the researcher conducted intensive fieldwork among the selected sample from the selected region. The total duration of the fieldwork of the study is around two and half years, from 2009 to 2012. It has conducted in three phases – first phase (socio-economic survey); second phase (interviews intended to collect details regarding social perception on tribals and their educational status); the third

phase (the cross checking of facts - the information and researcher's observation gathered especially during the first and second phases of the fieldwork).

First Phase: Socio-Economic Survey

In the first phase of fieldwork, the researcher conducted two socio-economic surveys. The first among them was on 100 tribal house-hold heads (50 *Kurichya* house-holds and 50 *Paniya* house-holds) and the second survey was among 400 individual tribal respondents. After the elimination of inadequately responded questionnaires the sample size reduced to 368 respondents, consisting of 152 *Kurichyans* and 216 *Paniyans*). The survey conducted among the sample selected from the various tribal colonies of the three *panchayaths* of *Wayanad* district namely *Kaniyambetta*, *Muttill* and *Kottathara*.

Second Phase: Interview

During the second phase of the fieldwork, the researcher had interviewed tribal parents, tribal pupils studying in varied schools, tribal students undertaking higher education, teachers from varied schools including tribal special schools, local political activists consisting *panchayath*-ward members and activists of different political parties, social workers, government officials, non-tribal natives and neighbours of tribal settlements. The respondents of the interviews were conveniently selected from varied parts of the district, *Wayanad*.

Type of respondents	No. of respondents
Tribal Parents	50
Tribal pupils studying in varied schools	50
Tribal students undertaking higher education	15
Teachers	25
Local political activists	10
Social workers	3
Government officials	2
Non-tribal natives	15

Third Phase: A Cross Checking of Gathered Data

During the third phase of the fieldwork, the cross checking phase, the researcher conducted two surveys among three different sets of respondents. The first survey was to know the opinions of the selected respondents regarding the role of education in tribal development and the second survey was to know the opinions of the selected respondents regarding the barriers to the expansion of education among tribal population. Two surveys were conducted at the same time and period among the 300 respondents – 100 native tribals, 100 non-tribal natives and 100 school teachers. Purposive sampling technique was used to select relevant respondents.

Tribal Respondents

The tribal respondents, at the different stage of field-work, were selected from varied tribal colonies in *Wayanad* district.

Sl. No.	Name of the Colonies
1	<i>Maravayal Kurichya Colony, Kurumbalakkotta</i>
2	<i>Maravayal Kuruma Colony, Kurumbalakkotta</i>
3	<i>Ooramkolli Kurichya Colony, Cheerath</i>
4	<i>Pulinchode Colony, Kurumbalakkotta</i>
5	<i>Thanikkal Colony, Kurumbalakkotta</i>
6	<i>Chullimoola Colony, Kurumbalakkotta</i>
7	<i>Kezhavayal Colony, Kurumbalakkotta</i>
8	<i>Chebbanoor Paniya Colony, Karakkunnu</i>
9	<i>Kottekaran Paniya Colony, Kambalakkadu</i>
10	<i>Karimathuvayal Colony, Vazhavatta</i>
11	<i>Manmadhamoola Colony, Muthanga</i>

Teacher and the Student Respondents

The teacher and the student respondents, at the different stage of field-work, were selected from varied schools in *Wayanad* district.

Sl. No.	Name of the Schools
1	<i>Model Residential School, Pookkod</i>
2	<i>Ambedkar Memorial Model Residential School, Nalloornadu</i>
3	<i>Ragive Gandhi Memorial Ashramam School, Noolpuzha</i>
4	<i>Ashramam School, Thirunelli</i>
5	<i>Model Residential School, Munderi</i>
6	<i>Vivekodhayam Lower Primary School, Padinjarethara</i>

7	<i>Government Higher Secondary School, Kattikulam</i>
8	<i>Government Vocational Higher Secondary School, Vellarmala</i>
9	<i>Single Teacher School, Cheeyambalam</i>
10	<i>Government Higher Secondary School, Vaduvanchal</i>
11	<i>Government Upper Primary School, Beenachi</i>
12	<i>Government Higher Secondary School, Meenangadi</i>

Native Non-Tribal Respondents

The researcher selected native non-tribal respondents, at the different stages of field-work, from the varied parts of *Wayanad* district, especially from *Kaniyambetta, Kottathara, Pozhuthana, Kalpata, Padinjarethara, Vazhavatta, Karinkannikkunnu, Thennery, Kakkavayal, Kallupadi, Kolori, Meenangadi, Kozhinjangadu, Poothadi, Nellikara, Kenichira, Kalanadikkolli, Yechom, Muthanga* and *Sulthan Batheri*.

Methods and Techniques of Collection of Data

To explore the formulated objectives of the study and to gather appropriate data from the selected sample the researcher employed varied methods and techniques. The suitability and practicability of the methods of collection of data are very much important in the process of any research study. Without the selection and administration of the appropriate and effective methods and techniques the researcher cannot complete his investigation successfully and sincerely. The employed data collection techniques were questionnaire, schedule of statements of opinion, interview (structured and unstructured), participant observation and analysis of relevant documents.

Questionnaire

To study the socio-economic status and general educational features of the focussed population the researcher used questionnaire method. There are varied reasons to select questionnaire survey method in this study. The major reasons are; it gives a cross sectional view; by this method a researcher can collect data from relatively large number of cases; this method provides a generalised statistics of the whole population or a representative sample; it gives information needed and useful for the solution of research problems easily; and this method is more realistic and it investigates phenomenon in their natural setting.

Interview

In-depth interviews are optimal for collecting data on individual's perspectives and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored. Kvale (1996) remarks, as an interview, an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest, sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasis the social situations of research data. Interviews enable participants – be they interviewers and interviewees – to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). In the present investigation the researcher used interview (structured as well as unstructured interviews) as a major method of appropriation of data because, it gives good rate of return and it can employ more effectively among the illiterate respondents – majority of the selected population of the study, tribes, are illiterates and uneducated.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is appropriate for collecting data on naturally occurring behaviours in society's/individuals' usual contexts. It is one of the important methods of social-anthropological as well as sociological research. Eventhough this method was a time consuming process, here it was used to get first hand information about the socio-economic and cultural life of the tribal people, their education, their perspectives on education and development and so on. And it was also useful to verify and reinforce the data collected from other sources and methods. This method would provide to the researcher effective and in-depth understanding about the situation and context in which the researcher engaged. This method was very much helpful to the researcher who is conducting researches among the groups like tribes, because they are not much interested to speak out their real issues, their shyness and ignorance, their experience as the victims of large number of surveys conducted among them as part of the developmental projects of governmental, non-governmental agencies and research studies of academic and non-academic individual researchers, their socio-cultural customs and taboos. In such a context the researcher could obtain the relevant information effectively only through employing this method.

Analysis of Relevant Documents

In any research study, especially in a qualitative study, the researcher sought assistance from the primary and secondary sources documented and prepared by government departments, non-governmental agencies and academic and non-academic individual researchers to substantiate and to prove or disprove her/his argument of research in a comparative perspective. The new argument put into screen by a researcher can be only established by cross checking it with past and present situations of the phenomenon. The researcher can mobilise the needed data on present situation through field

work and other part from the other literature such as documents, reports, research papers, books. To obtain the data regarding the past of the phenomenon the researcher should depend on the earlier records, reports and studies. The collection of data in both senses, present and past, collection and reviewing of documents is unavoidable.

Tools Used for the of Collection of Data

The selection and preparation of tools and devices for the collection of data is highly significant in a research process. The quality and relevance of a research tool may be highly influential to the end result of the research process. In order to realise each objective, the researcher used different tools to collect information from the respondents such as questionnaire, schedule of the statements of opinion and structured interview schedules. During the first phase of field-work the researcher prepared one socio-economic questionnaire for tribal households and other for individual tribal respondents. For the second phase field-work six structured interview schedules were prepared by the researcher for tribal parents, tribal students in school and higher levels of education, teachers and social workers/political activists. In the final phase of field-work the researcher also prepared six schedules of the statements of opinion to collect the opinions of tribal, non-tribal and teachers respondents regarding the role of education in tribal development and the barriers of expansion of education among tribals. Along with the structured interviews, the investigator conducted many unstructured interviews with social workers, neighbours of tribal settlements, educational experts and government officials. All the field work activities including selection of respondents and preparation of tools are finalised on the basis of pilot field study and consultations with researchers and experts in the field of tribal studies and education. The content validity of prepared tools was ensured by seeking the

experts' opinion. The tools were prepared in *Malayalam* and the English version is appended.

Tools used in the first phase of field-work

- 1) Socio-economic questionnaire for tribal house-hold heads – Appendix C.
- 2) Socio-economic questionnaire for tribal individual respondents – Appendix D.

Tools used in the second phase of field-work

- 1) Interview schedule for tribal school students – Appendix E.
- 2) Interview schedule for tribal students doing higher education – Appendix F.
- 3) Interview schedule for tribal parents - I – Appendix: G
- 4) Interview schedule for tribal parents - II – Appendix: H
- 5) Interview schedule for school teachers – Appendix: I
- 6) Interview schedule for social workers/political activists – Appendix: J.

Tools used in the third phase of field-work

- 1) Role of education in tribal development: Schedule of statements of opinion for tribal respondents – Appendix K.
- 2) Role of education in tribal development: Schedule of statements of opinion for native non-tribal respondents – Appendix L.
- 3) Role of education in tribal development: Schedule of statements of opinion for school teachers – Appendix M.
- 4) Barriers of expansion of education among tribals: Schedule of statements of opinion for tribal respondents – Appendix N.

- 5) Barriers of expansion of education among tribals: Schedule of statements of opinion for native non-tribal respondents – Appendix O.
- 6) Barriers of expansion of education among tribals: Schedule of statements of opinion for school teachers – Appendix P.

Sources of Data

Data for this investigation were collected from primary and secondary sources. Along with the information obtained from field-work a number of other sources of information are also explored such as national census reports 2001 and 2011, unpublished theses submitted in varied universities, reports and records prepared by varied agencies of the central and the state governments, reports and research studies conducted by varied Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), academic and research institutes, and individual researchers, research journal publications, published books and monographs.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Data

This study is a qualitative research. Thus, for describing the data and its analysis the study adopted methods of qualitative research along with simple statistical techniques such as percentage analysis to substantiate the arguments. The appropriate data are presented in a descriptive manner. Tabulation methods are used for the presentation of the data. Descriptive statistics is also used for the discussion and analysis of the data.

The Researcher in the Field

The present study is intended to investigate about the developmental issues of the tribal people in Kerala with a special focus on the question of their education. The researcher has employed a variety of methods and

techniques of data collection. The data was collected from varied parts of the selected region, *Wayanad* and from varied kinds of respondents such as tribals (house-hold heads, parents of students, educated youths and students), teachers, social and political activists and non-tribal natives and neighbours.

The period of fieldwork expand from 2009 to 2012. The researcher has encountered hard surfaces of tribal life which has given insights to observe the lives of tribals by understanding their own particularities of culture and organisation of society. Intermingling with them for a substantial period makes the researcher to the feel the field and the life lived in specific tribal settlements. It is noted that the inter-tribal features and their specificities reflects in their responses, which is a issue and difficulty to homogenize various opinions from various groups. This put researcher in a difficulty to identify common pattern and processes related to the education and its linkages with the question of development. They were generally showed dislike of the presence of 'other' people in their habitat.

The interesting aspect observed in the field is that they have all set answers the question posed before them. It is later realised that as these groups were subjects of many surveys and interviews some of which were in the name of their development had never produced any substantial effects on their life. Some of them openly admitted that they were used to this types of research and surveys and they have developed a pattern to satisfy the need of the researcher. A kind of conditioning through research itself. Though the researcher consciously tried to understand the specificities of their language and the meaning of certain words in their own social context, it has to be state that the exercise was fully successful. Some of the ideas they conveyed as an answer to the questions were filled with ambiguities. That might have also effected researchers observations and perceptions of the respondents. Though they claim that they are literate and educated some of the practical exercises

contradicts their claim. It does not mean that they are illiterate. In some of the cases mere enrolment in the schools would not speak their educational status. The drop outs and its occurrence in various levels of education should be separately looked into.

The students were cooperating with the researcher better. The teachers and administrative staffs in different tribal special schools were very much cooperative and supportive. Generally the teachers showed special interest in this venture. Some of them had presented highly innovative and interesting ideas to educate tribal pupils. But some of the teachers responded easily as usual or as hearing a joke. The other selected personalities for interview and conversations, including officials, political activists, social workers and non-tribal natives, also responded well and meaningfully. It is an interesting thing that among all the non-tribal peoples - teachers, officials, non-tribal natives, local politicians and social workers - have formed a consensus in perspective regarding the existing backwardness of the tribals. It is basically due to their (tribals) own reasons. The government has been providing them a lot of developmental incentives almost freely – free education, free food, free house, land *etc.* – but they failed to utilise those provisions. There is a common saying that “...if they (tribals) provided a goat from *Panchayath* office they definitely sale that goat on the very same evening and drink toddy for the whole money”. Here the study explores the other side of this perspective, which may not blame tribal peoples for their present backwardness.

The fieldwork for the present study was subject to a number of limitations and restrictions also. But, in this study the researcher have taken measures to reduce such kinds of errors to the maximum by constantly keeping in touch with them so as to subjectively feel the field. The researcher sought assistance form several native people and friends from *Wayanad* during field-work. They were helped greatly the researcher to enter into the

field-work, familiarise the tribal community and understand their language, its meaning and pronunciation. Chances of committing errors may be high while taking a very large sample. To resolve such issues, the researcher did limit the size of the sample and then conducted a detailed, intensive and continuous investigation among the selected respondents in very friendly way. All these constant efforts to understand the limitations of the researcher in communion with the region and the people in place enabled the researcher to self-reflexively encounter the life world of tribals and thus derived objective facts and observations.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS

Part 1

Understanding the Field: A Description on the Socio-Economic Profile of the Tribals

Part 2

The Tribals and the Society: How the Tribals are perceived

Part 3

State's Developmental Initiatives for Tribals

Part 4

***Education and Tribal Developments:
An Interface***

Part 5

Conclusion

Part - 1

Understading the Field:

A Discussion on the Socio-Economic Profile of the Tribals

Some of the selected aspects of the socio-economic life of selected tribal communities based on the data obtained through field-work are intended to discuss in this part. The selected aspects are educational status, property possession among tribal house-holds, occupational status, inter-personal relationship, housing status and health and nutritional status. Such a discussion, before going to the thrust of the study, will help to familiarise the real tribal situation of the region under study. To discuss the socio-economic status of the tribals in the selected area the researcher conducted a house-hold survey among 100 tribal house-holds - 50 *Kurichya* house-holds and 50 *Paniya* house-holds. The researcher also conducted a socio-economic survey among 400 tribal individuals in the age group 15–55 years. After eliminating the incomplete and unfair responses, the final sample was 368 tribal persons - 152 *Kurichyans* (76 females and 76 males) and 216 *Paniyans* (115 females and 101 males). To know the children's educational situation, the investigator also collected the details of educational status of school aged (5-15 years) children in the house-holds during the house-hold survey. It had a total 91 tribal students - 40 girls and 51 boys. In this section an inter-group analysis was made on the socio-economic status between the *Kurichya* and *Paniya* tribes.

Educational Status

Details of the school aged tribal children in the respondent households

The details regarding the school aged tribal children from the 100 house-holds are depicted in the Table 13.

Table 13

Status of Tribal Children Coming Under the Age Group 5 – 15 Years (in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total Number of Sample)

1	Total sample	Girls	Boys	Total
		40 (43.96)	51 (56.04)	91 (100)
2	Students	Girls	Boys	Total
		36 (39.56)	42 (46.15)	78 (85.71)
3	Number of school drop outs engaged in wage labour	Girls	Boys	Total
		4 (4.39)	9 (9.89)	13 (14.29)

Source: Fieldwork

As shown in table (Table 13), among the total respondents coming under the age group 5-15 years, 43.96% are girls and 56.04% are boys. 85.71% are students. In this 39.56% are girls and 46.15% are boys. Here the boys' share is higher than girls in school level education. One significant finding is that, among 91 school aged children, 13 (14.29%) are engaged in wage labour. According to the data, the number of school aged boys engaged in wage labour is 9.89% which is high compared to school aged girls engaged in wage labour (4.39%).

Educational status of tribal house-hold heads

Table 14 presents the details regarding the education of house-hold heads.

Table 14

*The Educational Status of Tribal House-Hold Heads
(in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total Number of the Sample)*

Sl No.	Level of education	No. of respondents
1	Not school educated	40 (40)
2	Lower Primary (Std 1 - 4)	16 (16)
3	Upper Primary (Std 5 - 7)	26 (26)
4	High School (Std 8 - 10)	15 (15)
5	Pre-Degree	3 (3)
	Total	100 (100)

Source: Fieldwork

Table 14 shows that 40% of tribal house-hold heads are uneducated. Almost certainly they are illiterates. 42% of the tribal house-hold heads were school drop outs before high school. Among them, 16% discontinued school education at primary level and only 15% of tribal house-hold heads have high school level education. Among these 15%, most of them dropped out of school education before tenth standard. There are only three house-hold heads who have pre-degree qualification. There were no tribal house-hold heads among these 100 respondents who have higher education degrees and qualifications.

Differences in educational status of the *Kurichya* and *Paniya* household heads

The details are depicted in the Table 15.

Table 15

The Inter-Group Differences Among the Kurichya and Paniya House-Hold Heads in Their Educational Status (in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total of the Each Sub Sample)

Sl No.	Level of education	No. of respondents (in 30-70 age group)	
		<i>Kurichya</i>	<i>Paniya</i>
1	Non-school educated	14 (28)	26 (52)
2	Lower Primary (Std 1 - 4)	5 (10)	11 (22)
3	Upper Primary (Std 5 - 7)	18 (36)	8 (16)
4	High School (Std 8 - 10)	10 (20)	5 (10)
5	Pre-Degree	3 (6)	--
6	Total	50 (100)	50 (100)

Source: Fieldwork

The details depicted in the Table 15 shows that there is a difference in the educational status of *Kurichya* and *Paniya* tribal house-hold heads in 30-70 age group. Among the 50 house-hold heads, 52% of *Paniyans* are non-school educated and probably illiterate, while only 28% among *Kurichya* house-hold heads were uneducated. As per the details collected, the average age of the non-school educated *Kurichya* tribe is above 55 years but among the *Paniya* house-hold heads it is between 30 – 70 years. The subsequent rates of respondents' educational level actually show their level of drop out from school education too. The table illustrates that there are 22% of the *Paniya*

respondents who have education up to lower primary level, while among *Kurichyans* it is 10%. This means that there are more *Paniyans* dropped out at lower primary school education level when compared to *Kurichyans*. In the subsequent educational data, the representation of respondents from *Kurichya* tribe is higher than *Paniya* tribe. Only 10% of *Paniya* house-hold heads is high school educated, and most of them did not reach the SSLC level. Among the *Kurichya* house-hold heads, the number of high school educated persons is comparatively higher than the *Paniyans* that is 20%. There are *Kurichya* house-hold heads who have pre-degree level education. Here also we can see a marked difference among the educational levels of house-hold head respondents between the *Kurichya* tribe and *Paniya* tribe.

Educational status of tribals (coming under the age group 15 – 55 years)

Details on educational status of tribals coming under the age group 15-55 years are presented in the Table 16.

Table 16

The Educational Status of Tribal Respondents Coming Under the Age Group 15 – 55 Years (in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total Sample and Total of the Each Sub Sample)

Sl No.	Level of education	Female	Male	Total
1	Non-school educated	92 (48.17) (57.5)	68 (38.42) (42.5)	160 (43.48) (100)
2	Below SSLC/ Matriculation	68 (35.60) (47.22)	76 (42.94) (52.78)	144 (39.13) (100)
3	SSLC/Matriculation	15 (7.85) (48.39)	16 (9.04) (51.61)	31 (8.42) (100)
4	Pre-Degree/Plus Two	10 (5.24) (50)	10 (5.65) (50)	20 (5.43) (100)
5	Degree	4 (2.09) (44.44)	5 (2.82) (55.56)	9 (2.45) (100)
6	Post-Graduation	--	1 (0.56) (100)	1 (0.27) (100)
7	Professional Degree/ Diploma	2 (1.05) (66.67)	1 (0.56) (33.33)	3 (0.82) (100)
8	Total	191 (100) (51.9)	177 (100) (48.09)	368 (100) (100)

Source: Field work

Table 16 shows that the share of non-school educated among the total sample of the respondents is high (43.48%). The sub-samples - female (48.17%) and male (38.42%) - show a similar feature in this regard. Among the non-school educated, the female share (57.5%) is higher when compared to males (42.5%). Among educated individuals, a large number of respondents were dropped out below SSLC or matriculation level. This is

also true in the case of each, female and male, sub-samples. The male share is higher among this group of respondents that is 52.78% against female share that is 47.22%. From the survey regarding educational status of tribals it can be identified as a significant problem that most of the school enrolled tribals stopped or terminated their school education in the primary level. Among the total respondents only 8.42% is educated till SSLC or matriculation level - 48.39% females and 51.61% males. According to the survey only two male respondents had successfully completed SSLC examination. They did not opt for further education. With respect to the female and male sub-samples, the share of each sub-sample, who has reached SSLC level education, is 48.39% and 51.61% respectively. In subsequent levels of education, the representation of tribals' share seems very less. Only 5.43% of respondents reached pre-degree/plus two level. Among the total respondents, graduates were nine (four females and five males) and post-graduate was just one (one male). There were only three professionally qualified persons - one ITI (Industrial Training Institute) diploma holder (male), one TTC (Teacher Training Course) certificate holder (female) and one *ayurveda* nursing diploma holder (female).

**Differences in educational status of the *Kurichya* and *Paniya* tribes
(under the age group 15 – 55 years)**

Details of inter-group differences in educational status of *Kurichya* and *Paniya* tribes are presented in the Table 17.

Table 17

Differences in the Educational Status of *Kurichya* and *Paniya* Tribes in the Age Group 15 – 55 Years (*in Parentheses, Percentage Values of Each Category in Total Sample and Relevant Sub-Samples are Given*)

Sl No.	Level of education	Total respondents	<i>Kurichya</i>			<i>Paniya</i>		
			Female respondents	Male respondents	Total respondents	Female respondents	Male respondents	Total respondents
1	Non-school educated	160 (43.48) (100)	20 (26.31)	6 (7.89)	26 (17.11) (16.25)	72 (62.61)	62 (61.39)	134 (62.04) (83.75)
2	Below SSLC/ Matriculation	144 (39.13) (100)	38 (50)	46 (60.53)	84 (55.26) (58.33)	30 (26.09)	30 (29.7)	60 (27.87) (41.67)
3	SSLC/ Matriculation	31 (8.42) (100)	6 (7.89)	10 (13.15)	16 (10.53) (51.61)	9 (7.83)	6 (5.94)	15 (6.94) (48.39)
4	Pre Degree/ Plus Two	20 (5.43) (100)	6 (7.89)	8 (10.52)	14 (9.21) (70)	4 (3.84)	2 (1.98)	6 (2.78) (30)
5	Degree	9 (2.45) (100)	4 (5.26)	4 (5.26)	8 (5.26) (88.89)	--	1 (0.99)	1 (0.46) (11.11)
6	Post-Graduation	1 (0.27) (100)	--	1 (1.37)	1 (0.67) (100)	--	--	--
7	Professional Degree/Diploma	3 (0.82) (100)	2 (2.63)	1 (1.37)	3 (1.97) (100)	--	--	--
8	Total	368 (100)	76 (100)	76 (100)	152 (100)	115 (100)	101 (100)	216 (100)

Source: Fieldwork

Table 17 shows a visible difference between the *Kurichyans* and *Paniyans* with respect of their achievements in education. The share of *Paniyans* among total non-school educated or illiterate is higher than *Kurichyans*. The share of *Kurichyans* and *Paniyans* in this category is 16.25% and 83.75% respectively. Among the *Paniya* female and male respondents it is 62.61% and 61.39% respectively. Among the total *Paniya* Sub-sample, the share of non-school educated is 62.04%. But among the total *Kurichya* sub-sample, the share of non-school educated is only 17.11%. In the case of

Kurichya female and male sub-samples it is 26.31% and 7.89% respectively. In the total non-school educated, the *Kurichyans*' representation is only 16.25%. It is also significant in the gender realm of tribal educational status that more females are non-educated among both *Kurichyans* and *Paniyans*. It shows that there is larger deprivation among the tribal women as far as education is concerned. Among the total respondents 144 of tribals have education at below SSLC/matriculation level. Here the *Kurichyans*' representation is 58.33% and the *Paniyans*' representation is 4.67%. With respect to *Kurichya* and *Paniya* sub-samples, the shares of those who have below SSLC/matriculation education level are 55.26% and 27.87% respectively. Among the 31 tribal respondents, who have reached SSLC level of education the *Kurichyans* (51.61%) show high representation than *Paniyans* (48.39%). Among the *Paniya* sub-sample there is more number of females (nine numbers) who have reached SSLC level education than males (six numbers). 20 tribal respondents have reached pre-degree/plus two level among whom 14 (9.21%) are *Kurichyans* and only 4 (3.84%) are from *Paniya* tribe. There are nine bachelor degree holders, among whom eight (four females and four males) are *Kurichyans* and only one is from *Paniya* tribe (male). In the category of persons who have post-graduation (one male) and professional qualification (total three confining two females and one male) there the *Kurichya* representation alone present.

Property Possession among Tribal House-Holds

According to Table 18 among the total selected sample majority of the house-holds (62%) have land possession below 10 cents. In this 62%, majority are *Paniyans* (75.81%) and the rest 24.19% are *Kurichyans*. 28% of total house-hold respondents have cultivation in leased land. All of the respondent tribal house-holds who are doing cultivation in leased land are *Kurichyans*. Cultivation is doing, mostly, paddy, banana, arecanut, coffee and

pepper in own land and some of them doing paddy and banana cultivation in leased land. A majority of *Kurichya* house-holds (22% of *Kurichya* sub-sample) have land over 50 cents up to five acres. Many of them (56%) have leased land over 50 cents up to three acres. They also did agricultural wage labour while they do not have work in their fields. They also have livestock possession. In the case of *Paniyans*, they do not have any land possession as their own or as lease other than their dwelling or homestead land in their colony. Among the total *Paniya* sub-sample, 94% have come under the category of land holders of below 10 cents. Most of them have only three to five cents of land. Only six percentage of total *Paniya* sub-sample has land above 10 cents, but below 20 cents. Almost all of them work as wage labourers in other persons' agricultural fields. However, it is a fact that landlessness is an acute problem among tribes. This survey confined only house-holds. This survey did not include any landless or houseless tribal families. But, in *Wayanad*, the present day tribals' organised and unorganised struggles for land show the severity of this issue. There are a lot of tribal house-holds in which two or three families living in a small house.

Table 18

Details of Land Possession Among the Respondents (in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total Sample and Total of the Each Sub-Sample)

Sl No	Extend of land	No. of house-hold respondents (Total number of house-holds 100)						
		Total tribal house-holds		Kurichya house-holds		Paniya house-holds		
		Own land	Land leased for cultivation	Own land	Land leased for cultivation	Own land	Land leased for cultivation	
1	Below 10 cents	62 (62)		--	15 (30) (24.19)	--	47 (94) (75.81)	--
2	10-19	4 (4)	23(23)	--	1	--	3	--
3	20-29	--		--	20 (40) (86.96)	--	--	--
4	30-39	2 (2)		2	--	--	3(6) (13)	--
5	40-49	17(17)		17	--	--	--	--
6	50-59	--	4 (4)	6	--	6	--	--
7	60-69	3 (3)		--	3	--	--	--
8	70-79	1 (1)		1	1	1	--	--
9	80-89	--		--	--	--	--	--
10	90-99	--		--	--	--	--	--
11	1 -1.99 Acres	9 (9)	11 (11)	18	9	18	--	--
12	2- 2.99 Acres	1 (1)		2	1	2	--	--
13	Above 3 – up to 5 acres	1 (1)		1	1	1	21(42)	--
Total		100		28 (28)	50	28 (56)	50	--

Source: Field work

Occupational Status

The survey regarding the occupational status of tribal house-holds shows that most of them are engaged in agriculture and related activities. The details regarding the tribal occupational status are depicted in the Table 19, 20, 21 and 22.

Table 19

Occupational Status of Tribal House-Hold Heads (in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total of the Sample)

Sl No.	Occupational status	No. of tribal House-hold heads
1	Agriculture only	5 (5)
2	Wage-labour only	59 (59)
3	Wage-labour along with agriculture	31 (31)
4	Salaried employment under government service	3 (3)
5	Self employment along with agriculture	2 (2)
Total		100 (100)

Source: Fieldwork

Table 19 shows that most of the tribal house-holds are engaged in agriculture and related activities such as cultivation and agricultural labour. As per the information collected, some of the house-holds have livestock possession and they are engaged in livestock rearing as an additional means of their economy. 59% of tribal house-hold heads are engaged in wage-labour, most probably in agricultural sector. According to their response during survey, only two of the respondents are occasionally going to other sectors of wage-labour such as construction. Only five percentages of the respondents are full-time agriculturists, doing cultivation in their own as well as leased land. Among the total respondents, 31% have been doing agriculture along with wage-labour. As they felt that their livelihood expenses cannot be met by doing agriculture alone. Agriculture is only a seasonal engagement for them. Only three percentages of respondents have salaried employment under government service. Among them – one in police department and other two in forest department. Only two of them are engaged in self-employment. They did this along with agricultural activities. Here one is a traditional indigenous medical practitioner and other is a tailor.

Table 20

The Inter-Group Differences Among the Kurichya and Paniya House-Hold Heads in Occupational Status (in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total of Each Sub-Sample)

Sl No.	Occupational status	No. of tribal house-hold heads	
		<i>Kurichya</i> house-hold	<i>Paniya</i> house-hold
1	Agriculture only	5 (10)	--
2	Wage-labour only	11 (22)	48 (96)
3	Wage-labour along with agriculture	31 (62)	--
4	Salaried employment under government service	1 (2)	2 (4)
5	Self employment along with agriculture	2 (4)	--
Total		50 (100)	50 (100)

Source: Fieldwork

Table 20 shows that 96% of the total *Paniya* house-hold heads are engaged as wage-labourers. All of them are landless wage-labours in the agricultural field. Two of them are occasionally engaged in wage-labour in construction sector. Two of the *Paniya* respondents have salaried employment in government service. Both of them are working in forest department as forest guards. In the case of *Kurichyans* regarding occupational status most of them are also engaged in agricultural activities. However, their conditions are considerably better in this regard, most of them are land owned cultivators. Even though there are 22% of wage-labours without agricultural land holdings, most of them have considerable land holdings. Most of the *Kurichya* house-hold heads are engaged wage-labour along with agriculture in their own as well as leased lands. They are basically agriculturists by tradition and by their tribal culture. Only one among the *Kurichya* respondents has

salaries government employment. But, contrary to this, (according to the opinions of many of the interviewees) the representation of *Kurichyans* in the government service is considerably higher compared to their other tribal counter parts in the district generally. Among the *Kurichya* respondents, two are engaged in other self-employments along with agriculture.

Table 21

Occupational Status of Tribal Respondents (Coming Under the Age Group 15 – 55 Years) (in Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total of Persons in Each Occupational Category)

Sl No.	Occupational status	No. of tribal respondents		
		Female	Male	Total
1	Agriculture only	10 (55.56)	8 (44.44)	18 (100) (4.89)
2	Wage-labour only	107 (50.47)	105 (49.53)	212 (100) (57.60)
3	Wage-labour along with agriculture	29 (47.54)	32 (52.46)	61 (100) (16.57)
4	Salaried employment under government service	1 (12.5)	7 (87.5)	8 (100) (2.17)
5	Self employment/private sector employment along with agriculture	2 (40)	3 (60)	5 (100) (1.36)
6	Students	35 (61.40)	22 (38.59)	57 (100) (15.49)
7	Unemployed	7 (100)	--	7 (100) (1.9)
Total		191	177	368 (100) (100)

Source: Fieldwork

Table 21 depicts the details of occupational status of tribal respondents coming under 15-55 age group. From the table, among the total 368 respondents, only 4.89% (55.56% females and 44.44% males) of them are engaged in agriculture only. 57.60% of them are engaged in wage-labour only. Among them 50.47% are female and 49.53% are males. Regarding the occupational categories such as 'agriculture only' and 'wage-labour only' the participation rate of females can be seen as higher than males. In the total sample, 16.57% are engaged in wage-labour along with cultivation. This group confined 47.54% females and 52.46% males. The high dependence on agriculture has resulted less marginal productivity of tribal labour. The respondents who have salaried employment in government service (total 2.17%) confined majority of males (87.5%) and there is only one female in this category. 1.36% of respondents have been engaged in self-employment along with agriculture, in which two are females and three are males. Among the female respondents, one is working in a private firm and other one is working as nursing assistant in a private *ayurvedic* clinic and the male respondents in this category are engaged as driver, tailor, and textiles salesman respectively. Among the total sample of respondents, 15.49% are students (61.40% girls and 38.59% boys). There are seven unemployed respondents in which all are females. All these unemployed women respondents are housewives and reported they did not have interest to go for a job.

Table 22

Inter-Group Differences Among the Kurichya and Paniya Tribes in Occupational Status (Coming Under the Age Group 15 – 55 Years) (In Parentheses Percentage Values of the Total of the Sample)

Sl. No.	Occupational status	No. of tribal respondents					
		Kurichya respondents			Paniya respondents		
		Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
1	Agriculture only	10 (55.56)	8 (44.4)	18(100) (11.84)	--	--	--
2	Wage-labour only	17 (48.57)	18 (51.42)	35(100) (23.02)	90 (50.85)	87(49.15)	177(100) (81.94)
3	Wage-labour along with agriculture	29 (47.54)	32 (52.46)	61(100) (40.13)	--	--	--
4	Salaried employment under government service	1 (16.67)	5 (83.33)	6 (100) (3.95)	--	2(100)	2 (100) (0.9259)
5	Self employment/ private sector employment along with agriculture	1 (25)	3 (75)	4 (100) (2.63)	1 (100)	--	1 (100) (0.46)
6	Students	14 (58.33)	10 (41.67)	24(100) (15.79)	21(63.64)	12(36.36)	33 (100) (15.27)
7	Unemployed	3 (100)	--	3 (100) (1.97)	4 (100)	--	4 (100) (1.85)
Total		76	76	152	115	101	216

Source: Fieldwork

Table 22 illustrates the occupational status of the respondents coming under age group 15-55 years from the two tribal communities - Kurichya and

Paniya. As per the data there is a difference between the two tribal communities with respect to their occupational status. Among the *Paniya* sub-sample, almost (81.94%) are engaged in wage-labour, that too in agricultural sector. Among them, 50.85% are females and 49.15% are males. Here, the work participation rate of women is higher than men. There are only two male respondents from *Paniyans* who are government employees. One female respondent was present in the category of self-employment along with agricultural labour. 15.27% of them are presently students at varied levels of education in which 63.64% female students and 36.36% male students. Among the *Paniya* respondents, four females were unemployed. In the case of *Kurichya* respondents, 11.84% did agriculture alone, in which 55.56% females and 44.4% males. 40.13% of respondents (47.54% females and 52.46% males) are engaged in wage-labour along with agricultural activities. 2.63% did other occupations such as self-employment along with agriculture. All these three categories of respondents have their own agricultural land and a number of them have leased land also for doing cultivation. Among the *Kurichya* sub-sample, 3.95% have salaried government employment, in which 16.67% females and 83.33% males. 15.79% of respondents are students at present, in which 58.33% are girls and 41.67% are boys. There are three (1.97%) unemployed, all of them are females. In the case of *Kurichyans* the work participation rate of men are comparatively higher than women. The illustrated statistics in the table (Table 22) showed that there are differences in the occupational pattern between the tribal respondents from *Kurichya* and *Paniya* communities.

Inter-Personal Relationship

The lack of sufficient social networks (between individuals and institutions) serves to reinforce the most backward condition of tribals. While this is a problem faced by tribals in general, the problem is more acute in the

case of *Paniya* and like tribals. *Kurichyans* have considerably better contacts and connections with the other individuals and institutions when compared to their other tribal counter parts in *Wayanad*. They have a comparatively better representation in political and public service spheres. Almost all the representatives in local governing bodies from tribal communities are *Kurichyans*. There is a considerable representation of *Kurichyans* in government employment also. Generally, their educational status and property holdings are considerably higher than other tribal communities in *Wayanad*. But, in the case of *Paniyans* the absolute absence of social networks or the inter-personal/institutional linkages restricts their socio-economic uplift. They interact mostly within their immediate surroundings and are trapped by limited exposure. They are unable to liaison with external organisations and institutions (socio-cultural, governmental and non-governmental) to enhance their socio-economic and political position in the society. This lack of social network or social linkage denies them access to various opportunities and facilities provided by the state as well.

Housing Status

The problem of housing is acute among tribal population in *Wayanad*. According to different studies and governmental documents, there are a lot of houseless tribal families in the region. Even though there are different governmental and non-governmental bodies working among them to resolve this issue, the problem still remains there most crucial. There are two or three families residing in a single congested house.

All the respondent house-holds are situating in different tribal colonies. All of the respondents claimed that they are living in the houses under their own possession. Most of the houses (89%) are constructed with either partial or complete financial assistances provided by the government under varied schemes through varied agencies such as Scheduled Tribe Development

Department, Rural Development Department, Forest Department and Local Self-Government bodies. Some of them (eight percentages) are provided by varied NGOs. And some of the houses (three percentages) are traditionally transferred ones. *Kurichya* house-holds seem to be in a better condition. Majority (79%) of *Kurichya* house-holds are living in semi-pucca houses. They have better hygienic condition and have modern facilities. But, most of the *Paniyans* lived in houses that seemed damaged and unhygienic. Only a small number of these can be considered as semi-pucca houses. There are existing visible differences among the *Kurichya* and *Paniya* house-holds regarding the structure of house, cleanliness, basic amenities *etc.* There is no sufficient space, rooms and furniture in *Paniya* houses. The material status of *Paniya* colonies is still more pathetic. The close proximity of houses and higher number of houses in a limited land made their colonies more congested. In the case of *Kurichyans*, their dwelling place also known as colonies were visibly different from *Paniya* colonies regarding the material conditions of colonies like the homestead land, cleanliness, facilities, *etc.* All the *Kurichyans* lived in the houses constructed in their own familial or inherited land. Planned concrete houses are higher in number among them. The proximity of houses is less and does not feel congested. Mostly the *Paniya* house-holds have no idea about the original documents of their possession of land and they gave no importance to such matters. But, the *Kurichya* house-holds kept all documents regarding their possession or they had clear idea about the documents of their properties. 92% of the respondent house-holds have their own ration card. Ration card is considered as the basic document of a family. A family without this basic document will not be counted while considering as beneficiaries for the varied governmental assistances normally. So, the eight percentages of the respondent house-holds normally never got any assistance from government to enhance their familial condition. About 79% of the house-holds have electricity. In community wise

statistics, the fully electrified houses are less among *Paniya* house-holds. Kerosene and oil lamps are the alternative fuels for lighting. Public water sources cover about 65% of house-holds. 19% house-holds have private water sources and other 16% families depended on neighbouring house-holds for drinking water. Only 61% families have toilet facilities and among them only 30% had better toilets. 39% of families had no toilet facility in their houses. All these were *Paniya* house-holds. Almost all the respondent families are used dry twigs and minor timber as house-hold cooking fuel which may be due to the proximity to the forest and availability of these. Presently even though LPG is considered as the major source of house-hold cooking fuel, only some of the *Kurichya* house-holds used LPG for cooking food. Some of them also used Kerosene oil to supplement their daily fuel needs.

Health and Nutritional Status

There are lot of studies and surveys pointing out that there are serious problem of epidemics, diseases, health problem due to starvation and malnourishment among tribals in the state. There have also identified widespread sickle cell anaemia, TB (tuberculosis), different kinds of allergic reactions and serious fungal infections among tribals. None of the house-hold respondents who participated in this survey reported such kinds of epidemics and diseases. The researcher did not find any peculiar kind of health problems among the members of respondent *Kurichya* house-holds rather than the usual illness such as fever, headache, stomach pain, body pain *etc.* However, in the case of *Paniyans* - even they did not report any health problems - researcher found that there is a serious problem of shortage of nutritional food among them. They also had health problems due to the high and regular consumption of liquor and tobacco. But they never consider these are serious issues in their life. Even though their region has necessary medical care facilities, the *Paniyans* even if ill never went to the doctors or took medicine immediately.

They only went for medical assistance at the final stage of the illness. They had a never mind attitude towards such health problems. Among the respondent house-hold members, three were bedridden persons due to old age problems. Most of the respondents (95%) have claimed that they had enough food to live. In the case of nutritional food it may be right for *Kurichyans* alone and probably wrong for *Paniyans*. The *Paniyans*' notion of good food and the mainstream notion of food are different. Whatever they have to eat is good food according to them. Generally their diet included some rice and dried fish or some underground stems or some vegetables. Perhaps, most of them depended on nearby small local restaurants for food. Researcher does not think that their existing food habits will provide sufficient nutrition for a human body.

Discussion

Socio-economic survey conducted among the selected tribal communities in the selected region has revealed the backwardness and existence of inter-group differences in all the selected aspects of tribal life such as education, property ownership, occupation, inter-personal relation, housing, health and diet. Even though the governments have been spending huge amount of money with an intention of educational upliftment of the tribals, education or school does not attract the tribals. The given statistics regarding the educational status of tribals illustrates that, large number of non-school educated, most probably illiterate, and high drop out rate during early stage of education are the major issues in the parlance of tribals' educational development in *Wayanad*. *Wayanad* district stands second in the case of tribal school drop out in Kerala according to the governmental statistics regarding school education. One of the other significant things is that, majority of the non-school educated and school drop outs belong to the *Paniya* tribe. It is also a visible truth that *Paniyans* are one of the most deprived tribal groups in

Wayanad. There exists high deprivation regarding education among the tribal women. During the survey, all the tribal respondents have pointed out that poverty is the major reason of their drop out from school. All the non-school educated respondents also claimed the same reason to their non-enrolment in school. Despite the fact that tribals are entitled for free of cost education in all respects, they often remain non-educated. At this juncture, one can definitely suspect the governmental initiatives and interventions in this regard. Here, one can observe that the root problem is that the tribals are not rightly informed about the governmental interventions for their educational development. Their ignorance about the measures taken by the government to help them get better educated is the real problem which has lead to severe under utilisation and hefty miss utilisation of these incentives.

It is a fact that the tribal population in *Wayanad* has been living in utter poverty and deprivation in all aspects of their life. From the field observation, the researcher could understand that there are several other reasons for their drop out from schools. Those can be summarised as follows. Due to their high ignorance about the expected benefits of education, the tribal parents have no aspirations or dreams regarding the better future life and career of their children. The fact is that the tribal students do not have any interest to learn lessons taught in schools. There is deficiency in sufficient special care and reinforcement from the part of the teachers. This has also lead to the tribal students' early drop out from schools. They feel lonely in school. And they are sitting in class room as caged bird. They prefer wandering here and there in their colony, agricultural fields, market places *etc.* It can also be observed that, they feel difficulty in catching up with the lessons taught by the teacher because the teacher usually used a language which is strange to them. Whatever be the lessons taught in class room, they do not seem to satisfy their immediate wishes and needs. Mostly they are attracted to wage labour in a very early age because they get enough money from doing small jobs around

their colony. The tribal children and their parents are to a large extent ignorant of the role of education in making their future better. They do not have sufficient role-models in this regard in their immediate circles. Their ignorance about the governmental measures for their upliftment and the absence of proper and timely interventions and assistance from the government, local governing bodies and tribal development department resulted in the present pathetic condition of educational status of tribal people.

Tribals' notion of economy as well as money is extremely different from the notion and rationale of the mainstream of the society. Their notion of money is also different from the mainstream notion. According to them, money is a thing which easily comes and goes. But they do not know how can earn money in ways other than wage-labour and forest related activities such as collection and selling of minor forest products such as honey, gooseberry and medical plants. Their idea on wage for their labour and price of their goods from forest is vague. Most of them do not have sufficient knowledge about the general nature of the existing wage level and market price of the forest products. Such ignorance among tribals leads to their mass exploitation by the employers, middlemen and traders. The tribals did not make any bargaining or demand to get more money for their labour or products even at existing level. They want money to satisfy their immediate needs. Their wants in life are also limited. They do not have dreams of constructing big houses, purchasing a luxury vehicle or investing money in real estate or any other businesses. They do not think of sending their children to posh schools. They do not think of going for a holiday trip. Even their needs related to food and clothes are limited. Mostly they want to drink liquor and chew betel and tobacco whenever they wish. Some of them preferred eating food from nearby small hotels than cooking food in their own kitchen. In their words *porotta* (a most common food article in Kerala made by wheat powder) and tea are very good and tasty. They enjoy cinemas and would like to use colourful dresses

and costumes but at low cost and of low quality. They spend a lot of money for unnecessary things. They do not have any care or anxiety about the next days' livelihood. Mostly the tribal house-holds have debit account in nearby grocery shops. They will make payments when they get money. The shop keeper kept a record of how much they have to pay while closing the debit. The tribal men/women do not have any knowledge about how much they really have to pay. They pay the money what the shop keeper asks them to pay. They have no interest in saving anything for future.

The unnecessary expenditures of tribals, especially among *Paniyans* and similar tribal communities, are much greater than their necessary expenditures in life. Necessary expenditure here means the expenditure for satisfying basic requirements and unforeseen necessities of life of a person and his/her family, like food, shelter, dress, and hospital expenses. Unnecessary expenditure means the expenditure for unnecessary requirements of a person, like consuming liquor, chewing betel and tobacco and smoking. Tribal people have their own rational explanations for this life style. However, these rational explanations may not appeal to the rational thinking of modern economic man, who considers it as an irresponsible behaviour. Such a person while dealing with money may have notions related to profit, loss, income, expenditure, investment and savings. The tribals of present day also live within the existing rationalised market economic system. They have been selling their man power for employers and the products collected from interior forest and hand made indigenous products in the market. They also buy goods according to their requirements from the market. They too have notions of profit, loss and income. But their alienation from modern economic rationality in its most brutal form have been victimising them through extreme exploitation.

The economic life of the tribals is mostly centred on the agricultural sector. The survey regarding the occupational status of tribals reveals that most of them are engaged in agricultural and related activities generally as wage-labourers. The economic position of the *Paniya* tribes is more or less homogeneous with little inequalities. But, there exist inter-group differences among the different tribal groups, especially the *Paniya* and *Kurichya* tribes with respect to their occupational status as well as level of property or land holdings. *Kurichya* tribe has better agricultural land possession and they are mostly doing agriculture in their own land and also leased lands.

One of the other major reasons of socio-economic backwardness of tribal is lack of their social networks (sufficient inter-personal and inter-institutional linkages or relationships). Absence of sufficient inter-personal and inter-institutional linkages greatly reinforces their backwardness. Due to this, in a larger extent, they are failing to access and to make use of most of the developmental interventions of the government for them. All the other developmental issues such as better housing, good health status and availability of proper nutrition and diet are found as problematic among tribals. It is high time to plan and execute proper developmental interventions among the tribals from the part of society as well as governmental agencies.

Part - 2

The Tribes and the Society: How the Tribals are Perceived

A thorough knowledge about the social perceptions regarding the 'tribe' or the 'tribals' is very much important in discussing the socio-economic and educational dimensions of tribal development. Despite the fact that the social perceptions on the tribals are a result of the historical process of social construction by the other social groups around them, it will be imbibed by the tribals and will also contribute towards moulding their present condition of life and world view. For example, the *Kurichya* tribe is historically considered the warriors and the soldiers of *Pazhasi Raja*. They were the part and parcel of the independent struggle against colonial power. They are also considered as high caste (*Namboothiries*) people who were expelled from the main land during *Pazhasi's* struggle. All these ideas, existing in society, on the *Kurichyans* definitely helped them to attain a social status different from other tribal communities such as *Paniyans*, *Kattunayikkans*. These historically processed social constructions on *Kurichya* tribe helped them to be known as *Malanamboothiries/Malabrahmins*. Traditionally they have land. Later on they acquired education. Currently there are a lot of professionals belonging to this community. Any non-tribal layperson in *Wayanad* thereby opines that “*Kurichyans* are really not tribals. They are considered as tribals because traditionally they were settled in the forests along with other tribal communities. They are actually the migrated people from the main land due to several historical reasons”. So a query about *Paniyans* or *Kattunayikkans* can alone reveal their views about tribals. However, these social perceptions have a great role in moulding the present day life of the tribals. Opinions of the native non-tribal as well as the tribal respondents may help us to understand the existing notions in society on tribal people. The following

discussions on the social perceptions on tribals are purely based on the opinions and observations made by the respondents from different groups of the region consisting of non-tribal and tribal natives, teachers, social workers and political activists.

How the tribals are perceived?

There were certain consensuses among the local society about the concept of tribes. This concept of tribe is evolved from their day to day exposure with life of native tribals. The selected persons from different backgrounds together agreed that the tribals' condition in *Wayanad* is pathetic. They are mostly menial agricultural labourers. Sometimes they are seen engaged as low paid labourers in other fields such as construction. Their life styles and concept of employment or labour and wage are different from the mainstream notion.

The concept of 'money' is vague among tribals. They do not have idea about the wage and present rate of wage. Mostly the employer would pay anything he likes. They also did not have any demand on their wages. Their unnecessary expenditure and attitude towards wealth and money is pointed out by the respondents as a major issue hindering their development. At present, normally, a tribal wage labourer gets rupees 350-400 minimum per day from a private employer. But, there is not any corresponding upward mobility in their standard of life with respect to the rate of increase in wage. It reflects their expenditure for alcohol and tobacco. They usually spend a very small share of their wages for food and other homely requirements.

The tribals have no concern to uplift their socio-economic conditions. There are no efforts from their side to make proper utilisation of the facilities, aids and other assistances from the government and other agencies for their development. Mostly they have less awareness about the governmental

policies and schemes for their development. The tribals are neither vigilant nor sensitive towards the planning and execution of the policies and schemes from government to help themselves to improve their own condition.

There are opinions like the tribals are never able to lead a systematic life with a vision and world view. They are basically lazy and lethargic. If they have some money with them they will not go for any job. They are never bothered about the regular employment, savings for future, good house, good health and their wards' education.

The respondents generally shared the problems of unhygienic surroundings of their dwellings and lack of personal hygiene among them. This unhygienic living condition of the tribals resulted higher incidence of health problems and several contagious diseases among them. The high and regular consumption of intoxicants – alcohol and tobacco – among the tribals, irrespective of gender and age, is the major issue which makes hurdle to their socio-economic upliftment.

Majority of the respondents had made a critical opinion on the sexual life and unsystematic familial environment of the tribals as a serious issue. Early marriage and early beginning of sexual life (perhaps extra-marital relations) are common among them. The school drop out among the tribal students due to this reason is increasing.

The tribal parents and students are largely ignorant about the future benefits of getting educated. Tribal children have less interest in their education. They preferred wandering around the market place, agriculture fields and cinema theatre and some menial manual labour. Some of the respondents had made observation such as the tribal pupils appear to be less intelligent and have low grasping power when compared to the pupils from non-tribal social groups. Tribal parents are never attentive or anxious of their

wards' education. They never compelled their children to go to school regularly and to learn lessons from home. Most of the tribal students are studying in schools by staying at the nearest pre-metric hostels. After a vacation, majority of them will not be back to school. The only reason for this is their parents' attitude towards their children's education. The parents never come to school for any of the purposes related to their children's education or even for a Parents Teachers Association (PTA) meeting in school. The tribal parents show interest to come over school only during the distribution of financial grants.

Absence of effective social network or social and personal contacts is one of the major factors which limit their opportunities to move themselves into the main stream of the society and economy. They do not have sufficient and proper communication with public life of the region and the society. They never exhibited any interest in sharing their problems with others. Majority of tribal groups have their own dialect/language. It is very difficult to be understood by a non-tribal person or even the other tribals. This difference in dialect makes difficulties in smooth inter-group communications and sharing. The mainstream of the society also failed to keep concern and contact with the tribals.

Most of the respondents firmly criticised the attitude of government officials, local self-government institutions and local political leaders. The bureaucratic inefficiency and the lack of commitment to duty are pointed out as major issues. In the same manner, the role of local political leaders was also subjected to criticism. All the officials, political leaders and institutions engaged in tribal development activities are under the false notions of certain prejudices on tribals such as 'nobody can change them into better, whatever may be the policies and amount of funds'. Tribal people will not get any assistance on time. They will get medical assistances from public health

department only after spreading of diseases. They will get provision of food only after reporting a number of deaths due to starvation.

Some of the respondents took adamant position such as the tribals will not change their attitude towards life and nobody can uplift them whatever might be the governmental assistances and policies. All the governmental provisions for tribal development and the allocation and expenditure of funds are the utter wastage of public wealth. There are several programmes and policies implemented by the state, since independence for the educational development of tribals but they still remain in high illiteracy and ignorance. The tribals' illiteracy, irresponsible behaviour and consequent ignorance and unawareness on the governmental provisions for their development largely lead to the underutilisation and lapsing of funds and illegal flow of public funds to the hands of some officials and politicians.

The governmental measures to resolve their backwardness do not reach at a satisfactory level. The respondents also critically view the role of the government officials and the local governing bodies. Most of the respondents - tribal as well as non-tribal – generally, directly and indirectly, opined that tribals have a great responsibility in their backwardness. The tribals are themselves major hindrance to their own development. Their attitude towards life has to be resolved immediately. It is one of the most necessary requirements for their development. Generally, the respondents suggested that education is the most significant measure to attain this goal and it is the only measure to make changes in their attitude. Whatever be the assistances provided to the tribals by the government, all those became meaningless if they do not have a proper attitudinal shift towards their own life.

Social perceptions on tribals at a glance.

- People without a clear world view, aim of life and vision about life
- Poor and pathetic socio-economic condition
- Mostly menial and low paid agricultural labourers
- Less bothered about regular employment and income
- No clear idea about money and true remuneration for their labour
- Less attentive on the matters related to property and wealth
- No habit of savings for future and high unnecessary expenditure make them in life long indebtedness
- Careless attitude towards good health
- Do not have an idea of good food, good house and good dress
- Unrest inside families
- Leads unsystematic and immoral sexual life
- Early and unsystematic marriage is common among them
- Sexual exploitation is very high among tribal women
- Living in unhygienic conditions
- Lack of personal hygiene
- High and regular consumption of alcohol and tobacco
- Men and women became addicts of alcohol and tobacco at very early years of life
- Illiteracy and ignorance is very high among them
- Less intelligent and incompetent people
- People have less self-confidence
- People have less commitment towards life
- Always shows lazy and lethargic attitude towards life
- Less socialised
- Introvert and shy people
- Never interested to participate in public life of the region and mingle with others
- Less interested to share their issues with others
- Maintaining less public contact and inadequate social networks
- Very difficult to understand their language/dialect
- Ignorant about present socio-economic and political situations
- Parents are Less bothered about children's education
- Parents and children are highly unaware and ignorant about the importance and future benefits of education
- Only interesting thing for them related to school is mid-day meals and financial grants
- Irresponsible and indifferent behaviour towards governmental supports for their development
- They never take any efforts to develop themselves
- They think government will provide them everything free of cost always

- Whatever the government give them for uplifting their standard of life, they will surrender and lose those for some liquor or tobacco to somebody.
- Whatever be the governmental expenditure for tribal development is utter wastage of public fund.
- Nobody can develop tribes

For their development,

- It is necessary to make changes in their attitude towards life
- Education have a great role
- Providing them a better awareness on education and its scope and future benefits to their wards' life
- Make them competent for effective utilisation of governmental support for their education as well as other developmental provisions for their upliftment
- Providing them a better awareness on the tribal developmental interventions of the government and its aims.
- Increasing number of schools and school accessibility in tribal concentrated areas
- Give special training to teachers and other school officials to manage the special needs of tribal students and parents
- Appoint efficient teachers with commitment to duty in the schools of tribal areas
- Equip the tribal special schools with more facilities and advanced technologies
- Make provisions to provide more chances to tribal students to mingle with the society and get more exposures
- Make the school more attractive to them and eradicate the chances of school drop out
- Make more employment opportunities in tribal areas other than wage labour
- Make them aware on the opportunities of reservation policy
- Make awareness among them about desirable family and sexual life
- Eliminating chances of socio-economic and physical/sexual exploitation
- Make them aware about labour rights and wage
- Providing them provisions for good food, good housing and health care
- Get them free from alcohol and tobacco addiction
- Stop the underutilisation and lapsing of funds earmarked for tribal development
- Take measures to end the illegal flow of tribal development funds to the hands of some officials and politicians
- Change the bureaucratic attitude towards tribal development and increase the efficiency of official system
- Local Self-Government Institutions should show more responsibility in the matter of tribal development
- Increase in the supports and assistances for tribal development and give attention for its timely and proper distribution
- Establish more poverty eradication schemes
- Development of tribal people should begin from their family

Source: Field work

The above mentioned societal perceptions on tribes are scrutinized from the researcher's frequent interactions with the active respondents.

Brief translations of some of the selected respondents' experiences and views on tribals are given below. The responses of 12 non-tribal respondents and five tribal respondents are selected here to report. The researcher did not employ any of the particular criterion to select the particular respondent but give priority to the status of the person and his/her response to the queries of the researcher.

Person 1: A local trader

He told the researcher that they [the *Paniyans*] are mostly agricultural labourers. In earlier days, they did not have a fixed amount of wage. The employer would pay anything he likes. They also did not have any demand on their wages. By the implementation of employment guarantee scheme, their wage increased as a non-tribal labourer's wage. The employment guarantee scheme increased the demand of the wage labourers. It also increased the demand of tribal labourers. But, they do not go for jobs under this scheme. Under this scheme there is a fixed rate of wage which did not exceed rupees 160 per day. But, presently they get rupees 350-400 minimum per day from a private employer. Corresponding to this increase in their wages, the amount they spend on food articles (rice and vegetables) did not increase. But, they started spending more on liquor and tobacco. By evening, they will come to the market area and straight away move to purchase liquor. There are a lot of illegal suppliers of the foreign liquor in their area. These suppliers purchase low priced liquor bottles from the beverage outlets, add some falsehoods and intoxicant articles to it and then sell the same to the tribals for an increased price. After consuming alcohol, some of them will come to the grocery and vegetable shops (others may fall and lie down by the side of the street roads, shop courtyards or so) and purchase some goods to be taken home. A very

interesting thing is that they buy only small quantity of grocery items and vegetables – just enough for that night’s supper. They usually spend a very small share of their wages for food and other homely requirements. On contrary, they buy a large quantity of betel and tobacco. They usually do not have any savings. If they have some money in hand, they do not go for any job. They go for a job only after their pockets are empty. Tribal people should change such kinds of attitude and life styles or else nobody can help them to develop.

Person 2: A native woman and a retired government servant

She shared some of her views on tribals. *Kurichyans* are the most developed tribal group in *Wayanad*. They have considerable differences when compared to *Kurumas*, *Paniyans*, and *Kattunayikkans* in their life style, educational achievements and representation in public sector employment. Most of the tribal representatives in the local governing bodies belong to the *Kurichya* tribe. Majority of tribes in *Wayanad* are *Paniyans*. Their condition is very pathetic. They live in utter poverty and ignorance. They give priority to consume liquor and chewing betel and tobacco than having a healthy meal. They are not at all interested in getting educated and to make any further developments in their living conditions. They do not have any restrictions regarding age or blood relations in their sexual life. They usually get married at a very early age. Prepare them to earn an employment in the government sector is the only way to enhance their present socio-economic condition.

Person 3: A native and a political activist

He shared some of his experiences with tribals. He told the researcher that he began his life as a political activist during his school period. Since that period he has a lot of friends from tribal community as schoolmates, collegemates, friends and co-activists. But most of them are belonged to the

Kurichya tribe. He also added that he did not have a friend from *Paniya* and such other tribal communities. It is rare to find anybody from *Paniya* community in the day to day public life of *Wayanad* normally. They did not like to mingle and share their feelings with the persons out of their circles. He did not think that they even have such a mingling or sharing within their group. They exhibit high irresponsibility and carelessness towards their personal problems, societal problems and backwardness. They are not at all aware of their own pathetic life situation. If they did not have money, they did not eat. If their huts are fallen down in a storm, they do not feel it is a problem. If they are suffering from any illness, they usually do not go to hospital but spend their days in their huts or colonies. They irrespective of sex and age wanted to consume liquor and chew tobacco whenever they wish. They definitely found ways to get these things at any cost. If they do not have money to buy them, they would ask for debt. If the government and society really would like to bring them into the mainstream the first act should be for creating a change in their attitude towards life.

Person 4: An educated middle aged native man

He strongly opined that the tribals are the major cause of the backwardness of this region. Government always give everything to these tribals free of cost. Government has been spending a huge amount for the development of the tribals. Due to this allocation of huge funds the other people (non-tribals) suffer a lot of negligence from the part of the government. The others (non-tribals) do not have anything for free. Non-tribals like him are not against government's spending for tribals' development, but it actually appears to be wastage of money and effort. The tribals never show any interest to make proper use of the government assistances for their development. All these funds illegally flow to the hands of some officials and politicians. In *Wayanad*, there are lot of landless,

homeless, poor non-tribals. The tribals are provided acres of land, housing schemes, educational assistances. But others (the non-tribals) do not have any schemes and provisions for getting five cents of land or to get any financial assistance to construct a liveable house. If a tribal man gets any assistance from the government, it may be land, cow, goat, hen, the same day by evening they would have definitely sold it to somebody else and would go to toddy shop or wherever they got liquor and tobacco and exhausted the money. In his opinion, all assistances offered to tribal people from the government are utter wastage of the money of the taxpayers of the country.

Person 5: A local school teacher

She told the researcher that she had the experience of working in different government schools for several years in *Wayanad* and has taught a lot of pupils from tribal communities as well as non-tribal pupils. What she could understand is that, the tribal pupils are different from their non-tribal counter parts in schools - in their attitude towards education, interest to learn, ability to learn *etc.* Her house is located adjacent to a *Paniya* colony. Hence she had lot of experience with them. Among the tribal people, the *Paniyans* are most backward with respect to all aspects of life. The children from *Paniya* community do not have any interest to learn or even to go to school. They preferred wandering around the market place, agriculture fields, cinema theatre and some other places. Their parents are not different. They never compelled their children to go to school regularly and to learn lessons from home. According to her the tribal pupils appear to be less intelligent and have low grasping power when compared to the pupils from non-tribal social groups. It is a fact that government provide much help to the development of tribals, especially for their educational development by providing them with special schools, free hostel facilities and free food, noon day meals at schools, free books, free uniforms, stipend and pocket money and even the parents are

provided some money from schools to attract their children to the schools. But, they failed to achieve a proportionate result. Present condition of tribals is pathetic and all the efforts for their development are in vain. The tribals have no interest to develop. There are no efforts from their side to make proper use of the provided facilities and assistances from the government to help themselves to improve. The main problem is their attitude towards their own development. Government has been doing their part quite well. In order to overcome any issues if any in execution of the policies and related schemes, the beneficiaries needs to be more vigilant and sensitive towards these issues. But, as the targeted population of these developmental policies and schemes, the tribals are neither vigilant nor sensitive towards the planning and execution of these policies and schemes. A vast majority of them are illiterate and never knew the things happening around them. They do not have sufficient and proper contact or communication with the public life of the society and vice versa.

Person 6: Educated middle aged native and a social worker

He has a lot of experience with tribal community and had worked as fieldwork assistant of several NGO projects in *Wayanad*. He told the researcher that, the condition of tribals in *Wayanad* is really sad. In spite of spending huge sum of money in the name of tribal development per year through government and non-government agencies their life still remains pathetic. If at all the tribes got at least a quarter of that fund, they might have become wealthy persons by now. But, what is the actual situation? The other categories of people - the government officials, politicians, NGOs and local body administrators become more wealthier at the cost of the tribal development projects. According to him, *Kurichyans* in *Wayanad* have comparatively better socio-economic status. Almost all the tribal people, including *Kurichyans*, regardless of gender, are engaged in wage labour.

Some of the *Paniya* and *Kuruma* labourers are working in construction field. Mostly they are agricultural labourers. The tribal people seasonally migrated to *Kodduku* and other regions under Karnataka state in groups or family as a whole for ginger cultivation, mostly as labourers. The *Kurichyans* have comparatively better land possession. They are farmers by tradition. The number of persons who are working in government/public employment sector from the tribal communities is very less. Among the employees in public service with regard to the tribal communities in *Wayanad*, the *Kurichyans* are more in number. The next is the *Kurumas*. But, the *Paniyans*' representation is very less in this regard. The other prominent tribal community is *Kattunayikkans* who are considered as one among the five primitive tribal groups in Kerala. They live in deep forest interiors. They have no interest to settle down outside the forest or even at the fringes of the forest. Majority of tribals in *Wayanad* are *Paniyans*. They have their own dialect/language. This is very difficult to be understood by a non-tribal person or the other tribals. Mostly they do not have land or other possessions other than their poor huts in their colonies. The incidence of poverty among them is very high. Most of them are illiterate. Liquor and tobacco consumption is very high among them. They spend a big share of their wages for this purpose. Generally, education is very low among tribals in *Wayanad*. *Paniya* community is highly backward in this respect. Getting them properly educated is the only way to overcome the present condition of tribals in this region. We have lot of schemes, policies and projects to educate tribals. But the situation proves that these provisions are not enough to serve the purpose. Efficiency and sincerity of the implementing agencies and the officials and their commitment towards tribal development may be the problem. The lack of effective intervention from the part of local self-governing bodies, less attention from local public/social workers, the lethargic attitude and ignorance of tribals towards their own development *etc.* are the major reasons which hinder the effective utilisation

of governments' schemes and provisions. Some of the educated individuals and properly informed tribal families could make use of these assistances from government. But, the majority could not do so owing to their ignorance about these assistances. Occasionally, when they get some money, one goat or one or two hen from any local body offices, they are under the impression that these are the only functions of government to help and develop them. So they believe that the government provisions are nothing but these money, goat, hen.

Person 7: A panchayath ward representative and a well known personality in the area

He told the researcher about a *Paniya* boy, about 12-14 years old, who approached him with his friend while he was standing in front of a shop in town and asked him for a change for a single 1000 rupees currency. Really, he was afraid. He knew him well. He was from a nearby *Paniya* colony. His family was one of the poor families in the colony. His father was bedridden and his mother is a wage labourer whose wage is the only income of that family. He was afraid because, there are lot of allegations on these people on theft and similar activities. He inquired him of the source of this money and replied that this is our wage for plucking arecanuts from surrounding fields. This is the situation. Both of them were school going children. By skipping school they usually went for such jobs to earn. These wages were more attractive to them than what they got from their school or class rooms. They used a big share of this wage for their personal pleasures such as drinking liquor, chewing tobacco, viewing cinema and so on. Sometimes, they also would purchase some rice and dried fish to home. They thought that such kinds of jobs which provided them with money are better than going to school and attending class. They did not get any immediate feedback or remuneration from schools as getting a wage of this kind for one day's labour. The only

attraction with school was the free mid-day meals and the money they occasionally received as stipend or pocket money. Educational attainments never came to their agenda. Parents were never attentive or anxious of their child's education. They were totally ignorant about the future benefits of getting their children educated. It is a fact that they never gave any importance to the future and always wanted to satisfy their day to day needs. If they had enough money for one day or two, they did not go for job. If they do not have money they went for a job. This was their attitude towards livelihood and earning. They usually did not have any savings. If they become ill and if they do not have money to purchase medicine, they would keep the diseased within their colony or huts. None cared for the diseased usually. Inter-personal relations, communications and sharing between them as well as with other sections of the society are very rare. They are inefficient to present their issues or draw the attention of the people's representatives, local governing bodies and tribal development officials to solve their problems and issues on time. The local governing bodies are always enthusiastic towards the tribals' development. But there are limitations while dealing with them. They never exhibited any interest in sharing their problems with others. He also believed that proper education is the only way to get them out of their present situation. So the society, the Government and the concerned Governmental agencies desperately need to rethink and re-format the existing means of educating the tribals.

Person 8: A tribal residential school teacher

The school is specially meant for *Kattunayikka* tribe - the nomadic tribe basically. They mostly inhabit the forest interiors. They have now started to settle down in the fringes of forest area. Their language has close relation with *Kannada* language. They have a unique culture and lifestyle and are listed as one of the primitive tribes of Kerala. Earlier, their children grew up

enjoying complete freedom in their natural habitat. Schooling started among them very recently that too after this school. The schools, they feel is a space of confinement and delimiting their freedom. After a vacation in home normally they show reluctance to be back in school. Parents never force their children to return to school. Parents' carelessness towards their wards education and their ignorance and lack of awareness about the benefits of being educated are the major hurdles to the regular attendance of the tribal students in the school. *Kattunayikka* parents have neither anxiety nor dreams about the future and career of their children. These students are the first generation school educated members of their community. Teachers in this school are taking their maximum effort to teach the students. Whatever they teach them, they forget everything by the time they are back school after a two or three days holidays at home. In this school, they have classes up to higher secondary level. After this, there is no such a system/institutions providing higher education with such complete care. Therefore, their education most probably will end by Plus Two level. They will not go to colleges even if somebody provide them with some money as an incentive. In their usual life situation they are not much bothered about money. So, the responsible governmental agencies - tribal development department, education department – wanted to plan and implement effective intervention strategies to create awareness about education and its necessity in their development among the tribal parents and students immediately. Teachers are always trying hard to create awareness among the students about higher education but it is a limited effort. There has to be a highly organized effort for this purpose which is impossible without State's initiation. So, State shall take care of it. Parents Teachers Association (PTA) in the school planned awareness programmes for parents a number of times but always failed due to their absence.

Bureaucratic tendency and attitude among the development officials and educators has to change. Officials and teachers are now acting as providers – suppliers of authorized free service, aid and grant. This situation has to change – into that of a facilitator, facilitator of development and education. Tribal people need more care and a feel of affection. Or else, nobody can bring them to the mainstream of the society and education. There are some problems in special schools such as this school. The school provides everything free of cost to them – boarding, food, books, uniform *etc.* So, they do not feel that education is a expensive, effortful and serious process. They will stop formal schooling at a point where this provision of ‘free education’ ends. All students in this school are tribals especially *Kattunayikka* community. They are high introverts. Socializing them is therefore very important. Schools are one of the major venues in the process of socialization. Schools, such as special schools, have certain limitations in this respect. Here they have only a very limited exposure with the heterogeneous society. Development of tribals from the existing pathetic condition is really effortful requiring more strategic interventions.

Person 9: A tribal residential school official

An official in Scheduled Tribe Development Department for long time, now working as Senior Superintend of a residential school for tribals under the same department shared some of his views. The central and the state governments have been spending a lot of money for the development of tribals. Running cost of the school for one month is about five lakhs rupees. They are providing all support to the students to study. Teachers are working hard to make a good result. If provided with more support and assistances from the department and government they can provide more facilities to the students.

There are only traditionally planned programmes for the development of tribals from the part of government. More effective intervention strategies rather than the existing traditional ones are a necessity. Teachers should be provided special training to handle and teach the tribal children. Students from tribal community have demanded more care and special attention. They have high feeling of inferiority, less confidence and initiation, high introversion and shyness and less seriousness towards life. Schools and teachers therefore have to equip to provide them with proper psychological support. The Scheduled Tribe Development Department has to provide more attention in this regard. It is necessary to increase the level of commitment to duty, resourcefulness, and efficiency of our teachers. The tribal parents have not yet reached a stage so as to take an effective role in their child's formal education. They are unaware rather ignorant about the school matters. They are not at all conscious about the education and its future benefits. They want their children to be with them always. They never force their children to go to school. They are never bothered about their child's education after school, their career and employment. Primarily, it is important to educate the tribal parents. Government and Tribal Development Department has to organize their efforts to make awareness among tribal parents about education and its importance in the present day society. Tribal student drop out rate from school is very high in *Wayanad* district. The drop out is seen to be low in tribal residential schools merely due to the forceful interventions and providing personal attention and care by the teachers and the other school officials. To reduce the drop out rate and to ensure regular attendance and student enrolment in schools, the support of family is vital. It is a fact that education is the only possible way to bring the tribals into the mainstream of the society. The present situation of the tribals will change only if the point of all developmental interventions starts from their family.

Person 10: A school teacher and a social activist

She is of the opinion that most of the natives in the area do not have a helpful and encouraging attitude towards tribal children's education. They want low paid hands for doing manual works in their agricultural fields, plantations and homestead. They do not get such low priced labourers if the tribals become educated. So, the tribals are not to go to school or not to get educated. This is the basic attitude held by the regional society according to her. Tribals have a responsible role in their present pathetic condition. They are basically lazy people. They do not have the habit of saving money. They are, therefore, compelled to find help from others for at any domestic need such as illness, marriage, children's education etc.

Most of the tribals do not have an educated and consequently employed role model in their immediate surroundings. If one is educated and employed and is now in a better position, he/she will leave the settlement and find a home elsewhere in a distant place. Usually, they are not become ready to spend any of his/her efforts to make changes in the socio-economic surroundings of the life of others of his community. Such individuals, who are educated, are employed and have better living standards, can play a very important role in removing the feeling of inferiority prevailing among tribals and the socio-cultural prejudices on tribals existing in society. This will definitely motivate and encourage other tribal youth to develop. But, desperately, they do not yet taken up such roles.

Majority of the tribals in *Wayanad* are *Paniyans*. They are one of the most backward tribal communities in the region. Their living surroundings are mostly unhygienic. They do not have any care in their personal hygiene too. This may be one of the major reasons to keep away them from the common avenues of the mainstream life of the society largely. They always chew tobacco and consume toddy in a very early stage of life. Owing to this habit,

they suffer several health problems. There are tribal promoters appointed by the local administration bodies, but they have failed to play an effective role in the development of these tribal communities and eradicating such habits among them. One of the other sections of the society who can effectively intervene among the tribal community is teachers. A teacher can do many things but first thing is to get the tribal children to the school. A large number of tribal children are not yet enrolled in schools. Among the enrolled students, a majority will drop out from school as early as possible. Most of the school going tribal children remains illiterate and unaware about the necessity of education. It is due to the inefficiency and low commitment from the part of the teachers. Government provides free meals, books, dress, and necessary monetary support to the students from tribal community for their education. In addition of all these efforts it is the duty of teacher and school to build a desirable attitude in these children towards education.

The tribal development department runs some residential schools exclusively for the tribal students with limited facilities. Most of the teachers are working on a contract basis with minimum wage. Student drop out of such schools are low when compared to other general schools and they can also make a good result in SSLC examination. But, the students who have passed out from these schools after their secondary school education have not entered into higher education. This is the failure of such ventures. Here this is the problem of our planning. Whatever be the facilities provided by such schools, there are limited chances to the tribal students to mingle with their peers from the other sections of the society. Such schools provide them a very limited social exposure. It will not be helpful to them in developing social skills with a larger socio-political world view. Training in such schools will not be helpful for the students from tribal communities to eradicate their introvert nature and inferiority complex and compete with the standards of other students passed out of other schools.

General schools also have certain problems. The tribal students have no chance to get special care and attention in general schools though they are really deserve it due to several socio-historical reasons. The schools authorities and teachers always appreciate good students those who are good in grades and marks in examination. Other students usually push down from the mainstream. In a general school, the tribal students mostly get status of being bad and irregular because of their frequent failures in examinations and due to irregular attendance. Apart from these standards, the teachers can provide special care and support to these students from tribal community to make them good students, however, it is a tiring endeavour. The teachers' commitment and continuous efforts are of utmost importance in this regard. Here the real question is that, how many teachers are there with such level of commitment and attitude. Definitely, a few. Sometimes the teachers blame the problem of language (tribals' language as well as medium of instruction), school curriculum and syllabus. Firstly, the school authorities, teachers and developmental officials should give up the prejudices on tribals and tribal students. Then only they can develop them.

Person 11: A social activist

In one study conducted among tribals in *Wayanad*, an interesting aspect of tribal life in the region was observed. The study pointed out that early beginning of sexual life is the major cause of the higher school drop out among the tribal students. According to this study, the tribal girl attains biological sexual maturity in a very earlier period of her life – that is when studying in 5th or 6th standard in school. She starts a close relation (sometimes sexual relation) with a familiar male peer – he may be her school mate or a neighbour in her colony. Then she goes away with her companion from her colony and both of them discontinue their education. They start a new life in any other nearest tribal settlement or the colonies of his or her relatives. She

may become pregnant in a short period and at times her partner withdraws from the relation or continues their relation. They will later opt for wage labour for their livelihood. The study pointed out that the school drop out among the tribal students due to such reason is increasing.

The society as well as our government has great responsibility in the present condition of tribals in the region. Attitude of the main stream society, nature of the development schemes by the government, commitment of the officials and inadequate and improper participation of local self government institutions in the developmental activities are the major reasons one can identify in the matter of tribal development. A governmental plan subjected to discussion in the recent time is the plan intended to overcome the problem of housing among tribals. The plan proposed to build urban model flats for providing housing facilities for tribals. AHADS (*Attappadi Hill Area Development Society*) will undertake the construction work with the financial assistance of some foreign institutions. It is a fact that our government and planners do not have an exact knowledge about the habitual environment of tribals. Government have already built small cage like concrete house buildings for tribals. These houses are so inconvenient to live with neither enough ventilation or air circulation nor enough space. Most of the tribal families are provided with such kinds of houses where they would not like to live in there. They want fresh air, trees, plants etc adjacent to them and sadly none of these houses provided such an environment. This plan of building of flats for them is a sheer wastage of money. The tribals are not prepared to live in these flats.

Person 12: A school teacher

She believed that education is the most effective way to the upliftment of tribals. For this, government has been providing them lot of assistances, academic as well as financial assistances. The result of such assistances and

programmes are not seen in the realm of socio-economic status of the tribal life in the area. In her school, there are tribal and non-tribal students. Most of the non-tribal students are not from a rich - financially as well as academically - family. But in school level assessment, it can be generally said that the tribal students are far backward than students from non-tribal background. Language may be a problem, but this problem exists only in the initial stage of education. The tribal students have ample opportunities to improve their *Malayalam* language through usual conversation with the other students and their friends. Tribal students' indifferent attitude towards the lessons can be resolved by a teacher if she/he can manage class room effectively by using more examples from tribal surroundings and related to their history. One problem is the tribal students' unawareness about the cost of education which is due to the governmental provision of 'free education' to tribals. Government has been providing financial and other academic assistances to them to meet almost all their educational requirements. Providing a better awareness on governmental supports and its aims is very important. Or else it is likely to make an adverse effect. In order to educate tribals in an effective way, the efforts need to start from the family. The tribal parents should be made aware of the need and importance of education. Most of the tribal students are studying in schools by staying at the nearest pre-metric hostels. After a vacation majority of them will not be back from home. The only reason for this is their parents' ignorance about education. They never force their children to go back to school. The parents never come to school for a PTA (Parents Teachers Association) meeting organized in school. They show great fear while communicating with teachers. Mostly, they try to avoid the presence of teachers while they came to school, whenever they come to meet their children or for anything else. The tribal parents show interest to come over school only during the distribution of financial grants.

Girl students from tribal community show comparatively better interest than boy students to studies. Boys prefer going for wage labour, making money, drinking toddy and chewing tobacco. Most of the boy students will quit school probably before high school level. Early marriage and pregnancy are the major reasons of girl students' drop out of school. State should have endorsed certain plans and policies immediately to enhance tribals' level of self-confidence and confidence with education and awareness about better career etc. They do not have any anxiety about their future. They are mostly unaware about the governmental provisions and support for their development. Tribals are largely misused by the local politicians and officials. Everybody wants the funds allotted to the tribals but not the tribals' development.

Person 13: An educated Kuruma female youth

She told the researcher that, the tribal peoples in *Wayanad* has been facing several problems such as absolute poverty, hunger, homelessness, landlessness, ignorance, illiteracy, increased consumption of alcohol and tobacco, early and unsystematic marriage, sexual abuse and exploitation. All these problems can be resolved by education. She is an educated person, and her parents and siblings are also educated. She is travelling everywhere, staying at different hostels during education and has a lot of friends and also always keeps good relation with them. She is always doing the official and other matters related to her studies alone. She never felt any difficulty in doing such things alone. She does not feel any difference between herself and her other non-tribal friends. She believes that whatever things she is doing now or even the things she can telling the researcher now is totally because of the education she has undergone. In her perception her tribe identity is only a technical thing. She has ambition, as any other ordinary person, to attain a good job, to get married, remain a good wife, grow children by providing

them better facilities, building a good house and so on. As a higher educated she also has aspirations and aims about her own career. She told the researcher that tribals' problems are just the same as the problems of a poor, uneducated, ignorant, illiterate non-tribe. The only difference may be in the cultural context of their lives – which can be changed, modified, retained and protected. She added that some years ago *Malabar* was a very backward area where a majority of the population were *Muslims*. She also made an enquiry into the situation of them years ago and how they reached their current social position. Migration to abroad for employment and education are the two major agencies of their development. The Scheduled Caste people in Kerala are also having better socio-economic position than earlier. Governmental assistances and reservation provisions and education are the major means of their socio-economic achievements. In tribals' case, education is the only way to bring them to the mainstream. The society and the Government failed to bring them out of their vicious circle of poverty and ignorance. The governments, headed by any political party, and its several agencies and departments have obviously failed to plan and execute the appropriate policies and developmental requirements among tribals. This is one of the major issues in the development of tribals. Another major problem is the mainstream society's perception on tribals. It should be changed. Or else, the development of the tribal community as dreamt by us will not occur in recent future or never.

Person 14: A Paniya youth, married and father of two school going children

He discontinued his school education in third standard. He can just read *Malayalam*, but cannot write. His wife is an illiterate woman. Both of them are mostly engaged in agricultural labour. Due to the irregularity of agriculture labour, they sometimes work as labourer in construction sector.

Their only possession is a small house in a piece of land nearby two or three cents in their colony. They do not have any document for this possession and do not even know its area.

During the researcher's talk with him, his wife was also present there. She was bothered by the researcher's presence. He shared some of his life experiences to the researcher. He and his family have been living in utter poverty. There were no regular works in agricultural fields. In the construction and other sectors, the contractors and other employers did not prefer to employ tribal labourers mostly. So they do not have a regular income. They did not have any savings. They did not know how to save money and where to keep it safely, if any. They got money as wages. After their house-hold expenses and other usual needs, they did not have any balance money. If at all they had any balance, definitely they have more expenses the next day. They do not know how to save money in banks. Yet, he never had been to a bank and do not know the function of the banks and such institutions. He told the researcher that they wished to give maximum education to their children. They dream for government jobs for their children so that they have a regular income, which is possible only through education. All their problems will end if their children got a government job. He had a little knowledge about the benefits of education. He told the researcher that, they are mostly working in the agriculture field of a nearby rich Christian family. All of the family members have good educational qualifications and good salaried employment. The grand children of that family are studying in the nearest big school running by Christian missionaries. The tribal children never got admission in such schools. One reason for this is that we do not have money to meet the high expense for studying there. Another main reason to keep away our children from such schools is that the school authorities think that tribal children have insufficient intelligence to learn the things and most probably they will fail in the examination. This may affect the result and

goodwill of the school. It is also a fact that the tribal children have some backwardness in learning. They cannot perform as the children from other non-tribal communities. Their children can easily get admissions in the government schools and special schools for tribal students. The problem is that the tribal children do not show sufficient interest to learn or to go to school. Parents do not force their children to learn. They do not have any knowledge about what the children have to study. Even though there are assistances from government for the purpose of education of tribal children, it is not sufficient for doing education. Most of the *Paniya* children are early school drop outs due to high poverty in family. To overcome poverty, they start going for wage labour at very earlier years of their age. If the government provide more financial assistance, tribal children can make more achievements in education. Sometimes, there are parents' meeting in school. But, they never participate in it. The tribal parents have fear to face the teachers. They do not know how to talk to them. Usually they do not have time to go to such meetings in day times because we may have work. They will reach home late in the evening after job. So, they do not have time to provide attention to our children's education at home. Both the husband and wife have the habit of drinking liquor. They are all (the *Paniyans*) in the habit of drinking liquor and chewing betel and tobacco regardless of sex or age. They cannot change this habit because they began this in a very early age. Big part of our wage goes by this way. They usually do not have any money while any unforeseen necessity came up. Last monsoon season, he got high fever and was bedridden for one month. He could only go to the doctor and buy some medicine only after 10-15 days. This is their situation. He strongly opined that tribals can never escape from this situation even in the near future.

Person 15: A tribal woman, middle aged widow and mother of two school going children

She is not school educated and is illiterate. She is a wage labourer. She told the researcher that, she do not know anything about her children's education. Every morning she left home for work and was back in the evening. She does not actually know actually whether her children went to school or not. She did not have time to go to their school and make an inquiry about them because spoiling one day's wage will be a great loss - the day's meals. Her family only had a hut like house in the colony and no other land to do cultivation or earn money. Her house is very old and is getting damaged. She does not have money to do any maintenance work. Her house-hold needs are managed only by her income. Her husband expired three years back due to a type of fever. She does not have any savings and also did not know how to save money. Each day she consumes liquor. Also she wanted to chew betel and tobacco. She cannot give up this habit because she was used to this in a very early age. Her children also have started chewing betel and tobacco. Her house-hold need food is very limited and do not spend much on that. Usually they eat rice and dried fish.

Person 16: A middle aged Kuruma man and school teacher

He is a TTC holder and working as an upper primary school teacher in a nearby government school. His wife is also a TTC holder and also working as a school teacher. They have three daughters. They are studying varied levels of education. Elder daughter is a student of BSc degree, the second one is studying at 11th standard and the youngest is at 6th standard.

As an educated man, he did not feel any difficulty to mingle with the non-tribal counter parts in his surroundings. They could approach offices of local governing bodies, ITDP (Integrate Tribal Development Project) office or

any other government institutions, government officials, local political leaders and people's representatives without any hesitation for their purposes although getting benefits is problematic even today. But this is not the general condition of other uneducated, illiterate tribal mass. They never go to such offices or leaders/representatives to presents their needs. The tribals actually do not know how to present their problems, what are the proper channels to do so, and who are responsible to attend to their words. They have fear in approaching them.

There are lots of funds allocated to be spent for the tribals' development, but it does not reach the actual beneficiaries. A big question mark is that where have these funds disappeared? Here, the government has not yet conducted a sincere inquiry on it. Each year, while presenting the budget, government has earmarked a huge sum of money for the development of tribals. Some money will be spent through varied agencies especially local governing agencies as some rice, poultry, *etc.* A big share will go lapsed by the irresponsibility of the responsible persons. Another part of the fund will go to several anonymous hands. The targeted population – tribals still remains in the same or even a more worse condition. Some of the governmental provisions and assistance can be effectively utilised by some of the enabled or educated tribal individuals or families for their further development. But, their number is very few. The tribals, generally, are poor and ignorant. They cannot manipulate these state assistances. Anybody can exploit them. The tribals do not have their own ideas, demands and opinions in their development. Even if the tribals have any demands and needs or their own ideas regarding their development there are not a right place to present these. There are *Oorukootams* and other programmes to congregate their views and demands but these are not executed appropriately as per the policy guidelines. Some government officials, politicians and middlemen have been making larger benefits in the name of tribals due to their ignorance and never mind attitude.

He and his wife are educated, employed and they have a better income. They attained all these by the aid of reservation provisions and other governmental assistances. They always try to make the tribals in their neighbourhood aware of on these opportunities, but nobody is ready to lend an ear or consider our efforts. The tribals have provisions to get our kids admitted in government and aided schools and colleges and continue education. Government has provided everything free of cost. But other tribals have no interest to make use of these and spoil all these by their never mind attitude. They always talk about their poverty while they are asked about the education of their children. He argued that education is the only possible way to get the tribals out of their present pathetic condition and to enhance their socio-economic status. But, the tribals - in my experience – do not give any importance to education. They give importance to daily earning for livelihood by doing wage labour. They are not ready to wait for a long time for getting benefits. By going to school, nobody can earn immediately as wages. Due to the provision of immediate returns, the tribals are mostly attracted to wage labour. So the tribal parents do not compel their children to continue studies when they drop out at an early stage. Definitely, this is due to their poverty. They give more importance to earn money for their immediate needs and pleasures. Habits such as drinking liquor, betel chewing *etc.* are very much higher among tribals. To make a healthy and developed tribal life situation in this region, it is necessary to eliminate the presence of such intoxicants in their life and have to take immediate measures to provide them with education.

Person 17: A Kattunayikka woman

She had come to visit her grand daughter studying in Rajiv Gandhi Ashram School, *Noolpuzha*. The woman came to take her grandchild home to participate in their tribal festival. But, the school authorities did not allow her to take the student home. As she is a 10th standard student now and most

probably she will not be back school from home – as there are a lot of similar past experiences.

After a long strenuous effort from the part of the researcher, she started responding to the queries. She pointed out that their people inhabit the interior of the forests. They do not have any knowledge about education or so. School came to their circles only after their children got enrolled in this school. This school is especially meant for children from *Kattunayikka* tribe. But, they do not know anything about the things their children have to learn from here. This school provides residential facility to the children enrolled here. Food, books, dress, everything are provided free of cost. Otherwise, their children cannot study in schools as they were not able to find money for this purpose. They are poor and are living depending on forest. Most of their people - even now - live inside rock-cut caves in the forest. They think that forest is better to live. They want their children to be with them always. This school education always kept them away from their kids - that was one problem. They wish that after school education, their children come back to the forest and remain with them. In the forest, they have no need of this kind of education. Actually, she was totally ambiguous about the purpose of this education. In her knowledge there is no one in their tribe who has a job or other by education. They got everything for livelihood from forest. So they would like to stay back in the forest. The government had provided some of them with houses outside the forest area, but they would not like to stay there in such houses. They feel that it is difficult even to breathe in those houses. Therefore those houses remain empty and some of them even destroyed then.

Discussion

In the case of tribals' backwardness, the role of society should be subjected to criticism. The present study viewed as the basic hindrance of development of tribals is the socio-cultural prejudices on the tribals existing

among the society. The tribals are always considered as inefficient, ignorant, less intelligent, less competent, irresponsible, unsystematic, alcoholic and addicted to tobacco like intoxicants, lazy and lethargic people. Such social perceptions on tribals are having an influence on the evolution of self-perception of tribals. The tribals also shared the general idea on themselves that they are less intelligent, hapless subjects and incompetent to compete with their non-tribal counter parts of the society. It is an obvious observation that an individual mould his/her self-perception as well as perception on others from the context of existing ideas and social constructions on the subject. The tribals are presented in the public sphere of the society as an inefficient and hapless section of population. The process of construction of such ideas has a strong support of several evidences from tribal life in the region. One, who does not have a direct experience with tribals and their life, also undoubtedly share this idea without any critical investigation. Here all their disadvantages are getting highlighted rather than the inefficiencies and ineffectiveness of the responsible institutions and agencies for tribal development. The governmental policies and schemes for the upliftment and development of tribals perhaps focus on their disadvantages but never consider their potential strengths. The potential strength can be defined as the latent qualities, advantages, abilities and skills of an individual which help him to perform as an active citizen but required essential external interventions. Most of the governmental efforts to uplift tribes always tried to identify their disadvantages and tried to make changes in their poor and backward conditions. To achieve tribals' development there should have a shift in the perception of the government and the planners towards tribal development strategies. They should give more attention to the potential strength of the targeted population.

Struggles and resistances are the acute forms of self-expression. The recent tribal land struggles in *Wayanad* can be shown as the resistance against

the tribal landlessness and historical process of land alienation. Historically the region *Wayanad*, the land of tribals, was a paradise of spices and paddy cultivation, varieties of seeds and varied indigenous methods of cultivation. Even though the history of settled cultivation started in *Wayanad* since after the influx of immigrants from other regions the tribals had great role in the growth of agricultural economy of the region. Different tribal groups have their own specialisations in agriculture. The land alienation and landlessness among the tribals and broadening of cash crops and mono crops in the agricultural terrain of the region resulted in the extinction of the existed varieties of seeds and varied indigenous methods of cultivation possessed by the tribals. Historically the tribals in *Wayanad* were engaged in economy as the collectors of non-timber forest products and then agriculturists and agricultural labourers. So, the land utilisation and management can be viewed as one of the potential strength of tribals. But, there is no widespread governmental efforts to provide them education and training related to agriculture and provision of distribution of cultivable land. Tribals had enormous knowledge about medicinal plants and traditionally they had an indigenous system of medical and health care practice. But, there is no popular system of medical education, training and authorised practice of traditional medicine even in *Wayanad*. One can identify such kinds of potentials among the tribals but the planners hardly valued and made use of these potentials.

The ideological subordination through the existing social constructions as well as physical subjugation for a long period has made unable the tribals to identify themselves their potential strengths and present it in front of the society and the developmental policy makers. The supposed mainstream of the society encroached historically the social and physical space of the tribals in its all meaning. And they were alienated from all the spheres of their traditional life and socio-cultural capitals. The present Kerala society is an

offspring of several historically significant social reform movements. But these social reform movements largely untouched the tribal section of our society. The alienation from the traditionally endowed capital and dearth of exposure with the social reform movements largely caused to restrict the social mobility of the tribals along with their other non-tribal counter parts in the society.

Part - 3

State's Developmental Initiatives for Tribals

Well-being of the people seems to be the ever concern of every modern nation. The governments of the modern nations always give priority for the formulation and execution of welfare policies and programmes for socio-economic and cultural well-being and upliftment of its people. The traditionally subjugated and marginalised social groups and their development are always considered as the target of the developmental policies. All the developmental policies and programmes for the marginalised sections of any nation are highly planned and funded. For instance, the socio-economic developmental and rehabilitation programmes, for the aboriginal people in Australia, tribal folk in India, indigenous Indians in United States of America, tribal people in Iran, indigenous population in different European and Latin American countries and so on. However, due to the implementation of several developmental policies and programmes their standard of life has gained menial improvements. In fact, they have been remaining more or less same as what was their situation before these developmental interventions. The occurred changes, due to these developmental interventions, among the target population are not at all proportionate and corresponding to the aim of the policies and fund expenditure.

Government of India has been taking several policy efforts for the upliftment of tribal population in the country. With a view to make changes in the whole spheres of tribal life and enhance the demographic quality of tribal areas the government has been implementing lot of developmental programmes under the initiation of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Planning Board and other agencies and established various Commissions and Committees to study the peculiar

developmental issues among tribal communities and tribal concentrated areas. The Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) strategy was adopted at the beginning of Fifth Five-Year Plan with the view of promotion of development activities to raise the living standards of tribals, and protection of tribals' interests through legal and administrative support. The government has implemented various programmes which encourage tribals to take up new ventures. Some of the major programmes are as follows:

- National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NAREGA): NAREGA guarantees 100 days of employment in a financial year to any rural household whose adult members are willing to do unskilled manual work.
- *Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana* (SGRY): While the SGRY is open to all rural poor who are in need of wage employment, preference is given to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and parents of child labourers withdrawn from hazardous occupations, who are below the poverty line.
- *Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana* (SGSY): The SGSY is a major self employment programme being implemented all over the country. Its guidelines stipulate that at least 50% of the *Swarozgaris* will be Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.
- *Indira Awas Yojana* (IAY): The IAY is being implemented at national level to provide dwelling units to people below the poverty line living in rural areas. Preference is given to BPL families belonging to Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe community.
- National Rural Health Mission (NRHM): The Government of India launched the NRHM in April 2005 to provide effective healthcare to the rural population throughout the country. The NRHM will cover all villages through approximately 2.5 lakh village-based “Accredited

Social Health Activities” (ASHA) which will act as a link between villagers and health centres (Awais, Ala & Asif, 2009).

A number of commissions and committees were appointed in the recent past to look into the problems of developments in the tribal areas in the country and they have recommended a number of measures to remove the socio-economic imbalances and also to break down their old psychological barrier, which existed in the tribal areas. The important commissions and committees appointed so far are:

1. The Social Welfare Team of the Committee on Plan Project – 1959.
2. The Verrier Elwin Committee on Tribal Development – 1960.
3. The Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas – 1967
4. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribal Commission (Dhebar Committee 1961)
5. The Special Working Group on Co-operatives for Backward Classes – 1961 (Shri. M. D. Bhargava as its Chairman).
6. The Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas – 1972.
7. The Dube Committee – 1972
8. The Study Team on Co-operative Structure in Tribal Development Project Areas – 1976.
9. The Study Group on Relief of Indebtedness, Land Alienation and Restoration in Development Agency Area – 1973 (Shri. P. S Appu as its Chairman).
10. The Team of Marketing, Credit and Cooperation in Tribal Areas – 1978 (Shri. K. S. Bawa Committee).
11. The Working Group on Development of Scheduled Tribes during the 7th Five Year Plan (1985-90) (Padhi, 2005).

Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India

Government of India, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, constituted in October, 1999, is the nodal Ministry for overall policy, planning and co-ordination of programmes of development for the Scheduled Tribes. In regard to sectoral programmes and schemes of development of these communities, policy, planning, monitoring, evaluation, *etc.* as also their coordination is the responsibility of the concerned central ministries/departments, the state governments and Union Territory (UT) administrations. Each central ministry/department is the nodal ministry or the department concerning its sector. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs, however, supports efforts of the line ministries and administers schemes and programmes for focused supplementation in various areas, in which Scheduled Tribes are under-served. The significantly higher achievement during the last two years reflects the initiative taken and efforts made by the Ministry towards speedy implementation of the plan and programmes.

The major programmes implemented by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs for the welfare and development of scheduled tribes may be categorized into four sections:

Section-I: Special Programmes

- 1) Special central assistance to the tribal sub-plan (central sector scheme)
- 2) Grants under the first provision to article 275(1) of the constitution

Section-II: Centrally Sponsored Schemes under which matching (50:50) assistance is given to States.

- 3) Hostels scheme for scheduled tribes boys and girls
- 4) Establishment of ashram schools in tribal sub-plan areas
- 5) Grants to tribal research institutes

Section-III Central Sector Schemes under which 100 percentage Grant is provided to State and Union Territories.

- 6) Grants in aid to non-governmental organisations working for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes including coaching and allied and award for exemplary service.
- 7) Educational complexes in low literacy pockets for the development of Scheduled Tribe girls education in tribal areas
- 8) Vocational training in tribal areas
- 9) Village grain banks
- 10) Development of primitive tribal groups (central sector scheme)
- 11) Scheme of Post-Matric scholarships, book banks and upgradation of merit for Scheduled Tribes students
- 12) Upgradation of merit of Scheduled Tribe students
- 13) Exchange of visits by tribals
- 14) State tribal development finance corporations
- 15) Research and training
- 16) Grants in aid to state tribal development cooperative corporations for minor forest produce.

Section-IV: Support to Corporations, Non Plan Schemes & New Scheme.

- 17) Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd. (TRIFED)
- 18) Price support to TRIFED
- 19) Support to National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSTFDC).
- 20) National overseas scholarship scheme for scheduled tribes (non-plan).
- 21) New Scheme: Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship (RGNF) for Scheduled Tribe Students (Government of India, n.d.)

National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST)

In addition to the Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes created in 1950 for effective implementation of various safeguards provided in the Constitution for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and various other protective legislations, a multi-member Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was set up in 1978. However, in 1992 these organisations were replaced by a statutory multi-member National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Since the needs and problems of Scheduled Tribes and the solutions required were quite different from those of Scheduled Castes, a special approach for tribal development and independent machinery to safeguard the rights of Scheduled Tribes was considered necessary, a separate National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST) was set up with effect from 19th February 2004 by amending Article 338 and inserting a new Article 338A in the Constitution, through the Constitution (Eighty-ninth Amendment) Act, 2003. The main duties of the Commission are to investigate and monitor all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Tribes and to evaluate the working of such safeguards; and to inquire into specific complaints with respect to the deprivation of rights and safeguards of the Scheduled Tribes. The commission vested with all the powers of a civil court trying a suit while investigating any matter or inquiring into any complaint relating to deprivation of rights and safeguards of the Scheduled Tribes. The functions, duties and power of the NCST have been laid down in Clauses (5), (8) and (9) of the Article 338A of the Constitution. As per the NCST Rules, 2005 the Commission shall also discharge some other functions in relation to protection, welfare, development and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes namely;

- 1) Measures that need to be taken over conferring ownership rights in respect of minor forest products to the Scheduled Tribes living in the forests.

- 2) Measures to be taken to safeguard rights of the tribal communities over mineral resources, water resources *etc.* as per law.
- 3) Measures to be taken for the development of tribals and to work for more viable livelihood strategies.
- 4) Measures to be taken to improve the efficiency of relief and rehabilitation measures for the tribal groups displaced by developmental projects.
- 5) Measures to be taken to prevent alienation of tribal people from land and to effectively rehabilitate such people in whose case alienation has already taken place.
- 6) Measures to be taken to elicit maximum cooperation and involvement of tribal communities for protecting forests and undertaking social afforestation.
- 7) Measures to be taken to ensure full implementation of the provisions of *Panchayats* (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (40 of 1996).
- 8) Measures to be taken to reduce and ultimately eliminate the practice of shifting cultivation by tribals that lead to their continuous disempowerment and degradation of land and the environment (Government of India, n.d.).

Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP)

The present strategy of tribal development in India is Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP). TSP strategy was evolved by an Expert Committee set up by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare in 1972 under chairmanship of Prof. S. C. Dube for rapid socio-economic development of tribal people and adopted, for the first time in Fifth Five-Year Plan and is continuing since then. The TSP is a plan within the ambit of a state or a union territory plan

meant for welfare and development of tribals. Such a plan is a part of over all plan of the state or union territory, and therefore called sub-plan. The major and immediate objectives of the TSP is, first, over all socio-economic development of tribals and to raise them above poverty level and the second one is protection of tribals from various forms of exploitation. The total coverage of the sub-plan is in operation in 23 states and union territories having sizeable population of tribals. The coverage of tribal population under TSP is almost total (Annual Report Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-01). The new sub-plan under the main plan (of state and union governments) started functioning all over the country under the new name Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) from the Fifth Plan.

The long term objectives of the Tribal Sub-Plan were:

- 1) To narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribals and other areas.
- 2) To improve the quality of life of the tribal communities (Toppo, 1994).

The salient features the Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy are:

- 1) Preparation of plan meant for the welfare and development of tribals within the ambit of a state or a union territory plan is a part of the overall plan of a state and union territory, and is therefore called a sub-plan;
- 2) The funds provided under the TSP have to be at least equal in proportion to the Scheduled Tribe population of each state or union territory;
- 3) Tribals and tribal areas of the state or a union territory are given benefits under the TSP, in addition to what percolates from the overall plan of a state /union territory;
- 4) The Tribal Sub-Plan should:

- (a) Identify the resources for TSP areas
 - (b) Prepare a broad policy framework for the development; and
 - (c) Define a suitable administrative strategy for its implementation
- 5) The TSP strategy has been in operation in 21 states and two union territories – Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, West Bengal, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Daman and Diu.
 - 6) TSP concept is not applicable to the tribal majority states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland and in the union territories of Lakshadweep and Dadra and Nagar Haveli where the tribals represent more than 60% of the population (Government of India, n.d.).

The tribal development under Tribal Sub-Plan envisages:

- 1) Educational promotion schemes of schools, residential schools, hostels, scholarships, special coaching/training, *etc.*;
- 2) Agriculture and allied activities by providing minor and medium irrigation facilities, animal husbandry, dairying, poultry, *etc.*;
- 3) Improvised credit and marketing facilities for agriculture and minor forest products;
- 4) Special training programmes to tribal farmers;
- 5) Irrigation and power facilities to promote agricultural production and small scale industry, *etc.*;
- 6) Provision of basic infrastructure for speeding up the socio-economic development of the tribal areas through community centres, communication network, schools, health centres, rural electrification,

drinking water and other facilities etc. that are to be provided to the tribals;

- 7) Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), Cluster and Primitive Tribal Groups special comprehensive developmental projects were to be prepared by the states/union territories; and
- 8) Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) were created for the development of tribals in the Tribal Schedule Areas.

The TSP Programmes are financed by the following sources: (a) TSP funds from State/Union Territory Plans and Central Ministries/Departments; (b) Special Central Assistance (SCA) to TSP; (c) Grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution to the states/union territories; (d) Funds through Central Sector Schemes; (e) Funds from Centrally Sponsored Schemes; and (f) Institutional Finance (Reddy & Kumar, 2010).

Programmes of Scheduled Tribe Development Department, Government of Kerala

Since the formation of Kerala, the state government has been formulating a series of development and welfare policies and programmes for tribal people under its jurisdiction. In spite of the presence of various welfare measures and the constitutional protection, the tribal people of Kerala have been subject to various oppression and deprivation. The developmental programmes for the tribals in the state are implemented through the Scheduled Tribe Development Department, local self-government institutions, and *Oorukoottams* (neighbourhood groups). Kerala government earmarks funds for Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) from state plan outlay in proportion to the ratio of population of Scheduled Tribes to total population of the state. During 2011-12, the total state plan provision set apart for the development of tribal communities is Rs. 284.19 crore. Out of this, Rs. 186.88 crore is earmarked as

state share for the development programmes of the Scheduled Tribe Development Department (Government of Kerala, 2011). The total state plan provision was 200.50 crore in 2010-11 (Government of Kerala, 2010). Details of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) year wise outlay from 2002-2003 onwards are illustrated in Table 23.

Table 23

TSP Year Wise Outlay (2002-03 to 2011-12)

Year	Annual outlay (Rs. in crore)
2002-03	90.75
2003-04	87.62
2004-05	94.88
2005-06	106.35
2006-07	121.00
2007-08	139.00
2008-09	154.10
2009-10	180.85
2010-11	200.50
2011-12	284.19

Source: Government of Kerala, Economic Review, 2011

Government of Kerala have been earmarked funds of huge amount for the tribal development activities of the Scheduled Tribe Development Department. The development activities of this department touches all major areas of tribal life such as education, housing, health care, resettlement of landless, employment and skill development and basic infrastructure and amenities for life. The annual fund allocation for this purpose is two per cent of the total state plan out lay. The importance and priority given to the area of development of tribal folk by the state can be understand from the below given tables. The details of the state government's annual fund allocation and

expenditure for the developmental programmes (Table 24), details of outlay and expenditure of Scheduled Tribe development schemes (Table 25) and details of physical achievements of schemes implemented by the Scheduled Tribe Development Department (Table 26) are given in the subsequent tables.

Table 24

The Details of Fund Earmarked and Expended for the Developmental Programmes of the Scheduled Tribe Development Department

Year	Amount earmarked (Rs. In crore)	Amount expended (Rs. In crore)
2007-08	50.82	47.09
2008-09	61.90	57.99
2009-10	100.34	94.41
2010-11	112.03	102.78

Source: Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011

Table 25

The Details of Outlay and Expenditure of Scheduled Tribe Development Schemes during 2008-09, 2009-10 and 2010-11 (Rs. in Lakh)

SI No.	Major head/Minor head of development	2008-09		2009-10		2010-11	
		Outlay	Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure
1	IEC Project [Information, Education and Communication]	40.00	31.79	26.95	13.62	31.64	31.64
2	Improvement of tribal hostels	50.00	48.43	70.00	69.95	104.81	102.60
3	Tutorial scheme for school going students and failed students	100.00	65.04	79.00	71.04	108.57	108.56
4	Girls Hostels [50% State share]	50.00	2.50	50.00	0.00	150.00	2.58
5	Boys Hostels [50% State share]	100.00	19.63	100.00	0.00	250.00	223.79
6	Purchase of land for construction of tribal hostels	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	8.08	8.08
7	Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub Plan (100% CSS)	350.00	349.38	450.00	448.80	499.54	499.54
8	<i>Bharat Darshan</i>	8.00	5.39	10.00	7.28	9.52	9.52
9	Health project <i>Mananthavady</i> under Art. 275[1]	20.00	16.99	15.00	12.49	25.00	25.00
10	Support to group farms	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	11.69	11.69
11	Grant in Aid to Ambedkar Memorial Rural Institute for Development [AMRID], Wayanad	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	6.00
12	Modernisation of Tribal Development Department	25.00	34.06	48.05	47.27	100.00	100.00
13	Share capital contribution to Kerala State Development Corporation for SC/ST for implementing schemes benefiting Scheduled Tribes [State share 51%]	5.00	5.00	9.18	9.18	12.75	12.75
14	Grant in Aid to Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies for SC/ST [State share 50%]	40.00	15.96	27.70	21.51	30.60	30.60
15	Special programme for Primitive Tribal Groups <i>Adiyas</i> and <i>Paniyas</i>	100.00	97.86	120.00	117.24	146.93	146.93
16	Tribal promoters	240.00	224.17	280.00	160.87	272.97	272.97
17	Housing programme	400.00	390.04	500.00	498.54	944.79	944.79

18	Special incentives to brilliant students	30.00	32.07	45.00	33.37	34.39	34.32
19	Assistance for marriage of Scheduled Tribe girls	10.00	10.00	20.00	20.00	37.90	37.90
20	Enforcement of Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989 [State share 50%]	20.00	4.16	10.00	7.35	15.00	15.00
21	Providing health care package to tribal individuals affected by diseases	50.00	59.86	80.00	79.68	100.00	100.00
22	Food Support Programme	100.00	99.76	120.00	119.95	98.71	98.71
23	Assistance to <i>Adikala Kendram</i>	10.00	9.45	12.00	11.40	14.25	14.25
24	Post metric hostels for tribals	35.00	38.07	60.00	45.54	54.87	44.87
25	Extension of <i>Kudumbasree</i> in tribal areas	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00
26	Ayyankali Memorial Talent Search and Development scheme	30.00	29.81	36.00	35.90	36.25	36.25
27	Organisation of <i>Oorukoottam</i>	5.00	4.92	10.00	5.73	6.75	6.75
28	Resettlement of landless tribals	1500.00	1500.00	2500	2500.00	0.00	0.00
29	Model Residential Schools [18 Nos.]	950.00	997.55	1262.00	1169.41	1738.61	1738.56
30	Corpus Fund for Tribal Sub Plan	813.15	806.05	1135.11	1129.57	383.30	383.30
31	Trade and arts festivals	20.00	10.00	10.00	9.40	12.89	12.89
32	Peripatetic education	40.00	34.00	35.00	34.77	48.55	48.55
33	Construction of building for Ashram Schools [50% CSS]	450.00	348.44	650.00	465.00	3060.00	2878.67
34	Improving facilities and renovation of ST hostels [ACA]	30.00	29.97	158.97	145.71	43.28	43.28
35	Enhancement of facilities in tribal areas [ACA]	57.92	41.46	200.00	168.58	176.56	176.56
36	Provision of basic needs to Primitive Tribal Group's [ACA]	0.00	0.00	50.00	49.66	50.00	50.00
37	Guaranteeing quality education to tribal students [ACA]	100.00	99.88	265.37	264.81	96.38	96.38
38	Vocational training institute [100% CSS]	40.00	44.48	30.00	30.18	18.04	18.04
39	Up gradation of merits [100% CSS]	2.25	1.37	2.00	0.30	0.20	0.2.
40	Coaching and allied scheme [50% CSS]	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
41	Development of tribes living in forest	200.00	165.35	200.00	195.93	44.79	44.79
42	Revamping of tribal society	20.00	0.00	20.00	14.50	7.50	7.50

43	Drinking water schemes in <i>Idukki</i> [ACA]	20.00	7.00	30.00	30.00	6.00	6.00
44	Post metric scholarship [100%CSS]	700.00	585.36	800.00	712.23	788.67	788.67
45	Construction for MRS <i>Idukki</i> [100%CSS]	50.00	59.56	20.00	38.19	50.00	42.87
46	Construction of building for <i>Attappady</i> Health Project [100% CSS]	50.00	118.68	0.01	0.04	29.98	29.98
47	Construction of building for MRS <i>Njaraneeli</i> [100% CSS]	100.00	225.15	50.00	25.92	50.00	12.79
48	Grant – in-aid to Federation	14.00	14.00	0.01	0.00	7.00	7.00
49	Conservation cum development of Primitive Tribal Group's [100% CSS]	30.00	0.00	960.00	960.00	0.00	0.00
50	Grant-in-aid Art. 275[1] (100% CSS)	--	--	130.00	122.62	295.97	295.97
51	Implementation of Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers [FRC] (100%CSS)	--	--	10.00	10.42	99.69	99.69
52	Pooled fund for special projects proposed by other departments under TSP	--	--	1000.00	993.96	562.34	562.34

Source: Scheduled Tribe Development Department (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2009, 2010 and 2011)

Table 26

The Details of Physical Achievements of Schemes for Scheduled Tribes Development Department for the Period 2008-09 to 2010-11

SI No	Name of scheme	Unit	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
1	IEC project [Information, Education and Communication]	Project Beneficiaries	1 --	1 --	2 35
2	Improvement of tribal hostels	Hostel Beneficiaries	6 --	16 --	20 1360
3	Tutorial scheme for school going students and failed students	Student Hostel	1629 --	1725 --	1261 21
4	Girls hostels [50% State share]	Hostels	2	2	--
5	Boys hostels [50% State share]	Hostels	3	3	--
6	Purchase of land for construction of tribal hostels	No. of plots	0	0	0
7	Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub Plan (100% CSS)	Families	1791	1992	5876
8	<i>Bharat Darshan</i>	Students	247	201	291
9	Health project <i>Mananthavady</i> under Art. 275[1]	OP clinics	4	3	3
10	Support to group farms	Families Group farm	475 --	450 --	488 2
11	Grant in Aid to Ambedkar Memorial Rural Institute for Development [AMRID], <i>Wayanad</i>	Beneficiaries Project	50 --	50 --	100 2
12	Modernisation of Tribal Development Department	Project	1	1	6
13	Share capital Contribution to Kerala State Development Corporation for SC/ST for implementing schemes benefiting Scheduled Tribes [State share 51%]	Shares	5 lakh	5 lakh	12.75 lakh
14	Grant in aid to Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies for SC/ST [State share 50%]	Project	1	1	4
15	Special programme for Primitive Tribal Groups, <i>Adiyas</i> and <i>Paniyas</i>	Beneficiaries Houses	7448 --	7448 --	10303 40
16	Tribal promoters	Nos.	925	1005	845
17	Housing programme	Nos.	509	383	962
18	Special incentive to brilliant students	Students	983	908	973
19	Assistance for marriage of Scheduled Tribe girls	Beneficiary	102	192	200
20	Enforcement of Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989 [State share 50%]	Persons	103	39	118
21	Providing health care package to tribal individuals affected by diseases	Beneficiary	10166	10554	9847
22	Food support programme	Beneficiary	26231	38683	32108
23	Assistance to <i>Adikala Kendram</i>	Project	1	1	1

24	Post metric hostels for tribals	Hostels Students	-- 134	-- 8794	1 41
25	Extension of <i>Kudumbasree</i> in tribal areas	Families	3000	500	500
26	Ayyankali Memorial Talent Search and Development Scheme	Students	662	712	764
27	Organisation of <i>Oorukoottam</i>	Nos.	730	549	628
28	Resettlement of landless tribals	Families	1717	3000	2103
29	Model Residential Schools [18 Nos.]	Students	4321	4614	3447
30	Corpus fund for Tribal Sub Plan	Project Beneficiaries	99 --	100 --	26 1123
31	Trade and arts festivals	Nos.	2	1	2
32	Peripatetic education	Centres Beneficiaries	37 --	45 --	15 368
33	Construction of building for <i>Ashram</i> Schools [50% CSS]	Nos.	10	0	--
34	Improving facilities and renovation of ST hostels [ACA]	Hostels	38	0	--
35	Enhancement of facilities in tribal areas [ACA]		0	0	--
36	Provision of basic needs to Primitive Tribal Groups [ACA]	Houses	475	0	0
37	Guaranteeing quality education to tribal students [ACA]	--	0	0	
38	Vocational training institute [100% CSS]	Institutions Students	3 --	3 --	3 17
39	Upgradation of merits [100% CSS]	Students	9	2	1
40	Coaching and allied scheme [50% CSS]	Students	9	0	--
41	Development of tribes living in forest	--	0	0	--
42	Revamping of tribal society	Nos.	1	1	2
43	Drinking water schemes in <i>Idukki</i> [ACA]	Settlement	7	7	--
44	Post metric scholarship [100%CSS]	Students	8107	8794	11383
45	Construction for MRS <i>Idukki</i> [100%CSS]	School	1	1	--
46	Construction of building for <i>Attappady</i> Health Project [100% CSS]	Project	1	1	--
47	Construction of building for MRS <i>Njaraneeli</i> [100% CSS]	School	1	1	--
48	Conservation cum development of Primitive Tribal Groups [100% CSS]	Families	0	257	--
49	Grant - in-aid to Federation	Families	0	0	--
50	Grant-in-aid Art. 275[1] (100% CSS)	Project Beneficiaries	-- --	14 --	23 3806
51	Implementation of Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers [FRC] (100%CSS)	Families	--	--	508
52	Pooled fund for special projects proposed by other departments under TSP	Projects Beneficiaries	-- --	-- --	16 1238

Source: Scheduled Tribe Development Department (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2009, 2010 and 2011)

Since its formation in 1980 the Scheduled Tribe Development Department has been implementing various schemes for the development of tribal population in the state by utilising the funds of the state as well as central government. Generally, the focal areas of such schemes are education, health care, social upliftment, cultural development and other developmental schemes for tribals (Baiju, 2011; Zacharias, 2002).

Education

Lack of awareness which is the result of educational backwardness is the main hurdle in the socio-economic progress of the tribals. The main objective of the development plan is to promote the socio-economic conditions of the tribal communities and then to free them from exploitation. To achieve this objective, top priority is given to the educational development of the referred social group. About 50% of total budget provision (both plan and non-plan) is set apart for the education sector. Educational concessions, scholarships and other kinds of assistances are provided to tribal students from pre-primary level to post graduate level. The plan outlay and expenditure during 2002-03 to 2011-12 with respect to the educational sector are furnished in the Table 27. Along with the exemption from all kinds of fee, they are given lump sum grant meant for the purchase of books, stationary and dress materials and monthly stipend at varying rates. Details of educational concessions and assistances distributed through Scheduled Tribes Development Department are given in the Table 28 and 29. For providing pre-primary education to the tribal students, 13 kindergartens and 22 *balavadies* are functioning under Local Self Government and Scheduled Tribe Welfare Department respectively. In order to provide residential facilities for the education of tribal students from remote areas, the department runs 108 pre-metric hostels and three post-metric hostels. For providing quality education, 18 Model Residential Schools (including 15 *Ashram* Schools, two

Ekalavya Model Residential Schools and one Special Model Residential [CBSE] School) are functioning under the department. In addition to the existing 29 single teacher schools for providing pre-primary education to tribal students in very remote and inaccessible areas, 24 centres are functioning under the scheme 'Peripatetic Education Centres of PGTs' for imparting primary education to children from primitive tribal communities. For imparting job oriented technical training to the tribals, 12 training centres are functioning under the scheduled tribe development. The department also gives the tuition fee of tribal students who is admitted to professional course in self-financing colleges under government quota (Government of Kerala, 2011).

Table 27

Outlay and Expenditure of Funds for the Education of Tribals during the Period 2002-03 to 2010-11 (Rs. in Lakh)

SI No.	Year	Outlay	Expenditure
1	2002-03	1106.60	931.97
2	2003-04	953.60	725.83
3	2004-05	1223.50	1068.23
4	2005-06	1242.14	1062.10
5	2006-07	1918.98	1735.33
6	2007-08	1878.85	1753.17
7	2008-09	2965.70	2757.25
8	2009-10	3957.98	3194.90
9	2010-11	7302.00	6206.7

Source: Directorate of Scheduled Tribe Development Department (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Table 28

The Details of the Amount Spent During the Period 2002-03 to 2011-12 for Educational Concessions of Scheduled Tribes via Scheduled Tribes Development Department

SI No.	Year	No. of students (pre-matric and post-matric)	Plan: post-matric (Rs. in lakh)	Non-plan: pre-matric and post-matric (Rs.in lakh)
1	2002-03	62766	100.00	331.00
2	2003-04	69809	96.31	492.28
3	2004-05	78382	199.77	545.13
4	2005-06	82935	399.97	781.45
5	2006-07	82935	257.22	704.38
6	2007-08	84849	526.80	845.95
7	2008-09	83044	585.36	1157.05
8	2009-10	92276	172.2	1136.38
9	2010-11	93144	788.67	1196.04

Source: Directorate of ST Development (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Table 29

The Details of Lump sum Grant, Stipend, Pocket money to Scheduled Tribe Students during the Period 2010-11 (up to 31/3/2011) through Scheduled Tribes Development Department (Rs. in Lakh)

SI No.	Name of sector	Number of students benefited and amount sanctioned					
		Lump sum grant		Stipend		Pocket money	
		No. of students	Amount	No. of students	Amount	No. of students	Amount
1	Lower Primary	33402	46.76	33402	183.71	--	--
2	Upper Primary	23621	56.69	23621	141.72	--	--
3	High School	11011	36.33	11011	77.07	--	--
4	Plus Two	5614	40.14	5614	26.66	--	--
5	Vocational Higher Secondary	387	2.76	387	1.83	--	--
6	I.T.C	135	0.68	135	0.70	--	--
7	I.T.C	--	--	--	--	--	--
8	Polytechnics	276	1.97	276	1.31	276	27.60
9	Degree	3101	24.49	3101	14.72	--	--
10	Post Graduation	317	3.20	317	1.51	--	--
11	Engineering	--	--	--	--	--	--
a	Government Aided	299	4.48	299	1.42	299	0.35
b	Self Financing	110	1.65	110	0.52	110	0.13
12	Medical	--	--	--	--	--	--
a	Government	29	0.59	29	0.13	29	0.03
b	Co-operative	29	0.59	29	0.13	29	0.03
c	Self Financing	--	--	--	--	--	--
13	Others	1034	--	1034	--	--	--
Total		79365	220.33	79365	451.43	743	28.15

Source: Scheduled Tribe Development Department (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Housing

In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, top priority is given for providing houses to all houseless Scheduled Tribes in the state. At present, the requirement of new houses is more than 2500. The Scheduled Tribe Development Department, Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM), Rural Development Department (IAY scheme) and the local bodies are the major agencies involved in the tribal housing in the state. The outlay and expenditure of the housing schemes under the plan implemented by the Scheduled Tribe Development Department during the period 2002-03 to 2010-2011 is given in Table 30.

Table 30

The Details of Outlay and Expenditure for Housing Programmes (Plan) Undertaken by Scheduled Tribes Development Department during the Period 2002-03 to 2010-11 (Rs. in Lakh)

SI No.	Year	Outlay	Expenditure
1	2002-03	311.68	308.01
2	2003-04	211.68	188.11
3	2004-05	--	--
4	2005-06	100.00	99.16
5	2006-07	1227.19	1194.36
6	2007-08	300.00	296.98
7	2008-09	400.00	390.04
8	2009-10	500.00	498.54
9	2010-11	1000.00	944.79

Source: Directorate of Scheduled Tribe Development (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Health Care

Various schemes and measures are taken for providing timely medical care to the Scheduled Tribes. The Health Services Department maintains 63 Primary Health Centres (PHCs) in tribal area. Besides, the Scheduled Tribes Development Department have four midwifery centres, 17 *ayurveda* dispensaries, three allopathy dispensary/O.P Clinics, one *ayurveda* hospital, two mobile medical units and one allopathy hospital at *Mananthavady*. Also there are *ayurveda* dispensaries and homeo dispensaries functioning in tribal areas under Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) of the respective department. The Public Health Department conducts medical camps in tribal areas to diagnose diseases. Outlay and expenditure for plan and non-plan health programmes for the period 2002-03 to 2010-11 are given in Table 31.

Table 31

The Details of Outlay and Expenditure for Healthcare Programmes (Plan and Non-Plan) Undertaken by Scheduled Tribes Development Department during the Period 2002-03 to 2010-11 (Rs. in Lakh)

SI No.	Year	Plan		Non-plan	
		Outlay	Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure
1	2002-03	120.00	120.00	76.11	56.95
2	2003-04	229.56	119.42	68.81	66.02
3	2004-05	137.50	183.09	85.46	75.42
4	2005-06	120.00	106.90	91.33	85.50
5	2006-07	280.00	129.86	130.73	100.98
6	2007-08	1217.00	1201.62	148.76	115.98
7	2008-09	170.00	116.11	137.58	114.96
8	2009-10	80.00	79.99	149.83	130.36
9	2010-11	100.00	100.00	00	00

Source: Directorate of Scheduled Tribe Development (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Resettlement of landless tribes

A special scheme for providing land to the landless and houses to the houseless is being implemented in the state. As part of the resettlement of landless, Tribal resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) is formed to undertake rehabilitation activities based on a master plan. They have identified 22052 landless tribal families and 32131 families with less than one acre of land. Land distribution was inaugurated on 01-01-2012 and TRDM could so far distribute 8830.34 acres of land to 6664 tribal families and details are provided in Table 32.

Table 32

District Wise Details of Land Distribution among Tribals Families

SI No.	District	Families (Nos.)	Extent (Acre)
1	<i>Thiruvananthapuram</i>	-Nil-	-Nil-
2	<i>Kollam</i>	128	114.68
3	<i>Pathanamthitta</i>	28	12.19
4	<i>Kottayam</i>	19	19.00
5	<i>Alappuzha</i>	35	7.67
6	<i>Idukki</i>	949	1460
7	<i>Ernamkulam</i>	296	418.9
8	<i>Thrissur</i>	20	5.68
9	<i>Kozhikode</i>	420	600
10	<i>Palakkad</i>	10	4.44
11	<i>Malappuram</i>	61	46.38
12	<i>Kannur</i>	3587	3491.37
13	<i>Wayanad</i>	997	2526.6
14	<i>Kasargod</i>	114	123.43
Total		6664	8830.34

Source: TRDM (As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Corpus Fund

The components of the corpus fund includes self-employment, skill development, water supply and sanitation, communication facilities, foot bridges, technology transfer, improvement of education and health. Statement showing the outlay and expenditure under corpus fund from 2002-03 to 2010-11 is given in Table 33.

Table 33

The Details of Outlay and Expenditure under Corpus Fund from 2002-03 Onwards (Rupees in Lakh)

SI No	Year	Outlay	Expenditure
1	2002-03	813.26	1019.36
2	2003-04	1485.02	1001.96
3	2004-05	1277.76	1187.50
4	2005-06	635.45	631.84
5	2006-07	671.38	649.09
6	2007-08	664.87	648.39
7	2008-09	813.15	806.05
8	2009-10	1135.11	1129.57
9	2010-11	412.25	383.3

Source: Directorate of Scheduled Tribe Development
(As cited in Government of Kerala, Economic Review 2011)

Interpretive Analysis on the State's Interventions

The above given statistics about the developmental interventions of the government through its agencies is enough to a layperson understand about the importance given by the state for the development and welfare of tribal folk of the state in general and their educational upliftment in particular. This statistics give the impression that the government is wholeheartedly devoted

and has intense interest in the issue of tribal people's development. The documents regarding the tribal developmental interventions of government shows that there is an annual allocation and expenditure of lakhs and crores of rupees for varied developmental purposes of the tribals. But, what is the reality? Whatever be the governmental interventions with respect to the development of tribal folk in the state, the tribals are still remain in a viciously backward status in the respective arenas of socio-economic and educational development when compared to other sections of the society. What exactly is the condition of the tribal folk in our state after even spending a huge amount for their upliftment after a long sixty years of independence? They still live in absolute poverty - 48.48% of tribal families in the state are being below poverty line (TSP 1999-2000 document), illiteracy - Literacy rate among tribals is only 64.35% in the state (Census of India, 2001), poor access to proper education - School drop out rate among Scheduled Tribal students is very high while compared to other social groups it is 1.60% at Lower Primary level, 2.21% at Upper Primary level and 4.05% at High School level (Government of Kerala, 2011), high socio-economic deprivation - The index of over all deprivation reported among tribals in Human Development Report 2005 (Kerala) is 57.9%, the index prepared on the basis of deprivation in four basic necessities for well being such as housing quality, access to drinking water, good sanitation and electricity for lighting (Economic Review 2011), unemployment - In Kerala there are 25407 registered unemployed tribals in the age group of 15-40 years (Chathukulam and John, 2006), higher rate of alienation from land - Rate of alienation of land is much higher among the tribals (Government of India, 2008a), landlessness - Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission have identified 22052 landless tribal families in Kerala (Government of Kerala, 2011), houselessness - At present the requirement of new houses is more than 25000 among tribals (Government of Kerala, 2011)) and poor health - Studies by the State's Health Department as well as AIIMS,

New Delhi show that nearly 15% of the tribal families in *Wayanad* and *Palakkad* districts have traits of the genetical problem of 'sickle cell anaemia' (Government of Kerala, 2011). Therefore it is a fact that the major share of the allotted funds under varied schemes and programmes intended for the socio-economic development and enhancement of educational status of the tribal community is being ineffectual since they failed to reach up to the notified objective.

Part 4

Education and Tribal Development: An Interface

A large number of researchers engaged with the issue of the tribal development rightly point out the importance of education in the betterment of the existing conditions of tribal life. In chapter two, the study went through such academic opinions. This section of the chapter is organised - on the basis of earlier academic opinions - with a view that education is the major agency which can radically contribute to the development of tribals' life situations with respect to its all social, economic, cultural, professional, psychological and political aspects.

Role of Education in Tribal Development

In this section the researcher has made an effort to consolidate the opinions collected from the respondents belonging to different sections of the society - tribals, non-tribal natives, local political and social activists and school teachers - regarding the significant role of education in tribal development during the first and second phases of fieldwork. After the consolidation of the opinions, relevant and most repeatedly opined 15 observations were selected. The selected observations are listed below.

1. Education is the most appropriate and significant means of tribal development.
2. Education is the only way to enhance the social status of the tribals.
3. Education is the most significant means to overcome the historically rooted deprivation among tribals.
4. Education is the most significant means to eradicate socio-economic exploitation among tribals.
5. Education will help the tribal people to make effective utilisation of

- governmental agencies, assistances and schemes for their development.
6. Education will enable the tribals to effectively enjoy the provisions under policy of reservation for the betterment of their life.
 7. Education will help the tribals to increase their representation and participation in the public as well as political spheres.
 8. Education will help the tribals to get a salaried employment under government service.
 9. Education will help the tribals to find an employment other than agriculture related activities.
 10. Education will help the tribals to make effective communication and maintain good relationship with the other sections of the society.
 11. Education will help the tribals get rid of their reluctance to approach the public institutions and make use of them effectively.
 12. Education will help the tribals to face other people confidently by withering away their inferiority complexes.
 13. Education will help the tribals to point out their requirements and demands in front of the authorities.
 14. Education will help the tribals to better their familial condition.
 15. Education is a necessity to eradicate poverty among tribals.

To assure the validity of the above depicted 15 opinions on the significance of education in tribal development, the researcher prepared three schedules of statements. Then after a gap of six months from the completion of second phase field work the researcher collected the opinions regarding this from selected sample of the population from the same region (The schedules of statements are appended, Appendices 11, 12 and 13). The selected sample for the opinion survey was confined three categories of people - tribals, non-tribals, and teachers. While selecting the respondents from the tribals, the researcher gave due attention to aspects such as the respondents' education (respondents should have minimum high school

education) and their ability to make independent opinions. In the case of respondents from non-tribal category, along with the above said conditions for tribal sample the respondents' participation in social, occupational and political arena of the society (the respondents should have a commitment to their society and responsible role in society) were also taken into consideration. And, in the case of teacher respondents, the only condition was that they should have taught tribal pupils. Teacher sample for this purpose was selected from varied government schools as well as special schools for tribals in *Wayanad* district. Sample consisted of 100 tribals, 100 non-tribals natives and 100 school teachers. The share of respondents who were agreed with the statements is depicted in Table 34.

Table 34

Share of Tribal, Non-Tribal and Teacher Respondents Agreeing With the Selected Opinions Regarding the Significance of Education in Tribal Development

Sl No.	Opinions/Statements	Share of respondents agreeing with the statements (<i>in per cent</i>)			
		Tribals	Non-tribals	Teachers	Total
1	Education is the most appropriate and significant means of tribal development.	94	96	100	96.67
2	Education is the only way to enhance the social status of the tribals.	83	76	100	86.33
3	Education is the most significant means to overcome the historically rooted deprivation among tribals.	97	94	100	97
4	Education is the most significant means to eradicate socio-economic exploitation among tribals.	100	100	100	100
5	Education will help the tribal people to make effective utilisation of governmental agencies, assistances and schemes for their development.	90	86	100	92

6	Education will enable the tribals to effectively enjoy the provisions under policy of reservation for the betterment of their life.	88	100	100	96
7	Education will help the tribals to increase their representation and participation in the public as well as political spheres.	67	74	86	75.67
8	Education will help the tribals to get a salaried employment under government service.	70	62	75	69
9	Education will help the tribals to find an employment other than agriculture related activities.	56	58	75	63
10	Education will help the tribals to make effective communication and maintain good relationship with the other sections of the society.	100	82	100	94
11	Education will help the tribals get rid of their reluctance to approach the public institutions and make use of them effectively.	100	80	100	93.33
12	Education will help the tribals to face other people confidently by withering away their inferiority complexes.	100	80	100	93.33
13	Education will help the tribals to point out their requirements and demands in front of the authorities.	76	59	75	70
14	Education will help the tribals to better their familial condition.	76	80	100	85.33
15	Education is a necessity to eradicate poverty among tribals.	84	96	100	93.33

Source: Fieldwork

Table 34 depicts the 15 statements denoting the significance of education in the development of tribal community. All statements have an intimate touch with the different aspects of backwardness of the existing tribal life in the area. The total number of respondents was 300. The share of respondents who responded against the statements as 'YES' or agreed with

the given statements is very high. It can be seen as in the case of the total sample, lowest share of the favourable response or response as 'YES' to the given statements is 63%. With regard to the sub samples - 'tribals', 'non-tribals' and 'school teachers' - the share of favourable responses is again high. According to table (Table. 34), the lowest share of the favourable response against the statements from each sub-sample - tribals, non-tribal natives and school teachers – are 56%, 58%, 75% respectively. In the case of tribal and non-tribal sub-samples, most of the statements have higher share of 'YES' or favourable responses. In the case of school teacher sub-sample almost all the statements (11 out of 15) have hundred percentages of 'YES' or favourable responses. A consolidation of responses from these three different significant sections of the society regarding the issue under investigation rightly points out that education, as an institution as well as an agency, have a great role in the development of tribal community.

Barriers to the Expansion of Education among Tribals

To identify the barriers to the expansion of education among the tribals, the researcher went through different studies conducted in this particular area of tribal education and tribal development during the discussion of earlier literature. Later, the researcher widened his investigation to different sections of the local society such as the tribals, non-tribal natives and school teachers. Researcher used different techniques to identify the possible barriers to the educational upliftment among tribals such as unstructured interviews, informal conversations and participatory observation among the sample. Subsequently, the researcher could identify 51 specific impediments to educational upliftment of tribals under seven major aspects such as society/tribal society, government/governmental policy, tribal family/tribal parents, tribal student, teacher, curriculum and

school/educational infrastructure. The impediments identified are elaborated below.

Society/Tribal society

1. Tribals do not have role models among them with better educational attainments.
2. Tribals who have attained better life status through education do not give much importance to the educational upliftment of other members of the community.
3. Peculiar tribal customs, rituals and festivals are major reasons for school drop out among tribal children.
4. Other sections of the society (non-tribals) do not show any interest in the educational upliftment of tribals.
5. Political and social workers of the locality do not pay enough attention to the educational upliftment of the tribals.
6. Unsystematic and extra marital relations and early marriage among the tribals are major causes of tribal students' school drop out.
7. Private self-financing schools with better infrastructure and academic standards do not admit students from tribal community in their institutions.
8. Good private aided schools, run on government financial aids, show reluctance to admit students belonging to tribal community.

Government/Governmental policies

9. Inadequacy of governmental policies providing financial assistance for the educational upliftment of tribals.
10. Inadequate implementation of reservation policies for the educational upliftment of tribals.

11. Lack of enough programmes making tribal population aware about the need and importance of education.
12. Lack of attention of Local Self-Government institutions towards the educational upliftment of the tribals.
13. No proper and timely intervention for the educational upliftment of tribals by Department of Tribal Development.
14. Lack of attention from the part of the officials of Department of Tribal Development.
15. No proper and timely intervention of the State Department of Education for the educational upliftment of tribals.
16. Lack of attention of the officials in the Department of Education.
17. Insufficient number of special schools for tribals.
18. Lack of special and appropriate teacher training programmes for teachers to teach tribal students.
19. Lack of awareness creation programmes among the tribals regarding the governmental provisions and assistances. They see these as 'free' rather than 'rights' which leads to its under-utilisation and mis-utilisation.

Tribal family/Tribal parents

20. Tribal children are forced to keep a distance from school education due to poverty.
21. Troubled familial situation leads to irregular attendance and subsequent early drop out of the tribal students from schools.
22. Unemployment among tribal parents makes their children's education unaffordable for them.

23. Lack of facilities in tribal houses makes learning hard or just impossible at home.
24. Lack of interest of tribal parents in their wards education.
25. Lack of awareness among tribal parents about the future benefits of being educated such as better socio-economic status and occupational status.
26. Illiteracy of tribal parents leads to failure in providing right education to their children.
27. Ignorance of tribal parents regarding education leads to passiveness towards education. They therefore keep their children detached from education.
28. Parents' habit of regular consumption of alcohol makes them unconcerned about the education of their children.

Tribal Student

29. Tribal children's unwillingness to go to school regularly and their lack of interest in learning hinder the educational upliftment of the tribal community.
30. Introversion and inferiority complex of the tribal children is their major obstacle to education.
31. Tribal students think that they are of inferior intelligence when compared to the non-tribal students. Such thoughts make serious impediments to their further educational upliftment.
32. Self-learning is very hard for tribal students.
33. When compared to non-tribal students, tribal students have low ability to immediately grasp the lessons from class.
34. Health problems owing to malnutrition and starvation affect the education of tribal children.
35. Consumption of intoxicants such as alcohol and tobacco in a very early

stage of life makes education of tribal children difficult.

36. To assist parents in earning a livelihood, the tribal students leave school in a very early stage.
37. Attraction towards money as 'wage' forces the tribal children to go for wage labour in a very early age and thereby terminate their school education.
38. Lack of proper understanding of tribal students about governmental assistance leads to miss-utilisation and under-utilisation of these provisions.

Teachers

39. Lack of sincerity of teachers towards their profession.
40. Most of the teachers are from non-tribal background. They hardly show special care and attention to tribal students to motivate them to make educational attainments.
41. Lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal communities.
42. The teachers, in general are ignorant about tribal languages and its colloquial usages. Due to this, teachers fail to make good classroom interaction with tribal students.

Curriculum

43. Inadequacy of school curriculum.
44. Problem regarding the medium of instruction.
45. The existing school curriculum does not consider the socio-cultural peculiarities and interests of tribal community.

School/ Educational infrastructure

46. Inadequate number of schools in the district.

47. Inadequate facilities in existing government and aided schools.
48. Lack of sufficient number of teachers in existing schools.
49. Inadequacy of facilities in special schools for tribals runs by Scheduled Tribe Development Department.
50. Increased distance between tribal colonies and schools.
51. Poor condition and inadequate hostel facilities for tribal students.

To assure the validity of the above depicted 51 barriers to the educational upliftment of tribal community the researcher conducted an opinion survey among a selected sample. The sample was confined to three different categories of people – tribals, non-tribal natives and school teachers. To conduct this survey the researcher prepared three schedules of statements on the basis of the above depicted observations (The schedules of statements are given in the Appendix (Appendix No. 14, 15 and 16). While selecting the tribal respondents the researcher gave due attention to aspects such as the respondents' education (respondents should have minimum high school education) and their ability to make independent opinion. In the case of respondents from non-tribal category, along with the above said conditions for tribal sample the respondents' participation in social, occupational and political arena of the society (the respondents should have a commitment to their society and responsible role in society) were also taken into consideration. And in the case of teacher respondents, the only condition was that they should have taught tribal pupils. Teacher sample for this purpose was selected from varied government and aided schools and tribal special schools in *Wayanad* district. Total number of sample was 300. It consisted of 100 tribals, 100 non-tribals and 100 school teachers. The details generated by the survey depicted in Table 35.

Table 35

Share of Tribal, Non-Tribal Native and Teacher Respondents Agreeing with the Identified Barriers to the Expansion of Education among Tribals

Sl No.	Statements regarding the barriers to the expansion of education among tribals	Share of respondents agreeing with the statements (<i>in per cent</i>)			
		Tribals	Non-tribals	Teachers	Total
I	Society/Tribal society				
1	Tribals do not have role models among them with better educational attainments.	95	55	79	76.33
2	Tribals who have attained better life status through education do not give much importance to the educational upliftment of other members of the community.	93	83	85	87
3	Peculiar tribal customs, rituals and festivals are major reasons for school drop out among tribal children.	76	52	75	67.67
4	Other sections of the society (non-tribals) do not show any interest in the educational upliftment of tribals.	95	74	76	81.67
5	Political and social workers of the locality do not pay enough attention to the educational upliftment of the tribals.	87	71	77	78.33
6	Unsystematic and extra marital relations and early marriage among the tribals are major causes of tribal students' school drop out.	95	95	100	98.33
7	Private self-financing schools with better infrastructure and academic standards do not admit students from tribal community in their institutions.	87	87	77	75
8	Good private aided schools, run on government financial aids, show reluctance to admit students belonging to tribal community.	84	60	60	68
II	Government/Governmental policies				
9	Inadequacy of governmental policies providing financial assistance for the educational upliftment of tribals.	82	68	69	73
10	Inadequate implementation of reservation policies for the educational upliftment of tribals.	95	74	80	83

11	Lack of enough programmes making tribal population aware about the need and importance of education.	95	64	93	84
12	Lack of attention of local self government institutions towards the educational upliftment of the tribals.	97	94	67	86
13	No proper and timely intervention for the educational upliftment of tribals by Department of Tribal Development.	91	89	74	84.67
14	Lack of attention from the part of the officials of Department of Tribal Development.	89	92	70	83.67
15	No proper and timely intervention of the State Department of Education for the educational upliftment of tribals.	91	80	56	75.67
16	Lack of attention of the officials in the Department of Education.	86	74	59	73
17	Insufficient number of special schools for tribals.	93	49	62	68
18	Lack of special and appropriate teacher training programmes for teachers to teach tribal students.	86	83	67	78.67
19	Lack of awareness creation programmes among the tribals regarding the governmental provisions and assistances. They see these as 'free' rather than 'rights' which leads to its under-utilisation and mis-utilisation.	80	96	65	80.33
III	Tribal family/Tribal parents				
20	Tribal children are forced to keep a distance from school education due to poverty.	91	71	83	81.67
21	Troubled familial situation leads to irregular attendance and subsequent early drop out of the tribal students from schools.	95	100	100	98.33
22	Unemployment among tribal parents makes their children's education unaffordable for them.	97	56	77	76.67
23	Lack of facilities in tribal houses makes learning hard or just impossible at home.	99	100	100	99.67
24	Lack of interest of tribal parents in their wards education.	89	92	100	93.67

25	Lack of awareness among tribal parents about the future benefits of being educated such as better socio-economic status and occupational status.	100	75	92	89
26	Illiteracy of tribal parents leads to failure in providing right education to their children.	100	100	100	100
27	Ignorance of tribal parents regarding education leads to passiveness towards education. They therefore keep their children detached from education.	100	94	100	98
28	Parents' habit of regular consumption of alcohol makes them unconcerned about the education of their children.	97	100	100	99
IV	Tribal Student				
29	Tribal children's unwillingness to go to school regularly and their lack of interest in learning hinder the educational upliftment of the tribal community.	84	100	100	94.67
30	Introversion/shyness and inferiority complex of the tribal children is their major obstacle to education.	95	76	92	87.67
31	Tribal students think that they are of inferior intelligence when compared to the non-tribal students. Such thoughts make serious impediments to their further educational upliftment.	96	62	87	81.67
32	Self-learning is very hard for tribal students.	84	77	68	76.33
33	When compared to non-tribal students, tribal students have low ability to immediately grasp the lessons from class.	97	74	73	81.33
34	Health problems owing to malnutrition and starvation affect the education of tribal children.	95	80	92	89.33
35	Consumption of intoxicants such as alcohol and tobacco in a very early stage of life makes education of tribal children difficult.	93	98	100	97
36	To assist parents in earning a livelihood, the tribal students leave school in a very early stage.	46	57	93	65.33

37	Attraction towards money as 'wage' forces the tribal children to go for wage labour in a very early age and thereby terminate their school education.	100	94	98	97.33
38	Lack of proper understanding of tribal students about governmental assistance leads to miss-utilisation and under-utilisation of these provisions.	84	96	66	82
V	Teachers				
39	Lack of sincerity of teachers towards their profession.	76	66	47	63
40	Most of the teachers are from non-tribal background. They hardly show special care and attention to tribal students to motivate them to make educational attainments.	78	62	32	57.33
41	Lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal communities.	93	56	62	70.33
42	The teachers, in general are ignorant about tribal languages and its colloquial usages. Due to this, teachers fail to make good classroom interaction with tribal students.	88	64	42	64.67
VI	Curriculum				
43	Inadequacy of school curriculum.	82	63	58	67.67
44	Problem regarding the medium of instruction.	86	74	55	71.67
45	The existing school curriculum does not consider the socio-cultural peculiarities and interests of tribal community.	80	55	59	64.67
VII	School/ Educational infrastructure				
46	Inadequate number of schools in the district.	89	67	56	70.67
47	Inadequate facilities in existing government and aided schools.	31	18	22	23.67
48	Lack of sufficient number of teachers in government and aided schools.	43	37	19	33
49	Inadequacy of facilities in special schools for tribals runs by Scheduled Tribal Development Department.	91	69	55	71.67
50	Increased distance between tribal colonies and schools.	91	59	75	75
51	Poor condition and inadequate hostel facilities for tribal students.	98	77	64	79.67

Source: Fieldwork

Table 35 shows that a vast majority of the respondents agreed with the barriers to the expansion of education among tribal community identified by the researcher. According to their opinion, all the major aspects coming under the investigation such as society, government, tribal parents, students, teachers, curriculum and school were responsible to a large extent for the educational backwardness of tribal community. Among the 51 observations two got less share of favourable response from the total respondents. The rest of the 49 issues existing significantly as the barriers to the growth of education among tribal people.

Among the societal aspects all of the eight identified barriers to the educational upliftment of tribals, absence of role models, tribal customs and rituals, negligence from other sections of the society, negligence from the part of social and political activists, practices of early marriage and unsystematic marital and extra marital relations among tribals and the attitude of the authorities of schools other than government schools - were strongly agreed up on by all category of respondents.

The next major cause for the educational backwardness of tribals is the government and its policies. Here the researcher identified 11 barriers to the growth of education among tribals which focusing on governmental policies, implementation of reservation policies, awareness programmes about the need and importance of education among tribals, function of local self-government institutions and government departments such as education and tribal development, responsibility of the officials of the responsible departments, special schools and allied educational facilities for tribals, teacher training and awareness creation on provisions of governmental assistances among tribals. The share of the respondents who supported the researcher's observations shows undoubtedly that all the identified barriers to the educational upliftment

of tribals under this aspect are the relevant causes of educational backwardness of the tribal community of the region.

The third major aspect causing the educational backwardness of tribals is the tribal family/tribal parents. Here the researcher identified nine barriers. The response of the majority of the respondents of all the three categories strongly agreed with researcher's observations. Therefore, certainly we can say that poverty, troubled familial situation, unemployment of parents, lack of facilities in houses, lack of interest among parents to educate their children, lack of awareness among parents about the future benefits of being educated, illiteracy of parents, ignorance about education among parents, and parents' habit of regular consumption of alcohol are the important barriers to the educational upliftment of tribal mass in the region.

The next major aspect is 'tribal student'. Under this aspect the researcher identified ten barriers to the educational upliftment of tribal community. They are tribal children's unwillingness to go to school regularly, introversion/shyness and inferiority complex, their notion about their intelligence as inferior, difficulty to self-learning, low ability to grasp lessons, health problems due to malnutrition and starvation, consumption of intoxicants such as alcohol and tobacco in very early stage of life, responsibility to assist parents to earn a livelihood, attraction towards wage and wage labour and lack of proper understanding about governmental assistances to their educational upliftment. From the table (Table. 35) one can see that a majority of respondents from all the three selected categories strongly support the researcher's observations on the 'tribal student' aspect of barriers to the educational upliftment of the tribals. To obtain the educational upliftment among tribals only by resolving these issues.

The other major aspect of the cause of educational backwardness of tribals was 'teachers'. Under this aspect four barriers were identified – lack of

teachers sincerity towards their profession, non-tribal background of teachers, lack of awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal life and teachers' ignorance about tribal languages. Majority of the tribal and non-tribal respondents agreed with all the seven observations made by the researcher. But the majority of the teacher respondents did not agree with the three statements regarding teachers' sincerity, teachers' non-tribal background and their less care towards tribal students and teachers' ignorance about tribal languages. A majority of teacher respondents did agree with the researcher with his observations regarding the lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal communities as an important barrier to the expansion of education among tribals of the region.

Under the aspect 'curriculum' researcher identified three barriers to the educational upliftment among tribals - inadequacy of school curriculum, problem of medium of instruction and the school curriculum giving negligible consideration to the socio-cultural peculiarities and interests of the tribal community. Majority of the respondents from all the three categories agreed with all the three point of views made by the researcher. It shows that the existing school curriculum is not enough to draw tribals' attention towards education. It is necessary to modify the existing curriculum in order to meet the requirements and to fuse the whole population to the system of modern formal education.

The last major aspect of tribal educational backwardness is 'school/educational infrastructure'. Under this aspect the researcher identified six barriers to the enhancement of education among tribals – inadequate number of schools, inadequacy of facilities in government and aided schools, lack of enough number of teachers in schools, inadequacy of facilities in special schools for tribals, increased distance between tribal colonies and schools, and poor condition and inadequate facilities of hostels for tribal

students. Here a majority of respondents from all the three categories did not agree with the two observations made by the researcher regarding inadequacy of facilities in government and aided schools and lack of enough number of teachers in schools. But majority of the respondents agreed with the rest of the observations made by the researcher.

Part 5

Conclusion

The discussion on socio-economic profile of tribals in the selected region has showed their backwardness and undesirable condition of life. School drop out during early stage of education and child labour is prevalent among tribal areas. Rate of illiteracy is high among tribals. Number of higher educated persons is very few among tribals. There are existing inter-group differences among different tribal communities (*Kurichyans* and *Paniyans*) regarding total educational status, literacy, school drop out, enrolment and higher educational qualifications. Regarding total educational status *Kurichyans* show better position than *Paniyans*. Illiteracy, early school drop out and non-enrolment in school are prevailing as serious issue among tribal women. Land (homestead land as well as agriculture land) is a serious issue among tribals. There are existing inter-group differences among different tribal communities (*Kurichyans* and *Paniyans*) regarding possession of land and other properties. Regarding the status of property possession *Kurichyans* show better situation than *Paniyans*. Generally the tribal labour in the region are engaged in agriculture and related activities mainly as wage-labourers. Large majority of *Paniyans* are engaged in wage-labour. Participation of women in wage-labour is also high among them. *Kurichyans* are generally cultivators. Majority of them are occasionally engaged in wage labour and along with cultivation in their own or leased land. Work participation rate among men is higher among them. Occupational diversification is hard to see among *Paniyans* but it is considerably high among *Kurichyans*. Lack of inter-personal relationship or social networks have a greater role in the development of tribals. Housing is also found as a major issue among tribals, generally. Material as well as hygienic conditions of the existing dwellings are found as a serious issue among *Paniyans*. In the case of housing status

Kurichyans are far better than *Paniyans*. Ill health due to inadequate food and malnourishment and high and regular consumption of liquor and tobacco are found as a very serious issue among tribals.

In social-theoretical view point it can be assumed that the society's perception on tribals' situation is a historically and socially constructed one as 'they are ignorant and inefficient' or 'all their backwardness is due to their own inefficiency'. The socially and historically existing notion on tribals as 'inefficient' has also been influencing the tribals and caused to evolve an unenthusiastic self-perception among themselves as inefficient and incompetent. All their actions and world-views may be influenced and directed by these self-perceptions.

The socio-economic realities of the tribal life and the existing social constructions on tribals' inefficiency may be or is definitely prejudiced by policy makers in making of policies for tribal development and during its execution. The welfare policies, never considering the target population's subjectivity - the policies build with the prejudiced notion of inefficient and incompetent subjectivity of the targeted population - may be reduced just to a transaction of 'assistance' or 'free help' between the empowered authority and the powerless hapless subjects. A total negation of tribals' subjectivity has occurred. This is due to the lack of democracy in the policies, policy making and its execution. The interventions made to rectify these policies will not be useful to the targeted sections because these policies do not touch the root of the issue - aroused from a particular socio-political-cultural context. So, as one of the respondents said, "it is high time to rethink and re-format the existing policies and perception on development as well as tribal development".

During the fieldwork, the researcher investigated and collected feedback from the targeted population and the public about the effectiveness

of governmental schemes and programmes for the development of tribals. The researcher observed that all of them in general accepted the idea of 'the state's intervention for the development of tribals' undoubtedly but they had made a lot of complaints and criticisms regarding the state's developmental schemes and programmes for tribal development at varying practical and emotional levels. The major criticisms were related to the adequacy, competence, usefulness of the schemes and programmes implemented by the government and functional inefficiency and disorganization in its execution level. Most of these developmental programmes are not the offshoot of the real developmental needs and idea of development of the targeted population. The supposed beneficiaries – the tribals – do not have an active role in planning and designing of these programmes. Theoretically speaking, there are spaces for the tribals to get involved in planning and designing of developmental policies such as *oorukoottams*, *gramasabhas* and so on. But, all these remain merely a bureaucratic exercise. The *oorukoottams* and *gramasabhas* or such other bodies are not organised in function and do not contribute much to the making of developmental policies more democratic. Lack of democracy in policy making and its implementation can be observed as a prominent issue. India is a democratic country. Country has a system of political administration, the government, where the people choose by ballot and works on the basis of philosophy of democracy. There have bureaucratic system to assist the government in governing the nation. However, at practical level the minimum needs of life of the common people are often pulled away from the core. The tribals like most deprived sections of the society still keep away from the power of national political decision making. At present they have no true representation other than the technical requirements in it. This situation has to change. They cannot attain any development in socio-economic and educational status of their life if they fail to acquire an active role in expressing their opinions and views during building of policies intended for

their development. Or else, the aim of the tribal development plan that is 'freedom from exploitation' will remain a dream.

In the light of the present study it can undoubtedly state that the education has a great role in the development of tribals. The selected respondents from different sections of the society unanimously support the observations of the researcher regarding the significant role of education in the development of tribal people of the region (depicted in the Table 34). One can argue without any doubt education, especially formalised mode of education is the key catalyst to the development of socially and historically marginalised and subjugated social groups such as tribals. Education perpetuates knowledge and knowledge build rationality and scientific attitude towards life. Education will strengthen their inner potentials and innate skills which help them to become a constructive human capital to the nation and society. Beyond all the inner strength provided by education is essential for them to resist and overcome the exploitation and poverty.

Analysing the share of response made by the subjects against the 51 observations made by the researcher on the barriers to the expansion of education among tribal community (depicted in the Table 35), one can say without doubt that among them 49 observations are relevant and significant in the context of educational upliftment of tribal community of the region. The study identified 49 significant issues need to be before the state and society to resolve if they really think of overcoming the social and developmental aspects leading to the problem of educational backwardness of tribals and thereby achieve the development of tribals in Kerala.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

*Observations Derived from the Discussion on
Socio-Economic Status of the Tribals*

*Observations Derived from the Discussion on
Social Perception on 'Tribe'*

*Observations Derived from the Discussion on
State Developmental Initiatives for Tribals*

*Observations Derived from the Discussion on
the Barriers of Expansion of Education
among the Tribals*

Conclusion

Suggestions for Future Research

Ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of the socially and historically deprived and marginalised social groups and their integration into mainstream of the society is the greatest challenge that the government of India has been facing since independence. It is an obvious fact that largely the tribal population constitute the most disadvantaged and poor section of the country's population. The tribals have been victimised for continuous exploitation in all realms of socio-economic, cultural and political life of the society even though there are several protective measures and definite provisions for the welfare and development endorsed for them by the constitution of the nation. Even though they are considered as citizens of the nation with the rights endowed by the constitution, practically they are deprived of several civic rights, mainstream business of the economy and advanced conditions of life.

The government has been giving highest priority to education as a corner stone of socio-economic development of the most disadvantaged section of the society including tribals. Because, education is recognised by the state as most effective way to enable them to perform as advantageous citizen in a democratic country. Education enables the tribals to recognise themselves as citizens with potential to participate in the process of nation building and social development. Education will provide mental and physical strength and capacity to them to overcome all kinds of barriers of social prejudices and exploitations.

The government of Kerala also has been implementing several policies and programmes for the development of its tribal population. Among them the programmes for their educational upliftment is given higher priority. In fact, as discussed earlier, in almost all the recent years more than 50% of the fund allotment under the state level schemes of the Scheduled Tribe Development Department of Kerala has been on education. It is due to the reason that

education is a very important determinant of occupation, income and social mobility of the disadvantaged and marginalised sections of the society. So, right to quality education, access to education and opportunities to all levels of education are more importantly viewed as a basic duty of a government in a democratic society.

The present study viewed that the education is the chief prerequisite of any sort of development. The study entitled as 'Education and development among tribals in Kerala: A study with special reference to *Wayanad* district' explored the interconnectedness of education and development of tribal people. It was an effort to study the prevailing socio-economic and educational status and the hurdles of development of tribals in general. The study analysed the role of education in the development of tribal community and the peculiar issues which hindered the expansion of education among them. The study made a critical understanding of the tribal developmental interventions of the government particularly in the sphere of education. The present study was undertaken with the following objectives:

1. To study the socio-economic status of the selected tribal groups in the area under study,
2. To understand the social perception on 'tribe',
3. To critically examine the state's developmental initiatives for the development of tribal population,
4. To highlight the role of education in the development of tribals,
5. To identify the barriers to the expansion of education among tribals.

Methodologically, the study can be categorized as qualitative research. This study adopted methodological insights from varied social science disciplines and its branches such as social anthropology, ethnography, sociology, development studies and economics. In order to realise each objective the researcher used different tools and techniques such as

questionnaire, schedule of the statement of opinions and structured interview schedules.

The district of *Wayanad* was the selected area for field work. Purposive sampling techniques were used for the selection of sample from the focused population for primary data collection. The sample confined different categories of people – tribal parents, tribal students, non-tribal natives, school teachers, social workers and political activists. The total duration of the fieldwork comprised three phases – first phase, socio-economic survey; second phase, interviews intended to collect details regarding social perception on tribals and their educational status; and the third phase was the cross checking phase of the scrutinised facts, information and researcher's observation gathered during the first and second phases of the fieldwork.

The appropriate data were presented in a descriptive manner. Simple tabulation method was used for the presentation of the data. Percentage analysis was also used for the discussion and analysis of the data. Not much strictly, but the researcher had tried to make the discussion and analysis of the obtained data in a qualitative manner.

Observations Derived from the Discussion on Socio-Economic Status of the Tribals

To discuss the socio-economic status of the tribals in the selected area the researcher conducted survey among 100 tribal house-holds heads (50 *Kurichyans* and 50 *Paniyans*) and 400 tribal individuals (in the age group 15 – 55 years). To understand the socio-economic status of tribals the researcher analysed certain aspects of tribal life such as educational status, property possession, occupational status, inter-personal relationship (social network), housing status and finally health and nutritional status.

The tribals are entitled for free of cost education in all respects. But they often remain non-educated and illiterate. One can definitely suspect the

governmental initiatives and interventions in this regard. It can be observed that the root problem is that the tribals are not rightly informed about the governmental interventions for their educational development. Their ignorance about the measures taken by the government to help them get better educated is the real problem which has led to severe under utilisation and hefty miss utilisation of these incentives. The major issues observed in the parlance of tribal development were the high incidence of ignorance and illiteracy among them. There exists large number of non-school educated among tribals. Drop out during early stage of education is high among tribal students. Poverty is the major reason of their drop out. Mostly, the tribal children are attracted to wage labour in a very early age and become school drop out because they get enough money from doing small jobs. Lack of knowledge about the expected future benefits of education is a stumbling block from spreading education among tribals and the tribal parents have no aspirations or dreams regarding the better future life and career of their children. The tribal students do not show any interest to learn lessons taught in schools. The lessons taught in class room are strange to them and do not have a relation with their culture, customs and immediate surroundings of life. The lessons taught in class rooms are not enough to satisfy their immediate wishes and needs. Tribal students feel loneliness in school and they are sitting in class room as caged bird. The language used in class room by the teacher for instruction is strange to them. There is deficiency in sufficient special care and reinforcement from the part of the teachers which lead to the tribal students' early drop out from schools. The tribals do not have role-models having better education and employed with good salary in their accessible surroundings. The tribals' ignorance about the governmental developmental measures, the absence of proper and timely interventions and assistance from the Government, Local Self-Government bodies and Scheduled Tribe Development Department are enforcing pathetic condition of educational

status of tribals. Inter-group differences among different tribal groups are also observed, the non-school educated and school drop outs among the *Paniya* tribe is higher than *Kurichya* tribe. The educational deprivation among the women is higher among the tribals.

It is a fact that landlessness is an acute problem among tribes. The organised and unorganised struggles for land led by tribals in now a days show the severity of this issue. Among the total selected sample majority of the house-holds (62%) have land possession below 10 cents and among them majority are *Paniyans*. Some of the house-hold respondents (28%) have cultivation in leased land. All of them who are doing cultivation in leased land are *Kurichyans*. Majority of *Kurichya* house-holds (22% of *Kurichya* house-holds) have land over 50 cents up to five acres and many of them (56%) have leased land over 50 cents up to three acres. In the case of *Paniyans*, they do not have any land possession as their own or as lease other than their dwelling or homestead land in their colony. Among the total *Paniya* sub-sample, the large majority (94%) have come under the category of land holders of below 10 cents. Most of them have only three to five cents of land. Only six percentages of total *Paniya* house-holds has land above 10 cents, but below 20 cents. There are a lot of tribal house-holds in which two or three families living in a small house. The possession of property other than land such as live stock is negligible among tribals.

The occupational status of tribals shows that most of them are engaged in agriculture and related activities. There are inter-group differences among the tribal communities - *Kurichya* and *Paniya* with respect to their occupational status. Among the *Paniyans*, almost (81.94%) are engaged in wage labour, that too in agricultural sector. Among them the work participation rate of women is higher than men. Among the *Kurichya* respondents, a considerable share is agriculturists and majority of respondents

are engaged in wage labour along with agricultural activities. All the *Kurichya* respondents have their own agricultural land and a number of them have leased land also for doing cultivation. In the case of *Kurichyans* the work participation rate of men are comparatively higher than women. Majority of tribals are engaged in wage labour, most probably in agricultural sector, with insufficient or no agricultural land holdings. Only a few of the respondents are full-time agriculturists, doing cultivation in their own as well as leased land. Regarding the occupational categories such as 'agriculture only' and 'wage labour only' the participation rate of females can be seen as higher than males. The high dependence on agriculture has resulted less marginal productivity of tribal labour. Some of the tribal house-holds have livestock possession and they are engaged in livestock rearing as an additional means of their economy. The share of respondents employed under government service is negligible. There are a few government employees among them but mostly is in most subordinate status. The number of tribals engaged in self-employment is negligible. A few respondents have been engaged in self-employment along with agriculture. The tribals engaged in wage labour in construction sector are negligible. Private sector employment is still remaining inaccessible to tribals. There are a few respondents who are working as nursing assistant, driver, tailor, and textiles salesman. The rate of unemployment is less among tribals.

The lack of sufficient social networks (between individuals and institutions) serves to reinforce the most backward condition of tribals. While this is a problem faced by tribals in general, the problem is more acute in the case of *Paniya* and like tribals. *Kurichyans*, who have considerably better contacts and connections with the other individuals and institutions. Generally, the tribals interact mostly within their immediate surroundings and are trapped by limited exposure. They are unable for liaison with external organisations and institutions (socio-cultural, governmental and non-

governmental) to enhance their socio-economic and political position in the society. This lack of social network/social linkage denies them access to various opportunities and facilities provided by the state as well.

Most of the respondent house-holds (89%) are constructed with either partial or complete financial assistances provided by the government under varied schemes through varied agencies. But the acuteness of the problem of houselessness obviously showed that the existing schemes are insufficient. There are two or three families residing in a single congested house. Even though there are varied governmental assistances and schemes for housing among tribal the problem still remain as acute. Generally, the tribal house-holds are situating in congested and unhygienic colonies. There are existing visible differences among the *Kurichya* and *Paniya* house-holds regarding the structure of house, cleanliness, basic amenities *etc.* There is no sufficient space, rooms and furniture in *Paniya* houses. The material status of *Paniya* colonies is still more pathetic. The close proximity of houses and higher number of houses in a limited land made their colonies more congested. *Kurichyans'* dwelling places are also known as colonies which are visibly different from *Paniya* colonies regarding the material conditions of colonies like the homestead land, cleanliness, facilities, *etc.* All the *Kurichyans* lived in the houses constructed in their own familial/inherited land. Planned concrete houses are higher in number among them. The proximity of houses is less and does not feel congested. Mostly the *Paniya* house-holds have no idea about the original documents of their possession of land and they gave no importance to such matters. But, the *Kurichya* house-holds kept all documents regarding their possession or they had clear idea about the documents of their properties. Most of the respondent house-holds (92 %) have their own ration card. Some of the respondent house-holds do not have ration card and normally, they never get any assistance from government to enhance their familial condition. The house-hold requirements such as electricity, drinking

water availability, toilet facilities, cooking fuel such as LPG gas still remain as inaccessible to tribals in a larger extent.

None of the house-hold respondents who participated in this survey reported such kinds of epidemics or diseases, especially, among the members of respondent *Kurichya* house-holds. In the case of *Paniyans* - even they did not report any health problems - there is serious problem of shortage of nutritional food. The usual diet of the most of the tribals is less nutritional. They also had health problems due to the high and regular consumption of liquor and tobacco. Even though their area has necessary medical care facilities, they never went to the doctors or took medicine at proper time even when they are ill. They are keeping a never mind attitude towards health problems.

Observations Derived from the Discussion on Social Perceptions on 'Tribe'

The present study viewed that the socio-cultural prejudices existing among the society about tribals can be treated as one of the basic hindrances of their development. As per the social perception the tribals are always treated by the society as disadvantaged, inefficient, ignorant, less intelligent, less competent, irresponsible, unsystematic, alcoholic and addicted tobacco like intoxicants, lazy and lethargic people, hapless subjects and incompetent to compete with their non-tribal counter parts of the society. Such social perceptions on tribals are having a high influence on the evolution of self-perception of tribals. The prevailing notions among society on tribals also influence the government and policy makers. The governmental policies and schemes for the upliftment of tribals perhaps focus on their disadvantages but never consider their potential strengths. The ideological subordination through the existing social constructions as well as physical subjugation for a long period has made unable the tribals to identify themselves their own

potential strengths and put forth them in front of the society and the developmental policy makers. The educational interventions among the tribals by the state should be formulated and oriented with the basic aim which enables the tribals to identify and strengthen their potential strengths. To achieve the development of tribals there should have a shift in the perception of the government and the planners about tribal development strategies. They should give more attention and priority to the potential strength of the tribal people rather than sharing and focussing the general social perceptions on their disadvantages and inefficiencies.

Observations Derived from the Discussion on State's Developmental Initiatives for Tribals

The documents regarding the tribal developmental interventions of the state shows that there is an annual allocation and expenditure of lakhs and crores of rupees for varied developmental purposes of the tribals. Whatever be the governmental interventions with respect to the development of tribal folk in the state, the tribals are still remain in a viciously backward status in all arenas of life. They still live in absolute poverty, illiteracy, poor access to proper education and high socio-economic deprivation. They are remarkably deprived in four basic necessities for well being are housing quality, access to drinking water, good sanitation and electricity, unemployment, higher rate of alienation from land, landlessness, houselessness and poor health. The major share of the allotted funds under varied schemes and programmes intended for the socio-economic development and enhancement of educational status of the tribal community is being ineffectual since they failed to reach up to the notified objective.

The study investigated and collected feedback from the targeted population and the public about the effectiveness of governmental schemes and programmes for the development of tribals. The major criticisms were

related to the adequacy, competence, usefulness of the schemes and programmes implemented by the government and functional inefficiency and disorganization in its execution level. Most of these developmental programmes are not the offshoot of the real developmental needs and idea of development of the targeted population. The supposed beneficiaries – the tribals – do not have an active role in planning and designing of these programmes. The *oorukootams* and *gramasabhas* or such other bodies are not organised in function and do not contribute much to the making of developmental policies more democratic. Lack of democracy in policy making and its implementation can be observed as a prominent issue.

Observations Derived from the Discussion on the Role of Education in Tribal Development

During the first and second phases of fieldwork the study collected opinions and observations regarding ‘the role of education in tribal development’ from different significant sections of the local society. Majority of the respondents (maximum 100% and minimum 63%) had agreed with the researcher’s observations. That means education has great role in the development of tribals and other most disadvantaged and marginalised sections of the society.

The selected observations on ‘the role of education in tribal development’ are listed below.

1. Education is the most appropriate and significant means of tribal development.
2. Education is the only way to enhance the social status of the tribals.
3. Education is the most significant means to overcome the historically rooted deprivation among tribals.
4. Education is the most significant means to eradicate socio-economic exploitation among tribals.

5. Education will help the tribal people to make effective utilisation of governmental agencies, assistances and schemes for their development.
6. Education will enable the tribals to effectively enjoy the provisions under policy of reservation for the betterment of their life.
7. Education will help the tribals to increase their representation and participation in the public as well as political spheres.
8. Education will help the tribals to get a salaried employment under government service.
9. Education will help the tribals to find an employment other than agriculture related activities.
10. Education will help the tribals to make effective communication and maintain good relationship with the other sections of the society.
11. Education will help the tribals get rid of their reluctance to approach the public institutions and make use of them effectively.
12. Education will help the tribals to face other people confidently by withering away their inferiority complexes.
13. Education will help the tribals to point out their requirements and demands in front of the authorities.
14. Education will help the tribals to better their familial condition.
15. Education is a necessity to eradicate poverty among tribals.

Observations Derived from the Discussion on the Barriers of Expansion of Education among the Tribals

The present study identified relevant 49 specific barriers to educational upliftment of tribals under seven major aspects. The major aspects or the sources of barriers identified are society/tribal society, government/government policy, tribal family/tribal parents, tribal students, teacher, curriculum and school/educational infrastructure. The identified specific barriers are listed below.

I. Society/Tribal society

1. Tribals do not have role models among them with better educational attainments.
2. Tribals who have attained better life status through education do not give much importance to the educational upliftment of other members of the community.
3. Peculiar tribal customs, rituals and festivals are major reasons for school drop out among tribal children.
4. Other sections of the society (non-tribals) do not show any interest in the educational upliftment of tribals.
5. Political and social workers of the locality do not pay enough attention to the educational upliftment of the tribals.
6. Unsystematic and extra marital relations and early marriage among the tribals are major causes of tribal students' school drop out.
7. Private self-financing schools with better infrastructure and academic standards do not admit students from tribal community in their institutions.
8. Good private aided schools, run on government financial aids, show reluctance to admit students belonging to tribal community.

II. Government/Governmental policies

9. Inadequacy of governmental policies providing financial assistance for the educational upliftment of tribals.
10. Inadequate implementation of reservation policies for the educational upliftment of tribals.
11. Lack of enough programmes making tribal population aware about the need and importance of education.
12. Lack of attention of local self government institutions towards the educational upliftment of the tribals.

13. No proper and timely intervention for the educational upliftment of tribals by Department of Tribal Development.
14. Lack of attention from the part of the officials of Department of Tribal Development.
15. No proper and timely intervention of the State Department of Education for the educational upliftment of tribals.
16. Lack of attention of the officials in the Department of Education.
17. Insufficient number of special schools for tribals.
18. Lack of special and appropriate teacher training programmes for teachers to teach tribal students.
19. Lack of awareness creation programmes among the tribals regarding the governmental provisions and assistances. They see these as 'free' rather than 'rights' which leads to its under-utilisation and mis-utilisation.

III. Tribal family/Tribal parents

20. Tribal children are forced to keep a distance from school education due to poverty.
21. Troubled familial situation leads to irregular attendance and subsequent early drop out of the tribal students from schools.
22. Unemployment among tribal parents makes their children's education unaffordable for them.
23. Lack of facilities in tribal houses makes learning hard or just impossible at home.
24. Lack of interest of tribal parents in their wards education.
25. Lack of awareness among tribal parents about the future benefits of being educated such as better socio-economic status and occupational status.

26. Illiteracy of tribal parents leads to failure in providing right education to their children.
27. Ignorance of tribal parents regarding education leads to passiveness towards education. They therefore keep their children detached from education.
28. Parents' habit of regular consumption of alcohol makes them unconcerned about the education of their children.

IV. Tribal Student

29. Tribal children's unwillingness to go to school regularly and their lack of interest in learning hinder the educational upliftment of the tribal community.
30. Introversion and inferiority complex of the tribal children is their major obstacle to education.
31. Tribal students think that they are of inferior intelligence when compared to the non-tribal students. Such thoughts make serious impediments to their further educational upliftment.
32. Self-learning is very hard for tribal students.
33. When compared to non-tribal students, tribal students have low ability to immediately grasp the lessons from class.
34. Health problems owing to malnutrition and starvation affect the education of tribal children.
35. Consumption of intoxicants such as alcohol and tobacco in a very early stage of life makes education of tribal children difficult.
36. To assist parents in earning a livelihood, the tribal students leave school in a very early stage.
37. Attraction towards money as 'wage' forces the tribal children to go for wage labour in a very early age and thereby terminate their school education.

38. Lack of proper understanding of tribal students about governmental assistance leads to miss-utilisation and under-utilisation of these provisions.

V. Teachers

39. Lack of sincerity of teachers towards their profession.
40. Most of the teachers are from non-tribal background. They hardly show special care and attention to tribal students to motivate them to make educational attainments.
41. Lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal communities.
42. The teachers, in general are ignorant about tribal languages and its colloquial usages. Due to this, teachers fail to make good classroom interaction with tribal students.

VI. Curriculum

43. Inadequacy of school curriculum.
44. Problem regarding the medium of instruction.
45. The existing school curriculum does not consider the socio-cultural peculiarities and interests of tribal community.

VII. School/ Educational infrastructure

46. Inadequate number of schools in the district.
47. Inadequate facilities in existing government and aided schools.
48. Increased distance between tribal colonies and schools.
49. Poor condition and inadequate hostel facilities for tribal students.

One can say without doubt that all these observations are relevant and significant in the context of educational upliftment of tribal community. Among the 51 observations, identified earlier, two of them got less share of

favourable response from the total respondents. After eliminating these unimportant observations there are 49 issues need to get focus from the state and society to resolve them; if they really think of overcoming the social and developmental aspects leading to the problem of educational backwardness of tribals and thereby achieving the development of tribals in Kerala.

Conclusion

The study criticised the adequacy, competence, usefulness of the schemes and programmes implemented by the government and functional inefficiency and disorganization in its execution level. Most of the developmental programmes authorised by the state are not the consequence of the real developmental needs of the tribal population. The socio-economic status of tribals obviously shows the condition of socio-economic backwardness. Their lack of property ownership, menial occupational status, absence of sufficient inter-personal relationships are greatly reinforces their backwardness. All the other developmental issues such as better housing, good health status and availability of proper nutrition and diet are found as problematic among tribals. It is further reinforced by their lack of awareness, ignorance, improper utilisation and less benefit from developmental interventions of the government for them. The study also observed that to achieve the development of tribals there should have a necessary shift in the social perception on tribals and perception of the government and the planners about tribal development strategies. The study strengthens the idea of education as a significant prerequisite of development and undoubtedly stated that education have great role in the development of tribals including marginalised sections of the society. The study also identified a number of factors which hinder the educational upliftment of tribal community which are the basic barriers of their development.

In the light of the significant observations evolved from the discussions and analysis of the research questions the study makes some suggestions to overcome the hurdles of development of tribal community in Kerala. To make the development more democratic and humanly desirable is very important in the realm of development of any marginalised and disadvantaged social groups especially the tribals. For which the state's practice of development and developmental policy making are becoming more democratic by providing crucial role to tribals. So that, the developmental policy makers should definitely give more importance to potential strengths of tribals while formulating policies and strategies for the development of tribals. The social prejudices and its influence on developmental policies and policy makers and even in moulding of tribal's self concept are observed as the crucial issue in the development of tribal community. So, to avoid prejudices while preparing policies and strategies of tribal development is very important. Lack of proper awareness among the tribals about the significance and objective of the governmental policies for their development caused the massive underutilisation of the developmental schemes and consequent exploitation. So, it is important to make the tribals able to utilise the governmental policy provisions by providing necessary awareness and capabilities through the obligatory socio-political interventions especially through the expansion of education among them.

To give more priority to the provisions of quality education in the developmental interventions by the state is the most effective way to overcome the hurdles of tribals' development. At present the drop out at the early stage of education is very high among the tribals. There are many reasons to this such as poverty, attraction to wage labour, unfamiliar medium of instruction, uninterested contents in syllabus, lack of support from parents and teachers and so on. However, the basic reason is that the tribals are highly unaware about the need and significance of education and its future benefits

to achieve better standard of life. It is essential to change this situation. For which the educational planners and educators should try to incorporate more content with school curriculum from interested areas of tribals such as their history, traditions, customs and environment and give more priority to tribal colloquial language in the schools of tribal concentrated areas. And provide special linguistic training to teachers to acquaint with tribal languages and their tradition. It is also an important suggestion that the teachers who are having genuine interest to teach and have commitment to their development should be appointed in the schools of tribal concentrated area. Establish more schools by giving priority to tribals' educational upliftment rather than special schools for tribals only in tribal concentrated areas. To equip the schools, curriculum and teachers to manage the problems and special needs of the tribal children. And provide skill development oriented professional training along with formal education to tribal children.

As an institution as well as an agency education have greater role in the process of changing social perception on tribals as well as the self-perception of the tribals. To change the existing social perception on tribals there should have a meaningful recognition from the part of mainstream of the society as tribals are the citizens of the nation and they also have complete privilege, freedom and right to function as effective citizens. To attain the aim of change in the prevailing social perception on tribals the self-perception and attitude of tribals are also subjected to change. The process of change in the social perception, attitude and self-perception of any particular social group is argued as the function of education. So, there should have provisions for education, more importantly democratic citizenship education, for the non-tribal and tribal members of the society are greatly significant.

Suggestions for Future Research

On the basis of the present study the researcher suggest the following for further research in this area.

- Studies can be conducted in other tribal concentrated areas of the state and country.
- A comparative study between the tribals in different tribal concentrated regions within the state or country about their education and development can be undertaken.
- A study can be conducted on the peculiar issues of educational backwardness of tribal women in Kerala or other states of India.
- An in depth study can be conducted on the social perceptions on tribes and its consequence on socio-economic and educational development of tribals.
- An in depth study can be conducted on the construction of special educational package for tribals.
- An in depth study can be conducted on the status of higher education among tribals and its possibilities in tribal development.
- A detailed and critical investigation can be conducted on governmental policies and measures for the socio-economic and educational development of tribals.
- There is possibilities of research studies on tribals' education such as school drop out, failure, teachers' efficiency, issues related to curriculum, status of educational infrastructure, advantages and disadvantages of special schools, significance of residential school system, issues and merits of educational policies, issues related to medium of instruction and significance of professional and skill oriented education among tribals.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A**TRIBALS IN INDIA – A GENERAL PROFILE**

India has the second largest concentration of tribal population following African continent. Consisting of 461 groups (Government of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, The Annual Report 2006-07, reported that there are over 700 Scheduled Tribes notified under Article 342 of the Constitution of India), they constitute 8.2% of the total population of the country, making for a total tribal population of 84.32 million as per 2001 census (Government of India, 2007). Among the total tribal population of the country, 91.7% live in rural areas and 8.3% in urban areas. The sex-ratio of Scheduled Tribe population in 2001 was 978 which were much higher than the national average of 933. As per 2001 census out of the total tribal population males are 4.26 crores and females are 4.17 crores, accounting for 8.01% and 8.40% respectively. The proportion of Scheduled Tribe population to the total population had also increased from 6.9% in 1971 to 8.2% in 2001. Among them about 80% live in the central belt, extending from Gujarat and Rajasthan in the west, and across the states of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa, to West-Bengal and Tripura in the east. Most of the remaining 20% live in the north-eastern states of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim and in the union territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Andaman and Nicobar, and Lakshadweep. A few of them live in the southern states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka. Andhra Pradesh has the largest tribal population among the southern states of India (Rath, 2006, Mohapatra & Mishra, 2000).

Table A-1
Scheduled Tribes in India: Demographic Statistics (2001 Census)

Sl. No	India/State	Scheduled Tribe (ST) population		Decadal growth (in %)	% age of STs in the state to total state population in 2001	% age of STs in the state to total ST population in India in 2001
		1991	2001			
1	India	67,758,380	84,326,240	24.5	8.2	--
2	Andhra Pradesh	4,199,481	5,024,104	19.64	6.6	5.96
3	Arunachal Pradesh	550,351	705,158	28.13	64.2	0.84
4	Assam	2,874,441	3,308,570	15.1	12.4	3.92
5	Bihar	6,616,914	758,351	--	0.9	0.9
6	Chhattisgarh	--	6,616,596	--	31.8	7.85
7	Goa	376	566	50.53	--	0.001
8	Gujarat	6,161,775	7,481,160	21.41	14.8	8.87
9	Haryana	--	--	--	--	--
10	Himachal Pradesh	218,349	244,587	12.02	4	0.29
11	Jharkhand	--	7,087,068	--	26.3	8.4
12	Karnataka	1,915,691	3,463,986	80.82	6.6	4.11
13	Kerala	320,967	364,189	13.47	1.1	0.43
14	Madhya Pradesh	15,399,034	12,233,474	--	20.3	14.51
15	Maharashtra	7,318,281	8,577,276	17.2	8.9	10.17
16	Manipur	632,173	741,141	17.24	34.2	0.88
17	Meghalaya	1,517,927	1,992,862	31.29	85.9	2.36
18	Mizoram	653,565	839,310	28.42	94.5	1
19	Nagaland	1,060,822	1,774,026	67.23	89.1	2.1
20	Orissa	7,032,214	8,145,081	15.83	22.1	9.66
21	Punjab	0	--	--	--	--
22	Rajasthan	5,474,881	7,097,706	29.64	12.6	8.42
23	Sikkim	90,901	111,405	22.56	20.6	0.13
24	Tamil Nadu	574,194	651,321	13.43	1	0.77
25	Tripura	853,345	993,426	16.42	31.1	1.18
26	Uttarakhand	--	256,129	--	3	0.3
27	Uttar Pradesh	287,901	107,963	--	0.1	0.13
28	West Bengal	3,808,760	4,406,794	15.7	5.5	5.23
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	26,770	29,469	10.08	8.3	0.03
30	Chandigarh	0	--	--	--	--
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	109,380	137,225	25.46	62.2	0.16
32	Daman & Diu	11,724	13,997	19.39	8.8	0.017
33	Delhi	0	--	--	--	--
34	Lakshadweep	48,163	57,321	19.01	94.5	0.07
35	Pondicherry	0	--	--	--	--
36	Jammu & Kashmir	--	1,105,979	--	10.9	1.31

Note: States like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal (now Uttarakhand) were created in the year 2000 after reorganisation of the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Source: Government of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Annual Report 2011

Tribals have traditionally lived in about 15% of the country's geographical areas, mainly forests, hills and undulating inaccessible terrain in plateau areas, rich in natural resources. They have lived as isolated entities for centuries, largely untouched by the society around them. This seclusion has been responsible for the slower growth, dissimilar pattern of their socio-economic and cultural development and inability to negotiate and cope with the consequences of their involuntary integration into mainstream society and economy. Tribals continue to be socio-economically backward (Awais, Ala & Asif, 2009). Poverty is widespread among them (Table A-2). It is a matter of concern that Human Development Indices (HDIs) of the Scheduled Tribe population continue to be much lower than the rest of the population in terms of all parameters, such as, education, health, income, *etc.* To further compound the problem, these deprived sections of the society also suffer from the geographical and cultural exclusion, which are not reflected in the HDI (Government of India, n.d.).

India-Social Development Report-2008 shows the Social Development Index (SDI) for Scheduled Tribes for thirteen major tribal populated states except north-eastern states, newly formed states of central belt of the nation and union territories, *viz.*, Andhra Pradesh (21.89), Bihar (8.30), Gujarat (25.96), Himachal Pradesh (49.39), Karnataka (28.94), Kerala (50.24), Madhya Pradesh (16.33), Maharashtra (26.42), Orissa (13.37), Rajasthan (23.71), Tamil Nadu (30.06), Uttar Pradesh (21.12), West Bengal (19.03). A composite SDI made by considering six major dimensions of social development, confined demographic parameters, health indicators, educational attainments, basic amenities, economic deprivation, and social deprivation. The all India level for Scheduled Tribes is estimated to be 19.56, which is significantly lower than that for non-Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes (34.38) and Scheduled Castes (24.98). Among the thirteen states, the SDI value is highest in Kerala at 50.24, closely followed by Himachal Pradesh with an index value of 49.39. The third ranking state of Tamil Nadu has an index value about 19 points lower than that of Himachal Pradesh. Among the thirteen states, nine states have ranks higher than the all-India average and four of them have ranks below it. The last ranking state Bihar has an index value of just 8.30, which is less than one-

sixth of the value of the top ranking state. At the national level in 2001 SDI for Scheduled Tribes had an absolute gap of 14.82% as compared with non-Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes. Andhra Pradesh has the highest absolute gap for Scheduled Tribes at 19.36, followed by Gujarat (19.19%). The absolute gap between Scheduled Tribes and others of Kerala, West Bengal, and Tamil Nadu are also quite high. Himachal Pradesh is the only state where the absolute gap is negative, implying that SDI for Scheduled Tribes is higher than for others and higher social development attainments for Scheduled Tribes in comparison to others. The disparity-ratio of Scheduled Tribes at the national level was 0.57, which indicates that their social development achievement is just 57% of that of others. The relative disparity variation ranged from 0.42 in Bihar to 1.05 in Himachal Pradesh during 2001. The other states with relatively low disparity for Scheduled tribes are Uttar Pradesh (83%), Kerala (74%), Rajasthan (72%) and Karnataka 67%). States with relatively high disparity are Orissa (47%), West Bengal (52%) and Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh (each with 53%) (Kurian, 2008). The discussion on SDI clarifies the levels and regional variations of social development of Scheduled Tribes of the peninsula in a comparative way.

Table A-2

Scheduled Tribe Population Living Below Poverty Line (1993-94 and 2004-05)

Category	1993-94		2004-05		Percentage decrease (1993-94 to 2004-05)	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
All*	37.30	32.40	28.30	25.70	(-) 9.00	(-) 6.70
STs	51.94	41.14	47.30	33.30	(-) 4.64	(-) 7.84
Gap	14.64	9.76	19.00	7.60	(+) 4.36	(-) 2.16

Note: * Includes ST population

Source: Perspective Planning Division, Planning Commission, New Delhi. (As cited in Government of India, 2008)

A substantial section of the tribal population earns their livelihood as labourers mainly engaged in unorganised sector. The work participation rate (total workers as percentage of total population) of the Scheduled Tribe population is

much higher than that for the general population and also for Scheduled Caste population (Verma, 1990). The share of tribal representation in Central Government Service is meagre (Table A-3).

Table A-3

Percentage of Scheduled Tribe Representation in Central Government Services in 1994, 1999, and 2004 (as on 01.01.2004)

Group	1994 (% of total population)	1999 (% of total population)	2004 (% of total population)
A	2.92	3.39	4.1
B	2.81	2.35	4.6
C	5.38	6.07	6.7
D	6.15	7.00	6.7
Total	5.49	6.17	6.54

Source: Annual Reports, DoP&T, GoI (As cited in Government of India. 2008).

Each one of the tribes is associated with a specific geographic area, some more dispersed than other. Most having their own language, which is generally different from the 'mainstream' language of the state in which they live. While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life, at one end of the spectrum are 75 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), who are characterised by: a pre-agriculture level of technology; a stagnant or declining population; extremely low literacy; and a subsistence level of economy. Tribal people tend to live in two main types of situations: 1) in 'mixed' (tribal and non-tribal) rural communities, within reach of educational and other opportunities and resources, and 2) in habitations that are small in size and located in relatively inaccessible hilly or forested areas of the country. Majority of these habitations have less than 200 persons. The distribution of tribal people in these two types of settlement varies markedly by state, district and even block, calling for different strategies to be used in different areas to provide elementary education to tribal children. Demographically tribal habitations are small in size, scattered and are sparsely populated. Because of this, most of these villages were bereft of basic infrastructural facilities like transport and communication. Formal education was also not available to these people and localities for a long

time. The literacy rate for the Scheduled Tribe communities was only 29.6% in 1991 as against the national average of 52.19%. In 2001 this has improved to 47.1% with female literacy improving from 18.2% to 34.8% (Census of India, 2001). Between 1961 and 2001, the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes increased 5.32 times, while that of total population increased 2.69 times (Table A-4).

Table A-4

Literacy Rate of General Population and Scheduled Tribe Population during 1961-2001

Year	General			Scheduled Tribe (ST)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	34.44	12.29	24.02	13.83	3.16	8.53
1971	39.45	18.70	29.45	17.63	4.85	11.30
1981	46.89	24.82	36.23	24.52	8.04	16.35
1991	64.1	39.3	52.2	40.65	18.19	29.60
2001	75.3	53.7	64.8	56.17	34.76	47.10

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05, Ministry of Human Resource Development. (As cited in Government of India 2008)

In 2001, there were 14 million tribal children enrolled in elementary schools as against 20.24 million in the 6-14 years age group (Government of India, 2007a). There has been an overall increase in the enrolment of children belonging to Scheduled Tribes. At the primary stage, against an overall increase of 15%, enrolment of students from Scheduled Tribe community increased by 25%, whereas that of Scheduled Tribe girls increased by 36% against overall increases of 23% from 2000 to 2004. At the upper primary level against an overall increase of 20%, Scheduled Tribe students enrolment increased by 35%, whereas that of Scheduled Tribe girls increased by 47% against girls' overall increase of 30% (Table A-5).

Table A-5

Enrolment of Scheduled Tribe Students in Schools (in 1000)

Year	Primary (I-V)			Upper Primary/Middle (VI-VIII)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2000-01	6330	4665	10995	1879	1205	3084
2001-02	6691	5040	11731	2054	1306	3360
2002-03	6422	5408	11830	1930	1320	3250
2003-04	6776	5741	12517	2136	1526	3662
2004-05	7367	6369	13737	2395	1776	4171

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2002-03, Ministry of Human Resource Development (As cited in Awais, Ala & Asif, 2009)

The cohort drop out rates among tribal children were as high as 52.3% for primary level of education and 69.5% for upper primary level. The two main issues in the education of tribal children that emerged were inadequate physical access and socio-cultural differences which came in the way of their participation in schooling. The Seventh All-India Educational Survey, 2002, reported that a total of 80% of tribal habitations have schools within or less than one kilometre radius at primary level. Similarly, at upper primary level a total of 67% habitations have been provided upper primary school within a radius of three kilometres. Thus for 20% of habitations at the primary stage and 33% at the upper primary stage, access was still an issue (Government of India, 2007a). The school drop out rates among the tribals are still very high (Government of India, 2008) (Table A-6). As regards development of educational infrastructure in the tribal areas, the government is attempting to create physical infrastructure within easy reach of the tribal students in tribal areas through establishment of *Eklavya* Model Residential Schools (currently 90 in number), creation of educational complexes in pockets having less than 10% literacy amongst women and by providing scholarships at all levels to the Scheduled Tribe students (Government of India, n.d.).

Table A-6

Scheduled Tribe School Drop Out Rates, 2004-05

Sex	Classes I to V			Classes I to VIII			Classes I to X		
	All	ST	Gap	All	ST	Gap	All	ST	Gap
Boys	31.8	42.6	(-)10.7	50.4	65.0	(-)14.6	60.4	77.8	(-)17.4
Girls	25.4	42.0	(-)16.6	51.3	67.1	(-)15.8	63.9	80.7	(-)16.8
Total	29.0	42.3	(-)13.3	50.8	65.9	(-)15.1	61.9	79.0	(-)17.1

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05, Ministry of Human Resource Development. (As cited in Government of India, 2008)

As a result of various steps taken by the central and state governments, there have been some improvements in the poverty alleviation, employment and literacy among the tribal folk (Table A-2, A-3 and A-4). However, it is the fact that the tribal peoples of India have been victimized to the ruthless exploitation, several authors working in this area ascribed about the depth of exploitation that has been faced by them. For instance, Verma (1990) traced out the history of exploitation of tribal people from earlier rulers of various kingdoms of Indian peninsular region, and it continues in the eras of *Aryans* invasion, *Mugals*, British rule and presently it goes through by the hands of a new class of exploiters represented by contractors, middlemen of trade, *zamindars*, revenue and police officials, immigrants cultivators to the tribal lands *etc.* He also pointed out that the main causes of backwardness of tribal folk are high exploitation and mass illiteracy. They continue to be exploited through liquor and money lending. Economic development of tribal folk is not possible without effective protection against exploitation and without improving literacy.

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Appendix B**CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR TRIBES**

Article 342 of the Constitution of India specified certain tribes to be Scheduled Tribes. Unlike Scheduled Castes, there is no religious bar for specifying a tribe as Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution of India has also made definite provisions for the welfare and uplift of the – tribal people throughout the country. The policy of the state governments towards the Scheduled Tribes is governed by the board directives laid down in the constitution. Based on these constitutional provisions, specific policies for tribal development have been incorporated in the strategy of economic development in Five-Year Plans. In fact the development of Scheduled Tribes as a social responsibility of the President of India and the Governors in the state are responsible for reviewing the administration as well as the development of Republic of India. It is therefore incumbent of on the administration, both at the union as well as in the states to promote laws and administrative policies relating to the tribal population which belongs to the lowest rank of social order (Padhi, 2005).

Under the Constitution of India, comprehensive special provisions have been made for protection and development of Scheduled Tribes. The main provisions relating to Scheduled Tribes are contained in the Articles 15 (Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth), 16 (Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment), 46 (Promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections), 164 (Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes or any other work), 243 D (Reservation of seats in *Panchayat...*), 244 (Administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas), 244A (Formation of an autonomous state comprising certain tribal areas in Assam and creation of local Legislature or Council of Ministers or both therefore), 275(1) (State to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the state with the approval of the government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that

state...), 330 (Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People), 332 (Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the states), 334 (Reservation of seats and special representation to cease after sixty years), 335 (Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts), 338A (National Commission for Scheduled Tribes), 339 (Control of the Union over the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribe), 342 (Scheduled Tribes), Fifth Schedule (Provisions as to the Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes.) and Sixth Schedule (Provisions as to the Administration of Tribal Areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.) of the Constitution (Constitution of India, as modified up to the 1st December, 2007).

The constitution laid emphases on both protective as well as developmental aspects. Under the constitutional safeguards some sections of the tribal population of the country attained considerable upliftment in their socio-economic and political life. However, generally, the tribal folk in India remaining at the bottom of the socio-economic and political power structure of the society. The so called development projects have not only bypassed them, but have often harmed them by taking away their lands and other resources on which their livelihood was based (Saxena, 2008), and there has been several living examples from our surroundings itself.

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Appendix C

SOCIO-ECONOMIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRIBAL HOUSE-HOLD HEADS

Dr.K.P.Meera

Reader

Department of Education

University of Calicut

Pramod. K.M

Research Scholar

Department of Education

University of Calicut

The intention of this questionnaire is to collect the details regarding socio-economic conditions of the tribal house-holds. Details collected by this questionnaire will be confidential and will not transfer to any other purpose and persons. I kindly request for your whole-hearted co-operation.

Date:

Yours faithfully

Pramod. K. M

SECTION 1

1.1. General Information

1.1.1	Locality	
1.1.2	District	
1.1.3	<i>Panchayat</i>	
1.1.4	Ward number	
1.1.5	Village	
1.1.6	House number	
1.1.7	Name of the head of the family	

1.2. Details of the respondent

1.2.1	Name	
1.2.2	Relationship with head of the family	
1.2.3	Religion/community/tribe	
1.2.4	Male/female	Female Male
1.2.5	Age years

Appendices

1.2.6	Occupation	Coolie Private sector Govt. sector Co-operative sector other Details:		
1.2.7	Educational Status	Illiterate	Literate	
		Educational qualifications: Details:		
1.2.8	Whether your family comes under BPL / APL	BPL	APL	
		Colour of ration card: No ration card:		

1.3. House Hold details

1.3.1	Type of the house	poor	satisfactory	good
	1.3.1.1	Roof		
	1.3.1.2	Wall		
	1.3.1.3	Floor		
	1.3.1.4	Ventilation/aeration		
1.3.2	Type of ownership			
1.3.3	Number of rooms			
1.3.4	Electricity connection			
1.3.5	Size of house plot acrecent		
1.3.6	Availability of drinking water	Source:		
1.3.7	Whether your house situated in a colony?	Yes No If yes name of the colony:		
1.3.8	Bath room			
1.3.9	Toilet	Type:		
1.3.10	Type of cooking fuel			

Appendices

1.3.11	Facilities in home	TV <input type="checkbox"/> vehicle 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2, <input type="checkbox"/> 3, <input type="checkbox"/> phone <input type="checkbox"/> /mobile phone <input type="checkbox"/> fridge <input type="checkbox"/> fan <input type="checkbox"/> music system <input type="checkbox"/> grinder <input type="checkbox"/> computer <input type="checkbox"/> Any other:
--------	--------------------	--

1.4. Details of the family members

1.4.1 Total number:

1.4.2 Details of the members

Sl No.	Name	Relationship with head of the family	Age	Female/male	Marital status	Educational status/stage where the respondent stop his studies	Employment/ income	Health status
1								
2								
3								

1.5 Details of your diet

Adequate		Not adequate		Three times		Two times		One time	
----------	--	--------------	--	-------------	--	-----------	--	----------	--

1.6. Details of cultivable land holding

yes	no	cent	acre	Details:

1.7. Details of leased land for cultivation

yes	no	cent	acre	Details:

1.8. Details of domestic animals

No.	For income generation		Pet animals		
	Item	No.	No.	Item	No.
1			1		
2			2		
3			3		

1.9 How did you meet expenses of your house construction?

1	Own savings		7	Co-operative banks	
2	Hereditary wealth		8	Private bank	
3	Assistance from <i>Grama panchayat</i>		9	Self help groups (co- operative institutions)	
4	Assistance from Block <i>panchayat</i>		10	Private individuals	
5	Assistance from District <i>panchayat</i>		11	Others:	
6	Public sector banks				

Appendix - D

SOCIO-ECONOMIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRIBAL INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS

Dr.K.P.Meera
Associate Professor
Department of Education
University of Calicut

Pramod. K.M
Research Scholar
Department of Education
University of Calicut

The intention of this questionnaire is to collect the details regarding socio-economic conditions of the people belonging to the tribal communities. Details collected by this questionnaire will be confidential and used only for research purpose. I kindly request for your whole-hearted co-operation.

Date:

Yours Faithfully
Pramod. K. M

SECTION. A

I. General Information

1	Locality	
2	District	
3	<i>Panchayat</i>	
4	Ward number	
5	Village	
6	Name of the colony in which you are staying.	

II. Details of the respondent

1	Name				
2	Community/tribe				
3	Male/female				
4	Age years			
5	Occupation	Coolie			
		Private sector			
		Govt. sector			
		Co-operative Sector			
		If any other, Details:			
6	Educational Status	Illiterate		Literate	
		Educational qualifications Details:			
7	Whether your family comes under BPL / APL	BPL		APL	

III. Details of the family members

1. Total number:

2. Details of the members

Sl No.	Name	Relationship with the head of the family	Age	Female/male	Marital status	Educational status	Employment/income	Health status
1								
2								

IV. Details of your diet

Adequate		Not adequate		Three times		Two times		One time	
----------	--	--------------	--	-------------	--	-----------	--	----------	--

V. Details of cultivable land holding of respondent's family

Yes	No	Cent	Acre	Details:

Details of leased land for cultivation of respondent's family

Yes	No	Cent	Acre	Details:

SECTION. B

I. The following are for the respondents who are not formally educated.

1. Can you explain the circumstances, why you kept away from formal school education?

2. Whether you were interested in school education?

Yes	No	I was totally ignorant about educational facilities and its need	
-----	----	--	--

3. What was your parents' attitude towards education?

Favourable	Not favourable	They were ignorant about education	
------------	----------------	------------------------------------	--

4. Are you aware about the educational programmes of our Governments?

Yes	No

5. Do you ever felt lack of education as a great personal loss?

Yes	Details:
No	
To some extent	

6. What is your ambition regarding your children's education?

II. The following are for the respondents who completed his/her education or a drop out

1. Level of education/the level where the respondent stopped his studies?

2. Reason for your withdrawal from education?

3. Were you interested to continue in school/college while leaving?

Yes		Details:
No		

4. Can you say that the education you acquired helped you to do your present job better?

Yes		Your occupation:
No		
To some extent		

5. What about the marks you scored and rank you attained during your school, college period?

School		Details:
College		Details:

6. Where was your seating position (which row) in the class room?

Front row		Middle row		Back row	
-----------	--	------------	--	----------	--

7. Whether the behaviour of your teachers was satisfactory?

Yes		Details:
No		
To some extent		

8 How was the behaviour of your classmates towards you?

9. Did you have close friends in your class/school/college?

Yes	
No	

10. Whether you were in the leadership of any organisations in school/college?

Yes		Details:
No		
A member/activist only		

11. Did you involve actively in public issues in your school/college?

Yes		Details:
No		

12. Did you have joined in any voluntary organisations?

NSS		NCC		SOCUT		GUIDE		Any other, specify	
-----	--	-----	--	-------	--	-------	--	--------------------	--

13. How did you meet your educational expenses?

Appendix E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRIBAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

Investigator: Pramod K. M,
 Research Scholar
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

Date of visit:
 Time:
 Serial No.:

Research
 Supervisor: Dr. K. P. Meera
 Associate Professor
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

1. Name of the institution:
2. Under which kind of management the institution runs:
3. Locality of the institution: *Panchayat:* *Taluk:* District:
4. Name:
5. Class:
6. Syllabus: State syllabus: CBSE: Any other:
7. Specialization:
8. Medium of education:
9. Mother-tongue:
10. Colloquial language:
11. Facilities supporting education at home

Study room		Electric/Solar light	
Writing table		Computer	
Chair		Library	
Fan		Other facilities	

12. Stays at hostel?

Yes	No
-----	----
13. Does the stay at hostel give you any benefit for your studies positively?

Yes	Details:
No	

14. Facilities available at hostel:

Room		Single room		Room shares with other members (no. of members)	
Writing table		Chair		Fan	Electrical/solar light
Computer		Library		Reading room	Any other facility
Food	Good		Satisfying		Not satisfying

15. Whether satisfied with the facilities available at hostel?

Yes	No	Details:

16. What are the facilities available at school that help your education?

a. School building

Building with enough air circulation and space	Temporary building	Building with not enough facility
Old building	Thatched/shed	
Drinking water is available	Toilet is available	
Yes	No	Yes No

b. Teachers

Do you have teachers for all subjects?	Yes	Details:
	No	

c. Library

Library+ reading room	Yes	No
Books	Enough	Not enough
		Not available
Librarian	Helpful	Not helpful
Yes	No	Details
Furniture	Enough	Not enough

d. Laboratory

Yes	No	Enough facilities	Yes	No
		Lab assistant	Yes	No

e. Whether enough furniture available in class room?

Yes	No
-----	----

f. Play ground

Yes	No
-----	----

17. Whether computer education a subject of study at your school?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

18. Whether the facilities are available for your studies at your school?

Yes	No	Details:

19. Do you think that the facilities available are enough?

Yes	No	Details:

20. Whether the teachers help you in your studies?

Yes	No	Details:

21. Whether you discuss your personal/family matters with your teachers?

Yes	No	Details:

22. Where do you get the financial assistance from?

Parents	
Government support	
Bank loan	
Any personal support	
Sponsored by any private organizations	
Part time job (details)	
N.G.O.	
Any other	

23. Whether your parents ever compelled you to drop your studies due to any economic crisis during your period of study?

Yes	No	Details:

24. Whether you have ever decided to drop your studies due to economic crisis?

Yes	No	Details:

25. What are the financial assistances you get from the government?

Stipend		Lump sum grand		Free hostel facility	
Free text books		Uniform		Lunch	
				Break fast	
Financial assistance for govt.		Other			

26. Do you think that these financial assistances are enough for the educational development?

Yes	No	Details:

27. In which sector you want to continue your higher education?

Social Science	Linguistics	Science	Others such as IT, BA, LLB, MBBS, BTech etc.
			Specify:

28. What is the attitude of your parents about your higher studies?

29. Do you think that your parents are concerned about your studies?

Yes	No	Details:

30. Use of liquor and quarrelling of your parents/any of the family members create a problem or your studies?

Yes	No	Details:

31. Do you have the habit of smoking, liquor consumption, chewing of betel etc?

Yes	No	Details:

Whether you are aware of the negative impacts of these habits?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

32. Whether you help your parents after your school time?

Yes	No	Details of the occupation of parents:

33. Whether you have decided to continue your education?

Yes	No	Details:

34. What do you want to become?

35. Did you get any career guidance classes from school or any other institutions?

Yes	No	How many times?	Objective of the class

36. Whether you have tried to write any entrance exam (Medical, Engineering etc...)?

Yes	No	Details:

37. Whether the required coaching is available in your locality?

School	locality	Details:

38. Whether you have discontinued your studies in between due to any reason?

Yes	No	If yes, what did you do at the time?

39. Are you a member in any of the organizations?

Students' organizations	
NSS	
NCC	
Scout	
Guide	
Discussion groups	
Others	

40. Do you participate in any kind of social activities in your school?

41. Do you have any close friends in your school/class with whom you can share your personal/family matters?

42. Do you find any difficulty in your studies?

In subject	Regarding language	Any other reason
Details:	Details:	Details:

43. What is your opinion about the recent educational reformations brought by the government?

Appendix F

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRIBAL STUDENTS
DOING HIGHER EDUCATION**

Investigator: Pramod K. M,
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Date of visit:
Time:
Serial No.:

Research

Supervisor: Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

1. Name of the respondent:
2. Name of the institution in which you are studying:
3. Course:
4. Educational qualifications acquired:
5. Do you aim for higher education?

Yes	No
-----	----

6. To which level you wish to continue your education?
7. Do you wish to do your higher education in any specific college/ university/ institution?

Yes	No	Details
-----	----	---------

8. How do you manage your expense for studies?

Self-employment	
From parents	
Financial assistance from Govt.	
Scholarship from any institution	
Bank loan	
Others	

9. Educational status of parents and siblings:

Father	
Mother	
Siblings (How many?)	

10. Occupational status of parents and siblings:

Father	
Mother	
Siblings (How many?)	

11. Parents' attitude towards your studies/ higher studies:

12. Did you get a supportive attitude from the part of your teachers in each of your study periods? Did you feel any discrimination?

13. Did you get a friendly attitude from your classmates during your study period? Did you experience any kind of discrimination?

14. Do you participate in any kind of activities regarding the students/ studies of your educational institution?

Yes	No	Details
-----	----	---------

15. Are you a member of any kind of voluntary organizations?

NSS	NCC	Others: Give details

16. Do you work in any students' union?

No	In leadership	Only a member	Only a supporter

17. Stays at hostel?

Yes	No	College hostel	Govt. hostel outside the college campus	Private hostel outside the college campus	Others

18. Experience about the hostel life:

19. How do you spend your educational financial assistances (lump sum grand, stipend, scholarship etc.)?

Hand over to parents	
Buy new dress	
Buy new books	
Buy other study materials	
For other use	

20. Whether received any advices for your education from any one regarding selection of institution, course etc?

21. What do you think about the attitude of the officials at tribal development office?

Appendices

22. Do you have any reasons to suggest for the drop-outs of the tribal students, which stands as a great issue?
23. Tribal groups are still backward class when compared to other social groups. Do you have any reason to suggest for this?
24. The tribal backwardness exists in spite of all the funds spent by the government. Do you have any reason to suggest for this?
25. In any stage of your education did you ever tried or thought to drop-out your studies?
26. Do you think that the government has no consideration towards the tribal groups in Kerala? Explain.

Appendix G

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRIBAL PARENTS – I

Investigator: Pramod K. M,
 Research Scholar
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

Date of visit:
 Time:
 Serial No.:

Research
 Supervisor: Dr. K. P. Meera
 Associate Professor
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

1. General information

Name of the respondent		
Tribe		
Male/female	Female	Male
Age years	
Occupation		
Educational Status		

2. Whether you were interested in school education?

Yes	No	I was totally ignorant about the need of education and educational facilities
-----	----	---

3. What about your attitude towards your children's education?

Favourable	Not favourable	They were ignorant about education
------------	----------------	------------------------------------

4. Are you aware about the adult/continuing educational programmes of our Governments? Are you a participant in any such programmes?

Yes	A participant	Name of the programme:
No	Not a participant	

5. Do you ever felt lack of education as a great loss to tribals?

Yes	Details:
No	
To some extent	

Appendices

6. What is your ambition regarding your children's education/tribal education?
7. Do you wish your children to reach in a better position compared to you in their life?
8. Do you wish to provide better education for your children even if there are difficulties?
9. What is your plan/what you have already done in this perception?
10. Are you aware about the reservations and assistance from governments for your children's education?

Yes		Details:
No		

11. Are you satisfied with the existing reservation and other assistances for education of the children from governments?

Yes		Details:
No		

12. Do you think it is better that children earn something to support family budget rather than wasting time by going school?

Yes		Details:
No		

13. What are the major obstacles in educating children of your locality?

14. Are you satisfied with the educational facilities of your locality?

Yes		Details:
No		
I do not care about those things		

15. Do you think there should have any additional programmes/assistance for the educational progress of your children and locality?

Yes		Details:
No		
I do not think about it		

16. Have you ever noticed your children confront any type of discrimination from his/her teachers, class mates, hostel authorities on the basis of his/her tribe/caste identity?

17. Do you think education will help you to enhance your standard of living?

18. Do you think education will help the *adivasis* to overcome all the social oppressions, socio-economic backwardness and other exploitations?

Appendix H**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRIBAL PARENTS – II**

Investigator: Pramod K. M,
 Research Scholar
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

Date of visit:
 Time:
 Serial No.:

Research
 Supervisor: Dr. K. P. Meera
 Associate Professor
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

General information

1. Place:
2. Name of the respondent:

Male / Female :

Age:

Name of house/colony:

Educational status:

Occupation:

3. Name of husband/wife:

Educational status:

4. Number of children: Boy(s) Girl(s)

Educational status:

	Name	Class
1		
2		

5. Whether aware of the educational assistance get for the tribes from the govt.?

Yes	No	Enough
-----	----	--------

6. Whether aware of the money spend by the Govt. for the educational development of the tribes?

Yes	No
-----	----

7. Did you get the details of educational privileges from any local self-government institutions, village office, Scheduled Tribe Development Department, school, any institution under the Department of Education?

Yes	No	Sometimes	Rarely	Name of the institution:
-----	----	-----------	--------	--------------------------

8. Do you enquired the details from any of the above said institutions?

Yes	No
-----	----

9. Do any political activist, social activist, or any others help or inform you about the educational activities?

Yes	No	Details about the person:
-----	----	---------------------------

10. Did you approach any of the above said people for help in relation to education?

Yes	No
-----	----

11. If yes, whether it made any positive result?

Yes	No
-----	----

12. Whether there is any school [LPS, UPS, HS, HSS, and VHSS], ITI, college, or any other educational institutions run in your locality?

Yes	No	Details about the institution:
-----	----	--------------------------------

	Name of the institution	Whether it works under Govt., Aided or Unaided management

13. Whether you know about the educational institutions run exclusively for the tribal students in Wayanad?

Yes	No
-----	----

14. Such institutions run in your locality

	Name of the institution	Whether it works under Govt., Aided or Unaided management
1		

15. Do you enquire about the details regarding fund that the govt. spends for the tribes in your locality/ district?

Yes	No
-----	----

16. Do you think that the fund reaches in the right hands?

Yes	No
-----	----

17. How far?

Fully	Half	Some	Nothing
-------	------	------	---------

18. Did you face any difficulty for the admission of your children in school/college?

Yes	No	Details

19. Do the tribal students face any kind of difficulty at the time of their admission?

Government	Yes	No	Details
Aided	Yes	No	
Unaided	Yes	No	

20. Whether there is anyone in your village who acquired higher education? How many?

Course	People who have completed	People who are doing course
SSLC		
+2/Pre-degree		
Degree		
P.G.		
Professional courses		
Others		

21. Did you feel that the tribal society is backward when compared to other social groups?

Yes	No	remarks

22. If the answer is yes, what are the reasons?

23. Do you think that the parents of tribal students have a supportive mentality towards the education of their children?

Yes	No	Some parents	Rarely

24. If no, what are the reasons?

25. What do you want your children to become?

26. In your opinion at what level the education of your children should reach?

Literate	
SSLC	
+2	
Degree	
P.G.	
Professional	
Others	

27. Drop-outs are great barrier in the educational development of tribal students in Wayanad. What are the reasons for this?

Appendix - I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS

Investigator: Pramod K. M,
 Research Scholar
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

Date of visit:
 Time:
 Serial No.:

Research
 Supervisor: Dr. K. P. Meera
 Associate Professor
 Dept. of Education
 University of Calicut

General information

1. Locality:
2. Name:
3. Name and address of the institution:
4. Your subject of teaching:
5. Whether any of your students is from tribal groups?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6. Do you find any difficulty to teach them when compared to other students?

Yes	Details:
No	

7. How do you evaluate the approach of tribal students towards their studies?

8. Do you think that they are utilizing the government funds properly?

Yes	No	Reasonably	Details:

9. Do you think that they are not utilizing the facilities properly?

Yes	No	To an extent	Details:

10. Do you think that in spite of all the facilities they get, they are not concentrating in their studies properly?

Yes	No	To an extent	Details:

11. Do you think that they are intellectually backward when compared to other students?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12. Do you think that a better facility can improve their present situation?

Yes	No	Sometimes it may happen	Details:

13. Do you think that lack of facilities are responsible for their educational backwardness?

Yes	Details:
No	

14. Do you involve in any kind of tribal educational developmental activities beyond your limit as a teacher?

Yes	Details:
No	

15. Do you think that the tribal society is not aware of the socio-economic development which the education can bring to their life?

Yes	Details:
No	

16. Whether you try to support the tribal students by understanding their backwardness?

Yes	No	Sometimes

17. Do the other teachers try this?

Yes	No	Sometimes

18. Do you think that the parents are aware of the studies of their children?

Yes	No	To an extent	Details:

19. Do you think that the fund and the developmental programmes by the government are useful?

Yes	Details:	No	Details:
-----	----------	----	----------

20. Do you think that it reaches in the right hands?

Yes	No	To an extent	Details:

21. Do you believe that the tribal students need a special school?

Yes		No		Details:
-----	--	----	--	----------

22. Do you believe that they should study along with other students?

Yes		No		Details:
-----	--	----	--	----------

23. Do you think that the tribal society doesn't get any preference from the government and the society for the issues related to their cultural and socio-economical development they face?

Yes	No	To an extent	Details:

24. Do you think that they are still exposed to exploitation?

Yes		No		Details:
-----	--	----	--	----------

25. Do you think that their tribal rituals affect their studies?

Yes	Details:
No	

26. Do you have any reasons to suggest for the drop-outs of the tribal students, which stand as a great barrier for their social development?

27. Do you think that the required infrastructure facilities are accessible to the school?

Yes	Details:
No	

28. Whether the school authority/teachers take any necessary action to build more facilities?

Yes	Details:
No	

29. Whether there is a PTA in your school?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

30. Whether the parents regularly participate in the PTA meetings?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

31. Whether there are any activities conducted in co-operation with the PTA for the infrastructure development of the school?

Yes	Details:
No	

32. Whether there are adequate facilities for the students for the computer education?

Yes	Details:
No	

33. Does the school provide facilities such as lunch, distribution of nutritious food, immunity vaccines, contingent medicines, awareness classes for health and hygiene?

Yes	Specify:
No	

34. Does the school conduct activities in order to identify the abilities of the tribal students?

Yes	Details:
No	

35. Does the school co-ordinate the programmes such as career guidance classes, counseling and so on?

Yes	Details:
No	

36. Do you believe that these students have also their own aims and aspirations?

Yes	Details:
No	

37. Whether these students discuss their family and personal matters with you?

Yes	Details:
No	

38. Could you suggest solutions for such problems?

Yes	No	Sometimes

39. Do these students find any difficulty to obey the rules and regulations of the school?

Yes	No	Sometimes

40. Whether they do their home-works properly?

Yes	No	Sometimes

41. As a student, whether his/her performances are satisfying in the class?

Yes	No	To an extent	Details:

42. Whether their performances in exams are satisfying?

Yes	No	To an extent	Details:

43. Whether they are active in co-curricular activities?

Yes	No	Arts	Sports	Details:

Appendix - J

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS/
POLITICAL ACTIVISTS**

Investigator: Pramod K. M,
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Date of visit:
Time:
Serial No.:

Research
Supervisor: Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

General information

1. Locality:
2. Name of the respondent:
3. Name of the institution/political organisation:

4. Do you think that tribals are utilizing the government funds properly?
5. Do you think that they are not utilizing the facilities properly?
6. Do you think that in spite of all the facilities they get, they are not concentrating in their studies properly?
7. Do you think that they are intellectually backward when compared to other students?
8. Do you think that a better facility can improve their present situation?
9. Do you think that lack of facilities are responsible for their educational backwardness?
10. Do you involve in any kind of tribal educational developmental activities?
11. Do you think that the tribal society is not aware of the socio-economic development which the education can bring to their life?
12. Whether you try to support the tribals by understanding their backwardness?

13. Do you think that the parents are aware of the studies of their children?
14. Do you think that the fund and the developmental programmes by the government are useful?
15. Do you think that it reaches in the right hands?
16. Do you believe that the tribal students need a special school?
17. Do you think that the tribal society doesn't get any preference from the government and the society for the issues related to their cultural and socio-economical development they face?
18. Do you think that they are still exposed to exploitation?
19. Do you have any reasons to suggest for the drop outs of the tribal students, which stand as a great barrier for their social development?
20. Do you think that the required infrastructure facilities are accessible to the school?
21. Whether the school authority/teachers take any necessary action to build more facilities?
22. Do you believe that these students have also their own aims and aspirations?
23. Could you suggest solutions or give advises to resolve their personal/familial problems?

Appendix - K**ROLE OF EDUCATION IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: SCHEDULE OF STATEMENTS OF OPINION FOR TRIBAL RESPONDENTS**

Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Pramod K. M.
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

This schedule of statements is intended to collect the respondent's opinions on the role of education in the development of tribals. Please read the schedule carefully, and put a tick (√) mark against your response. Write briefly if explanation is asked for.

Date:

Yours faithfully,

K. M. Pramod.

Section. I**Personal information**

Place/*Panchayat*:

Name of the respondent:

Name of your tribe:

Educational status:

Occupation:

Number of children: Boy(s) Girl(s)

Their educational status:

	Name	Class
1		

Section. II**Mark your opinion, whether you agree or not.**

1. Education is the most appropriate and significant means of tribal development.

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

2. Education is the only way to enhance the social status of the tribals.

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

3. Education is the most significant means to overcome the historically rooted deprivation among tribals.

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

4. Education is the most significant means to eradicate socio-economic exploitation among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5. Education will help the tribal people to make effective utilisation of governmental agencies, assistances and schemes for their development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6. Education will enable the tribals to effectively enjoy the provisions under policy of reservation for the betterment of their life.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

7. Education will help the tribals to increase their representation and participation in the public as well as political spheres.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

8. Education will help the tribals to get a salaried employment under government service.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

9. Education will help the tribals to find an employment other than agriculture related activities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

10. Education will help the tribals to make effective communication and maintain good relationship with the other sections of the society.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

11. Education will help the tribals get rid of their reluctance to approach the public institutions and make use of them effectively.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12. Education will help the tribals to face other people confidently by withering away their inferiority complexes.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

13. Education will help the tribals to point out their requirements and demands in front of the authorities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

14. Education will help the tribals to better their familial condition.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

15. Education is a necessity to eradicate poverty among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Appendix - L

ROLE OF EDUCATION IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: SCHEDULE OF STATEMENTS OF OPINION FOR NATIVE NON-TRIBAL RESPONDENTS

Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Pramod K. M.
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

This schedule of statements is intended to collect the respondent's opinions on the role of education in the development of tribals. Please read the schedule carefully, and put a tick (√) mark against your response. Write briefly if explanation is asked for.

Date:

Yours faithfully,
K. M. Pramod.

Section. I

Personal information

Place/*Panchayat*:

Name of the respondent:

Educational status:

Occupation:

Are you interested in the development of tribals:

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Are you a social worker/political activist:

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Section. II

Mark your opinion, whether you agree or not.

1. Education is the most appropriate and significant means of tribal development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2. Education is the only way to enhance the social status of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

3. Education is the most significant means to overcome the historically rooted deprivation among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4. Education is the most significant means to eradicate socio-economic exploitation among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5. Education will help the tribal people to make effective utilization of governmental agencies, assistances and schemes for their development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6. Education will enable the tribals to effectively enjoy the provisions under policy of reservation for the betterment of their life.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

7. Education will help the tribals to increase their representation and participation in the public as well as political spheres.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

8. Education will help the tribals to get a salaried employment under government service.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

9. Education will help the tribals to find an employment other than agriculture related activities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

10. Education will help the tribals to make effective communication and maintain good relationship with the other sections of the society.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

11. Education will help the tribals get rid of their reluctance to approach the public institutions and make use of them effectively.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12. Education will help the tribals to face other people confidently by withering away their inferiority complexes.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

13. Education will help the tribals to point out their requirements and demands in front of the authorities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

14. Education will help the tribals to better their familial condition.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

15. Education is a necessity to eradicate poverty among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Appendix - M**ROLE OF EDUCATION IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: SCHEDULE OF STATEMENTS OF OPINION FOR FOR TEACHERS**

Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Pramod K. M.
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

This schedule of statements is intended to collect the respondent's opinions on the role of education in the development of tribals. Please read the schedule carefully, and put a tick (√) mark against your response. Write briefly if explanation is asked for.

Date:

Yours faithfully,

K. M. Pramod.

Section. I

1. Place/*Panchayat*:
2. Name of the teacher:
3. Name of the school:
4. Subject:
5. There are tribal children among my students:

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
6. I am interested in the matter of tribal development and their education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
7. It is very difficult to teach tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
8. I think education is the only way for the socio-economic development of tribals.

Section. II

Mark your opinion, whether you agree or not.

1. Education is the most appropriate and significant means of tribal development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
2. Education is the only way to enhance the social status of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
3. Education is the most significant means to overcome the historically rooted deprivation among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

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4. Education is the most significant means to eradicate socio-economic exploitation among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5. Education will help the tribal people to make effective utilisation of governmental agencies, assistances and schemes for their development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6. Education will enable the tribals to effectively enjoy the provisions under policy of reservation for the betterment of their life.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

7. Education will help the tribals to increase their representation and participation in the public as well as political spheres.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

8. Education will help the tribals to get a salaried employment under government service.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

9. Education will help the tribals to find an employment other than agriculture related activities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

10. Education will help the tribals to make effective communication and maintain good relationship with the other sections of the society.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

11. Education will help the tribals get rid of their reluctance to approach the public institutions and make use of them effectively.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12. Education will help the tribals to face other people confidently by withering away their inferiority complexes.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

13. Education will help the tribals to point out their requirements and demands in front of the authorities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

14. Education will help the tribals to better their familial condition.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

15. Education is a necessity to eradicate poverty among tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Appendix - N

**BARRIERS OF EXPANSION OF EDUCATION AMONG TRIBALS:
SCHEDULE OF STATEMENTS OF OPINION FOR TRIBAL
RESPONDENTS**

Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Pramod K. M.
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

This schedule of statements is intended to collect the respondent's opinions on the impediments of educational development among tribals. Please read the schedule carefully, and put a tick (√) mark against your response. Write briefly if explanation is asked for.

Date:

Yours faithfully,
K. M. Pramod.

Section. I

- Name of the respondent:
- Place/*Panchayat*:
- Name of your colony:
- Name of your tribe:
- Educational status:
- Occupation:
- Are you interested in the development of tribals:

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

- Are you a social/political activist:

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Section. II

Mark your opinion, whether you agree or not with the following statements.

1. Tribals do not have role models among them with better educational attainments.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2. Tribals who have attained better life status through education do not give much importance to the educational upliftment of other members of the community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

3. Peculiar tribal customs, rituals and festivals are major reasons for school dropout among tribal children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4. Other sections of the society (non-tribals) do not show any interest in the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5. Political and social workers of the locality do not pay enough attention to the educational upliftment of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6. Unsystematic and extra marital relations and early marriage among the tribals are major causes of tribal students' school dropout.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

7. Private self-financing schools with better infrastructure and academic standards do not admit students from tribal community in their institutions.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

8. Good private aided schools, run on government financial aids, show reluctance to admit students belonging to tribal community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

9. Inadequacy of governmental policies providing financial assistance for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

10. Inadequate implementation of reservation policies for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

11. Lack of enough programmes making tribal population aware about the need and importance of education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12. Lack of attention of local self government institutions towards the educational upliftment of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

13. No proper and timely intervention for the educational upliftment of tribals by Department of Tribal Development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

14. Lack of attention from the part of the officials of Department of Tribal Development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

15. No proper and timely intervention of the State Department of Education for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

16. Lack of attention of the officials in the Department of Education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

17. Insufficient number of special schools for tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

18. Lack of special and appropriate teacher training programmes for teachers to teach tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

19. Lack of awareness creation programmes among the tribals regarding the governmental provisions and assistances. They see these as 'free' rather than 'rights' which leads to its under-utilisation and mis-utilisation.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

20. Tribal children are forced to keep a distance from school education due to poverty.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

21. Troubled familial situation leads to irregular attendance and subsequent early drop out of the tribal students from schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

22. Unemployment among tribal parents makes their children's education unaffordable for them.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

23. Lack of facilities in tribal houses makes learning hard or just impossible at home.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

24. Lack of interest of tribal parents in their wards education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

25. Lack of awareness among tribal parents about the future benefits of being educated such as better socio-economic status and occupational status.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

26. Illiteracy of tribal parents leads to failure in providing right education to their children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

27. Ignorance of tribal parents regarding education leads to passiveness towards education. They therefore keep their children detached from education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

28. Parents' habit of regular consumption of alcohol makes them unconcerned about the education of their children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

29. Tribal children's unwillingness to go to school regularly and their lack of interest in learning hinder the educational upliftment of the tribal community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

30. Introversion and inferiority complex of the tribal children is their major obstacle to education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

31. Tribal students think that they are of inferior intelligence when compared to the non-tribal students. Such thoughts make serious impediments to their further educational upliftment.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

32. Self-learning is very hard for tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

33. When compared to non-tribal students, tribal students have low ability to immediately grasp the lessons from class.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

34. Health problems owing to malnutrition and starvation affect the education of tribal children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

35. Consumption of intoxicants such as alcohol and tobacco in a very early stage of life makes education of tribal children difficult.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

36. To assist parents in earning a livelihood, the tribal students leave school in a very early stage.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

37. Attraction towards money as 'wage' forces the tribal children to go for wage labour in a very early age and thereby terminate their school education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

38. Lack of proper understanding of tribal students about governmental assistance leads to miss-utilisation and under-utilisation of these provisions.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

39. Lack of sincerity of teachers towards their profession.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

40. Most of the teachers are from non-tribal background. They hardly show special care and attention to tribal students to motivate them to make educational attainments.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

41. Lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal communities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

42. The teachers, in general are ignorant about tribal languages and its colloquial usages. Due to this, teachers fail to make good classroom interaction with tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

43. Inadequacy of school curriculum.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

44. Problem regarding the medium of instruction.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

45. The existing school curriculum does not consider the socio-cultural peculiarities and interests of tribal community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

46. Inadequate number of schools in the district.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

47. Inadequate facilities in existing government and aided schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

48. Lack of sufficient number of teachers in existing schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

49. Inadequacy of facilities in special schools for tribals runs by Scheduled Tribe Development Department.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

50. Increased distance between tribal colonies and schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

51. Poor condition and inadequate hostel facilities for tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Appendix - O

**BARRIERS OF EXPANSION OF EDUCATION AMONG TRIBALS:
SCHEDULE OF STATEMENTS OF OPINION FOR NATIVE
NON-TRIBAL RESPONDENTS**

Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Pramod K. M.
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

This schedule of statements is intended to collect the respondent's opinions on the impediments of educational development among tribals. Please read the schedule carefully, and put a tick (√) mark against your response. Write briefly if explanation is asked for.

Date:

Yours faithfully,
K. M. Pramod.

Section. I

- Name of the respondent:
- Place/*Panchayat*:
- Educational status:
- Occupation:
- Are you interested in the development of tribals:

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
- Are you a social/political activist:

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Section. I

Mark your opinion, whether you agree or not with the following statements.

1. Tribals do not have role models among them with better educational attainments.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2. Tribals who have attained better life status through education do not give much importance to the educational upliftment of other members of the community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

3. Peculiar tribal customs, rituals and festivals are major reasons for school dropout among tribal children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4. Other sections of the society (non-tribals) do not show any interest in the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5. Political and social workers of the locality do not pay enough attention to the educational upliftment of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6. Unsystematic and extra marital relations and early marriage among the tribals are major causes of tribal students' school dropout.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

7. Private self-financing schools with better infrastructure and academic standards do not admit students from tribal community in their institutions.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

8. Good private aided schools, run on government financial aids, show reluctance to admit students belonging to tribal community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

9. Inadequacy of governmental policies providing financial assistance for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

10. Inadequate implementation of reservation policies for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

11. Lack of enough programmes making tribal population aware about the need and importance of education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12. Lack of attention of local self government institutions towards the educational upliftment of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

13. No proper and timely intervention for the educational upliftment of tribals by Department of Tribal Development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

14. Lack of attention from the part of the officials of Department of Tribal Development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

15. No proper and timely intervention of the State Department of Education for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

16. Lack of attention of the officials in the Department of Education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

17. Insufficient number of special schools for tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

18. Lack of special and appropriate teacher training programmes for teachers to teach tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

19. Lack of awareness creation programmes among the tribals regarding the governmental provisions and assistances. They see these as 'free' rather than 'rights' which leads to its under-utilisation and mis-utilisation.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

20. Tribal children are forced to keep a distance from school education due to poverty.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

21. Troubled familial situation leads to irregular attendance and subsequent early drop out of the tribal students from schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

22. Unemployment among tribal parents makes their children's education unaffordable for them.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

23. Lack of facilities in tribal houses makes learning hard or just impossible at home.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

24. Lack of interest of tribal parents in their wards education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

25. Lack of awareness among tribal parents about the future benefits of being educated such as better socio-economic status and occupational status.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

26. Illiteracy of tribal parents leads to failure in providing right education to their children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

27. Ignorance of tribal parents regarding education leads to passiveness towards education. They therefore keep their children detached from education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

28. Parents' habit of regular consumption of alcohol makes them unconcerned about the education of their children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

29. Tribal children's unwillingness to go to school regularly and their lack of interest in learning hinder the educational upliftment of the tribal community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

30. Introversion and inferiority complex of the tribal children is their major obstacle to education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

31. Tribal students think that they are of inferior intelligence when compared to the non-tribal students. Such thoughts make serious impediments to their further educational upliftment.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

32. Self-learning is very hard for tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

33. When compared to non-tribal students, tribal students have low ability to immediately grasp the lessons from class.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

34. Health problems owing to malnutrition and starvation affect the education of tribal children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

35. Consumption of intoxicants such as alcohol and tobacco in a very early stage of life makes education of tribal children difficult.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

36. To assist parents in earning a livelihood, the tribal students leave school in a very early stage.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

37. Attraction towards money as 'wage' forces the tribal children to go for wage labour in a very early age and thereby terminate their school education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

38. Lack of proper understanding of tribal students about governmental assistance leads to miss-utilisation and under-utilisation of these provisions.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

39. Lack of sincerity of teachers towards their profession.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

40. Most of the teachers are from non-tribal background. They hardly show special care and attention to tribal students to motivate them to make educational attainments.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

41. Lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal communities.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

42. The teachers, in general are ignorant about tribal languages and its colloquial usages. Due to this, teachers fail to make good classroom interaction with tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

43. Inadequacy of school curriculum.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

44. Problem regarding the medium of instruction.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

45. The existing school curriculum does not consider the socio-cultural peculiarities and interests of tribal community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

46. Inadequate number of schools in the district.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

47. Inadequate facilities in existing government and aided schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

48. Lack of sufficient number of teachers in existing schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

49. Inadequacy of facilities in special schools for tribals runs by Scheduled Tribe Development Department.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

50. Increased distance between tribal colonies and schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

51. Poor condition and inadequate hostel facilities for tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Appendix - P

**BARRIERS OF EXPANSION OF EDUCATION AMONG TRIBALS:
SCHEDULE OF STATEMENTS OF OPINION FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS**

Dr. K. P. Meera
Associate Professor
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

Pramod K. M.
Research Scholar
Dept. of Education
University of Calicut

This schedule of statements is intended to collect the respondent's opinions on the impediments of educational development among tribals. Please read the schedule carefully, and put a tick (✓) mark against your response. Write briefly if explanation is asked for.

Date:

Yours faithfully,
K. M. Pramod.

Section. I

- Name of the teacher:
- Place/*Panchayat*:
- Name of your school:
- There are tribal children studying in my school.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
- I am interested in the matter of tribal development and their education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
- It is very difficult to teach tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--
- I think education is the only way for the socio-economic development of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Section. II

Mark your opinion, whether you agree or not with the following statements.

1. Tribals do not have role models among them with better educational attainments.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2. Tribals who have attained better life status through education do not give much importance to the educational upliftment of other members of the community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

3. Peculiar tribal customs, rituals and festivals are major reasons for school dropout among tribal children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

4. Other sections of the society (non-tribals) do not show any interest in the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5. Political and social workers of the locality do not pay enough attention to the educational upliftment of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

6. Unsystematic and extra marital relations and early marriage among the tribals are major causes of tribal students' school dropout.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

7. Private self-financing schools with better infrastructure and academic standards do not admit students from tribal community in their institutions.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

8. Good private aided schools, run on government financial aids, show reluctance to admit students belonging to tribal community.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

9. Inadequacy of governmental policies providing financial assistance for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

10. Inadequate implementation of reservation policies for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

11. Lack of enough programmes making tribal population aware about the need and importance of education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12. Lack of attention of local self government institutions towards the educational upliftment of the tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

13. No proper and timely intervention for the educational upliftment of tribals by Department of Tribal Development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

14. Lack of attention from the part of the officials of Department of Tribal Development.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

15. No proper and timely intervention of the State Department of Education for the educational upliftment of tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

16. Lack of attention of the officials in the Department of Education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

17. Insufficient number of special schools for tribals.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

18. Lack of special and appropriate teacher training programmes for teachers to teach tribal students.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

19. Lack of awareness creation programmes among the tribals regarding the governmental provisions and assistances. They see these as 'free' rather than 'rights' which leads to its under-utilisation and mis-utilisation.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

20. Tribal children are forced to keep a distance from school education due to poverty.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

21. Troubled familial situation leads to irregular attendance and subsequent early drop out of the tribal students from schools.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

22. Unemployment among tribal parents makes their children's education unaffordable for them.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

23. Lack of facilities in tribal houses makes learning hard or just impossible at home.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

24. Lack of interest of tribal parents in their wards education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

25. Lack of awareness among tribal parents about the future benefits of being educated such as better socio-economic status and occupational status.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

26. Illiteracy of tribal parents leads to failure in providing right education to their children.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

27. Ignorance of tribal parents regarding education leads to passiveness towards education. They therefore keep their children detached from education.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

28. Parents' habit of regular consumption of alcohol makes them unconcerned about the education of their children.

Yes		No	
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29. Tribal children's unwillingness to go to school regularly and their lack of interest in learning hinder the educational upliftment of the tribal community.

Yes		No	
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30. Introversion and inferiority complex of the tribal children is their major obstacle to education.

Yes		No	
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31. Tribal students think that they are of inferior intelligence when compared to the non-tribal students. Such thoughts make serious impediments to their further educational upliftment.

Yes		No	
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32. Self-learning is very hard for tribal students.

Yes		No	
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33. When compared to non-tribal students, tribal students have low ability to immediately grasp the lessons from class.

Yes		No	
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34. Health problems owing to malnutrition and starvation affect the education of tribal children.

Yes		No	
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35. Consumption of intoxicants such as alcohol and tobacco in a very early stage of life makes education of tribal children difficult.

Yes		No	
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36. To assist parents in earning a livelihood, the tribal students leave school in a very early stage.

Yes		No	
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37. Attraction towards money as 'wage' forces the tribal children to go for wage labour in a very early age and thereby terminate their school education.

Yes		No	
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38. Lack of proper understanding of tribal students about governmental assistance leads to miss-utilisation and under-utilisation of these provisions.

Yes		No	
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39. Lack of sincerity of teachers towards their profession.

Yes		No	
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40. Most of the teachers are from non-tribal background. They hardly show special care and attention to tribal students to motivate them to make educational attainments.

Yes		No	
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41. Lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers about the socio-cultural context of tribal communities.

Yes		No	
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42. The teachers, in general are ignorant about tribal languages and its colloquial usages. Due to this, teachers fail to make good classroom interaction with tribal students.

Yes		No	
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43. Inadequacy of school curriculum.

Yes		No	
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44. Problem regarding the medium of instruction.

Yes		No	
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45. The existing school curriculum does not consider the socio-cultural peculiarities and interests of tribal community.

Yes		No	
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46. Inadequate number of schools in the district.

Yes		No	
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47. Inadequate facilities in existing government and aided schools.

Yes		No	
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48. Lack of sufficient number of teachers in existing schools.

Yes		No	
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49. Inadequacy of facilities in special schools for tribals runs by Scheduled Tribe Development Department.

Yes		No	
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50. Increased distance between tribal colonies and schools.

Yes		No	
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51. Poor condition and inadequate hostel facilities for tribal students.

Yes		No	
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