

**CULTURE FRIENDLY EDUCATION:
A STUDY OF TRIBES OF MADHYA PRADESH**

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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28 July, 2005

CERTIFICATE

It is certified that the dissertation entitled, “**Culture Friendly Education: A Study of Tribes of Madhya Pradesh**”, submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my own work.


Manoj Kumar

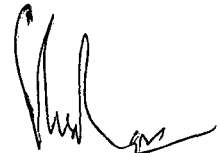
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CONTENTS

	Page
1. Chapter-1: Introduction	1 – 32
1.1. Conceptual Understanding of Education	
1.1.1 Functionalist Theory of Education	
1.1.2 Marxist Theory of Education	
1.2. Importance of Educational System	
1.3. Conceptual Understanding of Tribes	
1.4. Review of Literature of Tribal Education	
1.5. Relevance of the Study	
1.6. Objective of the Study	
1.7. Scheme of Chapterization	
2. Chapter-2: Socio- Economic and Demographic Status of Tribes in Madhya Pradesh	33 - 60
2.1. Population	
2.2. Literacy	
2.3. Sex Ratio	
2.4. Tribal Zones of Madhya Pradesh	
2.4.1. North-Eastern Zone	
2.4.2. Central Zone	
2.4.3. Southern Zone	
2.4.4. Western Zone	
2.4.5. North-Western Zone	
2.5. Tribes of Madhya Pradesh	

2.6.	Customs and Traditions	
2.7.	Land Use Pattern	
3.	Chapter-3: Tribal Education in Madhya Pradesh	61 – 74
3.1.	Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes	
3.2.	Incentives for the Students of Scheduled Tribes	
3.3.	Education for Girls in Madhya Pradesh	
3.4.	Education of Scheduled Tribes in India	
3.5.	Measures Adopted for the Development of Scheduled Tribes	
3.6.	Success and Failure of Educational Scheme for Scheduled Tribes	
4.	Chapter-4: Culture-Friendly Education	75 – 104
4.1.	Tribal Culture and Formal Education	
4.1.1.	Home Atmosphere	
4.1.2.	School Atmosphere	
4.1.3.	Language	
4.1.4.	Sex Life	
4.2.	Socio-Cultural base of Curriculum for Tribal Students	
4.3.	Social Studies and Tribal Culture	
4.3.1.	Culture-Friendly Science	
4.3.2.	Health Education	
4.4.	Perspectives for the Future of Culture-Friendly Education	
5.	Chapter-5: Conclusion	105 – 109
	Bibliography	110 - 112

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table-1: Percentage Population of Scheduled Tribes in India	35
Table-2: Population of males and females and sex ratio of Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh	35
Table-3: Total number of literates and literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh	36
Table-4: Zones and distribution of dominant Tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh	47
Table-5: Land Use Pattern in Madhya Pradesh	58
Table-6: Occupational Structure of Tribal Population in Madhya Pradesh	58
Table-7: Economic Activity of Tribes in Madhya Pradesh	59
Table-8: Education Status :Enrolment by stages (Scheduled Tribes) 2002- 03 in Madhya Pradesh	62
Table-9: Scholarships and Stipends	64
Table-10: Literacy Rate of Scheduled Tribes' Females in Comparison to the Total Female Literacy in India	67

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

In most of the developing countries education is an important element which is believed to launch the population on the path of modernization and progress. The Kothari commission held that the Social Objectives of education is to equalise opportunities that can enable the backward and underprivileged classes to use education as a means for improvement of their socio-economic, cultural and political status. As a promoter of equality, education is also expected to contribute social consciousness and develop human potential to satisfy their social needs.

Conceptual Understanding of Education

In sociology, education is seen as a process that continues throughout the life, which starts at the time of birth of the individuals and ends with his death. According to T. Lynn Smith "Education is a process whereby the socially approved part of the cultural heritage is transmitted from one generation to the next and whereby newly acquired knowledge is diffused among the member of society". In simple terms education means the transmission of profitable experience, by the older generation to the younger one. Therefore when we talk to give education to our younger members we mean that such experience are transmitted to the youngers which may help them to grow physically, socially and economically and culturally.

Every society has its own mode of transmitting these experiences to their younger generations. But the medium of teaching may differ from society to society. In a small scale pre-literate societies the experiences are passed on through legends' folk-lore story telling, drama, dance etc. But in a civilized society the knowledge and experiences are transmitted through agencies like schools, colleges and other formal institutions. In the present time education denotes the formal training imparted in schools and colleges.

Functionalist Theory of Education

The functionalists' view of education has its origin in the work of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim expressed "Society can survive only if this exists among its members to a sufficient degree of homogeneity. Education perpetuates and re-inferences his homogeneity by fixing in the child from the beginning of the essential similarities with collective life demand.¹ Without these essential similarities Durkheim's claims that the cooperation, social solidarity and social life itself would be impossible. Therefore a vital task for all societies whether it is simple or complex, is the welding of the mass of individuals into a united whole.

Durkheim argues that "to become too attached to society" the child must feel in it something that is real, alive and powerful, which dominates the person and to which he also owes the best part of himself. Education, and in particular the teaching to history

¹Durkheim, Emile, 1961, "*Moral Educational*" (Translated by Wilson and Schureit) the free press of Glencoe, Illinois, p.70

provides this link between the individual and society.² Further, Durkheim states that the major functions of education are the transmission of society's norms and values.

Durkheim supports his statement by citing the example of educational practices in the states of America. According to him the American student learn about the founding further, about the American constitution and about Abraham who personifies the American values of equality of opportunity and achievement which marks his Journey form the humble origin to the white house through education. American imparts to their students the path of allegiance to the stars and stripes, the symbol for the American national flag, and socialise them into a commitment to society as a whole.

In Durkheim's perspective of education not only helps for the continuity of social norms and values, but it brings economic change also. So, on the one hand education is seen to help the continuity of social life, on the other hand it brings changes in social life, through economic change by teaching the individual specific skills necessary for his future occupation. ³Following Durkheim, Tallcot Parsons argues that after primary socialisation within the family, the school takes over as the focal socialising agency. Schools act as bridge between the family and society as a whole by preparing the child for his adult role. Parsons like a true functionalist maintains that parents treat the child as their particular child rather than judging him in

² Ibid, p.71

³ Ibid, p.71

terms of standards or yardsticks which can be applied to every individual. But schools socialise young people into basic values of society and values consensus is essential for society to operate effectively. Further, parson sees educational system as an important mechanism for the selection of individuals for their future role in the society. In his view, school functions to allocate these human resources with the role structure of adult society.

Thus, schools by testing and evaluating their talents, skills and capacities to the job for which they are best suited; the school is therefore a major mechanism for role allocation.⁴

Like Parsons Davis and Moore see education as a mean for role allocation, but they think the educational system more directly with the system of social stratification as a mechanism for ensuring that talented and able members of society are allocated to those positions which are functionally most important for the society. They so concluded that education is the providing grounds for the ability and hence the selective agency for placing people in different status according to their capacities.

However, Davis and Moore statements have been criticised from many angles. Firstly, the relationship between academic credentials and occupational rewards is not particularly close. Secondly, there is a considerable doubt that the proposition that educational system grades people in term of ability.

⁴ Quoted in Haralambos, 1980, p.176

It has been assumed that intelligence has little effect upon educational attainment. Thirdly, there is considerable evidence which suggest that the influence of social stratification largely prevent the educational system form effectively grading individual in terms of ability. ⁵

Marxist Theory of Education

Marxist, on the other hand, see a close link between education and relations of production in the capitalist society. As Althusser stated that the education reflects the relations of production and serves the interest of the ruling class. He holds that the maintenance of class rule largely depends on the reproduction of the ruling class ideology. Thus, the reproduction of the ruling class ideology. Thus, the reproduction of labours power requires not only reproduction of skills, but also reproduction of its submission to the ruling class as well. This submission is reproduced by a number of ideological apparatuses run by the state which includes the media, the law, religion and education.

Althusser says that in precapitalists society the church was the dominant ideological apparatus of the state. In capitalistic society however the church has largely been replaced by the educational system.

Thus, in the Marxian perspective education is not only seen a valuable tool for the transmission of a general ruling class ideology

⁵ Ibid, p.176

which justify and legitimate capitalistic system, it also reproduces the attitudes and behaviour required by major groups in the division of labour. It teaches workers to accept and submit to their exploitation.

Althusser argues that via the educational system "Each mass ejected 'en route" is practically provided with the ideology which suits the role it has fulfil in class society.⁶

Althusser's view finds support in the work of two American economist, Bowles and Ginities (1976). Like Althusser the two American schools maintained that the major aim of the education is to reproduce trained workers in the kind of personalise, attitudes and outlook which will suit them for exploited status.

According to them role of education is neither the reproduction of technical skills needed by the economy nor the selection and grading of individual in term of their talent and abilities for allocation to appropriate jobs. Rather in the works of Bowled and Ginities, "to capture the economic importance of education, we must relate its social structure to the forms of consciousness, interpersonal behaviour and personality in students". Further they stated that "school fosters types of personal development compatible the relationship of dominance and sub-ordinacy in economic sphere". They also rejected the view that rewards in the educational and economic systems are based on merit. Their argument was that educational and occupational attainments are related to family

⁶ Ibid, pp.180-184

background rather than ability. In this respect Bowles and Ginites differ from Marxist ideology on education and economic relationship.

Apart from the functionalist and marxist theory of education Ivan Illihc in 1973 in his famous book "Deschooling society " and stated that the education should be liberating experience in which the individual explores, creates and use his initiative and judgement and freely develop his faculty and talent to the fulfilment. He sees schools as repressive institutions which the students to accept the interest of the powerful. Hence Illich rejects the view that student emerge from the educational system with a varieties of qualifications which they and others believe to have been provided them with the training skills and competence for particular occupation. Rather, he argues that "the pupil is schooled" to confuse teaching with learning, the great advancement with education, and a diploma with competence. According to Illich the education system is the root cause of the problems of modern industrial societies. For the remedy of this process of education, he suggested the abolition of the present system of education, and claims that the deschooling will destroy the reproductivity among the consumer society and lead to the creation of society in which none can be truly fulfilled.

Importance of Educational System

Whatever be the drawbacks of the educational system it cannot be denied that education serves as an important agent of socio- economic development. In many countries education has been used as tool to improve the conditions of the deprived and backward section of the

society. This strategy is particularly widespread in the third world and less developed countries.

For instance, in the Indian third five year plan document , education has been described as the “most important single factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress and ensuring a social order founded on the value of freedom, social justice and equal opportunities”. Therefore to attain the goal of development what is needed is a revolution in education so as to set in motion the much desired, social, economic and cultural revolution. ⁷

The role of education as an instrument of development has been clearly elaborated by Banks. He summarises the role of education in the following word, “the education system plays an important part in the preservation of cultural heritage by means to its transmission to the next generation .The dominant value system to the societies: school serves as an agencies of social reforms or social improvement to build a mew social order rather than perpetuate the old. At the some time education encourages innovations in the materials and technological sphere. This may involve the process of innovation itself all the training of labour force in the new scheme required by an expanding technology.

Education also promotes social mobility and allows the new elite threaten and overturn the old. It provides political leadership, it select more able person out of population as whole, and at the same time

⁷ S.C. Shukla and Krishna Kumar,1985(ed.), “Sociological Perspective in Education”, Chankya Pub. N.Delhi, pp.166-67

Makes people critically aware of the situation and induce them to opt for social change, education thus may influence social change directly as a consequences of its role in the discovery and discriminating of new knowledge.⁸

With the advent of industrialisation and trade system the economic variable has been as an important indicator of social change. However, the importance of education has not in any way can decrease, as education not only gives a boost to social development but economic development as well by helping in the propagation of new techniques and technologies. It is widely recognized that the expansion of economy in any social is accompanied by a corresponding expansion of their educational system. For example, Japan is at present one of the developed society of the world. Here the degree of literacy is very high, and the proportion of school going children is hundred percent. Also a relatively high proportion of the young people in their educational institutions. So the contention is that the level of education in a developed society is among the most important element, which contributes to the maintenance of societies in a developed form.⁹

Conceptual Understanding of Scheduled Tribes

Who are the Scheduled Tribes? It is true that the tribal societies are relatively less hierarchical, simple and homogenous from the point of

⁸ Bank, Olive 1971, "*The Sociology of Education*", B.T. Bastford, Ltd, London, p.211

⁹ Adams, Don and Bjork, Robert.M,1969," *Education in developing areas*", David Mckary company, Inc, New York,p.2

view of ethnicity and culture. Such societies with their unique characteristic features stand out distinctively from other society which attracts the attention of all us when we think of tribes, their society, culture and their social development. The term tribe has been derived from the Latin words "tribes" (equivalent 'tribu' (fr). 'Phule' (gr) meaning a social group) A social group may be defined as an aggregate of individuals comprising it and each individual is conscious of the group itself and a symbols. In other words, a social group has at least a rudimentary structure and organisation (including rules, rituals etc) and psychological basis in the consciousness of its members" (Bottomore, 1962)

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 to endogamous though originally it might have been so".

It may not be out of place to discuss the concept and definition of he term tribe in the language of Anthropologists and Administrator of India of those who worked in India for the purpose. The Indian census had been dealing with then under the religious heading of 'Animism' though some of the renowned commission of census rejected the very view and changed into "Tribal Religious" to distinguish the tribal people form the non- tribal including the Hindus. Dr. Hutton, the Commissioner of ceńsus, 1931 while distinguishing Hinduism form the "Tribal Religious" very emphatically states that the latter can not be included under the form as long as

they have not reached the stage of accepting Brahmans as priests of a of attaching any sanctity to the cow or of worshipping in Hindu temples in their own villages.

Prof. Ghurye observes that these tribal people are neither aborigines nor advised. They are the imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society and may be called Backward Hindus.

In compiling various conflicting definitions of tribe Naik suggests the following being the criteria for a tribe.

1. A tribe to be a tribe, which would have the least functional interdependence within the community. (The Hindu caste system is an example of high interdependence).
2. It should be economically backward which means :-
 - i. The full import of monetary economics should not be understood by its members
 - ii. Primitive means of exploiting natural resources should be used
 - iii. The tribes economy should be in an underdeveloped stage; and
 - iv. It should have multifarious economic pursuits
3. There should be a comparative geographical isolation of its people from others.
4. Culturally members of a tribe should have a common dialect which may be subjected to regional variations.

5. A tribe should be politically organized and its community penchant should be an influential institutional.
6. The tribe members should have the least desire to change. They should have a sort of psychological conservatism making them stick to their old customs and
7. Tribes should have customary laws and its members might have to suffer in a law courts because of these laws.

According to Prof. Majumdar, the tribe is defined as "A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language of dialect, recognizing social distance from tribes of castes but without any stigma attached in the case of caste structure following tribal traditions belief and customs illiberal of nationalization of idea from alien sources above all conscious of a of ethnic and territorial integration.

Prof. Dube has pointed out the following characteristic features of tribes.

1. Their root in the soil dates back to a very early period, if they are not original inhabitants they are atleast some of the inhabitants of the land.
2. They live in the relative isolation of the hills and the forest.
3. Their sense of history is shallow for among them, the remembered history of 5 to 6 generations tends to get merged in mythology.

4. They have a low level of techno- economic development.
5. In terms of their culture ethos, languages institutions beliefs and customs they stand out from the other section of the society and
6. If they are not egalitarian they are atleast non-hierarchy and undifferentiated.

Prof. Bailey observes "Tribal people live in the hills. They are not Hindus, but animists. They are economically backward. They are autochthonous. They speak tribal languages but none of these critters are in themselves satisfactory and even taken together they will not include all the people who are libelled as tribes by the administration or by ethnographers. According to Roy Burman those people who have not been assimilated in the main body of the population but have remained primitive or backward with their separate entity may be termed as tribe. Tribal societies were for self sufficient in nature and self- contented too. But they have now come under the modern influence of the life. Indian Constitution identifies special consideration for certain ethnic and minority groups, traditionally referred to as tribes or tribals, as Scheduled Tribes who constitute around 8 per cent of the total population of the country. There are 573 Scheduled Trines living in different parts of the country. Most of the tribal communities have their own languages different from what is spoken in the State where they are located. There are more than 270 such languages. The tribal languages in India belong to all major language families among which the Autric, the Dravidian, Tibeto-Chinese, Indo European families are the dominant ones.

One of the distinguishing features is that majority of them live in scattered habitations located in interior, remote and inaccessible, hilly and forest areas of the country. Nearly 22 per cent of tribal habitations have less than one hundred populations and more than 40 per cent have 100 to less than 300 population, while others have less than 500 people. Though tribals constitute only eight per cent of Indian population, they constitute a majority in several State and Union Territories and substantial numbers in others. In particular, they constitute an overwhelming majority in Mizoram (94.75 per cent), Lakshadweep (93.15 per cent), Nagaland (87.70 per cent). However, the states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal account for 83 per cent of the total tribal population, even though the non tribal constitute the majority in these states.

Recognising that the Scheduled Tribes constitute the most deprived and marginalised section of Indian society, a host of welfare and developmental measures have been initiated for their social and economic development. In this regard, particular reference has to be made to the tribal sub-plan approach which came into existence as the main strategy from the fifth five year plan. Along with core economic, sector elementary education has been accorded priority in tribal plan approach. Elementary education was considered important not only because of constitutional obligation but as a crucial impetus for total development of tribal communities particularly to build confidence among the tribes to deal with outsiders in equal terms. Since primacy was accorded to elementary education, a broad policy

frame for education was adopted in tribal sub- plan emphasising equal importance for quantitative and qualitative aspect of education.

The dissertation clearly brings out that inspite of constitutional guarantees and persistent efforts, tribal communities continue to lag behind the general population. The reason for this can be categorised as external, internal and socio- economic and psychological. The external constraints are related to the problems and difficulties at the policy level, planning, implementation and at administration level. Internal constrains refer to problems associated with schools system, content, curriculum, medium of instruction, pedagogy, teacher related problems, academic supervision and monitoring. The third set of problems is related to social, economic and cultural background of tribes and the psychological problems of the first generation learners.

The perspective adopted for education development among the tribal communities, fails to properly address the specific, disadvantages characterising the tribal population. For instance, the population and distance norms formed by the Government have not been beneficial to the tribal location because of their sparse population and sporadic residential patterns. Further, in formulating policies and programmes for tribal education it its essential to understand the complex realities of the tribal life and the expectation of tribals from the system and this has never been done either by the tribal welfare department or by the education department. Consequently, no worthwhile policy for tribal education has been formed.

One of the major constraints of tribal education at planning level is the adoption of dual system of administration. The tribal welfare department deals with tribal life and culture and administers the development work at the local level including education. But the tribal welfare department lack expertise in educational planning and administration in genera and academic supervision and monitoring in particular. On the other hand, the department of education is the sole authority for planning of education development at the state level. They formulate implementation guidelines and instructions regarding curriculum, textbook, teacher recruitment transfer policies and so on. In this, the education department tend to form uniform educational policies and so on. In this, the education department tends to form uniform educational policies for the whole state. The school calendar is a case in point where vacations and holiday cater to the need of the formal school set up in a non- tribal context with little consideration for local context and festivals of the tribes. This lack of sensitivity to the problems and the failure in understanding the tribal social reality coupled with the faulty selection and appointment of teachers in tribal areas have resulted in poor performance and teacher absenteeism among tribal schools.

Under the system of dual administration, absence of co-ordination and complimentary as well as inadequate scope for reciprocal use of respective expertise and experiences between the two departments has invariably stunted educational development among the tribal.

The internal problem of tribal education refer to the quality of school provision, suitable teaches, relevance of content and curriculum, medium of instruction, pedagogy and special supervision. A majority of school tribal areas are without basic infrastructure facilities. Normally, the school building in tribal areas are with thatched roofs, dilapidated wall and non-plastered floors. Research evidence shows that a large number of tribal schools do not have teaching learning materials and even blackboards. In tribal area the opening of a school is equated with positing of a teacher and same in the case with the ashram schools. It is found that inmost of the Ashram schools which are resident in nature there is not enough space for the children to sleep. Consequently, the classroom turns into the dormitory and vice-versa. Due to lack of minimum sanitary provisions it is not uncommon to find that many children studying in ashram schools are afflicted by contagious diseases like scabies etc. Leading to high dropout rate. The schools in tribal areas just functions within a bare a minimum facility.

Though the demand for changing the content and curriculum to suit the tribal context has been an old one, no serious effort has been made in this direction in any state except for some sporadic pilot projects. The uniform structure and transaction of curriculum has put the tribal children at a disadvantage. In respect of pedagogy, it has been found that the right systems of formal schooling, which emphasize discipline, routine norms teacher-centred instruction etc have made the children wary of the school. This goes against the culture of free interaction absence of force as embedded in tribal ethos

and culture prevalent at home. This has led to sharp division between home and school leading to lack of interest among the children towards school and research finding have shown this as a major factor behind non enrolment.

Another area is the inherent fear of tribal children towards the teachers and their inability to establish a communication link with the teacher and this is reflected in low attendance and high dropout. This could be tackled to a great extent by using the regional language as the medium of instruction. The Constitution of India allows the use of tribal dialect (mother tongue) as the medium of instruction in case the population of the said tribe is more than one lakh. But this has not been adopted on the pretext of feasibility and viability of introducing and sustaining such a change. In recent year, some efforts have been made for preparing primers in tribal dialects but again they have been nullified in the context of inter tribal rivalry, hierarchy etc. and also being on a very small scale incapable of influencing the mainstream practices.

In a broad sense, these socio- economic and culture factors can be outlined as poverty and poor economic conditions, social customs, culture ethos, lack of awareness and understanding of the value of formal education, conflict an gap between the home and school etc. Studies on educational deprivation of tribal have inevitably linked it to their poor economic condition and poverty. The main occupation of tribal are agriculture, practised their through the method of shifting cultivation of terrace cultivation where the productivity remains very

low. Consequently, children play an important role contributing directly or indirectly to the family income by participating in family occupation and household work like cattle grazing fuel and folder collection etc.

Even though elementary education is deemed free and additional incentives are given to the children, in practice it is not free due to several reasons. Firstly, the incentive schemes do not have full coverage and thus have a limited value at the community level. Secondly, even though incentive like states, uniform and other aids are given, they are of poor quality and do not reach in time thus nullifying the entire purpose. It should also be noted that considering the impoverished economic status of the tribal even the small amount of private expenditure involves imprecating writing material, clothing etc become a serious burden on the family. Under these circumstances it is not surprising if education is not given priority. In an economy dominated by struggle for survival options are limited. Since, education does not provide any visible and immediate benefit and tribal do not see beyond their present state, the participation is the opportunity cost involved, as a majority of the non-enrolled children are required to work in the households or on family occupations. Even if the economic contribution of children is direct they certainly facilitate the participation of parents in economic activity.

In recent years the efforts of the Government are directed towards improving economic conditions of tribes by introducing various

developmental programmes and schemes, mostly related to agriculture, horticulture, cattle rearing etc., backed by subsidies monetary and non-monetary inputs. A critical analysis of development programmes and their effect on tribal household shows that, till the tribal households reach a threshold a level of income and land size, the economic development programme can come into conflict with other activities like education. In a way it can be said that these development programmes, seem to be adversely affecting the education of tribal children.

Poor health is another major hindrance in the promotion and participation of tribal children in education; contagious diseases like scabies, eye infection, malaria, diarrhoea, etc. are common in tribal areas which too affect the children attendance at school. Further, some tribal communities are seasonal migrants and their absence in a particular place for a year lead to absenteeism among their children and make it difficult for them to be effectively benefited from schooling.

Review of Literature on Tribal Education

Even though the various forms of cross cultural education have been existing in different lands over a long span of time they have been rarely studied scientifically. A few socialisation studies have been made by anthropologist outside India following the Margaret Mead (1959). Evidently these studies concentrated on the equipment of personalities as an enabling process for adjustment to changing

structural conditions and therefore they do not throw any light on the problems adoption of formal education system.

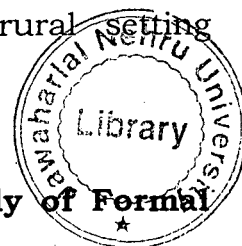
Socio- psychological and socio- linguistics reaches on the educational retardation of the children of culturally deprived and socially disadvantages groups have been made mostly focussed on the (Eggliston Johns 1970). These studies mostly focussed on the educational problems of children of the lower section of the society living in the urban slums and ghettos. They pointed out that the low socio- economic status, lack of motivation alienation of the school form the family languages difficulties etc as the important variables form the educational retardation and early drop out of the children of the disadvantages group in a society. But these studies do not have much relevance for understanding the educational problems of the socially and culturally deprived children living in rural especially in tribal areas.

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Murray and Russaies Wax (1964) in their study of Formal

Education in Indian Community have shown that isolation lack of communication and social distance are the important factors in the problem of education in primitive communities. They pointed out that isolation affect in many contexts of the community as a whole, the school within the educational system.

Thomson (1962) has shown that educational gaps in various communities a country arise owing to differentials in the provision of educational facilities, socio- economic status of parents and lack of motivation for education. The effects of these factors are



interconnected. The inequalities of educational reward acts as a negative feedback on educational attainments.

Taylor and Ayres (1969) in their book *Burn and Read Unequal* differentiated between Educational Sociology and what they call Educational Ecology. The concern of the former is with the effects of class of social status of parental attitude to education and of the latter with the effect of the materials and social environmental factors on the educational opportunity of the child. They pointed out that the educational opportunity available to a child depends to a greater extent to the variety and equality of education provided in the areas in which he lives and that whether or not the child derives the maximum benefit depends on a number of non- educational factors in the environment which includes the level of health of the family, the quality of the available social services, socio- economic and literacy level of the family etc. In general they studied the complex interaction of provision of educational resources the socio- economic environment of the family and he attitude to education.

S. John Eggleston (1970) in his paper "**Some Environmental Correltes of Extended Secondary Education**" studied the two sets of variables external to the secondary schools, those associated with the administrative regime in which the schools operated and those associated with their catchments areas.

Byrne and Williamson (1970) in his paper "Some Inter- regional Variations in Educational Provisions and Their Bearing upon their Educational Attainments. The case of North East has shown that

variations in the provision of educational resources in an area are a significant factor in the variation in the educational attainments of different social groups.

The Backward Class Commission (Government of India 1956), the Scheduled Areas, Scheduled Tribes Commission (Government of India 1962), L.R.N. Srivastava (1962) and others have pointed that the slow progress of education among the tribes in India is due to inadequate provision of school for these communities. The tribal generally live in inaccessible areas in small and scattered village and therefore schools cannot be provided for all of them. Almost all the studies on tribal education in India pointed that poverty happened to be root cause of slow progress of their education. Rebuke Ray Committee (Government of India 1959) basing its report of a comprehensive study of the entire range of welfare activities including social welfare and welfare of backward classes discussed about the progressed of tribal education also covering the pattern of education, mother tongue special textbooks, teachers, school hours, vacations etc. The Committee emphasised the need to make the language of the tribe the medium of instruction.

Verrier Elwin Committee Report (1960) contains information and finding about the fundamental problems of education in tribal areas. The Committee was of the view that a great deal of actuation was a necessary for starting compulsory education for the tribes. The report dealt in detail with schools and schools with agriculture and forestry in their curriculum. The committees suggested the making of

orchard of fruit trees in the compound of all schools. The problems of Ashrams Schools were discussed and suggestions were given of their solution. U.N. Dhebar Commission on Tribal highlighted the problems of Primary Education for tribal in the areas of medium of instruction stagnation wastage, getting right type of teachers etc. The Commission worked out the policy and suggested a specific curriculum. They also made re commendations regarding secondary and technical education. The finding of the committees mentioned above generally found support from the studies of Sachchidananda (1967), N.K. Ambast (1970) N.K. Dasgupta (1963) and several others. They pointed out that retardation in education among tribal communities is due to the apathetic and indifferent attitude and lack of motivation for education which arises owing to two main reasons. First, the formal education system is alien and not adjusted to their socio- economic and cultural needs. Secondly the tribal have certain prejudices and suspicions towards the sincerity of non-tribal. N.K. Ambasht showed that there existed social distance between the teachers and pupils in the tribal areas. He pointed out that the tribal student liked the tribal teachers more than the non tribal teacher. Some other surveys conducted by the Tribal Research Institutions in some Indian states (Andhra Pradesh 1971, Maharashtra 1971) showed that absenteeism wastage and stagnation were very high in the schools situated in tribal areas and these contribute to a large extent to the slow progress of their education. Elwin Committee (1962) and N.K. Ambasht (1970) pointed out that there was strong motivation for education wherever

missionary activity was evident and where other voluntary organisations tried to spread education among the tribal.

A.B. Bose (1970) showed that the status with higher literacy in general population also have higher literacy in tribal populations. He also pointed out that there were variations in the literacy levels among different tribes in a region. Sachchidanadnds (1962) said that irregularly of attendance and extent of drop out was much lower in the case of better acculturated tribes. T.B. Naik (1969) sated that the children of the upper caste of Bhil society have been able to go to school and take advantage of the scholarship and hostel facilities made available to the tribal by the Government, more than the lower and middle socio- economics status groups. Further he pointed that more children form large size families were in schools than from small size families.

E.V. Ratnayya (1976) showed that exposure to outside forces facilities the enrolment of tribal children. Enrolment in the villages with hostels facilities is more than in the villages without hosted facilities. He also pointed out that the enrolment of children from salaried employees and petty businessmen is more than from the cultivators and labourers. From the point of income also the enrolment of children from the higher income level was fond to be more than the middle and lower income groups. He found difference in the enrolment of boys and girls in all the types' income enrolment form large, medium and small size families. He pointed out the single teacher schools, medium of instruction textbooks and contents as

other constraints for the backwardness in educational development of tribes in Adilabad district.

Most of the literature incorporated in the annotated bibliography on tribal education in India compiled by **L.R.N Srivastava (1967)** were descriptive in nature. The authors mentioned the problems and variables involved in the extension of tribal education in India such as the poverty of the tribal. Indecency of the provision of schools, hostels and scholarship teacher's medium of instruction curriculum and syllabi methods of teaching school hours etc. But these variables need not be put into theoretical frame, as most of them are analytical and their relevance or otherwise has to be tested in the context of modernisation at different levels.

Sita Toppo (1979) in her book "*Dynamics of Educational Developments in Tribal Education*" has studied the growth of education among the Oraon tribe. Their most primitive Dhumkuria as an educational institution is fast dying out and she discussed about the Christian missionaries and "Adimjati Seva Mandal" which played great role for their educational development. She analysed the monthly variation of attendance and extent of wastage and stagnation among five selected schools. Attitude of Oraon students, their teachers, parents and guardians have been studied.

G.K. Khurana (1978) in his article entitled, "**Approach to Education of Scheduled Tribes**" pointed out that inspite of all the efforts to reduce the illiteracy among the scheduled tribes, still the gap exists because of their poverty and backwardness coupled with

ignorance and lack of educational facilities. He argued for need based education for adult tribal and alternatives education methods for school are children. He also suggested to provide more educational facilities among the tribal people.

B. D. Sarma (1978) in his book “Tribal Development the Concept and Frame” pointed out that tribal development cannot be met by merely devising a formula or a general schemes, which is one of the mistake committed earlier or foster tribal development. It should be a concept with goals to achieve. He argued that education must enable them to understand the new context. These communities cannot be expected to wait till the school going children come of age at assume leadership. So special education programmes aimed at giving them an understanding of the new social economic and administrative processes are essential if they have to stand on their own feet and talk in term of equality with members of the advanced communities.

M. Rebellow (1978) in her article" The School Drop Outs" contended that one of the principle reasons for high drop out rate in the tribal areas at the primary stage is the curriculum. She suggested the curricula have to be built around local situations, though it is essential to have a core of basic subjects at the same time.

Education for them should be a socially useful productive work resulting in either goods or services which are useful to the community. The idea behind this is that the children should see the relevance of what they are learning at the school in which case the tendency to drop out will be less.

An in- depth study of Ashram Schools in central tribal belt (**Sharma, G.D. and K. Sujatha 1983**) throw light on differential utilisation of Ashram School facility by different tribal groups. Tribal communities with higher literacy level and social hierarchy utilise the facilities better. Provision of residential facility in Ashram Schools benefited to improve the retention of students. Though the cost of education in Ashram Schools is higher than non - Ashram Schools, the until effective cost was lower. This study probed further to find the reason for schools drop- out and stagnation. Besides economic and social problems the administrative bottlenecks in admission policy and management in incentives areas contributing directly to less participation in educational system. The Ashram Schools situated in developed coastal district of Andhra Pradesh having better infrastructure facilities as compared to the Ashram Schools in medium and under developed districts have an effect on enrolment and retention of children.

A study conducted on tribal sub-plan areas of Gujarat (by **Shah Vimal P. and Tara Patel 1985**) shows that there is a considerable social class and inter-tribe difference in their educational attainment. This study shows that the educational development of tribes living with high castes Hindus is impressive. It is found that fairly large numbers of tribal are still unaware of the facilities and programmes for their education.

G.P. Reddt (1970), in his article "Causes of Wastage in Tribal Education of Andhra Pradesh" analysed wastage from the census data

available about the Thana district of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (village survey monograph on Rettamla Andhra Pradesh) between 1959-61. He discussed briefly about the factors for wastage under economic, social psychological and other factors and suggested region wise systematic studies.

Considerable work has been done in this field. With Karl Mannheim's "Sociology of Knowledge", Sociology of Education came into being. Theodore Brameld's 'Cultural Foundation of Education and The Remaking of Culture: Life and Education in Puerto Rico, Margaret Mead's Coming Age in Samoa, Growing up in New Guinea, The School in American Culture, New Lives for Old, Jules Henry's "An Outline for the study of Education" in Current Anthropology, Vol.1, Loele Warner and Harringhurst who shall be Educated : The challenge of Unequal Opportunities Quillen and others, Social Studies in General Education, Spindler, (ed), Education and Culture, Maire Studies in Applied Anthropology, Halsey, Floud and Anderson's (Ed), Education, Economy and Society, all tend to show the relation of culture with the educational pattern and the need for such co-relation. Articles by Eggan, Inkles, Parsons and some social psychologists also emphasise such synchronisation. Cultural factors play such a great role in the educational system that they cannot be ignored. Therefore, the study of culture is necessary before formulating the educational programmes for the people of that culture.

The Relevance of the Study

The review of literature draws us toward the perception that the problem of tribal education are mostly analysed on the macro- level data which might not speak of the micro -level realities. Therefore, there is a need to study the issues from a closer range to the ground realities related to the deep- rooted factors that have presented to the tribes over the years from the entering into the formal system of education.

Since the socio- cultural factors hold a vital position in the pattern of tribal living, these value related aspects play an important role in keeping the tribals away from pursuing formal learning. Hence, a micro- level understanding is required to have a clear, appropriate, realistic and comprehensive view of the problems in a much more meaningful manner it is therefore, important to investigate the problems interim with the Tribal pattern of everyday existences by selecting Madhya Pradesh tribes and studying it through a focussed and scientific approach.

The study is thus an intensive attempt to examine the tribes of Madhya Pradesh within their specific socio-cultural context. An in- depth understanding of their existing socio- cultural context is attempted to present a picture of the barriers created for the tribes of Madhya Pradesh in the path of attaining formal education.

Objective of the Study

The objectives of the study would be to examine how education can be culture-friendly and how culture provides space for the development of education and vice versa. The study would also examine how the education of the tribal people can be linked to their culture in the era of globalization.

Scheme of Chapterization

The *Chapter one* begins with the conceptual understanding of the education and Scheduled Tribes. Further, the review of literature on Tribal education and the relevance of the study are briefly discussed.

The *Chapter Two* deals with the socio- economic and demographic status of tribes of Madhya Pradesh. It shows the position of tribes in Madhya Pradesh with reference to their socio- economic status. Finally, customs, traditions and rites and rituals are discussed.

The *Chapter Three* deals with the Tribal Education in Madhya Pradesh and clearly shows the perspective of education in tribal society. Further, it deals with the need of a new education which is related to the tribal development.

The *Chapter Four* deals with the culture-friendly education and clearly mentions why primary education should be related with culture of tribes? And further mentions about the socio- cultural base of curriculum which might provides space for development of education in tribal societies. Education must be related with social values of

tribes. Finally, the future perspective of culture-friendly education in tribal society is discussed.

The *Chapter Five* is conclusion. The conclusion highlights the problems of our present educational system and suggestions are given to create a culture – friendly educational system.

CHAPTER-2

SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC STATUS OF TRIBES

IN MADHYA PRADESH

India has the largest tribal population in the world, it is about 68.34 million and they constitute 8.08 per cent of the total population of the country. The tribal are the autochthonous people of the land who are believed to be the earliest settlers in the Indian peninsula. They are generally called the 'Adivasis' implies original inhabitants.

These tribal for centuries lived in isolation and thus could preserve their social customs, traditions and religious beliefs to a large extent. During the pre- British period tribal communities remained backward and suffered from poverty, malnutrition, disease, exploitation and ignorance in varying degrees. The colonial government too did not pay any attention to the development of tribal communities, because it mainly aimed at regulatory functions, such as maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues.

After independence the welfare and development of the tribal communities have been the national goal and special responsibilities of the central and various state governments. The governments has become very keen in the upliftment of tribal people since they are required to take part in the endeavour of nation building along with he

other section of Indian society. In additions 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 deep concern for the welfare of these people was manifested in the launching of several policy initiatives and creation of wide network of development administration to bring about a radical change in the socio- economic scenario to these primitive communities. However, the efforts of the government could not make much impact in term of generating new forces that promote change of the socio- economic and political frame of tribal societies.

Population

As per 2001 census, the total population of the state is 60,348,023, of which the tribal population is 12,233,474 which is the highest for any sate in the country. It is nearly 20.27 per cent of the total population of the state.

The tribal population in Madhya Pradesh in not evenly distributed in the state. There are areas with negligible tribal population also. An analysis of the population distribution of the state in all the 45 districts reveals that in the Jhabua district alone, the tribal population accounts for 86.8 per cent of the total population of district.

As per Census 1991 the decadal growth of population in some district is quite high viz. East Nimar (29.54), Ratlam (34.45), Hoshangabad (37.08), Guna (48.30), Indore (51.03).

Table-1

Percentage Population of Scheduled Tribes in India

Year	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Total Population	361.1	439.2	548.2	685.2	846.3	1,028.6
Scheduled Tribes Population	19.1	30.1	38.0	51.6	67.8	84.3
Percentage	5.29	6.85	6.93	7.53	8.10	8.20

Source: Census of India, 2001

(in millions)

Table-2

Population of males and females and sex ratio of Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh, 2001

Category	Population	Population (0-6) years
Total	12,233,474	2,623,663
Males	6,195,240	1,325,931
Females	6,038,234	1,297,732
Sex Ratio	975	979

Source: Census of India, 2001

Literacy

As per 2001 census the percentage of total literacy among STs in the Madhya Pradesh is 41.2 per cent, while for the whole state is 63.7 per cent. As regards the percentage of ST males and female it is 53.5 and 28.4 respectively while the percentage of male and female literacy for the whole state is 76.1 per cent and 50.3 per cent respectively. But the decadal increase of literacy show that during the decess 1981-91 it had doubled. The growth of female literacy is not encouraging in comparison to general female literacy.

Table-3

Total number of literates and literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh, 2001

Literates (age 7 above)	Population	Literacy Rate
Total	3,955,699	41.2
Males	2,607,468	53.5
Females	1,348,231	28.4

Source: Census of India, 2001

Sex Ratio

As per 2001 census, the sex ratio among the scheduled tribes (female per 1,000 males) has overall increased in the state. The 2001 census recorded 975 females per 1,000 males while it was 935 in 1991.

Tribal Zones of Madhya Pradesh

Madhya Pradesh lies in the geographical heart of India. The tribal regions of the states adjoin the tribal regions of bordering state like Rajasthan, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, Gujarat, Maharashtra , Andhra Pradesh , Orissa, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh has a substantial representation of all the tribal groups of central India. The state tribal population 12,233,474 (2001 census) accounts for about one-fourth of the country's total tribal population. The tribal population of state accounts for 20.27 per cent of the state's total population.

There are 425 scheduled tribes in the country. The number of scheduled tribes in the state is 46 divided into more than 161 ethnic groups. Seven scheduled tribes of the state viz, Abujhmadia, Baiga, Bhariya, Kamato, Korwa and Sahariya have the status of primitive tribes.

The tribal population of the state is not evenly distributed in all the districts of the state. The tribal population is concentrated in four districts which may be termed as fully tribal district whereas 31 tribals districts may be termed as partially of the states. In one district, viz Jhabua, the tribals account for 85.66 per cent of the total population. In the four districts the tribal concentration is within a range of 50 to 70 per cent. In nine districts this percentages varies from 25 to 50. Fifteen districts have a tribal content of 10 to 25 per cent. The remaining sixteen districts are such where the tribal population is less than 10 per cent.

The various tribal communities living in different part of the state of culturally and socially distinct and the tribal areas of the state divided into five zones of the basis of the physiographic condition of the distribution of various tribes. The five tribal zones and their characteristics are discussed below.

North - Eastern Zone

This zone comprises Shahdol, and Sidhi district of the state and adjoining areas. In Shadhol only Pushprajgarh tehsil is hilly. Practically, all the tribal tracts in the district of Shahdol are inaccessible from the second week of June or as soon as the monsoon sets in. The height of the hills in this zone ranges between 1,000 feet to 4,000 feet above the sea level. The main peaks are Mailon (4,024 feet) and Partapharsa (3,804 feet). Oranon, Korwa, Kol, Kamar and Panika are the dominate tribal groups of the zone. The area is also the abode of a number of primitive tribes. . The bulk of the tribal population of Pushpraigarh is composed of Baiga, Korwa and Bhaina tribes.

Central Zone

This zone comprise of Mandla, Betual , Chhhindwara, Seoni, Balaghat and some areas of other adjoining districts. Though these areas are mostly hilly but geographical features vary from place to place.

The Mahadeo hills and the plateau regions of Chhindwara and Betual districts are covered by a thick formation of horizontal flows of basaltic lavas of cretaceous sandstones and Shales occur in Mahadeo

hills. Raisen is in the top of Maiwa plateau is interpresed with rich field of black cotton soil. To the south lie the main line of the Vindhya and the fertile valley of the river Narmada.

Gond, Korku. Kol and Baiga are the prominent tribal groups of the zone.

Southern Zone

Maria, Muria, Halba, Dorla, Bhatra and Kamar are the prominent tribal groups of the area. This zone is the home of some of the most important tribal groups of the state. The principal groups are Maria, Murua, Sawara, Halba and Bhatra

Western Zone

This zone comprises of Jhabua, Khargone, Khandwa, Ratlam and areas of adjoining districts. The area consists mainly of hilly and sterila land, though are general geography of the region presents some varied features. It has some picturepsques part along with a succession of ranges and valleys covered with thick forests. In this valley, particularly, in Dhar district, traces of farmer propriety are melt with such as ruined forts and royal places, now overgrow with jungles but at one time used by Mughal nobles and Pathan king of Malwa. Bhilals. Patalia and Barela are in the tribal communities of the area.

North- Western Zone

This zone comprises Morena, Shivapuri, Guna and areas of other adjoining districts. Sahariyas is the main tribal community lining in this zone.

Tribes of Madhya Pradesh

Various tribal groups inhabiting the state have a considerable variation in their population. The level of development, acculturation and assimilation also varies from group to group as also from area to area. The social and cultural traits, religious belief and norms as well as traditional economic pursuits of different tribal people vary from tribe to tribe and area to area. Brief account to some of the tribal groups of the state is as follows.

The Gonds

Gond is the most important and numerically the largest tribe of Madhya Pradesh. They occupy two main tracts, namely the belt of broken hill and forests coming in the central part of the state which forms the Satpura plateau and comprise Chhindawara, Betual, Seoni, And Mandla districts and the inaccessible hill range of south of Chhattisgarh plains.

In Mandla they constitute nearly half the population. They however, are found in every district of the region. Much of the community included in the Mahakoshal region of the state, one time known as Gondwana, on account of the numerical strength and the political influence of the Gonds.

The Gonds do not constitute a distinct tribe any more. They may more popularly be considered as a section of people among whom a number of separate groups have developed. Among them are several occupational groups such as Agaries, Ojhas, Pradhans and Sotahas.

Among the Gonds there are two aristocratic sub-divisions the Raj Gonds and Khatokias. The Raj Gonds are probably the descendants and products of marital alliances between the Rajputs and the Gonds, but the term practically applies to the landholding sub-division of the Gond. The Raj Gonds rank higher with the Hindu castes as compared to the other Gonds.

Besides agriculture, in former times the primary occupation of the Gonds was hunting and fishing. But the opportunities in this respect have been greatly circumscribed by the rules of conservation of game in forests. Their principal occupation now is cultivation but a great number of them work as farm servants and forest labours. They own property only in the inland areas but even there, they are being outsted by moneylenders, cultivators and landlords.

In some regions the Gonds retain their old method of shifting cultivation locally known as Dahia or Bewar and some times to pay a fine to follow this ancient method of grouping crops.

The Gonds have a highly developed aesthetic sense. Dancing and singing constitute their principles social recreation. But with the increased impact and influence of outsiders, most of the Gonds have been reduced to poverty and indebtedness.

The Bhils

The Bhils live in the hilly tracts forming the western part of the Satpura range, comprising, Dhar, Nimar and Ratlam districts.

The name of the tribe is derived from the Dravidian word for the bow which is their characteristic weapon. Formerly, the chief occupation of the Bhils was hunting and free exploitation of forest produce. The free exploitation of the forest and the indiscriminate slaughter of game being no more possible, they have adopted cultivation of land as their primary occupation. Some of them live as farm servants and labourers working in the forests or in the open and are often employed as watchmen. They are simple and thus offer themselves as easy prey to moneylenders.

The Bhilalas

The Bhilalas live in the districts of Dhar, Ratlam and Nimar in the western end of the Satpura range. They are supposed to be of a mixed stock, having sprung from the alliances of emigrant Rajputs, who acquired estates in the Bhil country and the daughters of the Bhils whom they took as wives.

The primary occupation of the Bhilalas is cultivation of land, but a large number of them are employed as farm servants, and forest labourers. Some have taken up government jobs. Formerly, the Bhilalas held the office of superior kind of Kotwal or village watchman.

The Bhilalas occupy the highest position in the local hierarchy of tribes. They consider themselves superior to the Bhils and are

recognized by the latter. The Bhilalas practice the Hindu rituals and are increasingly adopting the Hindus diets as well.

The Halbas

The primitive tribe of the Halbas is concentrated in the areas of south Raipur, Chhindwara, Balaghat and Mandla district

Nearly all the Halbas now practices cultivation. They are considered as the best cultivators next to the Tellies in the forest tracts of Dhamtari and they are quite proficient in agriculture in the open country.

The Marias

The home of the Maria tribe is in southern part of Madhya Pradesh. The Marias hills are the least influenced by the outside the world and have retained most of their original religious and cultural institution. Most of them live in the Abujhmar hills and are often referred to by that name (that is, Abujhmadia). They are shy but friendly. They practise shifting cultivation.

The second section of Marias called the Biron horn Marias, live south of the Indravati in the Dantewara, Konta and Jagdalpur. They have a characteristics marriage dance which they perform with a Biron- horn. Marias has a food gathering economy. They live for most of the year on forest produce. The major means of subsistence are the collection and sales of Mahua and mangoes.

The Murias

The home of the Muria tribe is in the southern part of the state. Like the Marias they are also lumped together with Gonds and for this reason their exact number is not known. Literally, the word 'Muria' means aboriginal and it has long been employed in this sense. Muria actually refer to a particular tribe living in Kongdagaon and Narayanpur tehsils. The life of the Murias centres round the ghotul. The name of Muria has been derived from Mur, the Palas tree. The Murias are good cultivators. They are industrious and clean.

The economy of the Murias includes agriculture, food gathering and hunting. At places they practice cultivation which resembles that of the Marias in many ways. But despite the fact that the shifting cultivation plays a very important part in their lives, many Murias have permanent fields which they use for paddy cultivation. Liquor drinking among the Murias is both an obligation and pleasure. It is offered to the Gods at every ceremony. A major part of the Mahua flowers is used for the production of liquor.

The Bhainas

The Bhainas are members of a primitive tribe peculiar to Madhya Pradesh and are found in the wild forest tracts between the Satpura range and the area of South of the Chhota Nagpur plateau in Bilaspur, Raigarh, Baster, Raipur and Mandla districts. The tribe appears to be of mixed origin. The members are principally descended

from the Baigas and Kanmars, who might have been driven to this, are forced by circumstances.

The occupation of the Bhainas is mainly agriculture. They do not practise shifting cultivation. They are comparatively enlightened and have adopted Hindu usage in all walks of life.

The Bhatras

The Bhatras are a primitive tribe who live in the southern part of the state district, akin to the Gonds the Bhatras are often lumped together and enumerated with them.

The word 'Bhatra' means a servant. The majority of Bhatras are employed either as village watchmen or domestic servants. They practise settled cultivation. Formerly, they practised shifting cultivation but owing to legal restrictions they are taking more and more to settled agriculture.

The Bharias

The Bharias are concentrated mostly in Mandla, Bilaspur and Chhindwara districts. Though the proper appellation of the tribe is Bharia, it is not infrequently referred to as Bharias-Bhuma, nomenclature they themselves prefer. The exact origin of the tribe is unknown. Several accounts of their origin have been recorded. It is probable that the Bharias belong to the great Bhar tribe of eastern Uttar Pradesh. They speak a dialect of the Gondi language with slight local variations.

The primary occupation of the Bharias is cultivation but they derive a substantial part of their subsistence from agricultural labour. Some also practise the minor occupations of basketry and weaving.

The Baigas

The primitive tribe of Dravidian stock, the Baigas live mainly in the eastern Satpura hill in Mandla, Balaghat and Jabalpur district. A major portion of them are concentrated in Mandla district.

Formerly, the Baigas practised shifting cultivation but on the account of legal restrictions they are taking to settled agriculture. In Mandla district they have been allotted a special area where shifting cultivation was legally permissible and is still practised by them. In this area, the Baigas have refused to take to settled cultivation because they harbour the belief that by ploughing the field the breast of Mother Earth is lacerated. Moreover, they say that God made the jungles to produce the necessities of life and made the Baigas the king of forests, giving them wisdom to discover the things provided for them. The inferior occupation of tilling the land was assigned to the other tribes.

Table-4

Zones and distribution of dominant Tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh

Name of The Zone	Dominant Tribal Groups
Western Tribal Region	Bhil-bhilalas
Central Tribal Region	Gond ,Korkus,kils and Baigas
North-Eastern Tribal Region	Oraons, Karwas ,Kil, Kanwars, Panika
Southern Tribal Region	Marias, Murias, Halbas, Dorals, Bhattras and Kamars
North-Western Tribal Region	Sehariyas

Customs and Traditions of tribes of Madhya Pradesh

The socio-religious system of any region usually brings out the members of different castes and creeds closure to having interdependent relationship. Common experiences are shared by them, permitting each other to regulate their ritual practices.

The fundamental structure of the social organisation in Madhya Pradesh is particularly caste- based despite cultural diversity; the state presents an interesting account of Adivasi's customs and traditions.

The Ghotul

The unique institution of the Ghotul is for the unmarried boys and girls of the Muria tribe. As a village dormitory, the Ghotul is traditionally sanctioned by the tribal customs. The Ghotul is a large hut or a group of huts with a compound around where the Muria youngsters assemble after sunset. It is a centre of social and emotional activities which also helps the Muria boys and girls of Baster to group up in a sort of group discipline. The institution of Ghotul plays an important part in shaping the life of the Muria Adivasis. It deepens the sense of social democracy and leads the members above jealousy and possessiveness. Individualism has no place in Ghotul. The institution serves as a most preventive measures of crime, for the boys and girls learn in the Ghotul to share everything and scorn acquisitiveness.

In the Ghotul, the boy members are known as Chelik and the girl members as Motiari. The relation between Chelik and Motiari are governed by the type of the Ghotul to which they belong. In the older classical type of Ghotul, boys and girls pair off in a more or less permanent relationship which lasts till marriage. In the modern form of Ghotul, such exclusive associations are forbidden and partners must constantly be changed.

In the Ghotul, friendliness, sympathy, and unity are of prime importance. Love finds the right place as it unifies the members of the

tribe and keeps them in good mood without the slightest tinge of possessiveness.

The Ghotul evening begins with chats and laughter of the boys and girls. One of the important routines of the Ghotul is saluting one another in a monotonous rhythmic way known as johar, in which each person greets the other by the name, individually. Another interesting custom practiced by the Muria Ghotul is the form of conventional enquiries made by the leading boy. But this is a routine affair.

Any time after sunset the male members begin to arrive at the Ghotul with their belongings such as sleeping mats, tobacco-pouches or other such things they might need at night. Few of the boys gather round the fire or scatter about the compound or else lie down under the thatched roof of the open huts and puff their chongis, the country cigarettes. A couple of them get busy with their musical instruments. Soon the girls follow and the atmosphere of the Ghotul brightens up. Girls seem more enthusiastic to have the music and dance. A dance song called Rela gets the favour of the gathering.

After an hour or two the boys and girls like to squat round the fire and it seems story-telling becomes a favourite pastime. At this hour the boys and girls join together freely. At fairly late night, Belosa, the leader of the girls and Sirdar, the leader of the boys decide how the couples shall be paired. The decision comes as a romance mixed

with duty and charm; get equal chances in this democracy of romance.

Dress

Safa is worn on the head in the eastern part of the state and Pagri or Paga (turban) is preferred in the western region. Among the new generations trousers, socks and shirts have become very common. Women wear coloured lehnga and choli.

Marriage

Marriage is conceived as a sanskar wherein an individual is made to perform an important task of perpetualising his patriline. By attaining marital status he fulfils the essential which Manu has recommended.

Marriage within an endogamous group is performed with a view to keep racial party. Violation of this rule often results into excommunication in many castes living in villages. Exogamy is permitted but it is always a complicated matter to find out a match outside one's own kin group. A village is usually treated as an exogamous unit from where girls may be selected. Among the same gotra, marriage is not strictly prohibited in the agricultural communities of central Madhya Pradesh. The gotra is understood to be a wider link that a clan maintains. Within the same link there is always another close link of gotra in which marriage relation is not permissible. Two brothers could marry two sisters or giving and taking

could be done by mutual arrangement, by a brother and sister marrying a pair of sibling.

The orthodox section of the Hindu communities follows the Vedic system. Among the enlightened section the marriage is arranged either by willing couples or by their elders. Marriage by elopement is still prevalent in the Bhils of the Vindhyas, but it is confirmed only after the bride-price is ceremonially paid off. Members of the same sect and totem are not allowed to marry.

The Raj Gonds have adopted the Hindu ceremonial. In Bastar and Chanda the primitive form of marriage is still in vogue, though the procedure is now merely symbolical. The most distinctive feature of a Gond wedding is that the procession usually starts from the bride's house and the ceremony is performed at that of the bridegroom. When a Gond wishes to marry his children he first looks to his sisters children, when he considers himself entitled to demand for his own, such a marriage being called 'bringing back the milk'.

Marriage and cohabitation together are rare except among some animistic tribes. Premarital relations are possible within certain tribal groups like the Muria and that too in their Ghotul premises. But when the relations reach to assume marital position, the wedding ceremony becomes absolutely necessary through their elders. In the Abujhmar the boy's parent visit the parents of the girl and present a pot of mahua liquor. If the pot is accepted and all other things are agreeably settled the boy and girl are declared betrothed. Paithu or Paisa Mundi

is a type of marriage in which a girl goes of her own to her lover's house to live with him. Kytiyari form is an extension of cross-cousin marriage. This Muria form may be compared with the dudh lotana (bringing back the milk) form of the Gonds.

The actual marriage ceremony ranges from the most lengthy and elaborate practices to very simple ones, but the essential rites are the same. Use of turmeric and oil and the perambulation of the sacred fire or the pole and all such rituals emphasize the unity of the couple. The feast depends primarily on the availability of funds and secondarily on the customs and traditions of the respective groups.

Among the Korkens tribe of Madhya Pradesh, the father of the girl catches hold of a capable boy and brings him home. He is called Lamsena. If the Lamsena likes the girl, he has to fulfill two conditions. Firstly, he has to serve as a household servant for 6-12 months, then he has to prove that he has the capacity of a grown man (manhood). To prove his manhood, he has full liberty to have intercourse with the girl, but if the girl does not become pregnant within one year, then Lamsena is made to flee and a new one is caught instead.

There is another tradition among the Korkens, where the girl gets into the house of her fiancé. If the boy agrees to marry, the marriage is settled. Otherwise the boy has to leave his house and the village/tribe and whole of his property becomes that of the girl. A similar tradition is that the father of the girl sends the daughter away to search for a life companion. Among some Korkens, the father of the

girl selects a boy himself. After getting a suitable boy, the terms of payment are settled and the father of the boy takes away the bride.

Divorce and Remarriage

Divorce is permitted on acceptable grounds in every community. It is more convenient in the Adivasis of the state. Remarriage of a widow or a divorced women is no more a problem.

In central Malwa, there is a large number of castes popularly known as natra castes. Natra is the local form of secondary marriage for women and there is a good deal of difference in the social and ceremonial aspect of biyah or lagan (first marriage) and natra. Biyah is the approved ceremonial form of marriage and natra is a conventional device for the remarriage of divorced women and widows. Natra has its ritual idiom.

Among the Murias, a similar marriage is called pani-bihao. A widow may marry the younger brother of her dead husband, which is not a taboo in many tribes and agricultural communities. The dissolution of marriage is done by the mutual settlement and in consultation with caste elders by both the parties. A paper required to be signed by the surrender of the claims is a customary practice. The paper is called faragati, meaning disengagement.

Birth

The birth of a male child in a family is regarded as the fulfillment of an obligation due to ancestors. The announcement is made by beating a

thali (metal dish). Songs are sung by the womenfolk and sweets are distributed among them. On the ninth or the eleventh day after the child's birth, the sun god is worshipped by the mother and the child is brought out to see its rays. The ritual is called Suraj Puja.

If it is a male child, conventional designs symbolising the foot mark of the child and toys etc called Paglia, are drawn on a piece of paper and sent through a village barber to the nearest kins living in other villages as a mark of good news and in return the barber brings back clothes and ornaments for the mother and the newly born child.

Death

The dead bodies are generally cremated, by the Hindus. In case of unnatural death the corpse is buried by the Hindus. Among the Gonds the deceased is buried, but the Raj Gonds prefer to burn the corpse. Sanyasis and infants are given the earth. The cremation takes place by the stream and the ashes are submerged in sacred waters. The death of an elderly person is mourned by all the relatives. The close ones are expected to show extra respect to the dead by shaving off their heads.

Fire to the funeral pyre is given by the dead man's son or by some elder person of the family. On the pyre ghee is poured during the burning process of the corpse as a rite intended for removing the death pollution. Usually on the thirteenth day following the cremation, final oblations are offered to the dead and the house is cleaned with

cow-dung as a mark of restoration of normal routine in the family. The practice of death-dinner called Nukta is an important custom observed by almost all classes in Madhya Pradesh on this day with minor variation.

An interesting feature of the Dhurwas of Bastar is the practice of khilawan. A ceremony is held ten days after a man's death to give 'a leaf earring' to his widow. The earring may be given by any earning member of the family or an outsider to confirm that the woman will be protected by him. If Khilawan is observed by the younger brother of the deceased and he gives a leaf earring to the woman, then the woman has to go with him as his wife.

The bison-horn Marias have many strange customs. If a child below the age of five has died, he is buried in an erect position. Among them, a corpse is laid down with his head to the east. Women put a pinch of tobacco in his mouth and weep bitterly, very often falling upon his bamboo bier. Before a dead man is taken for cremation, they are supposed to do several strange things for which they have their own logic. The master of the funeral ceremony is conventionally the Gaita but it is the sisters son of the deceased who has to do many more things.

He takes a stick and measures straight upwards from the corpse's chest to the roof, poking the stick through the thatch. Then he climbs up to the roof and makes a hole which is intended symbolically to allow the message of death to spread throughout the

world. He puts his dhol drum above the hole, waves a stick thrice round his head and then beats his drum.

Kinship

Kinship terms used by different castes and groups are almost the same all over the state except with little difference in their pronunciation.

Kutumb (means family) is the smallest unit that shares the common rituals and the mores of the clan. All the members of the family unit are bound by a kinship tie. Patriarchal system prevails in the state. Hence, the elder son inherits the father's right and property. The tribals are no exception to this practice. The position of a wife in a Kutumb depends upon her husband; that of the mother is recognised in relation to her children. Sex, age and supporting capacity of an individual are the deciding factors which govern his role in the family.

Without a male child a family is considered incomplete. Widows and divorced daughters of a family are accepted as liabilities. Separation from a Kutumb in the same village or town is not encouraged. It is contrarily taken improper if somebody ventures to break the ties with a joint family. Among the Bhils, no sooner a boy and a girl get married, the couple is separated as a part of convention.

Then there are ways in which people are linked through ritual acts. One of such kinships is the kinship of ritual brothers and sisters, known as gurubhai and gurubahen, which is acquired

through a common teacher. This type of kinship is regarded more serious in the dharma sambandha- the relation sanctioned by religion. The duties attached to this form of kinship are mostly the same as performed in real kin tie.

Community Law

On the birth of a child or the death of a person there is always the community law that works to keep the perpetuality of rites and rituals. It is the social system wherein the caste has to submit without questioning. The importance of the Panchayat is obvious in relation to customs and traditions. It is the Gunia or Waddai or Gaita or Badwa, whose strange ways of ritual performance sometimes create an atmosphere of awe, holds a final word among the Adivasis. The unlettered rural audience has to bow heads before all such things which are thrust upon through this institution. Only in certain cases the Panchayat happens to do away with evils of some age-old practices.

Land Use Pattern

A comparative picture of the land use pattern of the state for the year 1982-83 and 1991-92 indicate that the area under cultivable wasteland has reduced, while area sown more than once and net sown are have increased slightly. The comparative figures are as under:

Table-5

Land Use Pattern in Madhya Pradesh

Area	1982-93	1991-92
Area under forest	32%	32%
Area not available for cultivation	10%	10%
Other cultivated land excluding fallow land	7%	7%
Cultivation wasteland	4%	3.5%
Net are sown	43.04%	43.9%
Area under double crop	50.2%	NA

Source: Geography of India, Khuller

Table-6

Occupational Structure of Tribal Population in Madhya Pradesh

Categories of workers	Total
Cultivators	2,889,264 (46.8%)
Agriculture Labour	2,599,099 (42.1%)
In Household Industries	67,275 (1.1 %)
Other Workers	617,793 (10.0%)

Source: Census of India, 2001.

Table-7

Economic Activity of Tribes in Madhya Pradesh

Number of Workers	Total
Persons	6,173,431
Males	3,297,209
Females	2,876,222
Work Participation Rate (%)	50.5
Number of Main Workers	4,186,896
Number of Marginal Workers	1,986,535
Number of Non-workers	6,060,043

Source: Census of India, 2001

The tribal economy, which in most cases is below the subsistence level. It invariably consists of a variety of activities as the income from any particular source is utterly inadequate for anything. Tribal economic pursuits are mere struggles for survival, in which all members of the family are envisaged. Although it is free from greed, hoarding, chicanery, manipulation and clandestine dealings, it is always subject to rampant external exploitation. External vested interests siphon off most of the produces of the tribal. The tribal relatively still is innocent and honest, and is prompted in all his actions by a rationalistic conception of self-interest for achieving his

aims directly and with the minimum of effort. His works is being prompted by motives of a highly complex, social and traditional nature and his aims are certainly directed towards the satisfaction of present wants, or to the direct achievement of utilitarian purposes.

Forest is the treasure-house and important source of tribal livelihood. Forest produces supplement the merge income of the tribal from his main economic pursuit, i.e. agriculture, shifting cultivation or any other. In their economic activities tribal depend mostly on their own labour. In the past there were no employers and employed in tribal societies. Tribal considere it derogatory to work on payment, and therefore, no hired-labour was available in tribal societies. Now of course, things have changed, in addition to cooperative and exchange labour hired-labour is available.

CHAPTER-3

TRIBAL EDUCATION IN MADHYA PRADESH

Madhya Pradesh has the largest concentration of scheduled tribes in the country. The total population of scheduled tribe in 2001 is 12,233,474, comprising 6,195,240 males and 6,038,234 females, thus constituting 20.27 percent of the total population of the state.

The number of scheduled tribe groups residing in the state was 46 in 1991. These tribal groups were further divided into 161 sub-groups on the basis of language, social, economic and ethnic factors.

The socio- economic conditions of the tribal communities vary from tribe to tribe and area to area. On the whole the tribal are educationally and economically less advanced as compared to non-tribals. The primitive tribal communities like Abhujmaria, Pahari Korwas Kamar, Baiga, Bhariya, Birohre and are at different level of socio- economic and technological development. Beside these there are seven most backward tribal communities Kol. Dhanger, Binjawar, Bhunkia, Agaria, Pando and Dorlas whose standard of living is no better than of the primitive tribes. These tribal communicates need special attention of the authorities for their socio-economic development.

The scheduled tribe population is not evenly distributed in the state. There are certain areas with a negligible tribal population too.

An analysis of the population distributions in 1981 of the state in all the 45 revenue districts reveals that district Jhabu account for 83.47 per cent of the total population. In Baster, Mandla and Sarguja districts, the corresponding percentage varies from 25 to 50, while three districts have a tribal population of 10 to 25 per cent. The remaining districts have less than 10 per cent tribal population of the total population.

Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes

In 2002-03, according to data, if we analyse the differences in enrolment from Primary stage to Higher stage there is drastic change in enrolment, girls' enrolment is approximately half of the boys. Most of the scheduled tribe children discontinue their education as they grow up.

Table-8

Education Status: Enrolment by stages (Scheduled Tribes) 2002-03 in Madhya Pradesh

(in Lakhs)

Educational Stage	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	8.83	6.67	15.51
Middle	2.24	1.21	3.46
Sec/Hr. Sec	1.05	0.46	1.51
Higher Education	0.26	0.13	0.40

Source: Government of India, Ministry of HRD, Annual Report 2003-04 (Provisional as on 30th Sept.2002)

Incentives for the Students of Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh

The state government provides the following incentives to scheduled castes/scheduled tribes children with a view to upgrading their educational level.

Model Higher Secondary Schools and Educational Complexes:

For qualitative improvement in education, the Department of Tribal and Harijan Welfare is managing model higher secondary schools for boys at the divisional level. There are residential types of schools also. Besides, education complexes for girls in the predominately tribal revenue divisions have also been started. Students of these institutions are paid stipend of Rs. 160/- per month.

Ashram Schools: The Department of Tribal Welfare maintain more than 500 Ashram schools in the sparsely populated area of the Tribal Sub-Plan of the state. These are of residential type with a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 100 seats per Ashram school. Nearly 50 per cent of the seats are reserved for girl students.

Sports Complexes: The tribal, Harijan and Other Backward Class' Welfare Department maintain sports complexes for boys and girls separately. In each complex, coaching is provided by two coaches to 100 boys or girls in six to eight disciplines of space.

Scholarships and Stipends: The different types of scholarships and stipends given to schedule caste/schedule tribes:

Table-9**Scholarships and Stipends**

S. No.	Name of Scheme	Amount (In Rupees)		
		Boys	Girls	Duration
1.	State Scholarship			
(i)	Middle schools	150	225	10 months
(ii)	Hr. Sec. School	225	300	10 months
2.	Stipends to Pre- Matric Hostel/Ashrm Schools			
(i)	District level	1000	1100	
(ii)	Below district level	1000	1100	
3.	Merit Scholarship			
(i)	Hr. Sec. School	500	500	For 10 months in addition to scholarship or stipend
(ii)	Middle Schools	400	400	
4.	Special Scholarship			
(i)	Middle schools	400	400	10 months
(ii)	Hr. Sec. School	500	500	10 months
5.	Stipends to Inmates of Sports Hostels	2000	2000	
6.	Stipends to ITI/TCPC Students			
(i)	ITI	1440	1620	12 months
(ii)	TCPC	1000	1320	12 months
7.	Stipends to Inmates of Model HSS/ Girls Complex			
(i)	Middle level	1600	1600	10 months
(ii)	Hr. Sec. School	1600	1600	10 months
8	General T.I's (Difference Amount of Rate)	900	900	12 months
		To those who received Rs.300/- from Manpower Planning, Rs.1200/ to those who do not receive any stipend.		

Source: Department of Education, Madhya Pradesh, 1994

Voluntary Organisations: Fifteen Voluntary organisations are associated in the promotion of education among the scheduled tribes. They run hostels and ashram for the development of education among the tribal ashrams for the development of education among the tribal children and receive financial support also from the government for their activities.

Hostels: The Tribal Development Department maintain post-martric and pre-matric hostels for providing free residential accommodations to students studying at college and university levels and middle and secondary schools stages, respetively.

Training- cum-Production Centres: Fifteen training um production centres re run by the Industries Department to train tribal boys/ girls in 12 traditional trades, with a view to developing their self employment practical skills in respective trades.

Free Books and Schools Dresses: Free textbook are provided to students of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes, studying in primary schools. At middle and higher secondary schools stages, students belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are benefited through the book bank scheme. All girls studying at primary school stage free school dresses. This incentive scheme has helped to improve the enrolment of girls.

Education for Girls in Madhya Pradesh

The state backwardness in the field of primary education is mainly because of the slow progress of girl's education. Economic

backwardness, traditional resistance of girl's education and sparse population in many habitations are the main factors which hamper the development of education in the state. During the post-reorganisation period, all efforts were made to overcome these difficulties.

The enrolment of girls in 2002-03 at higher education and higher secondary, middle and primary school stages is 0.13 lakh, 0.46 lakh and 1.21 lakhs and 6.67 lakhs respectively.

According to Analytical Report 2003, in Madhya Pradesh, percentage of enrolment of ST girls at Primary Stage to total ST enrolment is 45.2 and at Upper Primary Stage are 38.0 respectively. As compared to other state percentage of ST girl's enrolment in Madhya Pradesh is comparatively low.

According to 1991 census, the number of female teachers in primary, middle and high and higher secondary schools was 35,988, 17,844 and 10,918. At the primary stage, the government policy encourage co- education, much stress has therefore, not been laid on opening separate schools for girls.

In order to promote girl's education in the state, a State Council for Women Education was established in 1960 in accordance with the recommendation of The National Council of Women's Education. Since the establishment, the council has been advising the government in matter related to girls' education and most of its recommendations have been accepted by the government. The government has also

started scheme of incentive in the form of free uniform and free textbooks for girls belonging to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe and other backward classes studying in primary classes. The facility of free book through book banks is also available to girls studying at middle and higher secondary levels.

Non- formal education centres also exist for those who are unable to pursue formal education. A large number of girls have been enrolled in this system and the state has also won the first award during 1983-84 for attracting the highest number of girls through non-formal education in the century. Special non-formal education centre were also opened exclusively for girls. Women teachers have been appointed in large numbers under the central assistance programme. Lady teaches numbering 300 were appointed during 1984-85 and 850 during 1985-86. A separate fund called 'Balika Shiksha Nidhi' has been established in the state to promote the education of girls.

Table-10

Literacy Rate of STs' Females in Comparison to the Total Female Literacy in India

LITERACY RATE	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
TOTAL LITERATE POPULATION	24	29.4	36.2	52.2	65.3
SCHEDULED TRIBES LITERATE POPULATION	8.5	11.3	16.3	29.6	46.8
TOTAL FEMALE LITERATE POPULATION	12.9	18.6	29.8	39.3	54.1
TOTAL SCHEDULED TRIBE FEMALE LITERATE POPULATION	3.2	4.8	8.0	18.2	34.4

Source: Census of India, 2001.

Education of Scheduled Tribes in India

Education is directly related to the development of an individual and the community. It is in the most important single factor for socio-economic development as well as social emancipation for the weaker sections of the society, education has a special significance because for a number of centuries, their illiteracy and social backwardness have been used for their harassment, humiliation and economic exploitation. The problem of education of the underprivileged groups and the general population are different both quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The literacy rate for general population in India (65.3%), according to the 2001 census, was 19 per cent higher than that of Scheduled Tribes. Even in states the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes is not the same. Within the state also, there are some tribes which have a high level of literacy and others which have very low literacy. For example, in Rajasthan Meena tribe has very high literacy in comparison to Bhils, Saharioas Rawars etc.

It was in the context of quantitative and qualitative different that the Central Advisory Board of Education recommended about two decade ago (in July 1976) that

1. Universalisaion of elementary education of SCs and STs is necessary, particularly in selected areas.
2. Since SCs and STs not homogeneous groups (with high variations in literacy level tribe wise and caste-wise is different states) differentiated programmes are necessary for them.

3. Since educational infrastructure is non-existent in many cases in the tribal areas, a network of educational institution of a single teacher schools and hostel facilities according to the density of school network need to be planned for each micro unit.

Measures Adopted for Educational Development of Scheduled Tribes

1. Our constitutions has directed the states to promote the educational interest of the weaker sections of the people, particularly of SCs and STs in term of establishment of and admission to educational institutions and grant from state funds for scholarship etc. It has thus consciously provided the policy of temporary discrimination for them.
2. In view of these directions, a provision has been made in all Five Year Plan providing crores of rupees of raising the level of education among the SCs and STs by opening schools, giving pre-matric and post-matric scholarship constructing hostels particularly for girls, creating book banks, mid-day meals, loans to students, coaching centres, houses for teachers and so forth.
3. Reserving sets in educational institutions including engineering and medical colleges.
4. Relaxation in age and marks for admission

5. Free special coaching to students aspiring for admission to professional courses or preparing for central and state level competitive examination.

The National Policy on Education 1986, contemplated the following measures for the education of SC's:

1. Incentive to SC families to send their children to school regularly till they reach the age of 14.
2. Pre- matric scholarship scheme for children of families engaged in low occupations (scavenging, tanning etc) from class 1 on words.
3. Constant monitoring to ensure enrolment, retention and successful completion off courses.
4. Recruitment of teachers from SCs.
5. Facilities in hostels.
6. Locating schools, Balwadis and Education Centres in such a way as to facilities full participation.

For the STs, *beside the above measures* other measures suggested were:

1. Priority to the opening of primary schools in the tribal areas.
2. Devising instructional material in tribal language at the initial stages.
3. Encouraging educated tribal to take up teaching in tribal areas.

4. Establishing residential schools on a large scale.

Success and Failure of Educational Scheme for Scheduled Tribes

The equalisation of opportunity in educational system still remains a distant ideal. It is because of the defect in the implementation of the educational policies by the government, or it is because the illiterate SCs and STs have not yet understood the importance of education for their children or due to their poverty they are unable to spend even a small amount of money on children's education.

We point out the following shortcoming and deficiencies in education in programmes for the SCs and STs.

1. **High percentage of drop-outs:** Though the number of SC/ST children in primary of students drop out by the time they pass 5th standard. It is estimated that the percentage of wastage in different states both among SC and ST communities vary from 30 (Himachal Pradesh) to 88 (Manipur). However, wastage among the STs is much higher than that among the SCs.
2. **Ineffective reservation:** All reserved states are not filled up due to non-availability of the required qualified candidates.
3. **Meagre Scholarship:** Money spent on education is much more than the money received as scholarship.

4. **Inadequate facilities:** In some tribal areas, schools are located in distant places and children find it difficult to reach school. Similarly adequate hostel facilities are also not easily available.
5. **Frequent absence of teachers in remote areas:** Most of schools in tribal as well as non-tribal areas as one- teacher schools. Teachers are either not willing to be posted in these isolated areas or they remain absent so frequently that student education suffers.
6. **Medium of Instruction:** Tribal children speak their own dialect while teaching in primary classes in though the state language. This language problem makes students disinterested in their studies as they cannot problem makes students disinterested in their studies as they cannot read the text book written in unfamiliar language.
7. **Cultural and Social Barriers:** Among many tribal the custom of marrying daughter at an early age and not permitting daughter in to go for studies act as a barrier to acquiring education. Moreover, most tribals have a feeling that the educated tribal youths would not respect the traditional norms and values of life.

It may therefore be averred that unless tribals are taught both their tribal dialects and more state languages, teacher are given incentive for working in isolated areas, single- teachers system is replaced by two or more teacher system, and unless school timings are fixed according to the convenience of the local people, an education will remain inaccessible to the was majority of SC/ST

student. Only especially crafted education policy will fulfil the needs of SCs and STs.

Education as an agent of modernisation must correspond with welfare, social mobility, and socio-cultural awakening. These three postulates constitute the policy of positive discrimination. If these ideals are properly and faithfully translated into practice the scheduled tribes and other weaker sections can get equipped to overcome their low status, exploitation and oppression. Many studies have revealed that so far the modern education among the ST and other weaker sections has created a new elite and a new middle class, who have cornered most of the benefit made available by the Indian State.

Corruption has made a definite space for itself in educational field. Education as a rare resource and opportunity is being exploited by a selected people who has as control over educational institutions. Brahmins hegemony on education, hegemony of the English educated, mushrooming of public schools, and the emergences of private professional institutions have castrated the very purpose of education after independence. The question is then: What is education? Education does not mean 200 odd universities, five IITs, 300 engineering colleges, several hundred polytechnics, more than one hundred medical colleges, and thousand and lakhs of schools at various levels. Even today, we do not have compulsory and free education for the children upto 14 years of age. SCs, STs, OBCs. Women, rural poor slum-dwellers are far behind in the field of

education as compared to the rest of the people. Questions are therefore being raised about access, quality, relevance, vocationalisation of curriculum, management of education, dominance of English language etc. Many traditional institutions of higher learning have degenerated into educational ghettos, and many new educational shops have surfaced. The hierarchy of educational system is so complex and intense that it has become impossible to compare schools, colleges and universities in India. How one can help educating the tribal people in such situation? Certainly the present system cannot salvage the tribal and other weaker sections. A more relevant down to earth approach and practice are required to educate the tribal and other weaker sections with out destroying their ecology, culture and everyday life.

CHAPTER-4

CULTURE- FRIENDLY EDUCATION

Education truly acknowledges the mind to be a living thing and therefore it stimulates the mind to give out more quality and quantity than is imparted to it from outside. Tribal education must be in full consonance with tribals entire life, economic, intellectual, aesthetic, social and spiritual. Our education should emerge from the core of basic values and ethos.

Education is a continuous process from birth to death, the means and methods may differ. The purpose of education is to stimulate and guide their self development.¹ The real meaning of education is an approach for the harmonious development of the individual in the context of the culture of the community to which they belong.

Since education has an intrinsic relation with culture, the need from an anthropological approach to the education in tribal area is needed. Educational sociology and educational anthropology have developed out of this fact. There has always been an interaction of individual and his environment. Environment has always played a great role in personality formation and formulations of social values. The values determine the standard of behaviour. The personality

¹ Whitehead, A,N. ,1949,"*The Aims of Education*". Mentor Book: Preface

Formation of an individual is therefore, to a great extent guided by the cultural environment of the individual. Education is therefore, dependent on culture and is related to cultural studies. .."applied anthropology with respect to education can only operate within in very clearly rather narrowly defined limits, unless the anthropological engineer or the agency for the whom he is planning, first operates upon the fundamental ordering of the socio-cultural entity in questions that is upon the basic technological economic and social organisation, and second, has the means to enforce the change recommended and is willing to exercise those means.² The definite aims of Educational sociology are. ³

1. To understand the role of teacher in community and of the school as an instrument of social progress and social factors affecting schools
2. To understand the democratic ideologies, our culture and economic and social trends in relation to both formal and informal educational agencies.
3. To understand social force and their effects upon individuals.
4. To specialize the curriculum, and

² Leeds, Anthony, 1964, "*Cultural Factors in Education*": India, Brazil, The United States. The Soviet Union, Some Problems of Applied Anthropology in Contemporary India Ed. Baidyanath Varma, Asia Publishing House , p. 310

³ Harrington, G.S., 1948, "*An Analysis of Courses in Educational Sociology with proposed changes*" Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol.22, No.4, pp 258-275.

5. To use the techniques of research and critical thinking to achieve these aims.

The task of an anthropologist is two- fold. "He can show where modern educational institutions cause unnecessary dislocation in the life of the families whose children pass through them, and from what he knows of the life that the adult native will have to lead, he can draw conclusion as to the type of education will be of most real value to him.⁴

Another line of approach would be the study of schools and modern teaching as factors as changes in tribal society.⁵ In those areas where cultural contact is in infancy and where the very beginning of educational work is in progress, anthropological studies can be applied. Anthropologists can work hand in hand with the teacher. Secondly, they can assess the impact of education during a period and find out what factors have accelerated or retarded the achievement of the desired result. This can be of immense help in replanting educational programmes in a given area.

Mass education and social education cannot, in the true sense of the term be imparted unless educators know the culture and social values of the tribal societies in which such education is being imparted.

⁴ Mair, L.P. ,1961,"*Studies in Applied Anthropology*", University of London, p 40

⁵ Sachchidananda,1957, *Anthropology and Education: Jagriti* (Magazine of Ranchi Teachers Training College).

The teachers training in such areas should be culturally oriented and anthropological training with regard to cultural values and establishment of rapport etc. can be imparted. This will not only make the teacher feel at home with the tribal people but it will inculcate in him a respect of tribal culture and develop a sympathy for these people. Educational Anthropology in India had remained neglected until recently but now educationists have come to realize the anthropologists and sociologists can be great help in formulating effective educational programmes.

These aims have been kept in view in the present works with special reference to the tribes of Madhya Pradesh with special emphasis on their primary education.

Tribal Culture and Formal Education

In this context, it is imperative to discuss those features of tribal cultures that are repugnant and those that are compatible with the on-going system of formal education. There are certain constraints in tribal culture which render difficulties in spreading of formal education among the tribes. Tribal eco-systems of habitats constitute a major constraint that prevents generation of any zeal for formal education. Analysis of culture always begins with the examination of a physio-cultural environment or habitat which has shaped it. Culture is invariably shaped and reshaped by its specific physical world, that is, the eco-system. Tribal eco-systems or habitats are mostly forest

and hilly areas as well as plateaus and naturally isolated regions. Geo-physically tribal habitats have certain distinguishing characteristics. Each tribal habitat is picturesque abounding with certain varieties of flora and fauna, with which the culture of the natives is intimately associated. The dense vegetation cover around the settlement consisting of deciduous and ever-green plants and creepers regularly yield fruits, nuts, tubers, juice, timber, fuel, flax, fodder, leaves, medicines, resin, lac, shells, beads, seeds, fibres and a variety of other materials. For the tribal the forest is the perennial source of food, drink, shelter, pleasure, pastime and sport. In other words the forest is rich in all the materials that man needs for survival. The vast verdant expanse of forest, its pristine glory, the roars, howls and growl of carnivores, screams, snarls and wheezes of herbivores, chirps and songs of birds, rumblings of the wind and clutter of the streams not only constantly break the monotony of the forest but entice and fascinate the tribal perpetually.

Home Atmosphere

The glamour of tribal habitat is so strong that the tribal child right from infancy remains submerged and inebriated in the splendour and vehemence of its richness and scenic beauty. Very quickly he becomes an inextricable part of his habit through apprehension of the sleepy hillocks, undulating, plateaus, rolling ridges, girdled by ridges, girdled by chanson of tortuous streams and rivulets and the medley of flora and fauna in the labyrinth of the forest. The tribal child, living with

his parents in the village, is gradually exposed do the total environment around, and his knowledge of the habitat steadily increases as he develops an intimate relationship with it.

School Atmosphere

As compared to the home atmosphere the scene and composition of the school are very much different from each other. When the tribal child comes to school he finds himself in an altogether different world. He is periodically separated from the company of his usual peers, and on the contrary, asked to adjust to the discipline of the school. He disdains the sudden curtailment of his freedom. In addition to this, the village school teacher who is most often a non-tribal and even if he is a tribal, he belongs to a different tribe, and unable to speak the language of the tribal child and the latter is generally a mono-lingual. The home culture of the tribal child and the school culture run almost parallel to each other, and there is hardly any meeting point between them. Therefore, the tribal child becomes nonplus and initially loses normal composure in the school atmosphere.

Language

It takes one to the second constraint, that is, the tribal language with regard to formal education. Culture and language are inseparable. Language is a part, product and vehicle of culture. A child's informal education and the process of enculturation are accomplished through its mother-tongue. Hence a child's cognitive system is in perfect

correlation with its language system, and, as such its receptivity is higher when he is taught in its mother-tongue. Culture and language, both facilitate communication, and also function as barriers in the context of inter-culture and inter-language, if they are structurally different from those of the natives. Each language constitutes a distinct system with a unique configuration of its phonological, morphological, semantic, syntactic and symbolic sub-systems. And, although, a language does not restrict the thought pattern of its speakers to the structure of the language, it certainly shapes their conceptualization of all sorts of phenomena, both natural and socio-cultural.

The difference between the home language and the school language is a major barrier for young tribal educates. If the language, the tribal child belongs to the class room, is derided and stigmatized, and no academic strategy is adopted for giving the pre-primary and primary students due competence in the school language so as to enable them to study as equals of the majority language so as to enable them to study as equals of the majority language students, then they are bound to develop an inferiority complex and low self-image.

Tribes of India belong to four language families, namely (a) Indo-European (b) Tibeto-Chinese (c) Austro-Asiatic, and (d) Dravidian. Typologically each language family is distinct from others. Languages belonging to a language family are genealogically related and therefore

communication between them is somewhat easy, but not between languages of different language families; for instance, if a pre-primary or primary educant's home language belongs to Dravidian language family and the school language belongs to the Indo-European, then the problem of communication and comprehension for the child is insurmountable. It is therefore appropriate to introduce a bilingual transfer model in order to overcome this problem. This is an academic strategy likely to serve the educational purpose of minority children better, whose home language is different from that of the school language in use. The transfer model aims at a smooth transfer to the school language by the end of the primary stage. It assumes that the linguistic wealth of the child must be fully used in the class room in the interest of better education. It envisages a time-bound gradual transfer to the school language from the linguistic wealth of the native children.

Sex Life

The next factor that hinders the growth of formal education among the tribes is laxity of sex. This part, what is more important is the exposure to sex life relatively early in age. Chastity has different meanings in different cultures, its meaning is culture-specific, and hence it has no universal standards. At an incredibly early age tribal children get initiated into sexual life. The young ones often indulge in innocent looking plays of childhood, which are erotic and not innocuous as they appear. In most cases, as the children grow up,

they live in some sort of free love through their dormitory life, which sometimes develops into more permanent attachments, one of which ends up in marriage. Before this is reached, unmarried boys and girls are openly supposed to be quite free to do what they like, and there are evenly ceremonial arrangements by which the girls of a village repair in a body to another place; there they range themselves for inspection, and each is chosen by a local boy belonging to a different descent group. With whom she spends a night. Every time girl flavours her lover, some small gift has to be given immediately. This is the case in normal intrigues, going on frequently between unmarried boys and girls belonging to different descent groups, and in more ceremonial cases of indulgence some special gifts are to be given. This keeps the mind of the young boys engaged; who either prepare a gift wasting time and energy or buy the same from a nearby weekly market.

Sex is a powerful drive, which culture contains and channelises. Channelisation of sex in tribal societies is different from those of the peasant and urban societies. In tribal societies the general orientation is that as vim, vigour and vitality are short-lived, one must have his/her share of sex, and to have sex is only human. What the tribal societies expect is that one must follow the prescribed rules while indulging in sex.

The next factor which impedes the spread of formal education is the world view of the tribal. World view accounts for an individual's

psyche and his attitude towards his natural, social and supernatural world in time and space. Indeed this determines his attitude to work, leisure, health, sickness, economic development, attainment of formal education and rest of the things of life.

Culture shapes the personality traits of its bearers, and a particular culture shapes these as per its specific ethos or spirit. This has been amply demonstrated by Psychological Anthropologists and by Max Weber in his book: "*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*". Thus an individual's attitude to his physical, social and supernatural world is shaped by his culture. World view determines the tribal's concept of good life and happy life, which can be analysed either as conducive or antithetical to secularism, modernisation, attainment of formal education and a host of other things.

Good life involves ethical domain and value-judgements, and hence is normative; whereas happy life is more value free but not normless; it is merely not loaded with ethical precautions.

For the tribal disease, sickness and death are natural phenomena, and there is no fool-proof protection against these. All these are controlled by non-human or supernatural forces. However, in spite of these impending unavoidable hazards life is meant for enjoyment. He believes that when he is born as a man he has a natural right to live and has socially permissible freedom to enjoy life. Happiness consists in being free to enjoy oneself, without restrictions

of time frame or work routine. It does not mean that the tribal is not amenable to time frame; certainly he is, but he resents rigid time schedule and considers it as anathema. For him youthful vigour is short-lived and non-repetitive, and therefore life must be enjoyed to the fullest extent so long youthful vigour is there. And as such he remains fully committed to the philosophy of happy life so long as vim, vigour and vitality continue to energize him for all the erotic, mirthful and adventurous activities. Normally one develops this sort of orientation at the pre-adolescent stage of life, which is the proper time for schooling.

As the youthful vigour declines with the dissipation of physical energy, one necessarily turns away from 'happy-life' and steers towards 'good life' which is more closely integrated to the moral order of the society. Love for fun, frolic and freedom from social responsibility steadily fades away. In the later half of life, the tribal fully conforms to the belief pattern that he must live in peace and harmony with his physical environment special milieu and the supernatural world.

From the foregoing discussion it must not be construed that the tribal cultures embody only growth-negative values. There are indeed growth-positive, or at least, growth-neutral values. No culture is negatively oriented towards development or modernization. What is necessary for the development planners and executives is the appropriate orientation to grasp and comprehend objectively the ethos

or genius of the target culture, to which development plans must be attuned.

Tribes in the past, though were non-literate, certainly possessed their own systems of informal education. The process of enculturation and imparting of traditional skills comprised their systems of informal education. The dimensions of informal education emphasized community involvement and acquisition of competence as effective members of society. Even today, the core of informal education consists of instructions are informal, that is, parents and elders impart knowledge to children on various aspects in face to face relationship. The techniques are more practical rather than theoretical, and well adapted to suit the typical needs of the society. In other words informal education is designed to make the child ready for the world which he has to face and this cannot be said to be true of the formal education, which emphasizes conceptualization rather than acquisition of agricultural and other techniques in practical situations.

Tribals are not mentally deficient; they are capable of picking up complex knowledge, but their pace of assimilation may be slower as their cognitive level is relatively lower for historical reasons. Formal education lays emphasis on discontinuities in traditional cultures hence it is problematic. It aims to turn the young tribal or peasant educate into a clerk or something of that sort. It is time to rethink about the formal education. It should be more pragmatic and realistic.

Its aim should be to make the educated ones more self-reliant rather than salaried job-hunters.

The syllabi of pre-primary and primary education of tribals should be different from those of the non-tribals, and while designing it due importance must be given to the rational processes and logical thinking operative in tribal mind. At this stage the medium of instruction need be the mother-tongue of tribals, which may be substituted by the regional and national language through a process of gradualism. The system of education which is to be imparted to tribal children should articulate with their natural intelligence. Therefore, it is necessary that the curriculum of education includes a part of tribal culture. This, of course, necessitates knowledge of tribal cultures; without which development planning is likely to result in failure.

Socio- Cultural base of Curriculum for Tribal Students

The programmes of social education in tribal areas are, by and large, the same as in the non-tribal areas. "Although some effort has been made to relate it to the prevailing social and cultural practices, this has been of poor standard. The general emphasis on Social Education activities in the Multi- purpose Blocks has simply ranged from folk dances to youth activities and literacy classes to the opening of libraries and reading rooms. It was at least hoped that social

education would be the fore-runner of other programmes which would be closely related to the tribal culture in all its aspects. ⁶

If social education is to be taken as education for life in society, it should have been so implemented as to have a bearing on the local culture. For without it, it cannot be education for life. It must be related to the way of life. Since the tribal life a community life the community sharing the joys and sorrows of the individual together, social education would have a special appeal for them. The process of socialization emphasizes the important of community life. His individual self-assertion is not so greatly developed as in non-tribal areas. In the communities having institutions like Dhumkuria (Youth dormitories), the children (it members) are taught about their role in community life.

The programme of Social Education should be drawn up with a different approach. Many of the tribal communities have better social life than many of the non-tribal communities. In the non-tribal communities, individualism has taken deep roots and is spreading fast, whereas it is not rampant in the tribal communities. The tribal society is primary group society, the non-tribal has secondary group organisation. Unless a Social Education Organizer is well acquainted with the totality of tribal life and interests, he cannot relate his programme to the life of tribal people.

⁶ Elwin Verrier: 1960, Report of the committee on Special Multi purpose. Tribal Blocks. Ministry of Homes Affairs New Delhi.

Institutional and traditional life in the tribal should also be emphasized. They are the agencies of socialisation. "Youth dormitories should be recognized and promoted.⁷ Youth dormitories can serve the purpose of agencies of social education as has been suggested by Sachchidananda .It may be used as a Social Education Centre and the latter (social education centre) should under no circumstance act as rival of the traditional tribal institution. It may be therefore, be advisable to start Social Education Centres in the building of Dhumkuria where they exist and it might function as a wing to traditional institution. ⁸

It will be seen that in urban tribal population, males and females have higher percentage of literacy as compared to their rural counterpart. Even in the whole too, the rural literacy percentage is very low as compared to urban areas. Therefore, special efforts are to be made to indicate the rural tribal population.

Social education has certain important aspects. Adult literacy programmes occupies the first place. But the basic drawback of such centres is that the language that is being taught is alien to the tribal. Literacy does not remain a question of script only but it also becomes the question of languages. Literate for non literature is not being produced in good measures. Literature should be created with a view to arousing interest in the adult. Moreover, if there is no follow

⁷Elwin Verrier, op.cit, p. 99

⁸ Sachchidannda, Dhumkuria Then and Now: Journal of Social Research, Vol.1 p.73

up of the literacy programme, the very purpose will be defeated for a tribal, if he does not frequently write or read, may lapse back into illiteracy.

Tribal dances and drama with tribal cultural background will prove to be a great medium of social education. "Drama has been widely recognized as a potent means of social education programmes. This is because of the realization that the impact upon the rural mind should best be made through their own institution. Only then they would not regard it as an imposition from an alien world. Only then faith in the programme will be born. If the drama is about which they have been thinking already and which they have experienced as an acute felt need they will be naturally interested in it."⁹

Tribal students constitute an important segment of the student population of India. The fact that they live in comparative isolation and not much educational development has taken place among them calls for an effort to impart meaningful education to them so that the gulf that exists today between tribal and non-tribal students is bridged.

Education of tribal students cannot be conceived of as separate from the general framework of education meant for the country as a

⁹ Sachchidananda: 1961, In Foreword of 'Rural Drama' by S.N. Srivastava: Indian Adult Education Association, New Delhi.

whole. The tribes live in distinct physical and social environment with different patterns of culture. As such, while the general objectives of education could remain the same, its content may require modifications to suit their needs. The attributes of modernization have not yet made themselves and unsophisticated. Therefore, it is desirable that education for them should be in tune the prevailing situations there.

Elementary education of Tribal children may be terminal. Even though the body of knowledge given and skills imparted at his level is not of any significant dimension they may be sufficient to meet heir socio-cultural needs. As compared to non-tribal societies, tribal societies are stable, and change in them takes place slowly. No tribesman dies in the world in which he was born. New ideas and concepts will come to tribal areas gradually and will be adopted by the tribal people in course of time. Any curriculum should keep pace with the time and should be revised from time to time. Since tribal culture is stable, there would be no need of constant revision and remodelling of the curriculum as is necessary in the case of curriculum for non-tribal students in whose areas change takes place at a much faster rate. It would also make the curriculum burdensome if every new ideas and concepts which are of passing importance are incorporated in it.

Of late there has been a tremendous development in science and technology. The total stock of knowledge to be imparted has

increased manifold. While it would be necessary to impart a bulk of this knowledge to tribal students as well so that they do not lag behind others, it is also essential to ensure that his body of knowledge does not create socio-cultural imbalances in tribal societies. The content of education imparted to them should not be such as to uproot them from their mooring and cultural milieu. It is true that even the remote tribal areas may not remain unaffected with the advances made in the field of science and technology. New scientific facts may come in direct conflict with established cultural values. Scientific knowledge may bring in new occupations and new opportunities and destroy or alter the existing ones. Tribal students may have to be prepared to face these facts. Children of today may have to come face to face with unforeseeable situations when they become adults. To meet all such situations students would not only have to be imparted scientific knowledge and skills in manipulating the technology, but also a scientific attitude will have to be developed in them. But, at the same time, it has to be ensured that buffers are built to absorb the shock the established cultural values will receive from new scientific knowledge. The curriculum has to take into consideration the above factors.

A child in a tribal society, which is simple and unsophisticated, does not need a large body of knowledge to meet his socio-economic needs. He is not at all bothered about the contemporary need of another society which is not going to have any lasting influence on

him or his immediate environment. It is true that in the modern world there is enough to learn, but simply because of this we need not unnecessarily load the information bag which he has to carry, and drive him out of the educational system. In what follows an attempt has been made to give some indication of the content that should go into the curriculum for tribal students. These are only illustrative and not exhaustive. With a little sense of understanding of the tribal life and culture, it may not at all be difficult to make the curriculum interesting and attractive to tribal children.

Social Studies and Tribal Culture

The objective of teaching Social Studies should be the same for tribal and non-tribal children except that in the case of tribal students, emphasis should be laid more on family and kin groups., Similarly knowledge about the immediate environment should precede knowledge about the neighbouring areas, the district, the state and the country and lastly knowledge about the world. Tribal ideas of creation of the world, the sun, the moon and other natural objects and living beings may be highlighted. The degree of modification of the content for tribal students should largely depend on the stage of development of a particular tribal area.

Imparting of knowledge should start from known to the unknown. Lessons should begin from the family and the community and emphasis may be laid on economic cooperation and interdependence

between them, and the division of labour among the members of the family. From family one should proceed to the school and the community.

In order to maintain a link between the family and the school, the latter should be conceived of a bigger family. The problem of how to bring about understanding with the other non-tribal children should also be discussed.

In any discussion of the village life, it would be appropriate to first make the child conversant with the basic features of his own villages. He should be made aware of the precautions he has to take against different types of dangers particularly from wild animals, jungle fire, swollen rivers, landslides, earthquakes and such other natural calamities which often befall him. While discussing the neighbouring villages, the distinctive features of the two may be highlighted not to create any discrimination, but bring to focus the differences in the living patterns of the two communities.

There has been tremendous development in the modes of transport. The invention of the wheel has totally revolutionized the transport system, but in many tribal societies the wheeled transport-system, has not yet made itself manifest. In fact, in many areas no transport system exists and human back is still an important means to carry goods. Lessons on modern means of transport like scooter, car, steam and electric trains, and air planes will have less

significance for tribal students. Communication through word of mouth still prevails in tribal areas. Telegraph, telephone, wireless, radio and television will take a long time to appear in tribal areas. Therefore, while discussing the transport and communication system, the local modes of transport and communication should not be lost sight of.'

There are no separate professional craftsmen in tribal areas. The tribesmen take upon themselves the function of basket maker, weaver, wood carver, barber, blacksmith and so on. Since these institutions do not exist independently, discussion about their roles and functions as part of the professional caste system would not be understandable to tribal students.

Advancement made by the society should also be discussed from the earliest stage of development of man. How the early man lived in cave, hut or on tree tops and subsisted on hunting and fishing different types of tools and use of fire, man's early clothing from tree leaves, grass and animal's and ultimately from cotton, domestication of animals and raising of crops, information on all these could be used as textual material for illustrating the gradual development of man and society.

Agriculture is the basis occupation of the tribes. Hence, the concept of shifting, terrace and permanent cultivation on scientific lines and the tools associated with them would be the first thing to be

taught under agriculture. It is well-known that even a small tribal child taught under agriculture. It is well-known that even a small tribal child is conversant with the different agricultural operations. Small but significant improvements made in the tools and techniques of the traditional type of cultivation may be usefully brought to their notice. Local manures and fertilizers along with the effectiveness of the latter in increased production may also be usefully taught.

The diverse nature of the social, political and economic life of different communities may be explained to them in the context of the diversity of the Indian society. The democratic values, the concepts of secularism and socialism, which are no less significant to tribes themselves, may also be inculcated at this stage. The role played by the freedom fighters including those from tribal areas may be highlighted. This way they will also feel that they too had a role to play in achieving the independence of the country.

While discussing the political life of the country, tribal customary law, tribal concepts of crime and punishment, the traditional village council etc. should not be ignored.

Culture-Friendly Science

Teaching of general science should follow two important principles namely, relating the teaching to the environment of the child and avoidance of the reference of situations and findings which militate against tribal cultural heritage. In stipulating these principles it is not

desired that scientific knowledge should be kept away from them but that the content should be useful to them. Teaching of the subject would need a great tact and imagination on the part of the teacher. Tribal areas are singularly devoid of scientific apparatus, models, charts, etc. the child may at times find that the scientific explanation of natural phenomena is quite different from the cultural explanation.

It would thus be essential to avoid bringing any conflict between scientific facts and cultural values. Cultural interpretation of natural phenomena may have to be reinterpreted in scientific terms. The local environment should invariably act as the laboratory for teaching science. Creating and fostering scientific attitudes should be as important as disseminating scientific knowledge.

Knowledge about the Constitution and function of human body can precede knowledge about health and hygiene. Emphasis should be laid on development of healthy habits and sense of cleanliness-both social as well as physical – rather than on imparting knowledge of facts. The concept of cleanliness often varies as widely as the concept of beauty. A clean and white set of teeth may not always be regarded as a beautiful set of teeth in tribal societies. Attempts are made to blacken the teeth to make them beautiful. Knocking out and filling of teeth is also resorted to in order to make them beautiful. Tattooing may be considered hideous by one society, beautiful by another. Thus the concept of beauty and cleanliness as prevalent in one society may not be accepted in another. Therefore, while imparting such

knowledge of cleanliness and beauty aids, the local concepts may be taken into consideration.

Tribal houses may not fulfil all the essential requirements of modern living. But they are functional. Absence of windows in tribal houses is very conspicuous. The necessity of having windows in the house for the purpose of getting light and fresh air should be discussed in the context of local climate and tribal belief that provision of windows in the house is an open invitation to the malevolent spirits to enter the house and trouble the inmates. The non-existence of any provision for the outlet of smoke from the house has led to eye diseases and has also led to severe criticism of the design of the tribal houses. But this again should be considered in the context of the utility of smoke in destroying the insects which eat away the building material very soon. But such resistance to modern and scientific way of living may have to be broken by explaining the comparative dangers and disadvantages and not just by denouncing the ways of living of the tribal people.

Plants and animals are part and parcel of tribal living. There are a number of plants which have medicinal values. There are plants which are used as poison for fishing and hunting. Though animals are few in tribal villages, yet their value in tribal economy and rituals is not less important. The widespread use of animals flesh for eating and equally widespread taboo on taking animal milk are basic features of tribal life. Textual material explaining the use of plants and

animals should also take into consideration these aspects of tribal culture.

Health Education

The contents of health education for tribal students are to be such as to give them an adequate knowledge of the various types of known and unknown diseases, precautions to be taken against them and the remedial measures. With the recent influx of non-tribal population in tribal areas a large number of diseases unknown to them have also crept in. The people are not equipped to fight these diseases and very easily fall a prey to them. The tribal child should be made aware of such diseases and how to guard against them.

Cleanliness can be affected not only through soaps, there are local cleaning agents and detergents as well the use of which need not be discouraged. Children should also be made aware of the difference in bathing for cleaning and cooling. Something can also be said in favour of tribal habit of spitting in fire. This immediately destroys the bacteria in their sputum and prevents the spreading of diseases, apparently it may appear to be a dirty habit, but it has its intrinsic importance.

The danger of using water from the source which has been used by the cattle should be emphasized. Tuberculosis, venereal diseases, skin diseases and goitre are rampant in tribal areas. Instead of giving general information on diseases which are not prevalent there

information about the above and how to fight them would be more useful. What is more important is to create a healthy habit and attitude rather than giving lectures on how to keep the body and the village clean.

Perspectives for the Future of Culture-Friendly Education

Education of the tribals cannot be left merely to short term plan strategies. The need of remodelling our educational pattern for the tribal people in their culture context, to make it more effective. Elwin Committee and Dhebar Commissions Reports have endorsed this need. Two full length books have come out on this aspect. One is "Problems of Tribal Education and the Santhal" by N.K. Das Gupta and the second is "The Education of the Himar People" by Rochunga Pudaite. The first has the cultural context of the Himar of Manipur. The first book deals with the Philosophy of life of the Santhal's social life, tribal economy in relation to education nature and content of tribal education and the finding. The book is very limited in its scope from anthropological point of view. He has brought to the fore need of creating a mass consciousness about the benefit of education among tribal adults, so that they may be induced to send their children to school. He has also touched upon the traditional mode of education among tribal and their utility. But the writer seems to be too much influenced by School of Thought and has laid emphasis upon religious

teaching.¹⁰ The emphasis laid in the book on spiritual and moral teaching will not stand in the tribal context because their value system is different from that of non-tribals. Morality is the sanction of society and hence it differs from society to society.¹¹

Pudait's book deals with the socio-political life of the people by teaching their history, and their educational background in various aspects of life economics, domestic, social and religious. It also discusses the impact of British education and future development of education. This book is very nicely written, in a simple through lucid style with a great insight into the problem of the Hmar Education. Very little written records being available. This book is commendable in its present form. The educational system among the Hmar "Appears to be quite unrelated to real life. It is impractical and fails to encourage initiative or creativity. For most students it seems aimless."¹² The book aims at understanding what has been done in the field of education, its correlation with every aspect of Hmar culture material and non-material, and suggests a suitable programme for the future. "The approach is not revolutionary. It is an attempt to

¹⁰ Ambasht. N.K. Review of the book in Bulletin of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Vol. V, No.1, p 170

¹¹ In Jagannathpur. A non tribal Headmaster of school give a beating to one of the tribal boys because he was seeing to school with a girl hand in hand. The headmaster considered (according to his own value standard) as something objectionable. The result was that the very next day he found his hude surrounded by some two hundred tribal with bows and arrows. The tribals did not find anything objectionable in the behavior of the day. The headmaster had to leave the school immediately and he dared not return. The imposition of non tribal values, therefore, can lead to such reactions. Such imposition is therefore not justified

¹² Pudait, Rochunga, 1963, "The Education of the Hmar People". Sielmate p.18

understand the problem of education in order to gain an insight and sense of direction for the future.¹³

B.K. Roy Burman has shown that there is a great urge for education among tribes. However, he fears that ecology, culture, history, political economy and social demography of the specific tribal communities may be endangered due to faulty approach to education. The formal literacy and education must be related to the life line of the tribal people such as forests, agriculture nature and health care. The reading materials must be prepared in such a way that the tribal culture and tribal history get reflected properly and positively. Indigenous character of the people and formal literacy and education must be found in harmony.¹⁴

It is important that planners take a long term view which is embedded in a meaningful policy framework. Following are some important points emerging from the review.

1. Emphasis should be on quality being left merely to short term plan strategies. It is done during the past. The prime focus should be on provision of quality education that makes the tribal communities economically effective and independent.
2. Looking at the tribal context it is of absolute of necessity that the school scheduled be prepared as per the local requirement rather

¹³ Idib., p.18

¹⁴ Roy Burman, B.K. 1989. "Problem and prospect to tribal development in North east India economic and political weakly Vol.XXIV. No-13. pp.693-97

- than following a directive from the state. It has been found that vacations and holidays are planned without taking into cognizance, local contexts and thereby unnecessarily antagonizing tribal communities and keeping them of school.
3. Though it has been highlighted time and again no concrete step has been taken to provide locally relevant materials to tribal students. Availability of locally relevant materials will not only facilitate faster learning but also help the children to develop a sense of affiliation to the school
 4. In order to make education effective and sustainable building partnership between the community and the Government. Results from pilot projects in Madhya Pradesh shows that community partnership not only augments state expenditure on education but also guarantees supervision and monitoring thus addressing an intractable problem for the state.
 5. Environment building is of immense importance in the context of educational development among tribal communities. Community awareness and community mobilization which are the core elements in should receive adequate importance and attention.
 6. Decentralizations of education management is another aspect that needs special consideration in the context of tribal areas, considering the geographical terrain and communication problems in tribal areas, it is crucial to restructure the existing

system of educational management . Adaptation of structures such as schools complexes and VEC to the tribal areas needs careful consideration.

7. Skill development, competency building and motivating the teachers also need to be strengthened for sustaining educational development. Teacher should be made the centre of educational transformation and therefore, must remain as the primary facilitator.

Social education programmes should relate to the prevailing folk culture. It is necessary to realise that this is a more difficult thing than to introduce songs and dance of non-tribal type, which in any case is not desirable. Unless one has that traditional vigour and tempo, the genuine touch of tribal life, the whole programmes will become dull.

CHAPTER-5

CONCLUSION

Tribal children are neither culturally inferior nor cognitively less competent than the children of other groups. Instead many of their skills and abilities are highly developed and extremely sophisticated. If one considers the case of tribal child it is clear that he is no less competent even at the tender age. He acquires ability in learning songs at the age of 4-5 years. He learns beating of drums, dances, memorising short stories, proverbs, and riddles and often creates new songs of his own in mutual exchange with peers at the age of 10. Tribal children can acquire all those skills that the members of other groups of the society possess. What is important on our part is to develop a positive frame of mind about tribal children.

Main problem is with our schooling system, the tribal child entering school for the first time sees a completely different environment. The building pattern with closed four walls, and sitting arrangement is alien to him , which does not pay attention to the ecological, cultural and psychological characteristics of tribal children is highly unlikely to make any significant impact. Tribal children are directly introduced to the State language used in schools rather than their own mother tongue whereas in urban areas the children get their formal education through states language as the medium of instructions, which is their own mother tongue and gradually exposed to other language

Children enrolled to the educational system of the dominant non-tribal population finds the system very limited in value of the tribal cultural milieu because it does not match with the lifestyle of individual and the needs of the tribal community and due to this the tribal child has difficulty in grasping what is taught. Moreover, because the values and culture are often alien and urban, the children do not see any use in that education and gradually drop out.

The tribal societies are multi-lingual society. So, Language has been the main problem for tribal education. Each tribe has its own language for communication. So multi-lingual situation creates problem in a classroom whereby students from different tribal or sub-tribal groups with their own tribal/local language creates a serious problem for the teachers is as to what should be the standard medium of instruction for all the children. A teacher knowing one tribal language finds it difficult to teach the students coming from multi-ethnic and multi-lingual background.

It is often seen that teachers working in tribal areas have prejudice and biasness towards tribal society and culture. They treat tribals as sub-human beings, who have a lot of blind beliefs and conservative ideas. These senses of ethnocentrism are expressed in their dealing with tribal students in a classroom. He seldom inquires in to the Socio-cultural background of the tribal student is a child. Along with the problems of language it has become one of the serious problems which is coming in the way of tribal education. This has

been a feature of all residential schools running in the districts by the Ministry for the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe.

There are many tribal languages which have no script so they do not qualify for a status of language and hence they are inferior. Hence, preparation of suitable textbook for such category of children is a challenging task for educationists

It is seen that experts knowing tribal culture and language prepare the books whose contents of subjects reflect the culture of dominant society. Apart from this, the books having pictures and description of animals, birds, trees, etc. which are alien to the tribal child which poses problem to comprehend.

The tribal children have their own Eco- zone where they inhabit in relative isolation and therefore have lesser exposure to the outside world whereas in urban areas the children have relatively plenty of opportunity to interact with people and child coming from different linguistic areas. They are exposed to electronic media, Radio and T.V, which not only are the medium of entertainment but also are scope of learning and adopting traits and ideas. The tribal children do not get exposure to other languages at primary stage.

The problems and issues in languages, text book and medium of instruction are very typical to the tribal of Madhya Pradesh than to any other region of the country where multi- ethnic and multi- lingual indigenous tribal groups are existing.

Many psychologist, educationist, linguist have concluded that the children of multi-lingual society have greater cognitive power and innate language capacity so they can grasp anything. Our duty is to create culture friendly environment for their education.

Regarding the creation of culture- friendly education some suggestion are given below.

1. Linguistic mapping should be done to assess the incidence and category of tribals before planning for their education.
2. The medium of instruction at primary level should be in the mother tongue and also in decentralised manner. That means it is not the state or district, it is the block where the teacher (tribal) with educated (although a few) tribal persons will prepare the text book for their own category of children.
3. The school environment should be attractive with gardens, plantations, and children friendly elements with cost effective locally available raw materials. The school must have play materials and self- learning materials for the children to create interest in them to attend school regularly.
4. The teacher should have an orientation of the richness of heritages and culture of the tribals. He should have enough patience to bear the tribal child in a classroom and act as a friend and facilitator rather than a master.

5. The non-tribal teachers working for long time inspite of various health hazards by knowing the tribal languages should be identified and compensated with incentives and rewards as a token of commendation for their valuable services towards the education of tribal so that other non-tribal teachers will be interested to join the force.
6. Tribal teachers should be identified by their category and be posted to schools where he can serve his community children better.
7. The village community although illiterate, they are great assets as far as education on art and craft is concerned. Their resources should be used while topic related to agriculture, horticulture and materials culture are transacted in the classroom.
8. Innovation through research on various aspects of education must be conducted so as to identify problems and their solutions.

Incentives should be initiated to attract effective teachers to work in tribal schools and to retain them there. Only such motivated teachers are likely to generate interest among tribal children towards education by attempting to link the contents of the curriculum with the existing realities of tribal communities through the use of innovative technologies.

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