EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG THE BHILS OF RAJASTHAN :
A STUDY OF THREE BHIL VILLAGES

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DECLARATION

This thesis titled "Education and Occupational Mobility among the Bhils of Rajasthan - A Study of Three Bhil Villages", being submitted to the School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, by Geetha Nambissan, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is entirely her own work and has not been considered for the award of any other degree either at this or any other University. We recommend that the thesis be forwarded to the examiners for evaluation.

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important programmes of the government, for tribal development is the spread of formal education. It is felt that illiteracy and low levels of education are among the main reasons why the tribal people have been unable to avail of new occupational opportunities and thereby improve their economic status. The Constitution of India in this context envisages that "the State shall protect the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections and in particular the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes".

However, the progress of education in the tribal areas has been relatively slow. A number of scholars have cited economic, social and cultural factors to explain this educational backwardness. Special emphasis has been laid on the indifferent and apathetic attitudes of the tribal people to formal education and their relatively low levels of aspiration and motivation. It is felt that the relative isolation experienced by tribal communities results in the contradiction between the cultural needs of the tribe and the norms and values imparted by the school system.

While disadvantages experienced as a result of cultural isolation need to be stressed the process of change occuring in the tribal areas requires that studies look into the nature of

interaction between socio-cultural and economic constraints and their incidence in different strata of tribal society. Thus unequal distribution of crucial economic resources in a situation of economic backwardness and competition for scarce resources are likely to affect access to education. What we are suggesting therefore is, that decisions regarding access to education are likely to be closely linked not only to cultural factors but also to the specific economic conditions which the tribal households find themselves in.

Dealing specifically with the Bhil tribe of Rajasthan, the present study attempts to understand the manner in which economic and socio-cultural constraints have impeded the progress of education in a segment of tribal India. The study also looks at the nature of occupational opportunities availed of by the tribals and the extent to which expanding educational opportunities have encouraged the process of mobility. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

(i) An understanding of the nature and magnitude of inequality of educational opportunity[1].

a) Between the tribal (Bhil) and non-tribal (Brahmin) community;

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1. Inequality of Educational Opportunity is seen in the differential enrolment is of children in educational institutions by communities, households etc.

b) Between sections of the tribe which have led uneven exposure to modern institutions and opportunities;

c) Between households of differing economic status in each section of the tribe.

(ii) The nature of occupational opportunities in the tribal area and the magnitude of occupational mobility experienced by the educated Bhil.

a) The extent of occupational change in the Bhil area;

b) Intergenerational occupational mobility[2] among the Bhils;

c) The relationship between formal education and occupational mobility;

d) The attitudes and aspirations of the tribals to education and occupational opportunities.

The Study

The study was carried out at two levels. A survey of households was first made from three predominantly tribal (Bhil) villages of the Kherwara tehsil in Udaipur district. Both Bhil and Mina households formed part of the study. In order to effect a comparison between the tribals and non-tribals, Brahmin households were also included in the survey.

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2. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility is measured by the change in occupational status between generations.

From the households surveyed, tribal Respondents in the 17 to 30 year age group were interviewed with the specific purpose of understanding the attitudes and aspirations of the tribal youth.

The following variables were considered likely to be important in explaining the magnitude of inequality of educational opportunity in the surveyed households.

a. The extent of isolation of the community

Constraints which arise from the relative isolation of the tribals from modern institutions and opportunities have been emphasized in studies on education. A comparison between the relatively isolated Bhils and the more exposed Mina households, it was felt, could explain the likely variation in enrolment as a result of cultural constraints. A comparison was also made between tribal and Brahmin households.

b. Size of Household

As children are important economic units in the tribal households, it was felt that the size of the households could influence the decision to send a child to school.

c. Size of land owned and access to irrigation

In a relatively backward agricultural area, land and irrigation are crucial assets. The size of cultivable land owned and the access of the household to some minimum irrigation

facilities were seen as likely to be indicators of economic status. For example households were divided according to whether they had access to irrigation facilities or not.

d. Access to income from 'services'

Occupational opportunities in the modern service sector are avenues of relatively regular income. In a vulnerable agricultural economy, access to regular service income was seen as a crucial variable in identifying the economic status of the household.

e. Age group of children

The primary (6-11 years) school going age group was distinguished from the older (12-16 years) age group. It was felt that the incidence of economic and social constraints was likely to vary in the two age groups given the fact that children are involved in household activities. Variation in enrolment in the school going age group was studied as a function of a,b,c and d.

For the study of occupational change and mobility, the following aspects were considered:

a. The nature of economic activity

The shift from traditional economic activity (i.e. agricultural and labour) to the 'service' sector was seen as important.

b. The status of occupations

Intergenerational change in status was studied with reference to movement between occupations graded on a prestige scale. A cross classification of the status of fathers and sons was made using a prestige classification of occupations.

Conclusions

The tribal households are educationally backward as compared to the Brahmin households. Within the tribal community, the relatively less isolated Mina households are able to send a larger proportion of children to school as compared to the Phil households. However, the fact that despite low enrolments a fairly large number of households (including the relatively isolated Phils) are able to send at least one child to school has been taken as a sign of positive attitude of the tribals towards education.

The ability of the households to send one or more children to school appears to vary with the size of the household. However, in each category a larger percentage of Mina as compared to Phil children are students. On the other hand, the economic status of the household appears to be a crucial factor behind inequality of educational opportunity. Households which are economically weak in each section of the tribal community are characterized by relatively low percentage of enrolment of children. Households with access to income from 'service' are

in a relatively better economic position as compared to the average household. It is the 'service' income households that have enrolled the largest percentage of children in school. It is significant that even among the relatively isolated Bhils, the percentage of enrolment in households with access to 'service' income equals that of Mina households of the same economic status.

The importance of access of a household to service income can be clearly seen in the education of members beyond the age of eleven years. It is in the 12-16 year age group that economic and social constraints in education are most pronounced. However, households with more than one member in services are able to send the maximum number of children in this age group to school. While failure and dropouts indicate their inability to cope with the educational system, it has been suggested that households which have a better economic status, have relatively higher levels of attainment within the educational mainstream. Thus it is the structural conditions in which the households find themselves that largely determines access to education and attainment within the school system.

Only a small proportion of tribal adults have entered the 'service' sector. A majority of these members are found in lower grade supervisory occupations and only a negligible number have been able to enter higher grade supervisory occupations. On the other hand, a majority of Brahmin 'service' income earners have entered occupations categories of higher status.

The spread of occupational opportunities among the tribal households is relatively narrow. Our study suggests that there is a definite process of status inheritance or self recruitment in households which already have access to new occupational opportunities. Only a small proportion of 'service' income earning youth have attained upward occupational mobility.

Intergenerational advancement in education attained has not been accompanied by an equal magnitude of upward occupational mobility. However, since a minimum of middle school education is essential for 'service' sector occupations those who do not achieve this level of education are objectively excluded from the process of occupational mobility.

Our study does not show that the tribal people are apathetic or indifferent to modern education. In fact, despite inadequate school facilities, difficulties in comprehension, economic hardships and scarce occupational opportunities, the tribal respondents reveal an extremely positive attitude towards education. This is probably because service sector occupations are the only avenues to regular income in the tribal area and therefore the acquisition of formal education has become essential to at least aspire for such occupations. This too in a situation where a large number of them never get to realize their aspirations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Under the Constitution of India 3.8 million people belonging to 427 communities have been defined as members of the Scheduled Tribes. This administrative action makes each such community entitled to special privileges and protection from social injustice and exploitation.[1]

Ideally tribes have been defined as isolated, self-sufficient communities, and culturally distinct from other communities. "Tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations, and possess a morality, religion and world view of corresponding dimensions".[2] Apart from isolation and self sufficiency, emphasis is also laid on the absence of stratification and occupational specialization in

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1. Article 366 of the Constitution of India defines 'Scheduled Tribes' as such of those tribes or tribal communities which have been so declared by the Constitutional Order under Article 342 for the purpose of the Constitution. Constitution Order 1950 declared 212 tribes in 14 states as 'Scheduled Tribes'. According to K.S. Singh there are 427 tribal communities (including sub-tribes) See K.S. Singh. Economies of the Tribes and their Transformation. New Delhi:: Concept. 1982, p.vii.

2. I.M. Lewis. "Tribal Society", in David L. Sils. (ed.). International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Macmillan and the Free Press. Vol.16, 1968, p.147. See also A. Beteille. "The Definition of Tribe" in R. Thapar. (ed.). Tribe, Caste and Religion. New Delhi: Macmillan, 1977, p.13.

tribal communities. Dube draws up a list of characteristics in terms of which tribes have been defined. These are:

1. They are aboriginals, the original inhabitants of the land;
2. They have a low level of techno-economic development;
3. They are relatively isolated;
4. They stand out from other sections of society in terms of their cultural ethos, namely, language, beliefs and customs;
5. They are at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated even if they are not egalitarian.[3]

Within the Indian context, tribes in the sense of isolated self sufficient communities with distinct social, economic and cultural characteristics are rare. In none of the so called tribal communities are all the above mentioned characteristics found, nor are these traits exclusive to tribal communities alone.

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3. S.C. Dube. Tribal Heritage of India. Vol.1. Simla: I.I.A.S. 1977, p.2. In contrast to the tribe, the caste system is characterized by stratification, economic as well as ritual, hereditary specialization of occupational, roles and inter ethnic participation in production.

The difficulty in attributing certain universal characteristics to tribal communities arises mainly because of the nature of the tribal situation in India. Throughout history, the tribal people, or the so called 'aborigines' have been in constant association with the rest of Indian society. This interaction between the tribes and non-tribes has resulted not only in the breakdown of the relative isolation of these communities but also in the assimilation of non-tribal characteristics within tribal society. Thus scholars have traced into history the contact between the tribes and wider society and specifically the caste, i.e. the Jati system.[4]

Change in tribal societies was initially seen as resulting primarily from their interaction with the 'Hindu' caste system and the assimilation of 'caste-like' traits. A tribe-caste continuum was posited, with the ideal tribe and caste on either end of the continuum. Tribes were then fitted into this continuum according to the prepondence of their 'caste-like' or 'tribe-like' characteristics.[5] For instance, Majumdar in a study of the Khasas views them within the Tribal-Hindu continuum. He attempts to show that despite practising tribal customs, the Khasas of the Himalayas have

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4. See for instance, L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai. Tribal Culture of India. Delhi: Concept Publishing. 1977; Ghurye, G.S. The Scheduled Tribes. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. 1963; etc.

5. For a discussion on the tribe-caste continuum see F.G. Bailey. "Tribe and caste in India". Contributions to Indian Sociology. No.V. 1961, pp.7-19; Surjit Sinha. "Tribe-Caste and Tribe-Peasant Continuum in Central India" Man in India, Vol.45, No.1, 1965, pp.58-83.

been able to gain acceptance as Kshatriyas by their ability to model their culture on the Rajputs and Brahmins.[6] Similarly Aurora in a study of the Bhils maintains that "tribal jatis" (with an element of ritually ranked social hierarchy) existed. There was also a primitive specialization of function.[7]

Recent studies however show that the process of change in tribal societies is far more complex than that which the movement along the tribe-caste continuum suggests. Thus it has been shown that the essential feature of contact of the caste Hindus with the 'aboriginals' was the usurping of the lands of the latter. According to Mukerjee it was this initial 'land grabbing' which aided in the economic and social domination of tribes by the Hindus.[8]

The colonial politics which included a system of money rent and restriction in traditional forest rights resulted not only in the gradual breakdown of the economy of these communities, but also encouraged the entry of traders and money lenders in the tribal areas. The exploitation of the tribal people by the non-tribals has been vividly described in a number

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6. D.N. Majumdar. Himalayan Polyandry. Bombay: Asia. 1963.

7. G.S. Aurora. Tribe-Caste-Class Encounters. Hyderabad: A.S.C.I., 1972, p.11.

8. R.K. Mukerjee. The Dynamics of a Rural Society. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1957, p.120.

of studies. For instance, it has been shown that the joint impact of government officials and Hindu landlords, money lenders and traders led to the economic impoverishment of the Santals, and to the rebellion of 1855.[9] Studies have also shown that the deteriorating economic conditions forced large numbers of tribal people to leave their traditional agricultural occupations and migrate to the newly constructed mines in Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh to work as poorly paid daily labourers.[10]

In the post independence period, new factors have been highlighted as agents of change in the tribal areas. Among them are (i) The development of communication within the tribal area and with the outside world; (ii) The introduction of a monetized market economy; (iii) The spread of formal and non-formal education; (iv) The extension of services by modern institutions including medical and administrative aids; and (v) The introduction of advanced technology to exploit the minerals and forests, power and other industrial resources.

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9. Dutta Majumdar. The Santal, A Study in Culture Change. Delhi: The Manager of Publication, Government of India Press. 1956, pp.53-54.

10. See for instance, D.N. Majumdar. The Affairs of a Tribe: A Study in Tribal Dynamics. Lucknow: Universal. 1950, p.281; Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. Vol.1. Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India. 1960-1961, pp.26-27.

Change has however not occured uniformly in the tribal areas. The nature of interaction with non-tribals and the spread of non tribal institutions has been relatively uneven. Thus it has been emphasized that tribes are not a monolith group. Various classifications of tribes have emerged which stress the fact that the tribes are not a homogenous community but are at different social, economic and cultural levels. Vidyarthi for instance has classified tribes according to their levels of interaction and integration with wider society.[11]

Similarly tribes have also been classified on the basis of the manner in which they primarily make their living. Thus we have (1) Forest-Hunting type; (2) Hill Cultivation type; (3) Settled Agriculture type; (4) Simple Artisan type; (5) Cattle-Herder type; (6) Labour, Agricultural and Industrial type; (7) Folk-Artist type; (8) White Collar and Trader type.[12]

According to the 1961 census of India, tribal society is predominantly agricultural. As many as 88 per cent of tribal workers were engaged in cultivation and labour.[13] However, the

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11. Vidyarthi and Rai, op.cit.,p.71.

12. Ibid., p.72.

13. In the 1951 census it was observed that "out of the 25 million persons returned as 'tribal', 20 million live in the plains and are assimilated with the rest of the people, more or less, and only 5 million may be taken as population residing in the hills" See A.R. Desai. Rural Sociology in India. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. 1969, p.222. It has been estimated that shifting cultivation (i.e. hill cultivation) is practised by 8.7 per cent of the tribal population. See K.S. Singh, op.cit.,p.xi.

conditions of cultivation are extremely backward in the tribal areas. It is noted that the size of per capita land holding varies from less than an acre to 2.7 acres. The per capita net area sown in 1961 was only 1.09 acres in the tribal area.[14] Agricultural productivity is also low. While the percentage of cultivators fell from 68 per cent to 57.6 per cent of the work force in the 1961-1971 decade the percentage of tribal agricultural labourers increased from 20 to 33 per cent during the same period. According to Singh, the increase in the percentage of agricultural labourers among tribal workers resulted not only because of a change in the definition of labour in the 1971 census but was also a "result of mounting incidence of land alienation".[15] Again, per capita income of the tribals increased from Rs.284 in 1950-51 to only Rs.330 in 1960-61.[16]

The tribal people are also relatively late comers to modern educational and occupational opportunities. We see that in 1931 less than one per cent of the tribals were literate. The literacy of the general population on the other hand was 8.3 per cent. Again in 1961, only 8.5 per cent of the tribal people as compared to 24 per cent of the general population were

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14. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, op.cit., p.95.

15. Singh. op.cit., p.xiii.

16. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. loc. cit.

literate. It has also been maintained that industrial and urban growth in the tribal areas has brought with it new occupational opportunities. However while occupations like big business and higher grade services absorb the non-tribals, an overwhelming majority of the tribals are engaged in manual labour.[17]

The ideal typical tribe is characterized by an absence of stratification and division of labour. However an almost complete lack of stratification may be seen only in hunting and food gathering tribes, where because of nomadism which implies a simple level of social organization, little stratification is possible.[18] However, in a majority of the tribal communities (which as mentioned above are engaged in settled agriculture) elements of stratification can clearly be seen. Thus, notwithstanding the relatively poor economic conditions of majority of the tribals, it has also been noted that a small section of the tribals own fertile land, have taken to modern scientific agricultural techniques and hire labour, are literate and educated, and have greater access to financial and other resources as compared to the average tribal household. "While

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17. L.P. Vidyarthi. Cultural Configurations of Ranchi. Calcutta. T.N. Basu and Co. 1969, pp.116-117.

18. Among the tribes which are characterized by little or no stratification are included the Chenchus, Palayans and Andamanese. See, A. Bhowmick. Tribal India. Calcutta: The World Press. 1971, p.39.

on the one hand large numbers of tribals have become labourers, a rich stratum has emerged in the tribal society. A class of tribal contractors and money-lenders has come up in North-East India as in Middle India".[19]

Two important conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing discussion. Firstly, the tribal communities today can neither be described as totally isolated nor self-sufficient. Non-tribal institutions have penetrated into the tribal areas drawing the indigenous population into the national economic and socio-cultural mainstream. Secondly, (except for a small section of tribals) the majority of the tribal people are economically backward and disadvantaged. With the disintegration of their traditional economies, a growing number of tribal workers have been flooding the ranks of agricultural and industrial labour. We have also observed that illiteracy is widespread among the tribes and they have not benefitted significantly from new occupational opportunities.

Illiteracy and low levels of education are often seen as the main reasons why the tribal workers have not been able to avail of better paying and higher status occupational opportunities. The Dhebar Commission notes that the majority

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19. K.S. Singh, op.cit., p.xvii. See also. Shah, G. "Tribal Identity and Class Differentiation-A CaseSStudy of the Chaudhari Tribe". Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XIV, No.7 and 8. 1979, pp.459-64.

of better jobs require skills and training. The Commission maintains that if the tribals are to be absorbed in better jobs in the new industrial projects (in the tribal region) it is imperative that they be given suitable education and training.[20] Thus it is felt that the spread of education will improve the employment potential of the tribal communities and they will be able to shake off their poverty to some extent.

The Government of India looks upon formal education as an important tool of socio-economic development and it received top priority in all welfare programmes of the government. The Constitution of India in this context envisages that "the State shall protect the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". Constitutional safeguards offer reservations, age concessions and other provisions to encourage members of the Scheduled Tribes to avail of educational and modern occupational opportunities.

New employment opportunities in the modern sector of the economy are usually seen as distinct from traditional agricultural and allied occupations. The entry into majority of these occupations is also seen as dependent on the prior acquisition

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20. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, op.cit.

of formal educational qualifications. While the movement away from traditional occupations is seen as an indication of occupational change, educational institutions have come to be regarded as channels to occupational change and mobility.[21] Thus it is said that "in functional terms, schools by operating increasingly as a gateway to new occupational categories, constituted an alternative avenue of mobility operating upon traditional models of status acquisition".[22]

The present study looks at the extent to which formal education has spread in a tribal area and the constraints (social and economic) experienced by the tribal people in access to educational opportunities. The study also sees whether the educated tribal has been able to avail of new occupational opportunities and thus improve his socio-economic status.

There are two main dimensions to the study.

1. An understanding of the nature and magnitude of inequality of educational opportunity;
2. The extent of occupational change in the tribal area and the magnitude of occupational mobility among the Bhils.

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21. The concept of mobility and the relationship between formal education and mobility (occupational) will be discussed in the following chapter.

22. P. Foster. Education and Social Change in Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963, p.8.

Inequality of Educational Opportunity

Differential access to educational opportunities i.e. differential enrolment of children in the school going age group by:

a. Each community-Bhil, Mina, Brahmin;
b. Household size;
c. Households with unequal access to resources - land, irrigation, income from services.

Differential levels of achievement within the educational mainstream i.e. (i) Enrolment of members beyond the primary school going age; (ii) Levels of education actually attained by adult members of:

a. Each community;
b. Households of different economic status.

Occupational Change and Mobility

a. Magnitude of change in the economic activity of the community from traditional activity (agriculture and labour) to the 'service' sector i.e. the access to new operational opportunities.

b. Intergenerational change in occupational status i.e. the movement between occupations of varying prestige levels by sons as compared to fathers. 23

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23. Occupational change in this study refers merely to the movement from one broad category of economic activity to another. This may or may not involve some degree of occupational mobility. Occupational mobility refers to the movement between occupations graded into status categories.

Assumptions

Following from our understanding of the changing tribal situation, the following assumptions will have to be kept in mind:

a) While the tribal situation in general is in a flux, the extent of disintegration of the social and economic organization of the community is likely to vary depending on the extent of its interaction with non-tribal institutions and its participation in the regional economy. The more isolated a community, the lesser is likely to be its access to modern institutions.

b) Unequal command over resources between the non-tribals and the tribals (who have entered the area) is likely to influence the social competition for scarce resources.

c) Unequal command over resources between sections of the same tribe introduces yet another dimension in the nature of access to education and occupational opportunities.

d) Individual household decisions (for example those pertaining to education), aspirations and attitudes are likely to be linked to the changing economic and social relations by which individual households are linked to wider society.

The Present Study

In our research we will study the impact of education on occupational change and mobility in a specific tribe in the

state of Rajasthan i.e. the Bhils. The tribal population of Rajasthan constitute 12.1 per cent of the population of the State.[24] The major tribes in the state are the Bhils, Minas, Saharias, Grasias and the Damor-Damoria. The Bhils and Minas accounted for 95.0 per cent of the tribal population of Rajasthan in 1971. We have selected the Bhil tribe for study. As will be shown in chapter III the Bhils have been relatively more isolated and are economically backward as compared to the Minas. In this sense they are relatively more 'tribal' in character when compared to the Minas.

Around 46 per cent of the tribal population of Rajasthan are Bhils. This tribe is concentrated mainly in the South and South-Western districts of the State. These are the districts of Banswara, Dungarpur, Udaipur and Chittorgarh. Of these districts, Udaipur has the distinction of having the largest number of members of the Scheduled Tribes, in the state. As many as 19.4 per cent of the tribal population are found in Udaipur district. For our area of study we have choosen a tehsil in Udaipur which not only

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24. The tribes of Rajasthan are economically and educationally relatively more backward as compared to the all India Tribal situation in general. For instance, the per capita income in tribal Rajasthan was only Rs.103.60 as compared to that of Rs.330 for Tribal India in general. Similarly, the literacy rate of tribal Rajasthan was 6.47 per cent in 1971. In contrast 11.3 per cent of the tribal population in the country was literate in the same year. See Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, op.cit., p.95.

has a predominantly tribal population, but is educationally also relatively advanced. Kherwara tehsil in Udaipur district fulfills both these criteria. The tribal population of Kherwara tehsil comprise 79.6 per cent of the tehsil population. Further 14.1 per cent of the population were categorized as literate in 1971. The literacy rate in the tehsil is significantly higher than that (6.5 per cent) for the tribal population in the state as a whole.

The Village Survey

While the tehsil served as the larger frame of study, three predominantly tribal villages were selected for a detailed village survey. The villages differ in relative isolation as well as in the magnitude access to economic resources by the tribal and non-tribal communities. The tribal as well as the economically dominant Brahmin households were surveyed. Details of the surveyed villages as well as the communities are presented at the end of chapter III.

Respondents' Survey

In order to understand the attitudes and aspirations of the younger generation within the context of the changing economic and social relations in the area, 57 Bhil youth were interviewed. The Respondents included both educated youth as well as those with no formal education at all.

Instruments of Data Collection

A preliminary survey of data from land and educational records, reports and surveys was made in early 1980. Subsequently intensive field work was carried out in the three selected villages towards the latter part of the year.

Both the survey as well as field study methods were used in the course of field work in the tehsil. Data was collected from the households with the help of a structural questionnaire and relates mainly to the socio-economic status of the households. Interviews were also held with 57 tribal Respondents.

In the two chapters that follow we shall first review the literature on education and occupational mobility and then look at the history and development of the Bhils with reference to Kherwara tehsil. Using the data obtained from the surveys mentioned above, an analysis will be made of education and occupational mobility in the households.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY - A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Occupational mobility is part of the wider process of 'Social Mobility'. In 1927 Sorokin first defined the concept of social mobility as the "shifting of the population along vertical dimensions of economic, political and occupational stratification, within social structures of different heights, profits and degrees of differentiation".[1] It is also seen as "the process by which individuals move from one position in society to another; positions, which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical roles".[2]

The study of the movement of persons or groups from one position in society to another implicity involves an understanding of the nature of stratification within which this movement occurs. Economic, political and social (prestige) dimensions in the stratification system have been stressed in mobility research.[3]

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1. P. Sorokin. Social and Cultural Mobility. London: Macmillan. 1959, p.11.

2. R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset. Social Mobility in Industrial Society. Berkley:University of California Press: 1959, p.1-2.

3. See for instance, Ivor Morrish. Sociology of Education: An Introduction. London: Allen and Unwin. 1972, p.145; Satish Saberwal. Mobile Men: Limits to Change in Urban Punjab. New Delhi: Vikas. 1976, p.133-47; S.M. Miller "Comparative Social Mobility" in A.P.M. Coxon and C.L. Jones. (ed.). Social Mobility.Great Britain: Penguin. 1975, pp.79-112.

Though this multidimensionality of social mobility has been acknowledged by most scholars, social positions of differing status (overall status) have come to be identified with specific occupations in a diversified occupational structure. In fact the occupational structure is understood to represent the basic divisions or inequalities in society. Thus "the understanding of social stratification in modern society is best promoted by a systematic investigation of occupational status and mobility".[4] Following from this the field of social mobility, has come to be defined in terms of the movement of individuals along a single vertical dimension of overall social status, in which a man's status is almost always assessed in terms of the occupation he pursues".[5]

Occupational Mobility - Studies of Industrialized Society

The post-eighteenth century era was characterized by a distinct movement of fairly large sections of the population (in industrializing countries) from 'manual, farm and handicraft occupations' to 'non manual, supervisory and managerial occupations'. In the United States for example, the labour force expanded from 13 million persons in 1870 to 62 million persons in 1950. During this period the distribution of jobs also changed radically. While farm jobs declined from half to

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4. P.M. Blau and O.D. Duncan. The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley. (ed.). 1967, p.5.

5. Coxon and Jones. (ed.)., op.cit., p.18.

less than one eighth of the total jobs, the urban professional, business and clerical jobs doubled from one-tenth to one-fifth of the available positions.[6] Similarly in Britain, whereas between 50 and 60 per cent of the labour force were engaged in agriculture in the year 1700, barely 2.5 per cent remained in this sector in 1975. The proportion in services and professions on the other hand increased from between 13 and 18 per cent to 33 per cent during the same period.[7]

Some social scientists look at this occupational shift from primary to tertiary employment in itself, as an indication of upward mobility.[8] The assumption is that tertiary employment is an improvement, economically and socially over primary employment. Others have made a distinction between manual/non-manual occupations in order to study mobility. Miller for example defines upward mobility as moving into non-manual work which includes white collar, business and professional occupations. The manual category includes farm and non-agricultural employees who work with their hands.[9]

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6. J. Kahl. "Some Components of Occupational Mobility". in Coxon and Jones, op.cit., 1976, pp.45.

7. R.R. Brown. What Economics is About. Cox and Wyman Ltd. 1970, p.95.

8. C. Clark. The Conditions of Economic Progress. London: Macmillan. 1951.

9. S.M. Miller, op.cit., p.82.

In most research on occupational mobility however, a more detailed study is made of movements within a diversified occupational structure. Two types of movements are usually studied. The first and most frequently studied aspect of mobility is that of 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility' where an individual's occupation is compared to that of his father.[10]

In 'Intragenerational Mobility' the career history of an individual is the main focus of study.

The movement from an occupation of lower socio-economic status to one which has a higher socio-economic status is interpreted as 'upward' or 'vertical mobility'. The reverse process on the other hand is seen as an indication of 'downward mobility'.

The occupational classifications used in mobility studies are seen to represent occupations of varying status, and implicitly the stratification system itself. The main criteria used to rank occupations have been the education and income of

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10. The first British national estimate of intergenerational occupational change was made by Glass and Hall (1954). Their analysis was confined to the comparison of the last main occupational status of fathers with the present status of their sons. See D.V.Glass and J.R. Hall. "Social Mobility in Great Britain: A Study of Intergeneration changes in Status", in D.V. Glass. (ed.). Social Mobility in Britain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, pp.177-201.

workers in each occupation.[11] In some cases, the status of occupations have been graded on the basis of prestige ratings by representative samples of the population.[12]

Education and Occupational Mobility

The relationship between education and occupational mobility has been emphasized in most research on mobility. The economic and technological changes which characterize the process of industrialization were seen to result in the increased demand for "a well educated, adaptable and fluid i.e. geographically mobile labour force".[13] Schools were viewed as institutions for testing, selecting and distributing persons in the occupational structure. It was maintained that in advanced societies "knowledge and skills are becoming increasingly important criteria for the allocation of position in the occupational structure, which in turn largely determine the system of social ranking.[14]

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11. Blau and Duncan constructed a widely used socio-economic index of occupations. This was done by assigning scores to 446 occupations. Each score was defined by a) the percentage of men in the occupation with four years of high school or a higher level of educational attainment. b) The percentage with incomes of 3500 dollors or more. op.cit.

12. In 1947, the National Opinion Research Centre (U.S.A.) conducted a study wherein respondents throughout the country were asked to rate ninety occupations. Prestige scores were then assigned to each occupation and a socio-economic index of occupations was constructed. See Albert Reiss. Occupations and Social Status. New York: Free Press, 1961.

13. J. Floud and A.H. Halsey. Education, Economy and Society. Glencoe: Free Press, 1961, pp.1-2.

14. Broom and Selznick. Sociology, 1968, p.53.

The length of schooling was seen as a strong determinant of higher occupational achievement. For example, Bendix and Lipset, in a study of social mobility in an industrial society, showed that a majority of those persons who had been to college for a year or more found it easier to obtain professional and technical occupations. Only 18 per cent of those with high school education were in the category of farm labour.[15] According to Anderson, a large amount of empirical research has shown that "those children born in the lower strata, who do receive an education comparable to that of upper class children experience greatly enhanced chances of upward mobility.[16]

However, this conceived relationship between education and mobility came under extreme criticism especially during the late fifties and early sixties of this century. The differential educational opportunities availed of by children of different social classes called for a study of the various sociological processes which underlie the relationship between education and mobility. It was argued that educational institutions did not operate in isolation nor in an autonomous manner. Access to schools and achievement therein was seen as dependent on many factors other than the expansion of educational facilities or in making them relatively less expensive.

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15. Bendix and Lipset. (ed.), op.cit., p.92.

16. C.A. Anderson. "A Skeptical Note on Education and Mobility", in J. Floud and A.H. Halsey (ed.), op.cit., 1961, p.165. See also Glass and Hall, op.cit.

The social and cultural circumstances affecting the education of the child came to be emphasized.[17] These studies aimed to show t.at school related factors are less important than family related factors in enhancing educational outcomes. The Crowther Report of 1959 indicated that children of professional and managerial parents had twenty five times as many chances of continuing their education to seventeen years, or beyond, as compared to children of unskilled workers.[18] At the same level of intelligence (which is itself strongly affected by class inequalities) the chance of university education is twice as good for the middle class wchild as compared to the working class child.[19]

An important contribution to research on mobility was that made by Raymond Boudon in 1973. Boudon initially makes a distinction between 'Inequality of Educational Opportunity' (IEO) and Inequality of Social Opportunity (ISO). While IEO is seen in the differences in the level of educational attainment according to social background, ISO is defined by the differences

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17. For instance Family Size (Nisbet, 1961); Language (Bernstein, 1961). Family Motivation (Kahl. 1961), the Cultural Climate of the Peer Group, and Fathers' Education and Occupation (Jackson and Marsden. 1966), were seen as important in explaining the differential access to education, performance and attainment.

18. Morrish, op.cit., p.132.

19. J. Raynor. The Middle Class. London: Longmans. 1969, p.38.

in social achievement according to educational background.[20] These two concepts are used to measure the relative effect of formal education on occupational mobility.

What is of specific importance in the above study is the analysis of the interplay of economic and socio-cultural factors in the process of mobility. For instance, cultural differences in the home background of children are seen as manifested in their access to education, low achievement levels, low I.Q. etc. However, in order to explain differential educational opportunity availed at different levels of education, Boudon brings in the concepts of expected benefits, utility and cost of education. Here it is the system of stratification, the social class of the youngster that plays an important part in the progress of education, by influencing the expected benefit, utility and cost of education at different points over time (at each level of education) and hence has a greater and exponential effect.[21]

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20. IEO is measured by the proportion of youngsters, who at each point of time (i.e. in each cohort) reach an education level as a function of social background.

    IEO is seen in the proportion of educated youngsters, reaching each level of social status (in terms of occupations of differing social and economic prestige) as a function of their level of educational attainment.

21. The interaction of economic and socio-cultural factors in the process of education, is of relevance to our study of tribal communities, which suffer from economic deprivation as well as relative cultural isolation.

In his analysis of ISO, Boudon also reveals the part played by 'Social Dominance' or the ascriptive factor. People have unequal power in turning educational attainment into favourable social status as a function of social background. For the same educational attainment the power of a group to attain the highest social position is greater, the higher is his social class background. Again, for the same social background, the dominance (power to obtain the best and available positions) of groups is greater, the higher the educational attainment in its members. Thus, "Social Heritage' seems to be powerful factor in preventing higher class people from experiencing social demotion when their education is middling or poor".[22]

Thus the educational system objectively encourages the process of elimination of a large number of persons from the field of social competition for occupational opportunities. We have dwelt on the interaction of economic and socio-cultural factors which define not only access to education but the actual level of education attained as well. Hence in higher status (income) occupations which also require higher levels of education, there is likely to be a close rather than random association between

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22. Boudon, op.cit., p.131.

parental and fillial status.[23]

The process of 'Self Recruitment' in occupational categories which have the highest prestige ratings constraints the magnitude of mobility that takes place between generations. For instance, Westergaard notes that there is a great deal of movement of individuals between the different strata, but "much of this movement covers fairly short distances in social space, involves shifts within either the manual or non-manual group far more than between them, and is characterized by sharp and persistant inequalities in the distribution of opportunities".[24] In another study it was seen that the number of sons of manual workers who were able to make the 'big leap' into higher business and independent professional occupation was under 5 per cent with a figure of around 8 per cent for the United States.[25] The mobility achieved by and large by sons of manual and semi skilled workers are described as 'short jump' movements from unskilled to skilled manual or skilled manual to lower professional occupations.

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23. For instance Raynor (op.cit.1969) reinterprets data from a study by Glass (op.cit.1954), to show that while the latter's study suggests an overall intergenerational mobility of 40 per cent, the highest index of association between the status of father and son was in professional and high administrative occupations (13.158) and managerial and executive posts as well (5.865).

24. J. Westergaard. "The Withering Away of Class - A Contemporary Myth", in Anderson and Blackburn (ed.). Towards Socialism. 1965, p.85.

25. Miller, op.cit., pp.1-89.

"The higher the status category of jobs, then the greater the likelihood that they are self-recruiting".[26]

As the number of persons who attain higher levels of education increase, the ineffectivity of education in altering the elite structure of occupations can be more clearly seen. Boudon, in his study, demonstrates that inspite of equal levels of education, the social opportunity of persons was dependent on the social origins of the educated.[27] There is an emphasis on exclusiveness of schools attended (rather than the content of education) and network of connections (linking elite groups), which define entry into elite occupations once the essential levels of education are attained. These extra educational factors are becoming increasingly important in the competition for the relatively small proportion of higher status occupations.[28]

Occupational Mobility - The Indian Context

Studies on mobility within Indian society have largely centered around movements that have taken place within the

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26. Raynor, op.cit., p.35.

27. Boudon, op.cit., 1973.

28. A glance at the occupational structure in industrial societies reveals that higher professional and managerial occupations absorb a negligible proportion of the work force. In contrast, manual workers (skilled and semi-skilled) who earn relatively low incomes still comprise more than 60 per cent of the population.

'traditional' caste system. Castes, sub-castes and 'jatis' were seen as closed status groups, membership of which was based on birth. Status groups were characterized by hereditary occupational specialization, endogamy and commensality. The unit of reference was not the individual but the status group (jati) to which he was bound by virtue of birth.[29]

Among the earliest avenues of mobility emphasized in studies by social scientists in the Indian context is that of 'Sanskritization'. This process, which refers to the mobility of the group is one by which a "low Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently 'twice born caste'.[30] The sphere of change implied in this process is largely 'cultural' 'behavioral' and does not usually succeed in improving the status of the lower castes. As Bailey says, "the ranking system of caste groups was validated not only by ritual and social usage but by differential control over productive resources". Hence, "the ranking system...will be upset by changes in the distribution of wealth".[31] Saberwal maintains

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29. The caste system based on ascriptive criteria was seen to have prohibited social mobility except through certain avenues such as penance, military service or conquest. However, such instances were few and the caste groups were largely considered immobile. See James Silverberg (ed.). Social Mobility in Hindu India. Paris: Mouton. 1968.

30. M.N. Srinivas. "In a Note on Sanskritization and Westernization". Far Eastern Quarterly. Vol.XV, pp.481-96. 1956

31. F.G. Bailey. Caste and the Economic Frontier. Manchester: University Press. 1957, pp.266-69. Studies which emphasize economic and political dimensions of caste rankings and their implications for the process of social mobility include:

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that aspirations for mobility arise when there is 'Corporate Status Dissonance' (i.e. an incongruence between the economic, political and ritual status of a group). However the capacity of a status group to "persuade the local community to accord them higher status or standing depends on their capacity to demonstrate control over vital resources".[32] Thus it has been seen that castes which are on the lowest rung of the caste hierarchy i.e. the Scheduled Castes, are seldom able to attain a higher social status as a group. These castes are characterized not only by economic dependence and servitude (on the upper castes) but suffer from social and ritual disabilities as well. In fact it is noted that even imitative behaviour of the upper castes by the polluting

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Andre Beteille. Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village. Bombay: Oxford University Press. 1965; Kathleen Gough. "Criteria of Caste Rankings in South India" Man in India. No.XXXIV. 1959, p.115-26.

32. Saberwal, op.cit., p.35.

Bailey offers an example of how the relatively low ranking Boad distiller caste were able to raise their ritual ranking only because they were able to profit from new economic opportunities. See Bailey, op.cit.

Similarly, Kathleen Gough says of a caste to toddy tappers who had laid claim to a higher status. "Their claim is not publicly rejected for they are wealthier than other castes". Kathleen Gough. "Caste in a Tanjore Village" in Edward Leach (ed.). Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960, p.50.

castes i.e. the process of sanskritization "met with the wrath of the upper castes".[33]

Among the modern channels which are seen as important for the process of mobility are education, organized action, migration, urbanization, conversion to another religion etc.[34] Among these factors, the major emphasis has been on the new occupational opportunities which have followed from urbanization, new economic roles and the extension of the industrial process. The specialization and exclusiveness of occupations sanctioned by the caste system are contrasted with the new occupational opportunities which are based on education and training. Thus it is seen that "closed status groups based on birth are yielding to status groups based on education, income and occupation".[35]

Again, the mobility of an individual in the traditional system is seen as constrained by the position of his status group in the traditional caste hierarchy. However, in a situation where traditional economic relations are breaking down and new occupational roles based on secular criteria are becoming all pervasive, the individual has greater opportunities to rise in the social hierarchy.[36]

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33. Yogendra Singh. "Sociology of Social Stratification", in Survey of Sociology and Social Anthropology: Vol.1. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. 1972, p.331.

34. Sunnanda Patwardhan. "Aspects of Social Mobility among the Scheduled Castes in Poona". in M.S.A. Rao. (ed.). Urban Sociology in India. Delhi: Orient Longmans. 1974, p.310.

35. Sachidananda. "Research on Scheduled Castes with Special Reference to Change", in Survey of Sociology and Social Anthropology. Vol.1. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. 1972, p.283.

36. Sunanda Patwardhan, op.cit., p.323.

Studies which deal with the process of occupational change and mobility have to a large extent kept the 'traditional-modern' frame work in mind. For instance, Sunanda Patwardan looks at occupational mobility as the shift from traditional to non-traditional occupations. The 'new' non-traditional occupations are classified into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations.[37]

Similarly, Saberwal also makes a distinction between 'Traditional' occupations and those categorised as 'New'(via apprenticeship) occupations.[38] While a few scholars have studied movements between occupational strata, a comprehensive prestige classification of occupations was evolved by Victor D'Souza in 1968.[39] In the concerned study 147 occupations were classified into seven prestige categories or occupational grades. A glance at the occupations listed in each category reveals that the prestige grade of occupations resembles the socio-economic index of classifications evolved by western sociologists. This can be seen in the table 2.1.

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37. Ibid., p.318.

38. Saberwal, op.cit., p.237.

39. Victor D'Souza. Social Structure of a Planned City: Chandigarh. Delhi: Orient Longmans. 1968. The prestige ratings of occupations used in the study was obtained from a sample of judges comprising research scholars, teachers, engineers and advocates from Chandigarh.

Table 2.1

Socio-Economic/Prestige Classification of Occupations

Prestige	Classification (India)*	Status Category (Britain)**	
Prestige Category	Typical Occupations***	Number	Description of Occupation
I	Director, Doctor, Engineer, Ambassador	1	Professional and High Administrative
II	Business Executive, Government Official, Editor, Manager	2	Managerial and Executive
III	Teacher, Overseer, Publisher, Tehsildar, Owner-Cultivator	3	Inspectional, Supervisory and other Non-Manual (higher-grade)
IV	Constable, Clerk, Telephone Operator, Chemist	4	Inspectional, Supervisory and other Non-Manual (lower grade)
V	Bus Driver, Carpenter, Mason, Goldsmith, Tenant, Cultivator	5	Skilled Manual and routine grades of Non-Manual
VI	Dock Worker, Waiter Book Binder, Milkman, Watchman	6	Semi Skilled
VII	Railway Coolie, Sweeper, Ayah, Washerman	7	Unskilled Manual

* Victor D'Souza. Social Structure of a Planned City: Chandigarh. Delhi: Orient Longmans. 1968, p.381-83.

** Glass (ed.). Social Mobility in Great Britain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1954, p.100.

*** For the detailed list of occupations classified in each prestige category see D'Souza, op.cit. p.379-83.

D'Souza defines social class as a "category of persons who have more or less equal prestige or social status".[40] It is assumed that occupational prestige is the most reliable indicator of class position, and higher levels of education and higher income are the most important correlates of higher social status. Thus D'Souza maintains that there is a positive correlation between occupational grade and level of education and occupational prestige and family income.[41]

Using the prestige classification discussed above, Malik has studied the nature and magnitude of intergenerational occupational mobility among the Scheduled Castes in the city of Ambala (Haryana).[42] While emphasizing the importance of education for occupational mobility. Malik notes that "the socio-economic status of the parents does affect the socio-economic status of the sons"; and that "persons with higher

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40. Ibid., p.284.

41. Ibid., p.285-87. The extent to which occupational status is a good indicator of social class is open to question. In D'Souzas study it was noted that as many as 63.8 per cent of respondents in occupational prestige grade 1 reported themselves to be middle class and 13.0 per cent working class. Again in occupational grade 1, the income range of persons varies from between Rs.51 per month to Rs.3000 per month. (p.296-97).

42. Suneila Malik. Social Integration of the Scheduled Castes New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1979.

education, and consequently in higher prestige jobs are children of fathers having, a comparatively higher socio-economic status".[43]

Mobility among the Scheduled Tribes

Studies on change among the tribes of India have to a large extent used the caste-mobility frame work described above. The 'assimilation' and 'acculturation' of tribal groups and their incorporation as 'jatis' in the caste system has been the major focus of studies on the changing tribal situation. For instance, the 'Tribe-Caste continuum', 'Bhumij Kshatriya continuum', 'Tribal-Rajput continuum' etc. were concepts that were evolved to study this process of change.[44] Concepts like 'Hinduization', 'Sanskritization' and 'Tribalization' were used to describe the nature of change.[45] It is claimed that 'selective' acculturation has resulted in the ability of some tribes to occupy a relatively high rank in the caste hierarchy while others are integrated in the lower strata of the Hindu caste system.[46] However, it has been

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43. Ibid., p.164-65. The same conclusions are arrived at by Madhu Singh in a similar study of the Scheduled Castes of Delhi. Singh uses 'path analysis' or regression techniques to demonstrate that family background, namely father's occupation determines the educational opportunities of the sons. See Madhu Singh. Social Origins, Educational Attainment and Occupational Mobility among the Scheduled Castes in Delhi. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1980.

44. For instance see F.G. Bailey "Tribe" and "Caste" in India. Contributions to Indian Sociology. No.V, pp.7-19; S. Sinha "Bhumij Kshatriya Movement in South Manbhum". Journal of Anthroplogical Survey of India. Vol.X, No.1.

45. L.P. Vidhyarthi and Roi. Tribal Culture of India. Delhi: Concept. 1977, p.454.

46. Ibid., p.456.

observed that the social status ascribed to tribal groups which enter the caste framework is influenced primarily by their former position in the 'tribal' economic structure. For instance, in a study of the Santal tribe, Orans notes the "emulation of high caste behaviour by upper class Santals". However, he goes on to maintain that the "relative prosperity of the class [i.e., the Santals] enabled them to establish prestigeful relations with high caste Hindus, who on their part profited financially from these relationships'.[47] Similarly "the leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow got on in the world and become independent landed propritors manage to enrol themselves in one of the leading castes".[48]

The growth of new occupational opportunities in tribal areas introduced avenues of status hitherto absent in these societies. It must be remembered that the traditional tribal society is characterized by a relative absence of occupational specialization and division of labour. Differentiation within the tribe was

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47. M. Orans. "A tribe in Search of a Great Tradition: the Emulation - Solidarity Conflict". Man in India. 1959, pp.108-114.

48. R.K.Mukerjee. The Dynamics of a Rural Society. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957, p.119. While tribal communities were formerly seen as 'homogenous' and relatively egalitarian, a number of studies have acknowledge that inequalities in the command over resources are becoming a feature or most tribal areas. See for instance S.C. Roy. The Orgons of Chota Nagpur. Ranchi: Bar Library. 1915; Kothari. Tribal Social Change in Rajasthan. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Udaipur, 1973.

dependent mainly on factors like age, sex and kinship (lineage).[49] Even in 1951 as many as 90.5 per cent of the tribal population in India were engaged primarily in agriculture.[50]

The breakdown in traditional agricultural activities as a result of the expansion of industrial activity in tribal areas has been observed in a number of studies. This is especially seen in areas like tribal Bihar has witnessed the setting up of large scale industrial projects often resulting in the uprooting of several predominantly tribal agricultural villages.[51] While these studies acknowledge the growth of occupational opportunities consequent upon industrialization and urbanization, it is observed that the majority of the tribal people are absorbed in the ranks of unskilled labour. In Vidhyarthi's study of Ranchi city it was seen that most of the tribal workers were concentrated in agriculture, specialized manual labour and unskilled work. The other categories of occupations i.e. business, services and higher

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49. See for instance: D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan. An Introduction to Social Anthropology. Bombay: Asia. 1976, p.220; A. Beteille. "The Definition of Tribe", in R. Thapar (ed.). Tribe, Caste and Religion. New Delhi: Macmillan. 1977, p.12; Phillip Foster. Education and Social Change in Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, p.32.

50. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, op.cit., p.104.

51. L.P. Vidyarthi. Socio Cultural Implications of Industrialization in India. New Delhi: Planning Commission. 1970; K.S. Singh. (ed.). Economies of Tribes and their Transformation. New Delhi: Concept. 1982, p.xvii.

professions were mainly the preserve of the non-tribals and other communities.[52]

Illiteracy, lack of education and training are among the major factors suggested, as reasons for the low occupational levels of tribal workers. The Dhebar Commission for instance states that the majority of the better jobs require skill and training. If the tribals are to be absorbed in better jobs in the new industrial projects, it is imperative that they be given suitable education and training.[53]

No study has specifically assessed the impact of formal education on occupational mobility among the Scheduled Tribes. However, the spread of education in these communities and the constraints in the progress of education have been of interest to a number of scholars. The studies and reports on tribal education reveal that there is inequality in educational opportunity in the tribal as compared to the non-tribal communities.[54]

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52. L.P. Vidyarthi. Cultural Configurations of Ranchi. Calcutta: J.N.Basu and Co. 1969, p.116; See also P.K. Dasgupta. "Transformation of Tribal Economy in an Industrial Context: A Case of the Ho of Singhbhum" in K.S. Singh (ed.).op.cit., pp.337-54.

53. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, op.cit., p.115.

54. Naik. Education of the Scheduled Tribes (1965-66). Occasional Monographs No.5. New Delhi: ICSSR. 1966,p.66. Naik measures Inequality of Educational Opportunity through the 'Extent of Coverage' The Extent of Coverage is defined as:

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The Scheduled Tribes display relatively low literacy rates as well as low levels of enrolment in educational institutions.[55]

The slow progress of education among the tribal communities has been linked to a number of factors, economic and socio-cultural. The poor economic condition of the tribes and the absence of adequate educational facilities within easy access have been seen as important factors in the educational backwardness of the tribes.[56] However, special emphasis is laid on the indifferent and apathetic attitude of tribes to education, their low level of motivation and aspirations and the absence of an environment attuned to study. The disadvantages suffered by the

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$$\frac{\text{Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes to Total Enrolment}}{\text{Percentage Population of Scheduled Tribes to Total Population}} \times 100$$

If there is equality of educational opportunity, the extent of coverage should be 100. If it is less than 100 it can be inferred that the Scheduled Tribes are lagging behind other communities in education. 1966, p.5.

55. The Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes in all Educational Institutions was only 59.4 in 1971.

56. See for instance: Sachidanande. Tribal Education in India - Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India. New Delhi: NCERT. 1967; Rathnaiah. Structural Constraints in Tribal Education. New Delhi: Sterling. 1977; Srivastava. Utilization of Financial Assistance by Tribal Students. New Delhi: NCERT. 1971.

tribes as a consequence of relative cultural isolation is seen to result in the contradictions between the cultural needs of the tribe and the norms and values imparted by the alien school system.[57] Thus it has been noted that tribes which are more urbanized and acculturated (i.e. those exposed to modern influences) have obtained the major share of modern education. For instance, Rathnaiah says that the Pardhans and Thotis of Adilabad who are better represented in schools are the more acculturated of the tribes of the area.[58] Similarly, Shah and Patel demonstrate that a few of the more urban tribes have utilized majority of the scholarships in Gujarat State.[59] Again, Sachidananda has noted that irregularity of attendance and extent of drop-out is much lower in the case of better acculturated tribes.[60]

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57. These factors have also been included in the studies mentioned above. See also N.K. Ambasht. A Critical Study of Tribal Education. New Delhi: Chand & Co. 1970; Ramanamma and Bambewale. "Sociological Implications of School Dropouts in Maharashtra". Social Change. 1978, p.29-34.

    Bourdieu on the other hand says that looking at 'aspirations' and 'expectations' in isolation tends to cover up the fact that objective social conditions determine aspirations by determining the extent to which they can be satisfied. See Pierre Bourdieu. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", in R. Brown. (ed.). Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change. London: Tavistock. 1973, p.83.

58. Rathnaiah, op.cit., 1977, p.176.

59. V. Shah and T. Patel. Who Goes to College? Ahmedabad: Rachana Publications. 1977, p.194.

60. Sachidananda, "The Special Problems of the Education of Scheduled Tribes", in M.S. Gore, et. al. (eds.). Papers in the Sociology of Education. New Delhi: NCERT. 1967, pp.207, 211.

... to the relatively more isolated tribal communities. The differential response of tribes to modern education is then explained by their level of cultural, social and economic development. These studies however tend to overlook the inequalities that exist within tribal communities classified at different levels of economic development. We have already noted the unequal command over resources that exists within the tribal communities and the growth of the upper class tribals or tribal elite. It is possible to assume that differentiation within tribal communities is likely to lead to differential access to education in different strata within each tribal community. Rathnaiah in his study for instance has shown that the higher income groups among the tribals are able to send a larger number of children to school as compared to groups with lower income.[61] Similarly it is seen that tribal students, especially college students, come from fairly literate back grounds as compared to the low level of literacy of the general tribal population.[62] Naik has also mentioned that children of the

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61. Rathnaiah, op.cit., pp.116-17.

62. I.P. Desai. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe High School and College Students in Gujarat. (A summary of findings), mimeo. 1975.

upper crust of Bhil society have obtained the maximum benefits from scholarships and hostel facilities made available to the tribals by the government.[63]

While the above studies broadly suggest that inequalities of educational opportunity are likely to exist within tribal communities or within the tribal village the pattern of variation in access to education among different strata and the relative influence of economic and socio-cultural factors in each section of the tribal community has not been studied. We do not, for instance, know whether and to what extent inequality of educational opportunity is due to the cultural inequalities which result when there is a variance between the tribal culture and that of the school. We are also unaware of the magnitude of inequality of educational opportunity that is due to economic factors which bring into question the costs, benefits and utility from access to various levels of education. Further, the interaction of cultural and economic factors in educational access and achievement in the tribal communities remains a neglected area of research.

The impact of education on the occupational mobility of the tribes has by and large been seen in terms of their job aspirations. The fact that most educated tribals wish to move away from traditional occupations and into the service sector is

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63. T.B. Naik. Impact of Education on the Bhils. New Delhi: Research Programmes Committee, Planning Commission. 1969, pp.249-67.

seen as an indication that mobility is "status oriented rather than economy oriented".[64] Occupational aspirations themselves however, bear no relationship to actual occupational attainment. It becomes important to see nature of occupational opportunities actually availed of by the tribals, the socio-economic status and income level of occupations attained at various levels of education. Again it is necessary to see whether expanding educational opportunities have encouraged intergenerational occupational mobility. In other words does the acquisition of educational qualifications assure the tribal youth an economic and social status higher than that of their fathers?

In the following chapters we will first analyse the inequality of educational opportunity that exists among the surveyed households in the context of the socio-economic conditions of the Bhils in the tehsil in general and the surveyed villages in particular. The latter part of the study will then deal with the question of occupational change and the extent of mobility experienced by the educated Bhil.

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64. Ambasht, op.cit., p.139. For a study of the occupational aspirations of educated tribals see Sachidananda. Education among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Bihar. Vol.1 and 2. mimeo. 1974, p.141; Srivastava. et. al. Education and Economic Condition and Employment Position of Eighteen Tribes. New Delhi: NCERT. 1971A.

CHAPTER III

THE BHILS HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

This chapter briefly looks at the history of the Bhils and the nature of social and economic organization of the tribes today. This will be done with special reference to the area of study i.e. Kherwara Tehsil.

Scattered references to the history of the Bhils are found mainly in reports of travellers, administrators and in a few monographs. The Census surveys are a major source of information for the study of the tribe. In addition to the above, we have also relied on data from a Bench Mark Survey of the area which was conducted in 1977.[1]

History of the Bhils

Myths and legends are cited to establish the contention that members of the Bhil Community were the original inhabitants of the south and the south-west of Rajasthan. References to the Bhils have been found in ancient Sanskrit literature - the Puranas,

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1. The Census Survey (1981) has at present published only provisional population (general) totals at the tehsil level. Separate information on the Scheduled Tribes is not available as yet.

   A Bench Mark Survey of the villages of Kherwara tehsil was conducted in 1977 as part of a survey of the villages (by the Tribal Area Development Corporation) in the Tribal Sub-Plan Area of Rajasthan.

Mahabharata, Ramayana etc.[2] The tribe also finds a mention in travellers' accounts dating as far back as 400 B.C. It is said that the Bhils represent a race which inhabited India earlier than the Aryans and Dravidians. "They are one section of the great Munda race, which occupied pre-Dravidian India and had for its home, the Central regions across the penninsular India, with possible extensions into the Gangetic plain".[3]

The presence of Bhil kingdoms in the southern parts of Rajasthan (formerly Rajputana) were recorded around the sixth century A.D.[4] History also testifies to the conquest of Rajasthan by the Rajputs in the fourteenth century. The Rajputs reduced the status of the Bhils from that of owners and rulers of the land to one of a conquered race. The Bhils were confined to merely performing the customary task of marking the forehead of the prince of each of their former states with their blood at the time of coronation.[5]

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2. An oft quoted legend is one where the origin of the Bhils is traced to Mahadeva. It is said that Mahadeva had numerous progeny by a forest girl. One of his children (who was dark and ugly) was expelled from the habitation of men when he slew his father's favourite bull. The Phils are said to have descended from this son. For a detailed description of the many legends and myths associated with the Bhils see, T.B. Naik. The Bhils. Delhi: Adimjati Sevak Sangh. 1956, p.11-15; S.L. Doshi. Bhils: Between Societal Self Awareness and Cultural Synthesis. Delhi: Sterling. 1971, pp.4-9.

3. C.S. Venkatachar. "Ethnographic Account of the Bhils of Central India". Census of India 1931. Vol.1, Part III, p.57.

4. J.K. Doshi. Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Bhil Village. Delhi: New Heights. 1974, p.2; N.N. Vyas. et al. (ed.). Rajasthan Bhils. Udaipur: Tribal Research Institute. 1978, p.1.

5. J. Tod. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Vol.1. Madras: Higginbothams and Co. 1880, p.269.

Today the Bhils reside mainly in the hilly and forested regions of the area in conditions of abject poverty. However, it is claimed that during the days of their rise and rule the Bhils did not reside in the forests and hilly terrain, but instead lived on the prosperous and fertile plains. Chaturvedi in this context says that the "Bhil aboriginals were deprived of what was their land and were driven to hilly unhospitable regions, shattering their economy and forcing them to predatory ways and degradation".[6]

There are no written accounts of the major economic activities of the Bhils or of the manner in which production was organized in early Bhil society. Thus, it is not possible to make any claims about the 'tribal' character of the community (either in terms of the communal ownership of land and co-operation in economic activities), prior to or after their conquest by the Rajputs. Chauhan however, postulates that the Bhils were formerly not a tribe. According to him they were 'tribalized' (i.e. they assumed tribal traits) as a result of cultural isolation which followed their defeat at the hand of the Rajputs.[7] However, scattered references to cultural changes in a community, do not adequately reflect its 'tribal' or 'non-tribal' character.

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6. D.N. Chaturvedi. "Role of Bhils in the Freedom Struggle of Mewar against Mughal Emperors". Tribe. Vol.X, No.3 and 4, 1977, p.25; See also Ashok Jaiman. The Bhils. Unpublished manuscript. 1958, p.10.

7. B.R. Chauhan. "Tribalization" in Vyas et. al. (ed.), Op.cit. pp.29-40.

Towards the early twentieth century, we find a few comments on nomadic life and dependence on forests and forest produce among the Bhils. As late as 1931 it was observed that "except in the cases of such few who have taken to cultivation, the Bhils are still a wandering population and as a rule have no fixed village".[8] The Bhils however, state that agriculture has always been their traditional activity. They refer to mythology to subtantiate this contention. According to folklore the Bhil at his creation was given a plough, sickle, harrow and a pair of bullocks by 'Mahadev', who promised him that if he sowed two 'seers' of cereals, he should reap two 'manas'.[9] It is likely that on being driven to the hills by the Rajput invaders, the Bhils were forced to depend more on a semi-nomadic life in the forests rather than on settled cultivation.

Apart from their reliance on forest produce, the Bhils were initially seen to practise a form of shifting cultivation. Small millets were grown on the slopes of the hills after portions of the forest were burnt down.[10]

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8. J. Hutton. India Report. Census of India 1931. Vol.1. Part I, Simla: Government of India Press. p.57.

9. Ibid., p.57.

10. R.S. Mann. "Bhil Economy and its Problems" in Vyas et. al. op.cit., p.70.

Today a majority of the Bhils depend on settled cultivation. This is largely a consequence of the depletion of forests, the growth in population, and the policy of the Government not to permit 'slash and burn' cultivation. The Bhil economy appears to have been extremely unstable and the precarious conditions of their existence have often been emphasized. It is said that the Bhils suffered untold miseries during the famines that occured in the area between 1830 and 1900. Practically nothing was done for the Bhils who suffered severely and took to crime.[11] As many as 30 per cent of their cattle perished and in Dungarpur, around 25 per cent of the Bhils died because relief operations were slow. The situation of the Bhils was so pathetic that following the 1968 famine, the British Government allowed the purchase of slaves. Subsequently Bhil children were sold even for two rupees each.[12]

Interaction with Other Communities

The social and economic organization of Bhil society has been influenced to a large extent by the nature of its relations with other communities. We have already noted that the Rajputs wrested the land from the Bhils and forced them to live in an inhospitable terrain. At a later stage the Mewar State along with the aid of the British, restricted the traditional

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11. The Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol.XI. Faridabad: Today and Tomorrow. 1908, p.20.

12. G.H. Ojha. The History of Rajputana. Vol.III. Part 1, 1936, p.1108.

rights of the Bhils to the forests and forest produce. Shifting cultivation was prohibited and the Bhils were encouraged to take to settled cultivation. They were given limited pieces of land for this purpose. Revenue was collected directly from the cultivator through the 'Khalsa' system. Rates of revenue levied however, differed between castes. The Bhils who were "the real agriculturists had to surrender the major share of their produce whereas the Brahmins, the Rajputs and Mahajans were given a more favourable treatment".[13]

The inability of the Bhils to produce enough for subsistence, their need for essential consumer goods, as well as the demand by the state for cash payment of taxes were among the factors which encouraged the early entry of non-tribal castes and communities in the area. On the one hand the Rajput penetration in the tribal region gave further opportunities to the trading and money lending castes already present in the area. On the other hand "under the overall protection of the Rajput administration, the other peasant and artisan castes also gradually moved to the upland valleys and settled on the cleared up lands".[14] It is said that the simplicity of the tribals and their unwillingness to

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13. Doshi, op.cit. 1974, p.14.

14. N.N. Vyas. "Rajasthan Bhils: A Contemporary View", in Vyas et.al. (ed.), op.cit., p.4.

remain at one place for long prompted the more clever, prudent and thrifty Hindu cultivators to usurp their lands.[15]

Bhils were forced to work as unpaid labour ('begar') on the roads and at the palace of the Maharana. State officials were also entitled to 'begar' from the Bhils at any time of the year including peak agricultural seasons. While the "Baniyas carried away their grain even before it reached the cultivators' huts, the 'raj' and 'jagirdars' took a heavy toll in taxes and rent and the soldiery pilfered their roosters and goats".[16] The extreme cruelty meted out to the Bhils, by the Rajputs and Marathas, has also been mentioned by a number of scholars as an important factor which encouraged them to take to crime.[17]

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15. M.L. Kothari, op.cit. p.7.

16. Dharampal. Rajasthan. New Delhi: National Book Trust of India. 1968, p.27; See also, S.L. Doshi. Bhils: Between Societal Self Awareness and Cultural Synthesis. Delhi: Sterling. 1971, p.18.

17. The rebellion of the Bhils in the nineteenth century is seen as a consequence of the above mentioned factors. Though the number of highway robberies declined in course of time, panic situations such as famine and scarcity or extreme cruelty by the rulers could arouse them to take the law into their own hands. The high taxes imposed, the practise of forced labour and the weak and corrupt administration were the roots of the Bhil revolts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See R.S. Mann. "The Bhils in Historical Perspective and in Relationship with Non-Tribals", in Vyas. et.al. (ed.). op.cit. p.22. Doshi, op.cit. 1971, p.17; M. Carstairs. "Bhil Villages of Western Udaipur", in Srinivas (ed.). India's Villages. Bombay: Asia, 1963, p.72.

In order to control the unrest in the tribal area, the Mewar Bhil Corps was set up in the tehsil in 1841 'to contain' and 'civilize' the wild tribals. The Corps were established by the British on the plea of the Maharana of Mewar. The establishment of the Mewar Bhil Corps in the Bhil dominated tehsil has been seen mainly in terms of "breaking down the isolation of the tribal" area, "raising the economic standards" of the Bhil recruits, fostering discipline and stability in the area etc.[18] However, the 'Corps' also serves as an eloquent testimony of the deteriorating economic conditions of the Bhils which forced an increasing number of them to take to crime and theft and to revolt against the 'Maharana' and the 'Raj'.

Interaction with the non-tribals in the context of cultural change has been emphasized by many scholars. Changes in the social organization of the Bhil society are seen to have resulted primarily from the contact with the Hindu community. The impact of Rajput culture is seen in the realm of religion (for example in the worship of the same gods),new marriage practices and the imbibing of Hindu customs, modes and sanctions. The Bhagat movement traces the backwardness of the Bhils to their habit of eating meat and drinking liquor. Bhagatism attempts to give them a social structure based on higher codes of culture.[19] Mann believes

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18. N.N. Vyas. "Kherwara. A Town in a Tribal Setting". Tribe. 1964, p.48. It should be mentioned that seven of the eight companies of the Corps initially consisted of Bhils. Even today 70 per cent of persons employed in the Mewar Bhil Corps are member of the Scheduled Tribes.

19. Doshi, op.cit., 1971, p.20.

that both Christianity (which has its influence in very small pockets) and Bhagatism are instrumental in the process of segmentation seen between converts and non-converts in the once 'homogeneous' Bhil society.[20] Mann however, speaks of homogeneity, mainly in cultural terms. The elevation of the social position of the Bhil Bhagats and the social isolation of the Christians are seen as the result of the adoption of new traits of the higher caste Hindus and the Christian missionaries respectively.

Accounts of the economic and social structure of the Bhils prior to the fifties of this century remain scanty. However the claim of homogeneity in economic and social organization even prior to the advent of the Bhagat movement in the 19th century is open to question. The earliest accounts of the Bhils do mention the existence of Bhil chieftains and panchayats, as well as a customary system of inheritence. Formerly marriage between Bhil chiefs and landowners and daughters of Rajputs did take place.[21] The Bhils gradually sunk to the position of outcastes probably due to their deteriorating economic situation rather than because of the orthodox nature of Hinduism.

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20. Mann. "Bhils and Culture Contact" in Vyas et.al. (ed.), op.cit., p.64.

21. Naik, op.cit. 1959, p.19. According to Naik a new caste, Bhilala, arose, comprised of the decendants of Rajputs and Bhil marriages. Naik goes on to say that "as Hinduism become more orthodox in Rajputana, the Bhils sank to the position of out castes". p.19.

In the foregoing section we have briefly discussed the changes in Bhil society in the context of the interaction with other communities. The extent of change is however likely to vary between areas and sections of the Bhils, depending on the extent to which the non-tribal economy and activities of the administration have penetrated. Factors of change, which actually impringe on the economic organization of production and ownership of resources are important in this context. Hence, it is important to see that the interaction of the Bhils with the non-Bhils is not within the realm of culture alone. Mann himself acknowledges that Hinduism brought with it traders, contractors, money lenders, landlords, missionaries, social workers, rulers, administrators, and officials who have been the media and sources of cultural contact.[22]

In the census survey of 1921 as well as in 1931, the Bhils were classified merely as 'Forest and Hill Tribes'. The presence of a negligible number of Bhils of Rajputana was noted in activities such as mining (6 persons) and cotton ginning, cleaning and weaving (653 persons).[23] The proportion of the Bhil population engaged in various economic activities was first recorded during the census of 1961 and in 1971 as well. In table 3.1 we have looked at the industrial classification of the Bhil workers in the context of the general tribal situation as well as that of the population in the state as a whole.

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22. Mann. op.cit., 1978, p.60.

23. Census of India, 1921. Vol.XXIV. Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara. Part 1.

Table 3.1

Industrial Classification of the General, Tribal and Bhil Population, Rajasthan State Year 1971

S. No.	Category of Occupation	Population			
		General*	Scheduled Tribes	Bhils**	Non-Tribals
1	Cultivators	64.92	81.67	78.19	62.48
2	Agricultural Labour	9.31	11.45	14.89	9.00
3	Live Stock, Forestry, Fishing and Plantations	2.56	2.38	2.20	2.58
4	Mining, Quarrying	0.45	0.45	0.59	0.45
5	Household Industry	3.43	0.19	0.16	3.90
6	Other than Household Industry	3.20	0.43	0.55	3.60
7	Construction	1.24	0.43	0.68	1.36
8	Trade and Commerce	4.45	0.28	0.26	5.06
9	Transport, Storage etc.	1.99	0.51	0.30	2.21
10	Other Services	8.45	2.21	2.18	9.36
11	Total Workers	8048859	1023240	459402	7025619
12	(Percentage of workers)	31.24	32.74	31.95	31.03
13	(Percentage of Non-workers)	68.76	67.26	68.05	68.97
14	Total Population	25765806	3125506	1437937	22640300

Source: 1. Census of India, 1971. Series 18. Rajasthan. Part.V.
2. Census of India, 1971. Series 18. Rajasthan. Part I.

* Includes the Tribal Population.
** Includes Bhil Garesia, Bhil Doli, Mewasi Bhil, Bhilala etc.

As can be seen in the abovetable 93.1 per cent of the tribal workers as compared to 71.5 per cent of the non-tribal workers in Rajasthan are dependent on agricultural activity. We also see that there is a greater diversification of economic activity in the general and non-tribal as compared to the tribal population. Trade and commerce, which have historically been the preserve of the non-tribals remains largely in their hands today as well. It is also important to note that while 8.5 per cent of the general working population is engaged in 'other services' (i.e. personal services and employment in the government and other institutions), barely two per cent of the tribal population is engaged in such activity.

The relatively poor economic conditions of the Bhils is reflected in the larger percentage of agricultural labourers found in the Bhil community as compared to the population of the state in general and the Scheduled Tribes in particular. The per capita income of the tribals in Rajasthan was estimated to be Rs.104 per annum in 1960-61 as against a per capita income of Rs.267 for the state as a whole.[24] In the Dhebar Commission report it was observed that a large number of Bhils, who have no lands, have migrated to nearby towns as labourers. Economic destitution has led some of

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24. R.S. Uppal. "A Note on Educational Facilities For the Tribals in Rajasthan". Tribe. Vol.III. 1965, p.53.

them to work under a system of bonded labour by which not only they, but the members of their families as well are pledged to render service to redeem their debts.[25]

Bhil society today is hence, not an ideal self-sufficient society, where resources are owned in common and the division of labour is simple and based on age and sex. Changes in economic and social relations are very much in evidence today as the Bhils are gradually becoming part of the general mainstream. As Singh remakrs, with the passing of time, tribes are in fact getting integrated into "a secular system of production, a market system as it was extended to the tribal region".[26] However, as mentioned

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25. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, op.cit. Studies conducted in a number of Bhil villages have also highlighted the poor and unstable nature of the Bhil economy. For instance, in a study of a Bhil village, Kailashpuri, it was found that nearly one fourth of the working population was employed as labourers in agriculture, road construction and forest work. Census of India, 1961. Vol.XIV. Rajasthan. Part IV. (Village Survey Kailashpuri), p.16.

    In the village of Peepal Khoont, 70 per cent of the Bhils were found to be deeply undebted. Census of India 1961. Vol.XIV. Rajasthan. Part IV. (Village Survey Peepal Khoont), p.vic.

26. K.S. Singh. "Colonial Transformation of Tribal Society in Middle India". Economic and Political Weekly. Vol.XIII, No.30. 1978, p.1221.

earlier, the extent of change is likely to be uneven depending on the intensity of interaction of economic and social factors in various parts of the tribal area.

The Bhils of Kherwara Tehsil

In 1931 as many as 71.7 per cent of the population of Kherwara tehsil were returned as members of tribal communities. In table 3.2 we see that the predominant tribal group in Mewar in general and Kherwara in particular in 1931 were Bhils.

A close look at table 3.2 reveals that there has been a significant shift in the composition of the tribal population over the years. While as many as 69.2 per cent of the tribal population of Mewar called itself 'Bhil' in 1931, only 37.6 per cent did so in 1971. On the other hand, the percentage of Minas in the tribal population of Mewar increased from 28.3 per cent in 1931 to 41.7 per cent in 1971. In Kherwara tehsil this trend is relatively more distinct. We see that while 86.4 per cent of the tribal population claimed to be Bhils in 1931, only 46.3 per cent were returned as Bhils in 1971. On the other hand while only 0.4 per cent of the tribal people claimed to be Mina in 1931, as many as 46.2 per cent were returned as members of the Mina community in the census survey, 1971.

Table 3.2

Composition of the Population, 1931-1971

District/ Tehsil	Year	Population	Tribal Communities			
		Total	Tribal	Bhil	Mina	Others
Udaipur District/ (Mewar)	1931	1566910	312783*	216283 (69.15)**	88592 (28.32)	7908 (2.53)
	1961	1464276	441710	230830 (52.26)	173367 (39.25)	37513 (8.49)
	1971	1803680	607107	228213 (37.59)	253376 (41.73)	29601 (4.86)
Kherwara Tehsil	1931	73998	53210	45898 (86.40)	236 (0.44)	6986 (13.15)
	1961	91291	63721	***	***	***
	1971	121266	104473	48368 (46.29)	48301 (46.23)	7908 (7.48)

Source: 1 Census of India, 1931. Vol.XXVII. Rajputana Agency.
2 Census of India, 1961. Vol.XIV. Rajasthan.
3 Census of India, 1971. Series 18. Rajasthan; Series 1;

* The tribal population for the year 1931 has been obtained by adding up the population of each tribal community.

**Figures in paren thesis indicate percentages.

***Figures not available.

The steady growth in the overall tribal population in the tehsil, on the one hand, and the marginal increase in the absolute number of Bhils in the period 1931 to 1971 on the other, suggests that a large section of the Bhils are today calling themselves 'Mina'. References to this trend have been made by a few scholars. In a study of a village in Kherwara tehsil Mann observes that "the religions, attributes, nature of supernaturals, economic life, leadership and tribal council, pattern of social groupings, customs and ceremonies connected with birth marriage and death, clan names and pattern of settlement material culture etc. of the Bhils and of Barapal Minas (or for that matter Minas of the surrounding villages) are inseparable".[27]

The reason why a section of the Bhils have sensed the need to change the name of their community can possibly be traced to one important factor. The name 'Bhil' has in the course of history come to acquire numerous derogatory connotations. The stereotype of the Bhils built up by the Rajputs and Marathas and given credence to by the British was that of a sub-human, uncivilized person. For centuries the Bhils have been identified as "plunderers and lawless people...the Rajputs considered them not even human".[28]

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27. R.S. Mann. "Improved Agricultural Practices: A Case of Minas", in Mann and Vyas (ed.). Indian Tribes in Transition. Delhi: Rawat. 1980, p.102.

28. Doshi, op.cit. 1974, p.7.

It is hence likely that in areas like Kherwara tehsil, which have had relatively early exposure to modern influences the tribal population has been anxious to be identified as other than Bhil.

Commenting on the Bhils and Minas in Kherwara tehsil Doshi maintains that "From ethnic and cultural points of view, they belong to the same group, but have experienced different degrees of acculturation with the neighbouring Hindus".[29] However, it is important to see that this process of change differs from that associated with the process of sanskritization. As mentioned earlier sanskritization has been defined as the process by which a low caste attempts to follow the rituals and customs of an upper or dominant caste in order to gain acceptance into the latter caste. However, in Kherwara, we see that the formal 'reference group' is not the caste Hindu, but another tribal community i.e. the Mina.

A brief reference to the Minas of Rajasthan is essential in order to understand the context of change described above. Relying to a large extent on the information collected during the census surveys, three points are to be noted. Firstly, the original Minas are concentrated in spatially distinct areas towards the eastern end of the state. Secondly, the Minas have been less isolated from the national mainstream as compared to the

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29. Ibid., p.7. See also M.L. Dashoria. The Bhil Economy. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Jaipur. 1971, p.5.

Bhils.[30] In 1931, as many as 96.7 per cent of the Minas as compared to 69.8 per cent of the Bhils were returned as Hindus in Rajputana. Thirdly, it is possible that as a consequence of early opportunities, relatively more fertile lands, and no definite signs of extreme cruelty and oppression as suffered by the Bhils, the Minas are today economically relatively more advanced as compared to the Bhils.[31] This can be seen if we look at a few simple indicators of development in the two predominantly rural communities. These are, (a) the percentage of cultivators in the working population; (b) the percentage of the working population dependent primarily on agricultural labour; (c) the literacy rate and (d) the percentage of the population who have at least primary education.

In table 3.3 we see that around 93 per cent of the working population in both tribal communities were dependent on agriculture activity in 1971. However, twice the number of Bhils as compared

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30. We have looked at the percentage of Animists in the tribal population as an indication of the relative isolation of each tribal community. In the census of 1931, it was decided to predetermine the localities where the Bhils (and other groups) living under Tribal conditions were not in daily contact with Hindus, and in those areas have them all returned as Animists. Census of India. 1931. Vol.XXVII. Rajputana Agency.

31. For a brief discussion of both Bhils and Minas see, R.S. Mann. "Economic Systems among Western Indian Tribes", in K.S. Singh (ed.). Economics of Tribes and Their Transformation. Delhi: Concept. 1982, pp.76-7.

Table 3.3

Indicators of Development among Bhils and Minas of Rajasthan/ Rajputana

Community	Year	% of Working Population		% of Total Population	
		Cultivators	Agricultural Labour	Literate	With Primary Education
Bhil	1921	**	**	(345)***	**
	1961	84.8	4.91	2.67	0.22
	1971	78.6	14.6	4.68	1.85
Mina	1921	**	**	(1829)	**
	1961	89.6	2.89	5.17	0.44
	1971	85.8	7.50	8.30	3.44

Source: Census of India, 1921. Vol.XXIV. Rajputana Agency.

Census of India, 1961, 1971. Rajasthan.

* Includes persons who have attained matriculation as well.

** Figures Not Available

*** As the number of literates is very small only the absolute figures have been given in parenthesis.

to Minas are dependent primarily on agricultural labour. While 85.8 per cent of the working population in the Mina community are cultivators, this is true of only 78.6 per cent of Bhil workers. It has been mentioned that the Minas of Rajasthan have sufficient land to cultivate and a fairly high standard of living as compared to the Bhils.[32] When we look at the extent of literacy and education, a similar distinction can be seen between the two communities. As early as 1921 there were five times as many Mina as compared to Bhil literates. In 1971 the Minas were still far ahead of the Bhils both in terms of literacy rates as well as the percentage of those with at least primary level of education.

It is thus possible to assume that the overall higher level of development in another tribal group which also had no social stigma attached to its name (Mina), have been among the reasons which appear to have compelled a large section of the relatively more exposed Bhils to change their names to 'Mina'.[33]

We had noted in chapter two, that the caste system with its relatively rigid notions of purity, pollution, and the hierarchical status of castes inhibits and constrains status aspirations. It was also seen that only jatis, or communities (including tribal

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32. Doshi, op.cit. 1971. p.26.

33. Dashoria, for instance, comments that the "Bhil feel proud calling themselves Mina or Garasia who say they are superior to the Bhils". op.cit., p.7.

communities) which were economically dominant had been able to gain acceptance as upper or middle jatis within the traditional caste structure. However, the fact that the section of the Bhils of Kherwara tehsil are now known as Minas does not necessarily imply that this section has become economically dominant or socially 'mobile'. A hierarchical caste-like structure does not exist between or even within the tribal communities. Hence there is little or no resistance to a change of name within the tribal framework. Further, the original Mina community which is concentrated in spatially distinct areas in the state is in no position to prevent this change of name nor to apply any constraints.

The phenomenon described in the foregoing sections isa reflection of changes that are a growing feature in the tribal area. It also indicates that changes have not occured uniformly in the tehsil. Uneven exposure to modern influences and opportunities is likely to have prompted this change in only a section of the Bhils.

Economic Activity

The occupational pattern of the tribal population of Kherwara differs from the overall occupational pattern of the Bhils of the state in some important ways. A comparison of table 3.1 and table 3.4 indicates that the Bhils of Kherwara tehsil are dependent to a larger extent on agricultural activity when compared with the general Bhil population. However, 96.0 per cent of the working tribal population dependent on agriculture in Kherwara, include as many as

16.1 per cent of persons who make their living primarily as agricultural labour. Hunting, fishing and forestry which were cited as the early occupations of the Bhils are the primary occupation of only 0.03 per cent of the working population in 1971 (This figure also includes those who tend livestock). Diversification of economic activity of the Bhils in the tehsil is of a smaller magnitude than seen in the state as a whole. Thus Bhils of the tehsil who are not engaged in agriculture are, however, mainly engaged in activities which come under the broad category of 'other services'. Only 0.81 per cent of the tribal population are engaged in non-agricultural activity excluding 'other services'. The corresponding percentage among the Bhils of the state is as much as 4.6 per cent.

As compared to the tribal population of the tehsil, the non-tribal population appears to have relatively more stable economic conditions. In the above table we note that only 21.4 per cent of the tribal population as compared to 36.1 per cent of the non-tribal population were classified as workers in 1971. Further only 5.1 per cent of non-tribals working in other services are primarily dependent on agricultural labour. While 9 per cent of non-tribal workers are employed in 'other services' as many as 13.2 per cent are engaged in activities like manufacture, trade, transport etc.

Table 3.4

Occupational Pattern in Kherwara Tehsil, 1971

Community	Total Population	Workers	% of Workers Engaged in/as					
			Cultivators	Agricultural labour	Fishing forestry	Manufacture*	Others**	Other service
Scheduled Tribe	85770	18354 (21.39)***	80.00	16.07	0.03	0.20	0.58	3.1
Non Tribal	35496	12813 (36.09)	72.43	5.14	0.17	7.14	6.11	8.0
Total	121266	31167 (25.70)	76.89	11.57	0.09	3.05	2.85	5.9

Source: Census of India 1971. Series 1.

Census of India 1971. Series 18. Rajasthan.

* 'Manufacture' includes occupational categories 5 and 6 in table 3.1.

** 'Others' includes occupational categories 4,7,8 and 9 listed in table 3.1.

*** Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage of workers in each community.

The Bhils have no history of specific occupational skills and crafts traditionally associated with many other communities. This absence of occupational skills is a feature of the community even today. In a survey conducted in the tehsil in 1977, it was found that non-agricultural and skilled occupations are practised in only 3.9 per cent of the tribal households.[34] In contrast, as many as 17.5 per cent of the non-tribal population are engaged in occupations such as ironsmithy, carpentry, tailoring etc. (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5

Skilled Occupations Practiced in Kherwara Tehsil

Community	No.of Families Total	With Skilled Persons	Weavers	Iron smith	Carpenters	Sculptors	Tailors	Potters	Cobblers	Others
Scheduled Tribe	17024	675 (3.96)	2	12	198	12	65	2	1	383
Non-tribal	6558	1149 (17.52)	22	208	103	12	179	135	193	297
Total	23582 (100)	1824 (7.73)	24	220	301	24	244	137	194	680

Source: Bench Mark Survey Records 1977.

34. This information was obtained from the Bench Mark Survey Records 1977.

Cultivation

Kherwara tehsil falls within the 'Bhumat' or hilly area of Udaipur district. The infertile land and failure of the monsoons has made droughts a common feature of the area. The tehsil has been officially declared a 'drought prone' one.

Only 24.4 per cent of the total land in the tehsil was cultivated in 1971. The percentage of land under cultivation increased to only 31.5 per cent in 1978-79.[35] Barely 2 per cent of the total land in the tehsil and 9 per cent of the total cropped area (2595 hectares) was brought under irrigation in 1978-79.

The 'Kharif' (summer crop) is a rain fed one. Paddy and maize are the main crops grown in this season. Wheat is the chief 'Rabi' or winter crop. The cultivation of wheat is entirely dependent on the availability of irrigation. The poor conditions of cultivation are reflected in the relatively low productivity of land in the tehsil. In Appendix B we see that the production per hectare of both paddy as well as maize in the tehsil is far below the average for the district. The average yield of wheat on the other hand is relatively high and compares well with the yield per hectare in the district as a whole in the same period. This is so because wheat is grown mainly with the help of irrigation and hence is likely to be less susceptible to the vagaries of the

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35. The pattern of land use in the Kherwara tehsil is given in Appendix A.

monsoon. However as mentioned earlier, only 9 per cent of the total cropped area was brought under irrigation in 1978-79.[36] Within this context ownership of irrigation facilities is likely to be of special significance in the overall ownership of productive resources.

Ownership of Land

Tribal households were given pieces of land for cultivation and the practice of shifting cultivation was discouraged by the British administration. Revenue from households owning and cultivating land was first collected by the state of Mewar. The revenue settlement for all the 234 villages of Kherwara was done between 1929 and 1956.[37]

The average size of holdings in the tehsil was 1.4 hectares. In table 3.6 we see that the tribal households own an average of 1.3 hectares while the non-tribal households own 1.8 hectares on an average.

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36. Only 12.2 of the total cultivated land in the tehsil was brought under wheat cultivation in 1978-79. In contrast, paddy and maize accounted for 51.4 per cent of land under cultivation.

37. Gazetteer of India, Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Udaipur. Jaipur: Directorate of District Gazetteers. 1979, p.340.

Table 3.6

Ownership of Land in Kherwara Tehsil.

Size of Land Owned (hectares)	Number of Households		
	Scheduled Tribe	Others	Total
Landless	2209	1729	3938
1	6157	2060	8217
1-2	5168	1370	6538
2-3	2358	780	3138
3	1132	619	1751
(Total households)	17024	6558	23582
Average Size of Holding	1.27	1.80	1.37

Source: Bench Mark Survey Records 1977.

We note that a definite section of population in both communities is landless. This fact is of greater significance in the tribal community where 96 per cent of the working population is dependent primarily on land. Further, we see that inequalities in the ownership of land are apprent in that, households in both sections of the population own more than 3 hectares of land.

However, as mentioned earlier, the infertile and fragmented holdings have made access to irrigation facilities extremely important for cultivating households. Only 32.1 per cent of the

households in the tehsil own irrigation equipment. Two points need to be highlighted from table 3.7. Firstly, despite the fact that an almost equal proportion of tribal and non-tribal households own irrigation assets, it is the former community which has the highest degree of dependence on land. Further, only a small percentage (32.2 per cent) of households within the tribal community today own wells, canals, and other equipment which are crucial for cultivation in the area.

Table 3.7

Ownership of Irrigation Equipment in Kherwara Tehsil.

Community	Households		% of Works Dependent on Land
	Total	% Owning Wells, Tanks, etc.	
Scheduled Tribe	17024	32.18	96.07
Others	6558	31.84	77.57
Total	23582	32.10	88.46

Source: Bench Mark Survey Records. 1977.

It has been earlier suggested that the section of the Bhil community which has had relatively early exposure to modern influence and new opportunities today calls itself Mina. It is hence likely that the Minas were among the early Bhil households

who do not only took to settled cultivation but made use of irrigation for this purpose as well. In table 3.8, it is interesting to note that while 26.6 per cent of the tribal households own wells, as many as 35.4 per cent of Mina households own this asset. In contrast only 18.9 per cent of Bhil households are owners of wells.

Table 3.6

Ownership of Irrigation Facilities Among Bhils and Minas.

Tribal Community	No.of House-holds	Households Owning							
		Wells		Canals		Tube-wells		Others	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bhil	7769	1473	18.95	142	1.83	10	0.13	26	0.33
Mina	7980	2828	35.44	664	8.32	23	0.29	5	0.06
Others*	1275	233	18.27	74	5.80	2	0.16	-	-
Total	17024	4534	26.63	880	5.17	35	0.21	31	0.18

Source: Bench Mark Survey Records. 1977.

* 'Others' within the tribal community include Garasias and those who call themselves Adivasis. We are dealing only with Bhils and Minas in our study.

Non-Agricultural Activity

Poor irrigation facilities, infertile and fragmented land and successive droughts have made the tribal households economically extremely vulnerable. A large number of households have been forced to seek sources of income other than cultivation. We have seen that very few tribal households practice specific occupational skills. On the other hand, a significant number of individuals are entering the labour market as unskilled casual labour.

The census of 1971 indicates that 16.1 per cent of the working tribal population in the tehsil were primarily agricultural labourers. However, casual labourers engaged in activities other than agriculture are not included within this category. Further, a large number of persons tend to work as labourers for short periods during the year and therefore do not mention 'labour' as their primary economic activity. Hence the magnitude of dependence on this form of labour is usually not fully grasped.

In the Bench Mark Survey (1977), it was reported that 3420 persons from the tehsil had migrated from their villages in the course of the year. Of the 786 persons who had migrated specifically in search of manual labour around 80 per cent were from tribal households. Again, among the tribal migrants, a larger number of Bhils as compared to Minas had migrated as labourers during the same year.[38]

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38. Details of the pattern of migration are given in Appendix C.

Opportunities for labour that exist within the tehsil itself suggest a far greater dependence on manual labour than that observed by the 1977 Survey. A large number of developmental programmes have been undertaken in the tehsil by the government especially within the last decade. These programmes offer the people work as labourers in activities such as the construction of roads and buildings. Specific programmes are also undertaken during periods of famine and drought. Opportunities for labour that exist within the tehsil have to some extent reduced the number of persons who are forced to migrate during the year in search of such employment.[39]

Unskilled labour falls within the category of occupations which are assigned the lowest status on any socio-economic or prestige scale. The wages obtained for such work are extremely low. In a study conducted in a predominantly Bhil area it was found that the daily wages paid to agricultural labour was only

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39. In the course of our survey (1980) conducted in the tehsil, rough estimates of the number of man days of casual employment were obtained from some of the major departments which employ such labour. In Appendix D we see that a large number of persons have obtained casual employment within the tehsil. Between 85-90 per cent of those employed are said to be Bhils and Minas. Though the figures in the table are only subjective estimates of the muster rolls, our intention is merely to emphasize the fact that casual labour has become an essential source of income for majority of the tribal households.

75 paise for males and 62 paise for females.[40]

The poor economic condition of the Bhils has made indebtedness the most common feature among tribal households today. Further the dependence of the Bhils on the traders for all their necessities has given the latter opportunities to drag the tribals into their clutches. Jaiman for instance, notes that "The Bhil never sells his crop, but hands it over bodily in part payment of an inextinguishable debt".[41] In another study it was observed that the average income of each tribal household in the village studied was Rs.463 a year. However, the average indebtedness of the households during the year was Rs.152. As many as 72 per cent of the households surveyed were in debt.[42] In the Bench Mark Survey conducted in the tehsil, it was found that 57 per cent of the tribal households were in debt. A majority of the surveyed holds (i.e. 70 per cent) were indebted to traders and moneylenders.

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40. Doshi, op.cit. 1971, p.70.
In this context it should be mentioned that under the minimum wages act of 1948, the minimum wages were fixed as follows in 1973: an unskilled worker is to get a minimum of Rs.3.25 a day or Rs.85.00 per month. Male and female agricultural labourers are entitled to Rs.60 and Rs.52.50 a month respectively. A child is entitled to a minimum of Rs.1.12 per day. Gazetteer of India, Rajasthan District Gazetteer. Udaipur. Jaipur: Directorate of District Gazetteers. 1979.

41. Jaiman, op.cit. 1958, p.11.

42. Mann, op.cit. 1978, p.40.

Mention must also be made of systems of bondage and semi-bondage which often result from extreme indebtedness. Two kinds of debt bondage are prevalent among the Phils. The first is an agreement referred to as 'Hali'. In this case the loan taken is considered repaid if the debtor or members of his family work for the creditor for a stipulated period of time. Such persons are known as 'halis'. In many villages the 'hali' serves as an agricultural worker and obtains a small share of the produce. The second type of bondage is called 'Sagri'. Here, only the interest is repaid by the debtor by working for period previously agreed upon. At the end of the period the debtor is called upon to repay the sum of the loan, failing which he is obliged to continue work until it is repaid. The debt is almost impossible to pay off since interest on the principal including new debts accumulate much faster than wages obtained while at work for the creditor.[43]

The castes which are primarily associated with money lending are the Mahajans or Baniyas, the Bohra Muslims, and the Kalals (the traditional liquor distillers).

Industrial Activity

There has been minimal industrial activity in the area. Prior to 1960 the only industrial establishment near the tehsil was the Zawar Mines involved in the extraction of lead and zinc. Except

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43. N.N. Vyas. Vyas discusses the results of a survey which enquire into the nature and extent of bondage among the Bhils. Bondage and Exploitation in Tribal India. Delhi: Rawat. 1980, p.94.

for the Hindustan Zinc Limited (near Udaipur City) there is no other major industrial establishment near or within the Kherwara tehsil. Thus we see that only 0.7 per cent of the working population in the tehsil is engaged in industrial activity (other than household industry). However, here again a smaller percentage of tribal as compared to non-tribal workers are engaged in such activity.

Other Services

A significant 3.12 per cent of the working tribal population are engaged in activities which broadly come under the category of 'other services' (Table 3.4). Included in this category are 'personal' services which are rendered at the village level mainly by non-tribal occupational sub-castes (or jatis). The Nai (barber), Teli (oilmen), Jogi, Dholi (drummer), and Chamar (scavenger) come from castes which have traditionally been associated with such activities. The Bhils who are today predominantly an agricultural community are dependent on these occupational castes for traditional services. This is especially so during the occasion of marriage and death. Services rendered to the Bhils are remunerated by fixed payments, in addition to the annual levy of food stuffs, clothes etc. as the occasion may require.[44]

Services provided by government and semi-government institutions (including professional services) also fall within

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44. Doshi, op.cit. 1974, p.31.

the category of 'other services'. The growth of this service sector in the tehsil can be traced back to the 1850's when the Mewar Bhil Corps (M.B.C.) was established in Kherwara.[45] A specific policy of recruiting Bhils in the Corps was adopted. It was felt that this strategy would help to enforce law and order in the strife ridden Bhomat of Mewar. Initially the Bhil sepoy wore only a bow and arrow and his "distrust and suspicion was such that he would serve at per day /daily/ wage only deserting if that were withheld".[46] Gradually seven of the eight battalions of the M.B.C. came to consist of the Bhils.

In the post-independent period there has been a tremendous growth of administrative and welfare activity in the tehsil. Schools, hospitals, post-offices etc. are some of the service sector institutions that are expanding in Kherwara. These services are offered mainly by government and semi-government institutions and account for the major share of the service sector employment.

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45. The establishment of the centonment in Kherwara did much to break the relative isolation of the area. Though some trading elements were already present in the tehsil, a definite market centre developed as part of the military township. The construction of a road from Kherwara further increased the contacts of the Bhils with the outside world. In 1872-73 itself, it is said that the road served as a thoroughfare for 10000 travellers and 1000 carts.
For details of the growth of Kherwara township see, Vyas, op.cit. 1964.

46. N.K. Goyal. A Study of Intergative Change in the Bhil Community of Rajasthan with Reference to Community Development. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. 1970, p.36.

The importance of the services in the context of employment lies largely in the constitutional provision that exists in relation to employment. The central government reserves 7.5 per cent of its vacancies for members of the Scheduled Tribes. In Rajasthan the state government has reserved 12½ per cent of vacancies for tribal candidates not only within state government services but those under local bodies as well.[47] Some minimum educational qualifications are usually essential in order to enter the service sector occupations. The Bhils do not have any traditional institutions of learning. Skills which were essential in agriculture and related activities were imparted to the youth by members of the household itself. The exposure to modern education first came when a school was set up in Kherwara in the late nineteenth century.

Literacy and Education

In the twenties and thirties of this century, the literacy rate in Kherwara tehsil was less than 2 per cent. However, it was found that in the cantonment area (inhabited by the non-tribals), the rate of literacy was as high as 19 per cent in 1921. In contrast the 'Bhumat' (i.e. the Bhil area) registered a literacy rate of only 0.85 per cent in the same year.[48]

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47. Reservations are only for direct recruitment and not for vacancies which are filled by promotion. Further, reservations are not applicable to the whole category of the service but only to vacancies in the service as and when the vacancy arises.

48. In the Census of 1921, the number of literates in the 'Bhumat' and Cantonment area of Kherwara tehsil (administrative unit) were noted separately.

In 1931, literacy rates for each community in the tehsil were noted separately. In table 3.9 we see that while the overall literacy rate in the tehsil was only 1.39 per cent, there existed a wide variation in the proportion of literates in the different communities. The Christians, Muslims, Jains and Brahmins have very high literacy rates. On the other hand the Animists (i.e. the relatively isolated Bhils), have only 4 literate persons amongst them. The section of the tribal population which has had some amount of interaction with the Hindus have been included in the category of 'Other Hindus'. In 1931 there were 19668 such members of the tribal community in Kherwara tehsil. The literacy rate of the 'Other Hindus' was 1.1 per cent. Literacy rates in the tehsil rose to 9.5 per cent in 1961 and subsequently to 14.1 per cent in 1971 and 18.5 per cent.in 1981.[49]

Facilities for Education

There are 132 primary schools in the tehsil at present. As many as 92 per cent of these schools are in temporary (kacha) building. Only 21 middle schools, six secondary and two higher secondary schools today cater to the post-primary educational needs of the 234 villages in Kherwara tehsil.

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49. In no Census (1961-1981) publications have the literacy rates for the Scheduled Tribe population in the tehsil been given separately. The 1981 literacy rate is provisional.

Table 3.9

Literates within Communities in Kherwara Tehsil, 1931

Community	Persons		Literates	% of Literates
	Total	%		
Hindus	37988	-	537	1.41
a)Brahmins	1436	1.94	156	10.86
b)Other* Hindus	34242	46.27	379	1.10
c)Depressed Classes	2310	3.12	2	0.09
Jains	1227	1.66	205	16.70
Muslims	1442	1.95	234	16.22
Christians	100	0.14	49	49.00
Animists**	33241	44.92	4	.001
Total	73998	100	1029	1.39

Source: Census of India, 1931. Vol.XXVII. Rajputana Agency.

* 'Other Hindus' include 19668 persons from the tribal community who are classified as Hindus.

** Animists or followers of tribal religions are the relatively isolated sections of the Bhil community. i.e. persons who are not in daily contact with the Hindus. Today the entire tribal population in the tehsil (except for a negligible number) call themselves Hindus.

It is significant to note that educational facilities beyond middle schools are concentrated in villages where the tribal population forms a relatively small percentage of the total population. Thus in Appendix E we see that in three of the six villages where secondary schools are located, members of the Scheduled Tribes comprise less than 4 per cent of the population. Hostel facilities are hence likely to be crucial for post-primary education. However, the tehsil has only four hostels which have a total capacity of around 170 seats. The absence of adequate schooling facilities plus the lack of requisite number of hostels are likely to be among the factors which tend to influence the extent of enrolment at various levels of education.

Pattern of Enrolment

The pattern of enrolment among the Scheduled Tribe students in the tehsil reflects the pyramid like structure of enrolments which is a feature of the population as a whole. The percentage of enrolment is highest in primary schools and lowest in the higher secondary schools. However, what is of significance in table 3.10 is that this pyramid like structure is sharpest in the tribal as compared to the non-tribal pattern of enrolment in schools. Only 4.6 per cent of tribal students are enrolled in secondary schools of education.

Table 3.10

Enrolment of Students in Kherwara Tehsil, 1978-79.

Level of Education	Total Students		Scheduled Tribes		Others*		Extent of Coverage	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Scheduled Tribes	Others
Primary (i-v)	11918	77.57	7616	82.85	4302	69.71	74	260
Middle (vi-viii)	2386	15.53	1157	12.58	1229	19.91	56	369
Secondary and Higher Secondary (ix-xi)	1060	6.89	420	4.57	640	10.37	46	435
Total	15364	100.00	9193	100.00	6171	100.00	69	289

Source: Educational Records. 1978-79. District Education Office. Udaipur.

*Includes all student other than members of the Scheduled Tribes.

Two further points need to be noted from the above table first at no level of education is the percentage of enrolment of tribal students proportionate to the strength of the Scheduled Tribes in the total population. That is, at no stage does the 'Extent of Coverage'[50] of education in the tribal community equal

50. In chapter two we had noted that an 'extent of coverage' of 100 indicated that the concerned community enjoyed equality of educational opportunity. See, p.

100. Secondly, it is at the secondary and higher secondary stage that the 'extent of coverage' is most dismal in the tribal as compared to the 'other' communities. On the other hand students from 'Other' communities are well represented in middle and secondary schools. The 'extent of coverage' of education exceeds 100 at all levels of education indicating that the percentage of non-tribal students is far greater than their representation in the total population.

The importance of formal education within the context of 'mobility' lies (as mentioned in chapter two) in that it is perceived as a major channel of entry into occupations in the modern sector. Within the context of the tribal situation discussed above, we will now analyse the impact of education on occupational mobility of the Scheduled Tribes in the tehsil.

The foregoing discussion of the economic social and educational situation in the tehsil requires that the following framework is kept in mind both in selection of villages for study as well as in the analysis which will follow.

1. Cultivation which is the primary economic activity of the tribal households is inadequate for subsistence. Traditional skill-based occupations are relatively absent. The main avenue of regular income lies in the 'modern' service sector occupations introduced in the area more that 100 years ago.

2. The relatively few service sector occupations are likely to be the field of intense social competition. Since educational qualifications are, by and large, essential for these occupations, there is likely to be a growing demand for formal education as well.

3. The Scheduled Tribes are not an undifferentiated homogeneous population. We have seen that there has been uneven exposure of the tribal community to outside influences. It has been noted that the Mina section of the tribal community has been relatively less isolated as compared to those who still call themselves Bhils.

4. Unequal access, to crucial resources like land irrigation and income from 'services' is likely to influence the ability of the households to avail of educational and occupational opportunities.

5. The non-tribals in the tehsil also compete for crucial economic resources. Though, comprising only a fraction of the total population they are economically and educationally more advanced than the tribals. The non-tribals are hence likely to have an advantage over the tribals in the access to occupational opportunities.

Selection of Villages

Three villages have been selected for study. The basis on which these villages have been selected are: (1) They are all predominantly tribal villages. i.e. more than 80 per cent of the tribal households belong to the tribal community (2) One of the

selected villages is a 'Mina' village. This village is relatively less isolated as compared to the other two Bhil villages. (3) The pattern of ownership of economic resources differs in the three villages. One of the Bhil villages has a small Brahmin population which has maximum access to resources.

A brief description of the villages is given below:

Badla

The village is located a few kms. away from the Kherwara tehsil head quarters. More than 85 per cent of the households in the village are classified as tribal. The origin of the village dates back to the 1850's when a few of families settled down near the just established contonment of Kherwara. Today the village is divided into 4 clusters of settlements or 'phalas'.

In table 3.11 we see that the tribal community in Badla calls itself Mina. There are 179 Mina households in the village. Badla is also inhabited by eight Chamar households, five Kalal and ten Jogi households. The Chamars as mentioned earlier are the traditional scavengers while the Jogis formerly performed the service of village messengers. The Kalals are the liquor distillers.

Only 20 per cent of the population in 1971 were classified as workers. As compared to the tehsil as a whole we see that a relatively smaller proportion of the working population (86 per cent) is engaged primarily in agriculture. On the other hand, a

relatively larger percentage of workers (13.3 per cent) are engaged in 'other services'. As compared to the tehsil literacy rate of 14.05 per cent, 20.91 per cent of the population was literate in 1971.

From a total of 179 Mina Households, 117 households were selected on a random basis for purposes of study.

Baroti-Brahmanon-Ki

Situated at a distance of 45 kms. from the tehsil head quarters, the village (as the name suggests) owes its significance to is small non-tribal population.[51] In table 3.11 we see that there are 28 Brahmin households in the village. The tribal community is known as 'Bhil'. In addition to Bhil households, there are four Chamar, three Kalal and one Lohar households.

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51. The Brahmins claim that they were the original settlers of Baroti village. According to them, prior to the 15th century there were only a few Brahmins living in the area. The Maharana of Mewar who was on a hunting expedition in the area was given a meal (be-roti) by the Brahmins. In appreciation of their hospitality the Maharana gifted them the land (muafi) free of rent. The settlement was subsequently called Baroti-Brahminon-Ki. The Brahmins took to cultivation on the low-lying lands. The Bhils initially lived in the forested, hilly area surrounding the village and depended on forest produce for their subsistence. The growing denudation of the forests as well as the demand by the Brahmins for the labour of the Bhils are said to be among the factors which led to the growth of Bhil settlements within the village.

Table 3.11

Profile of the Villages - Badla, Baroti and Umra.

Characteristics	Badla	Baroti	Umra
Community (No.of households 1980)*			
a. Mina	182(117)**	--	--
b. Bhil	--	135(99)	25(25)
c. Brahmin	--	29(28)	--
d. Others	23	8	--
e. Total	205(117)	164(127)	25(25)
Percentage of Workers in the Population (1971)***	17.92	21.37	25.00
Percentage of Workers dependent on (1971)***			
a. Cultivation	86.32	85.0	100.00
b. Other Services	13.33	10.52	0.00
Literacy (1971)***	20.91	25.53	5.00
Distance from tehsil headquarters (km.)	1	45	60

* The total number of households has been taken from our survey of villages, 1980. This survey will henceforth be referred to as the 1980 Survey.

** The number of households surveyed are given in parenthesis.

*** Figures for 1971 are from the Census of India, 1971. Series 18. Part XA and XB. Rajasthan.

As in village Badla, the dependence on agriculture is high. 'Other services' account for 10.5 per cent of the working population. Literacy rates in Baroti are higher then is Badla and Umra.

Twenty-eight Brahmin households and 99 Bhil households formed part of the study.

Umra

The third village taken up for study is a wholly Bhil village.[52] It is the most isolated of the villages and is the border village of Udaipur district. The village is relatively in accessible and the nearest bus route is more than four miles away. The village is approachable by a mud path.

There were 25 Bhil households in Umra at the time of the survey. All 25 households were surveyed. In table 11 we see that the entire working population of the village are dependent primarily on cultivation.

A total number of 241 tribal households were taken up for study. While 117 of these were Mina households, 124 households were part of the Bhil community. The 28 Brahmin households in Baroti were also included in the study. In the following chapter we will study the social and economic structure of the above mentioned villages.

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52. The village elders maintain that the early Bhil settlers had migrated to these hills from the adjoining areas of Gujarat primarily in search of food and fooder. They gradually took to cultivation in the slopes of the hills to create a settlement now called Umra.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGES

In this section we will briefly discuss the economic and social structure of the villages surveyed. The main focus of the study will be tribal community and the Bhil and Mina sections within it.[1] The Brahmin households have been taken up for study mainly in order to make tentative comparisons between the relatively backward tribals and the Brahmins who are normally viewed as an advanced community.

Social Structure

Clan

The tribal population in each village is divided into patrilineal exogamous clans known as 'ataks'. The members of an 'atak' as said to have descended from a common ancestor. While

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1. A comparison between Minas and the relatively isolated Bhils is in effect a comparison between the villages of Badla and Baroti (and Umra) respectively. This is so because the Minas are found in Badla and the Bhils in the villages of Baroti and Umra. Specific references to each village will be made whenever necessary.

   The main source of data will be our Survey (1980) of the villages. Details from the Respondents' survey will be used to supplement the survey data whenever necessary. Secondary data from the Census, Bench Mark Survey (1977), Land Records and Reports have also been consulted.

the 'atak' is exogamous, the tribe as a whole is endogamous. Unlike the traditional Hindu 'jati', the 'atak' contains no implicit connotations of purity and pollution. Intermixing and inter-dining which is traditionally proscribed between jatis, is permitted between 'ataks'.

According to Erskine,[2] there were 16 'ataks' among the Bhils in Mewar. In Appendix F we have also listed the clans or 'ataks' through which the tribal households in the three villages trace their lineage. Damor, Ninama and Bhagora are among the main clan names in the villages. In Badla, the 'Limbat', 'Palat' and 'Bhanat' clans come under the broad clan name of 'Damor'.[3] It is important to note that the Damor Bhagora and Nineme clans which are definitely associated with the Bhil social organization are present among the Minas of Badla as well.[4]

'Atak' are dispersed across the villages. Members of the same 'atak' are not organized beyond the village level. Inter-village contact between clan members is seldom maintained.

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2. K.D. Erskine. Rajputana Gazetters Mewar Residency. Vol.IIA. Scottish Mission Industries and Co. 1908.

3. Doshi also maintains that Bhagora and Ninama are the original Bhil clans. See Doshi, op.cit. 1971, p.98.

4. According to tradition, the earliest Bhils were the 'Damors' who lived in Madhya Pradesh along with another clan called the 'Workrya'. A war between the two clans resulted in the defeat of the Damors, who then migrated to Rajasthan. See Naik, op.cit. 1969.

Within the village, co-operation between clan members is witnessed in certain spheres of activity. For example, it is seen that clan members do provide solidarity especially during periods of distress. For example, common taboos and rituals are often observed at the death of a clansman as well as on the occasion of the birth of a member. These common observances strengthen interpersonal relations and sustain fellow feeling within the group. It is said that, "For a Phil, next to family loyalty comes loyalty to his clan...The blood of his clan is his own blood".[5]

Relations of co-operation, which are often seen in the realm of rituals are seldom witnessed in agricultural activity. However, in a study conducted in the fifties, Jaiman makes a mention of harvesting through cooperation at the level of the ćłan.[6] The same phenomenon has however not been observed in any of the recent studies on the Phils. In the present study also it was noted that agriculture and other economic activities were confined to the individual households. In a few cases joint cultivation between households of siblings was witnessed. However, this trend is relatively recent one in the tribal community.

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5. Doshi, op.cit. 1971,p.101.

6. Jaiman observes that clan members completed the harvesting of one field before going on to the next. See, Jaiman, op.cit. p.45.

Family

The basic unit of social organization of the tribe is the family. The traditional Bhil family is a nuclear one.[7] After marriage the grown up sons receive their share of land and are expected as far as possible to set up economically independent households of their own. A major consequence of the nuclear pattern of the family is the extreme fragmentation of land which results from frequent partitioning. In the Record of Land Rights for instance, it was noted that in Umra, the 25 households owned 17.21 hectares of land. However, this land was divided into 144 fragments making the average size of a fragment of land owned, 0.11 hectares only.

A study was made of the size of the households in the tribal community.[8] Majority of the surveyed tribal households (54.7 per cent) had more than seven members. Only 29.0 per cent of the households had four to six members.

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7. N.D. Chaudhary. "Two Aspects of Bhil Family". in Vyas. (ed.). op.cit. 1978, pp.41-7. In a study of 189 Bhil families in the district of Udaipur Chaudhary found that 70.4 per cent of the families were nuclear.

8. The household has by and large been defined as 'a group of persons who live together and take meals from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevent any of them from doing so. Census of India, 1971. Part 1. Indian Census through a Hundred Years, p.394.

   In the present study, persons who live outside the village but contribute regularly to household income (in most cases the father) have also been included as members of the household. This has been done mainly because the scarcity of employment opportunities within the village has forted a number of family members to live and work outside the village for a major part of the year. Details of household size in each community are given in Appendix J.

Economic Structure

An understanding of the economic structure requires a study not only of the nature of economic activity in the villages but also the pattern of ownership of resources that are crucial for subsistence.

Economic Activity

The relatively large dependence on agricultural activity in the area has so far been seen mainly in terms of the percentage of workers engaged primarily in cultivation and agricultural labour. In table 3.11 we had observed that around 86 per cent of workers in Badla and Baroti have been classified as cultivators. However, in the previous chapter it was suggested that because of the infertile land, lack of irrigation etc., the tribal households are unlikely to be able to sustain themselves on cultivation alone. In table 4.1 we see that in all 269 households surveyed cultivation forms one of the important sources of income. However, only 32 households depend on cultivation alone. The remaining 237 households depend either on income from labour (100 households) or 'services' (88 households) or both (49 households) in addition to cultivation.

Table 4.1

Major Sources of Income of the Surveyed Households

Community	Households	Major Source(s) of Income			
		Cultivation only	Cultivation labour	Cultivation & 'service'	Cultivation & labour & 'service'
Scheduled Tribe					
a. Mina	117	5	29	46	37
b. Bhil	124	24	71	17	12
c. Total	241	29	100	63	49
Brahmin	28	3	-	25	-
Total	269	32	100	88	49

Source: 1980 Survey.

From the above table distinct patterns of dependence on economic activities can be observed in the two communities, the Scheduled Tribes and Brahmins. While no Brahmin household derives any income from labour, 149 (61.8 per cent) tribal households are dependent on income from labour. Within the tribal community a distinction can be drawn between Mina and Bhil households in this regard. While 83 (66.9 per cent) Bhil households derive income from cultivation and wage labour, only 66 (56.4 per cent) of the surveyed Mina households are dependent on such income.

Cultivation

Land

The total area of land owner in the villages was 532.5 hectares in 1977. As many as 70.2 per cent of households owned less than 2 hectares of land in the same year. Only 11.6 per cent of households owned more than three hectares of land.[9]

A distinction between owned land and cultivable land has been made in this study. This is largely because the infertility of the soil, lack of irrigation and the high degree of fragmentation of land has rendered portions of landholdings uncultivable. Such land is usually used as pastures for goats and other cattle or in many cases left barren.[10] In 1977 only 350.4 of the 532.5 hectares owned were cultivated. Similarly in 1980, the average net area of land sown was less than one hectare.[11]

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9. Bench Mark Survey 1977. The land ownership pattern has been given in Appendix G.

10. Problems associated with cultivation are especially acute among the Bhil households. As a consequence of being relatively late-comers in the field of settled cultivation, The Bhils have settled down on the hill sides while the Brahmins cultivate the relatively low lying areas. Further, as a consequence of frequent partitions, each Bhil household owns fragments of land scattered all over the hillsides. The Brahmin holdings are also gragmented to some extent, but unlike that of the Bhils, their lands are fairly well consolidated. Partitions of Brahmin joint families are a relatively recent phenomenon. However, even if partition has taken place, the members continue to get their lands cultivated jointly by servants or share-croppers. Problems associated with individually cultivating fragments of land are hence felt to a lesser degree among the Brahmins as compared to the Bhil Households where joint cultivation is relatively absent.

11. In 1979-80 the net area sown in the three villages was only 388.1 hectares. If we assume that almost all 394 households in 1980 cultivate land, then the average size of land cultivated works out to less than a hectare. The land use pattern in the villages is given in Appendix H.

The area of owned land that was cultivable was used as an important criteria to understand the pattern of ownership among the households. In table 4.2 we note the variation in the ownership of land among the households that were surveyed.

Table 4.2

Pattern of Ownership of Cultivable Land Among the Households

Community	Total Nos of House-holds	Land Owned (in hectares)		
		Less than 1	1-2	More than 2
Scheduled Tribe				
a. Mina	117	71	38	8
b. Bhil	124	29	52	43
c. Total	241	100	90	51
Brahmin	28	19	5	4
Total	269	119	95	55

Source: 1980 Survey.

In table 4.2 we see that as many as 55.8 per cent of households own more than a hectare of cultivable land. It is interesting to note that 67.8 per cent of Brahmin households own

less than one hectare of land.[12] A majority of Minas also own less than a hectare of land. However, in the case of the Bhils, the reverse is true. As many as 95 of the 124 Bhil households maintain that they own more than a hectare of land. Of the 51 tribal households owning more than 2 hectares of land 43 (84.3 per cent) are Bhils.

Irrigation

In the preceeding chapter it was suggested that, given the poor conditions of cultivation in the tehsil, irrigation facilities were likely to be seen as crucial assets. In the village level Record of Land Holdings (1979-80) it was noted that Badla had a total of 16 wells. Of these seven were recorded as drinking water wells. While seven wells were registered in Baroti, only one ('drinking water') well was observed in Umra.[13]

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12. The fairly large number of small holdings are a result of relatively recent partitions. As many as 16 households owning less than a hectare of cultivable land were till recently members of 4 joint families each of which owned more than 2 hectares of land. As mentioned earlier, though these land holdings are registered in the names of individual male members they are cultivated jointly.

13. This information was collected from the village level Records (No. 2036) of Land Holdings. The period referred to is 1979-80.

A distinction has been made between the ownership of wells and access to irrigation. This is done mainly in view of the consequences that frequent positions have for the ownership and use of irrigation assets. At the time of partition, each son receives a fragment of every piece of land owned by the head of the household. The same holds true for the land surrounding the well if any. Hence, while ownership of the asset may formally vest with one son, all siblings are likely to have some access to irrigation. For example, while only 23 of the surveyed households were owners of wells as many as 42 households had access to well irrigation. Further, while eight tribal households had access to water from canals, a pond constructed in Baroti served the needs of 10 Brahmin households.[14]

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14. The ownership and access to irrigation from various sources among different households as is as follows:

Community	No.of House-holds	Households			
		Owning wells	With access to irrigation from wells	canals	With 'Kacha'* wells
Mina	117	18	37	8	16
Bhil	124	2	2	-	4
Brahmin	28	3	3	10	2
Total	269	23	42	18	22

*'Kacha' wells are wells which have not been put to use as yet.

We observe that the Brahmins have an edge over the tribal households in the relative magnitude of access to irrigation. As many as 13 of the 28 Brahmin households have some minimum portion of their land under irrigation. Within the tribal households we see that while 45 (38.5 per cent) Mina households have some minimum access to irrigation this is true of only two (1.6 per cent) of the Bhils households. Further, not only is there a distinction between Bhils and Minas both in terms of ownership as well as access to irrigation but this is also reflected in the pattern of construction of new wells. While as many as 16 Mina households own 'kacha wells' (i.e. new wells not yet put to use) only four Bhils households have made an investment of this nature.

The relationship between land size and access to irrigation is given in table 4.3. It is interesting to see that while 43 of the Bhil households owned more than two hectares of cultivable land only two households own wells. In contrast, while only eight Mina households own more than two hectares of land as many as 45 households acknowledge some access to irrigation.

Wage Labour

Wage labour is usually undertaken for specific periods during the year. After the harvest of the 'kharif' crop in October-November, a number of persons begin to look for opportunities for casual labour. The 'rabi' or winter crop

Table 4.3

Access to Irrigation/Size of Cultivable Land

Size of Land Owned/ Access to Irrigation	Number of Households				
	Scheduled Tribe			Brahmins	Total
	Mina	Bhil	Total		
Without Access to Irrigation*					
a. Less than 1 hectare	57	29	86	13	99
b. 1-2 hectares	12	51	63	2	65
c. More than 2 hectares	3	42	45	0	45
d. Total	72** (61.54)	122 (98.39)	194 (80.50)	15 (53.60)	209 (77.70)
With Access to Irrigation					
a. Less than 1 hectare	14	0	14	6	20
b. 1-2 hectares	26	1	27	3	30
c. More than 2 hectares	5	1	6	4	10
d. Total	45 (38.46)	2 (1.61)	47 (19.50)	13 (46.40)	60 (22.30)
Total Households					
a. Less than 1 hectare	71	29	100	19	119
b. More than 1 hectare	38	52	90	5	95
c. More than 2 hectares	8	43	51	14	51
d. Total	117	124	241	28	269

Source: 1980 Survey.

* 19 Mina and 5 Bhil households who own 'kacha' wells are included in this category.

** Figures in parenthesis indicates the percentage of households to total number of households.

which is sown in November depends largely on irrigation. In the absence of access to irrigation, many households are unable to grow this crop. In some cases, fragments of low lying land (which retain the moisture from the monsoons to some extent) are sown with wheat, jowar and channa.[15] Thus, the area of land sown more than once (i.e. during the rabi season) is relatively smaller than that sown during the kharif. In Appendix H, we see that only 22.4 per cent of the total cropped area in the villages was sown more than once. The lull in agricultural activity after November is usually accompanied by the search for opportunities for wage labour.[16]

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15. The yield of crops in such cases is extremely low. The Khasra Records (No.2035), show that while 25 per cent of the kharif crop (that was sown) was destroyed, this was recorded in the case of more than 50 per cent of the rabi crop sown on unirrigated land. On the other hand, the entire rabi crop that was sown on irrigated land was harvested. Land (Khasra) Records(No.2036), 1979-80. Kherwara; Tehsil Office.

16. This has also been mentioned by C.P. Srivastava in a review of an adult literacy programme in the tehsil. Srivastava notes that drought and lack of water makes it difficult for poor people and hence men and boys migrate regularly for six to eight months a year to Gujarat and Maharashtra in search of work. See. O.P. Srivastava Project for Functional Literacy in Peer Group Rural Development Project. Proje Report: Sewa Mandir: Udaipur. 1973.

We had earlier noted that as many as 61.8 per cent of the tribal households depended to some extent on income from manual labour (table 4.1). In this context does the access to irrigation by a few households improve their economic status thereby reducing their dependence on income from labour? In other words, does the ability to grow a second crop with the help of irrigation reduce the need for such households to send their members for wage labour?

In table 4.4 we see that the dependence on income from manual labour is smaller in tribal households which have access to irrigation regardless of the area of cultivable land that they own. The variation in dependence on labour is sharper between 'access to irrigation' categories rather than between land-size categories. For example, while 68 per cent of tribal households owning less than one hectare of land were dependent on labour, 49.0 per cent of those owning more than two hectares of land were dependent on this source of income. However, of those 'with access to irrigation', only 21.4 per cent of households owning less than a hectare of land, 44.4 per cent households owning 1-2 hectares and none owning more than two hectares of land were dependent on income from manual labour. The relatively larger dependence of the Bhils on wage labour can again be seen in a similar light. The two Bhil households which enjoy 'access to irrigation' are not dependent on labour

at all. On the other hand as many as 68.0 per cent of the Bhil households without 'access to irrigation' take recourse to such income.

The Brahmins, in contrast to both Bhil and Mina households, do not depend on wage labour at all regardless of land-size or access to irrigation.

It is important to note that 31.9 per cent of tribal households which enjoy access to irrigation are dependent on income from labour. This fact may be linked to two observations made regarding the villages. Firstly, as a consequence of extreme fragmentation of land in the area, only that portion of owned land which is near the well or canal can be irrigated. The heads of these households mentioned that they could irrigate less than one fourth or at the most half a hectare of land. Thus, in Appendix H we see than less than 15 hectares were brought under irrigation in Badla and Baroti in the year 1979-80. This is despite the fact that 60 surveyed households had some access to irrigation.

The other significant observation made in this context is that investment in irrigation usually followed the household's access to regular i.e. 'service' income. In fact, all the 20 wells belonging to the tribal households were constructed by members of households at a time at least one member was engaged regular services. With partition of land 39 households had

Table 4.4

Dependence of Households on Income from Wage Labour*

Land Owned/ Access to Irrigation	Percentage of Households Dependent on Income from Labour **				
	Scheduled Tribe			Brahmin	Total
	Mina	Bhil	Total		
No Access to Irrigation					
a. Less than 1 Hectare	68.42	89.66	75.58	0.00	65.66
b. 1-2 hectares	83.33	66.67	69.84	0.00	67.69
c. More than 2 hectares	66.70	54.76	55.56	0.00	55.56
d. Total	70.85	68.03	69.07	0.00	64.11
With Access to Irrigation					
a. Less than 1 hectare	21.43	--	21.43	0.00	15.00
b. 1-2 hectares	46.15	0.00	44.44	0.00	40.00
c. More than 2 hectares	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
d. Total	33.3	0.00	31.91	0.00	25.00
Total:					
a. Less than 1 hectare	59.15	89.66	68.00	0.00	57.14
b. 1-2 hectares	57.88	65.38	62.22	0.00	58.95
c. More than 2 hectares	25.00	53.49	49.02	0.00	45.45
d. Total	56.41	66.94	61.83	0.00	55.39

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Details of the table are given in Appendix I.
** The percentage of households dependent on labour in each land-size and irrigation category for each community have been given separately.

access to well irrigation but not all had access to 'service' income. Further, and of special significance is the fact that of the 20 households which are constructing new wells (i.e. those owing 'kacha' wells at present) as many as 17 have at least one member drawing a regular 'service' income.

Access to 'Service' Income

The term services as mentioned earlier, is by and large used to refer to salaried employment in the government and semi-government organizations. Access to such income has two important implications. Firstly, it signifies a break away (to some extent) from a total dependence on the traditional economic activity. Secondly, it assures the household a definite salary at regular intervals for a specific number of years. This economic security is neither assured by the agricultural economy nor by the wage labour market. Further, employment in services includes benefits of pension i.e. some regular income even after the individual has left the service mainstream.

The relative absence of specific traditional skills in the Phil community was referred to in the previous chapter. However, it was also mentioned that skills like tailoring and carpentry are being practiced in a few households. Such occupations also are in a sense distinct from traditional activity and are sources of income other than cultivation and labour. In this study these

occupations will be considered as a form of skilled services and hence are included under the broad category of 'services'.

In the table 4.5 we see that services in the government and other organizations account for the majority of 'service' income earners. While only 10 persons are employed as tailors and 13 are carpenters, as many as 178 persons derive their income from past or present employment in services. Access to service income is however, not uniform in the households. While 89.3 per cent of Brahmin households have access to service income this is true of 70.9 per cent of Mina and only 23.4 per cent of Bhil households.

In the context of the vulnerable and relatively less t stable agricultural economy, it is assumed that the access of the household to at least one regular source of 'service' income will substantially improve the relative economic well being of these households.[17] Using dependence on income from wage labour as a criteria of economic status we would expect dependence on wage labour to be maximum in households which have no access to service income at all. This can be observed in table 4.6.

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17. In the previous chapter we had mentioned that the average per capita income of the tribal individual was only Rs.104 a year. (Uppal, op.cit., p.53). In Doshi's study it was found that on an average a Bhil family earns only Rs.134.56 a year. (Doshi, op.cit. 1971, p.72). In his context, a regular income of even Rs.200 a month (or Rs.2400 a year), from employment in the 'service' sector would appreciably improve the economic status of the household. Households with more than one member earning a service income would again, be in a better position than households with only one member in 'services'.

Table 4.5.

Employment in 'Services'

Community	Households		Type of 'Service' (No.of Members)					
	Total No.	With Members* in 'Services'	Total	Services	Services (R)**	Tailoring	Carpentry	Others***
Scheduled Tribe								
a. Mina	117	83	119	72	36	5	3	3
b. Bhil	124	29	48	30	4	4	10	-
c. Total	241	112	167	102	40	9	13	3
Brahmin	28	25	38	33	3	1	-	1
Total	269	137	205	135	43	10	13	4

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Members of the household who are employed outside the village have been included.

** Services (R) refers to persons who were formerly employed in services (i.e. Government and Semi-Government Offices) and now draw a regular pension.

*** 'Others' include occupations such employment in private establishments such as hotels, including business.

Table 4.6

Access to 'Service' Income and Dependence on Wage Labour*

Access to Service Income	Households With Access to Irrigation			Households Without Access to Irrigation			All Households		
	Total	Dependent on labour	%	Total	Dependent on Labour	%	Total	Dependent on labour	%
Mine									
a.No member in'service'	7	5	71.43	27	24	88.89	34	29	85.29
b.One in 'services'	20	7	35.00	35	22	62.85	55	29	52.73
c.More than one in 'services'	18	3	16.67	10	5	50.00	28	8	28.57
d.Total	45	15	33.33	72	51	70.83	117	66	56.41
Bhil									
a.No member in'service'	-	-	-	95	71	74.74	95	71	74.74
b.One in 'services'	1	0	0.00	17	12	70.59	18	12	66.67
c.More than one in 'services'	1	0	0.00	10	0	0.00	11	0	0.00
d.Total	2	2	0.00	122	83	68.03	124	83	66.94
Scheduled Tribe (Total)									
a.No member in'services'	7	5	71.43	122	95	77.87	129	100	77.52
b.One in 'services'	21	7	33.43	52	34	65.38	73	41	56.16
c.More than One in 'services'	19	3	15.79	20	5	25.00	39	8	20.51
d.Total	47	15	31.91	194	134	69.07	241	149	61.83

Source: 1980 Survey.

* The Brahmin households are not dependent at all on wage labour. The pattern of access to 'service' income among Brahmin households is as follows:

contd.next page.

In table 4.4 we had noted that the percentage of dependence on manual labour was relatively smaller in households with access to irrigation as compared to households which had no access to irrigation at all. In the above table however, we see that even in households with access to irrigation, the dependence on manual labour varies according to the number of 'service' income earners in these households. As many as 71.4 per cent of households which have access to irrigation, but have no access to 'service' income are dependent on income from wage labour. On the other hand, households which have more than one member in 'services' have the lowest percentage of dependence on income from labour. A similar trend is reflected in households with no access to irrigation. Despite the fact that 69.1 per cent of these households are dependent on wage labour, only 25 per cent of households with more than one member earning an income from 'services' are dependent on wage labour income.

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* contd from pre-page.

Brahmin Households With	Number	%	
a.No member in 'services'	3	10.71	
b.One member in 'services'	19	67.86	89.29
c.More than one in 'services'	6	21.43	
d.Total	28	100	

Within the tribal community, only 29 Bhils households as compared to 83 Mina households have access to 'service' income. The variation in the dependence on income from wage labour can be seen between the 'access to service income' categories. None of the Phil households, and 28.6 per cent of Mina households with more than one member earning 'service' income are dependent on wage labour. However, as many as 74.7 per cent of the Bhil households and 85.3 per cent of the Mina households with no access to 'service' income are dependent on wage labour. It is important to note that the percentage of dependence on wage labour is relatively high even in households with access to 'service' income from one member. It is only households with more than two members in 'services' that dependence on wage labour is minimum. Among these households, those which have the least dependence on labour are those which have access to irrigation as well.

The Brahmin households, in contrast to the tribal households, do not depend on wage labour at all. We had noted above that in as many 89.3 per cent of Brahmin households at least one member earns some service income.

Division of Labour

It was mentioned earlier that co-operation in economic activities was neither observable at the level of the village nor at the level of the clan. The tribal household carries out

agricultural and other activities.[18] Division of labour in cultivation is mainly on the basis of the sex of the members of the household. Women perform a large number of operations such as sowing, manuring, weeding, irrigating, harvesting etc. Men are involved mainly in ploughing. In a few of the poorer households which lack labour (human or animal), exchange of labour between households takes place on a mutual basis. Employment of labour by the tribal households is almost negligible. Only five Mina households claimed that they hire labourers during key agricultural operations.

Role of Children

In the context of this study, special emphasis must be laid upon the contribution of tribal children to the economic activities of the household. A number of studies on the Bhils have mentioned often in passing that children are often

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18. In contrast to Bhil households all the Brahmin households carry out cultivation through share-cropping or by farm servants who are popularly called 'Halis'. In share-cropping the Brahmins provide the land and the Bhils contribute half the seed, as well as human and animal labour. In return, they receive half the produce harvested. 'Halis' on the other hand are persons who repay loans through their labour. They not only perform agricultural operation, but work as servants for the households as well. They are given one-fifth of the produce and are advanced further loans which again are repaid through labour. While 10 Brahmin households cultivate their lands through share-cropping the remaining Brahmin households make use of the 'Hali' system of labour.

responsible for feeding and tending cattle and taking them to graze.[19] In the villages presently under study, it was not uncommon to see children taking cattle to ponds and nearby grassy areas in the morning and returning with them in the evenings.

Apart from activities associated with livestock, children are also involved in household activities like cleaning, cooking and looking after children as well. Dasgupta in a study of the Santal tribe notes that "Even children of school going age (generally between 6 and 16 years) are to help their parents or guardians by tending cattle or at least by looking after their younger brothers and sisters".[20]

In the study of Respondents[21] an attempt was made to look at the contribution that children make to overall household labour. In table 4.7, we see that as many as 56.6 per cent of the children in the 6-16 year age group contribute to household activity in various ways. The degree of involvement of children in household

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19. See for example, Naik, op.cit. 1969, p.66; Census of India, 1961. Vol.XIV. Rajasthan. Part IV. (Village Survey: Kailashpuri), p.22.

20. N.K. Dasgupta, Problems of Tribal Education and the Santals. Delhi: Adimjati Sevak Sangh. 1963, p.61.

21. Details of the Respondents Survey are given in chapter VII.

activities appears to vary according to the economic status of the household. While only 45.6 per cent of children from households with access to 'service' income were involved in such activities this is true of as many as 68.9 per cent of children from households without access to 'service' income at all. However, in both categories of households the involvement of female children in activities of the household is far higher than that seen among male children.

It is usually beyond the age of 11 or 12 years that children contribute most to household labour. In the respondents' households, the main tasks assigned to children were looking and cleaning, grazing the cattle and in some cases wage labour as well. Such tasks are usually assigned to the relatively older children. A similar observation has been made by Rathnaiah in a study of tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh. In his study Rathnaiah gathered that children may be sent to school between the ages of six to eight years because at this tender age, they may not be of much help at home. After the age of nine or ten the child becomes an economic asset because he can work at home or earn something outside.[22] Hence, it can be assumed that the 6-11 age group is likely to be relatively

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22. Rathnaiah, Structural Constraints in Tribal Education. Delhi: Sterling. 1977, p.135.

Table 4.7

Contribution of Children to Activities of the Respondents' Households

Economic Status of Households	No.* of House-holds	No.of Children (6-16 years) **					
		Total			Contributing to household activity		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
With Access to 'service' income	28	42	26	68	15 *** (35.71)	16 (61.54)	31 (45.51)
Without Access to 'service' income	29	26	35	61	17 (65.38)	25 (71.43)	42 (68.85)
Total	57	68	61	129	32 (47.05)	41 (67.21)	73 (56.39)

Source: Respondents Survey, 1980.

* The sample is extremely small. The intention is merely to have a glimpse of the extent of involvement of children in household activity.

** The significance of the 6-16 age group for this study lies in the fact that it is usually taken as the school-going age group.

*** The figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage of children who contribute to household activity to the total number of children in each category of household economic status.

less burdened with household activity as compared to the older i.e. 12-16 age group.[23]

So far we have dealt at length with the economic and social structure of the village. Now we will highlight certain aspects of economic and social structure which are likely to be of significance in the context of our study. Firstly, we have seen that the tribal community is not a homogeneous one. One section (the Bhils) has been relatively isolated as compared to another section (the Minas). The Bhils are not only relatively late comers to settled cultivation but have had lesser access to new opportunities whether in agriculture (access to irrigation) or in the modern sector (i.e. 'services').

In the relatively backward economy status is likely to depend more on access to irrigation and especially access to 'service' income. Inequalities in the access to irrigation and 'service' income are seen not only between the Mina and Bhil sections of the tribe (to the advantage of the former) but also within each section of the tribe as well.

A comparison with the Brahmin community indicates that Brahmin households which have maximum access to 'service' income are economically the most advanced of the household studied.

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23. In most studies 6-11 years is taken as the primary school-going age group.

In all these cases relative economic status is estimated by the extent of dependence of the household on income from wage labour. In the following chapter we will attempt to show that the growth and spread of formal education is closely linked to the socio-economic structure delineated above.

CHAPTER V

INEQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

This chapter analyses the growth and spread of educational opportunities in the surveyed villages. An attempt will be made to relate inequality in educational opportunities to the underlying social and economic structure discussed in the previous chapter.

A distinction has been drawn between access to education and achievement within the educational institutions. The indicators used to study access to education are: literacy rates, the ability of a household to send a child to school and the magnitude of enrolment in the school-going age group i.e.6-16 years. Achievement in education is seen mainly in terms of the extent of enrolment in middle and high schools,[1] the percentage

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1. In most studies on education in the tribal areas, enrolment of children in schools is in itself taken as an indicator of educational attainment. The present study makes a distinction between enrolment in primary school (i.e. 6-11 years) from that in middle and high schools, (i.e. 12-16 years). The latter has been taken as a sign of achievement or attainment in education. It is assumed that persons in middle school have already achieved the primary level of education.

   In a recent study on education in the tribal area of Gujarat three indicators of educational development have been used. (a) the highest level of education attained by a member; (b) percentage of illiterates in the 5-17 year age group and; (c) the percentage of children enrolled at different levels of education. See. V. Shah and T. Patel. Social Contexts of Tribal Education in Gujarat. Unpublished Monograph. Gujarat University. Ahmedabad. 1981, p.39.

of enrolment in the older school-going age group i.e. 12-16 years, the extent of stagnation in schools and success or failure in examinations. While access to education has been seen as indicative of the relative demand for education, achievement within the educational mainstream is viewed as a reflection of the extent to which households have been able to combat economic and social disadvantages which impinge upon the progress of education.

Facilities for Education

The importance of adequate facilities for education has been emphasized in most studies of educational development in backward areas. As early as 1956, the Backward Classes Commission reported that "the great handicap under which students from the backward classes labour, is the lack of an adequate number of secondary schools in rural areas. They find it extremely difficult to prosecute their studies in schools located far away from their homes. They have no means to pay for their stay in such places nor are there any board and lodging facilities for them".[2]

In another study on tribal education it was observed that differential provision of school facilities in the area was a significant factor in differential educational attainments. It was also noted that "the percentage of enrolment in schools in

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2. Report of the Backward Classes Commission, New Delhi: The Manager of Publications. 1956, p.119.

villages with hostel facilities is greater (46.6 per cent) than the villages without them (36.7 per cent)".[3]

Badla is the most favourably placed of the three villages as far access to educational institutions is concerned. Though there is only a primary school within the village, middle and high school facilities are available at the tehsil headquarters barely 2 kms. away. Primary school facilities have been present in Baroti since the sixties. A middle school has been added on since 1975. Secondary school facilities are available in Bawalwara, 20 kms. away. Higher secondary schools exist only in Kherwara tehsil headquarters or in Rikhebdeo (more than 40 kms. away). In contrast to both Badla and Baroti, Umra does not even have a primary school in the village. The nearest primary school is in Magra village which is located a few kms. away from Umra.[4]

Literacy

The level of literacy in the villages of Badla and Baroti is fairly high when compared to the tehsil average of 14.1 per cent in 1971.[5] In table 5.1 we see that 20.9 per cent of the

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3. Rathnaiah, op.cit. p.95.

4. Badla and Baroti have relatively better educational facilities than most villages in the tehsil. We had noted in chapter III that there were only 21 middle, 6 secondary and 2 higher secondary schools in the tehsil as a whole. Umra on the other hand has no access to education within the village.

5. As mentioned in chapter III only 4.7 per cent of the Bhils of Rajasthan were literate in 1971. The tribe-wise or even village-wise information for 1981 is not available.

population of Badla and 25.5 per cent of persons in Baroti were literate in 1971. Male literacy rates are substantially higher than the female literacy. Umra, in comparision to the first two villages had a relatively low literacy rate in 1971. Only four persons were considered literate in 1971. The relative isolation of the village as well as the absence of educational facilities within easy access are likely to be among the factors responsible for the negligible number of literates in Umra.

Table 5.1

Literacy in the Villages 1961, 1971.

Village	% of the Literate Population					
	Total		Male		Female	
	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
Badla	20.91	11.01	39.04	20.90	4.03	2.30
Baroti	25.53	19.88	40.70	33.43	9.93	4.50
Umra	5.00	3.33	8.68	6.06	-	-
Kherwara Tehsil	14.05	9.48	24.32	16.74	4.20	2.53

Source: Census of India 1961. Rajasthan. Census of India 1971. Series 18. Rajasthan. Parts XA and XB.

Enrolment

Schooling facilities that exist within the villages are inadequate. Thus, a large number of children are enrolled in schools which are located outside the villages. Hence, in order to study the extent of enrolment in the villages, the household rather than the school has been made the focus of study. As the 6-16 year age group is usually regarded as the school-going age group, the percentage of enrolment of members within the age group was noted.

In table 5.2 we see that the percentage of enrolment of students from the surveyed household varies between the villages. Whereas Badla has the highest rate of enrolment (i.e. 44.2 per cent), only 15.6 per cent of the school-going age group in Umra are enrolled in schools. Both Baroti and Badla have higher rates of enrolment when compared to the tehsil as a whole.

Table 5.2

Enrolment of Children (6-16 years).

Village	Households		Children (6-16 years)		
	Total	With* Children	Total	Students	% of students
Badla	117	108	251	111	44.22
[illegible]oti	127	121	379	144	37.99
Umr[illegible]	25	16	32	5	15.63
Total [illegible]	169	245	662	260	39.27
Kherwara ** Total (1977)	-	-	40878	10170	24.88

Source: 1980 Survey.

* These are households which have members aged between 6 and 16 years.

** Bench Mark Survey Records. 1977.

The percentage of enrolment observed in table 5.2 to some extent appears to vary with the relative isolation of the villages and their exposure to modern institutions and opportunities. Badla village which is closest to Kherwara tehsil headquarters has the highest percentage of persons enrolled in the school-going age group. The percentage of enrolment registeres a fall in households in Baroti, while Umra which has had the least contact with modern institutions (especially schools) has the lowest percentage of enrolment in schools.

Access to Education in the Communities

Studies of the educational situation of specific tribes show that "it is the less isolated increasingly urbanized and hence relatively more acculturated tribes who are at a relatively higher stage of economic development and are those educationally most advanced".[6]

Within Rajasthan, the Bhils are relatively more isolated and are economically weaker than the Minas. On page we have briefly shown that both in terms of literacy as well as progress of education the Minas of the State are more advanced than the Bhils. However, within the Bhils of Kherwara itself two sections are visible. One is the relatively more isolated and economically

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6. Nambissan, Geetha. Education and Occupational Mobility Among the Scheduled Tribes of Bihar. Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis. Jawaharlal Nehru University. New Delhi, 1978, p.60-8. See also chapter II of the present study.

weaker section which calls itself 'Bhil'. The other is the relatively less isolated section which has been able to avail of new opportunities for economic advancement to a greater extent i.e. Minas. The Brahmins in contrast are economically the most advanced of the communities in the surveyed villages.

The extent of enrolment is hence likely to vary between each community. Table 5.3 shows the pattern of enrolment in the surveyed households of each community.

Table 5.3

Enrolment of Children*

Community	Enrolment of Children (6-16 years)								
	Males			Females			Total		
	Total	Students no.	%	Total	Students no.	%	Total	Students no.	%
Scheduled Tribe									
a. Mina	146	89	60.96	105	22	20,95	251	111	44.22
b. Bhil	181	76	41.99	167	22	13.17	348	98	28.16
c. Total	327	165	50.46	272	44	16.18	599	209	34.89
Brahmin	30	29	96.67	33	22	66.67	63	51	80.95
Total	357	194	54.34	305	66	21.64	662	260	39.27

Source: 1980 Survey.

* These include children from all the surveyed households.

Two distinct trends can be observed in table 5.3. Firstly, the pattern of enrolment in the Brahmin households differs significantly from that perceived in the tribal households. We see that while 80.9 per cent of Brahmin children are enrolled in schools, this is true of only 34.9 per cent of tribal children. Further, while only 16.2 per cent of female tribal children are enrolled as many as 66.7 per cent of female children from Brahmin households attend school.

The second important visible trend is the variation in enrolment within the tribal community. Thus, the Minas send a larger percentage of children to school as compared to the Bhil households. The percentage of enrolment of female children is low in both sections of the tribal households. However, while Mina households send 20.9 per cent of their female children to school, barely 13.2 per cent of Bhil girls avail of schooling facilities.

Demand for Education

The relatively low percentage of enrolment in the tribal (and especially Bhil) households suggests that there is a poor demand for education in the tribal community. In fact it has often been maintained that tribal communities are apathetic to modern education and show disinterest in schooling. However, the attitude of members of the tribal households towards formal education should not be judged only by the magnitude of enrolment in the relevant age group. In view of the poor economic situation of majority of the households as well as the contribution of children to economic activity, it is the ability of the household

to send at least one child to school that is most likely to reflect its attitude towards the school system.

For instance in table 5.4 we see that as many as 53.4 per cent of the tribal households are sending at least one child to school. The preceeding table, on the other hand, showed that only 35.2 per cent of tribal children were actually enrolled in schools. Similarly, while only 28.7 per cent of the Bhil children are enrolled in school, they come from as many as 45.2 per cent of the Bhil households.

Table 5.4

Demand for Education

Community	Total No.of Households with Members in 6-16 Age Group	Households Sending at least One Member To School	
		Number	%of Total
Scheduled Tribe			
a. Mina	108	67	62.04
b. Bhil	115	52	45.22
c. Total	223	119	53.36
Brahmins	22	22	100.00
Total	245	141	57.55

Source: 1980 Survey.

Every Brahmin household at present sends one or more of its members in the relevant age group to school. In contrast, a smaller percentage of Bhil and Mina households send at least one child to school. However, what is of particular significance in the tribal context is that, despite the fact that relatively small number of children are sent to school, a fairly large number of tribal households display a positive attitude towards education (i.e. they send at least one child to school).

Size of the Household

The size of the household has often been seen as a factor which influences the magnitude of access to education. The importance of 'household size' is usually highlighted primarily in the context of the contribution of children to household activity. For instance, in a study of the Bhils, Naik observers that larger families, (i.e. households) are in a better position to send children to school since substitutes are available to do the work that would otherwise be done by the school-going child.[7] Table 5.5 to some extent reflects the above contention.

Table 5.5 shows that the percentage of households which send their children to school increases with the relative size of the household. We see that 29.2 per cent of households with less

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7. T.B. Naik. Impact of Education on the Bhils. New Delhi: Research Programmes Committee, Planning Commission. 1969, pp.57-64. Naik however also observes that if the economic status of the household is relatively good, it can also engage a grazier boy and hence send children to school.

Table 5.5

Size of the Household and Access to Education in the Tribal Households*

Household Size (no.of members)	No.of Households with Children (6-16 years)	Number of Households Sending		
		One Child to School	More than one Child to School	One or more children to School
0 - 4	24	6 (25)**	1 (4.17)	7 (29.17)
5 - 6	68	18 (26.47)	11 (16.18)	29 (42.65)
7 - 8	50	17 (34.00)	12 (24.00)	29 (58.00)
9 and above	81	21 (25.93)	33 (40.74)	54 (66.67)
Total	223	62 (27.80)	57 (25.56)	119 (53.36)

Source: 1980 Survey.

* The details given in the table pertain to the tribal households. Figures for Bhil and Mina households are given separately in Appendix J.

** Figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage of households sending children to school to the total number of households in each household sizes.

than four members send one or more of their children to school. On the other hand this is true of 66.7 per cent of household with more than eight members.

The number of children sent to school also appear to vary with the size of the households. The larger the size of the households, the larger is the percentage of households which send more than one child to school. It is only in the largest household size category that the majority of households (33 households) send at least two children to school.

However, household size in itself does not adequately explain differential access to educational opportunity. Differential access to education within each household size category can be seen between the Mina and Bhil sections of the tribal community (Appendix J). For instance, we see that within the households size of nine or more members, 91.7 per cent of the Mina households as compared to only 56.1 per cent of Bhil households send at least the child to school.

What is most striking in table 5.5 is that despite signs of a definite demand for education, only a small fraction of the households send more than one child to school. For instance, we see that while 53.4 per cent of tribal households educate at least one child, barely 25.6 per cent (57 households) of the 223 tribal households send more than one member to school. Within the tribal community, only 28 Mina households (25.9 per cent) and 29 Bhil households (25.2 per cent) are able to educate more than one child.(Appendix J).

Economic Status and Education

Thus we have seen that the actual educational opportunities availed of by the households are of a smaller magnitude than the magnitude of demand for education. We have seen that the percentage of enrolment in the 6-16 year age group is lower in the tribal as compared to non-tribal households. Further, it is in the Bhil households that the percentage of enrolment is the least. Such variations in enrolment can, as mentioned earlier, be seen as a consequence of the relative isolation and socio-economic condition of the community as a whole.

However, the differential economic status of households within each section of the tribal community suggests that the percentage of enrolment in the school-going age group is likely to be lower in households which are economically weak as compared to those which are economically in a more advantageous position. Access to irrigation and access to 'service' income were identified as important indicators of differential economic status. In the following pages, the relationship between relative economic status and enrolment of children is studied. Table 5.6 shows the pattern of enrolment in households which have unequal access to irrigation facilities.

In table 5.6 it can be observed that households with some access to irrigation have a higher percentage of enrolment in the school-going age group as compared to those which do not have access to this asset. For instance, while as many as 59.4 per cent of children in households with access to irrigation

Table 5.6

Access of the Household to Irrigation and Enrolment of Children (6-16 years)

Access to Irrigation	No.of* House-holds	Male Children			Female Children			Total Children		
		Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%
Scheduled Tribe Mina										
a.With access to irrigation	40	69	48	69.57	32	13	40.63	101	61	60.40
b.Without access to irrigation	68	77	41	53.25	73	9	12.33	150	50	33.33
c.Total	108	146	89	60.96	105	22	20.95	251	111	44.22
Bhil										
a.With access to irrigation	2	1	1	100.00	4	1	25.00	5	2	40.00
b.Without access to irrigation	113	180	75	41.66	163	21	12.88	343	96	27.99
c.Total	115	181	76	41.98	167	22	13.17	348	98	28.16
Total										
a. With access to irrigation	42	70	49	70.00	36	14	38.89	106	63	59.43
b. Without access to irrigation	181	257	116	45.13	236	30	12.71	493	146	29.61
c. Total	223	327	165	50.46	272	44	16.18	599	209	34.89

Source: 1980 Survey.

* These are tribal households with members in the 6-16 year age group.

go to school, this is true of only 29.6 per cent of children from households which have no access to irrigation at all. This pattern of differential enrolment between 'access to irrigation' categories can be seen in both Bhil and Mina sections of the tribe. However, what is significant is the fact that as many as 55.3 per cent of Mina boys and 41.7 per cent of school-going Bhil boys belong to Households which have no access to irrigation at all.

Further, the pattern of enrolment in the Brahmin households also suggests that factors of economic status other than access to irrigation are primarily responsible for the magnitude of educational opportunities availed of by the households. In table 5.7 we see that in the Brahmin households, the percentage of enrolment is higher in households that do not have access to irrigation as compared to those which utilize facilities for irrigation. Hence, we note that while as many as 80.9 per cent of children from Brahmin households are enrolled in school, the percentage of enrolment is as high as 88 per cent in households without access to irrigation.

In the previous chapter we had sought to establish the importance of income from 'services' in the context of the relatively poor economic condition of the households surveyed. It was observed that the access of the household to irrigation facilities was the consequence rather than the cause of a relatively better economic status. Households which have access to 'service' income are economically better off than those whose members do not

Table 5.7

Access to Irrigation and Enrolment of Children in Brahmin Households

Access to Irrigation	Brahmin Children (6-16 years)								
	Males			Females			Total		
	Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%
Households with Access to Irrigation	20	19	95.00	18	11	61.11	38	29	76.32
Households Without Access to Irrigation	10	10	100.00	15	11	73.33	25	22	88.00
Total Households	30	29	96.67	33	22	66.67	63	51	80.95

Source: 1980 Survey.

earn 'service' income. Among households with access to this income, it is those with more than one, member in 'services' that have relatively the best economic position. Further, persons employed in services (i.e. government services) are also likely to be relatively more exposed to modern influences and aware of new opportunities than persons who depend on only traditional occupations on manual labour.[8]

8. In a study of enrolments in a tribal area it was found that 59.4 per cent of children, whose fathers were employees (i.e. in services) and petty businessmen went to school. On the other hand, 41.7 per cent of children with cultivator fathers and only 18.3 per cent whose fathers were labourers were sent to school. See Rathnaiah, op.cit., p.113.

In table 5.8 we have looked at the relationship between access to 'service' income and the extent of enrolment of children in schools.

As compared to table 5.6, table 5.8 reveals that the percentage of enrolment of children is lowest in tribal households which have no access to 'service' income, and are hence economically the weakest of the households.[9] Only 18.8 per cent of children from households with no access to 'service' income are sent to school. In contrast, as many as 55.2 per cent of children from households with more than one member in 'services' go to school. The variation in enrolment is most sharply seen in the percentage of male students in each access to 'service' income category.

As many as 19 of the 22 Brahmin households with members of school going age have access to 'service' income. Six of these households have more than one member who draws an income from 'services'. The percentage of enrolment of Brahmin children in each 'service' income category is far higher in the Brahmin households as compared to that in each category of tribal households. Thus in comparison to the tribal households the Brahmins have availed of the maximum educational opportunity.

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9. In table 4.6 (in the previous chapter), we had seen that as many as 77.5 per cent of tribal households with no access to 'service' income were dependent on income from menual labour.

Table 5.8

Access to 'Service' Income and Enrolment of Children (6-16 years).

Access of Members to 'Service' Income	No.of* House-holds	Male Children			Female Children			Total Children		
		Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%
Scheduled Tribe										
a. No member in 'services'	117	157	42	26.75	136	13	9.56	293	55	18.77
b. One in 'services'	70	108	69	63.89	82	21	25.61	190	90	47.37
c. More than one in 'services'	36	62	54	87.10	54	10	18.52	116	64	55.17
d. Total	223	327	165	50.46	272	44	16.18	599	209	34.89
Brahmins										
a. No member in 'services'	3	4	4	100.00	5	3	60.00	9	7	77.78
b. One in 'services'	13	15	14	93.33	19	14	73.68	34	28	82.35
c. More than one in 'services'	6	11	11	100.00	9	5	55.56	20	16	80.00
d. Total	22	30	29	96.67	33	22	66.67	63	51	80.95

Source: 1980 Survey.

* These are households with members in the school-going age group.

To what extent has access to regular 'service' income facilitated the progress of education in each section of the tribal community? In table 5.9 we see that households with more than one member in 'services' have the highest percentage of enrolment in the 'Mina' as well as 'Bhil' sections of the tribe. It is significant to note that the percentage of enrolment of male children in Bhil households with access to 'service' income (61.8 per cent) almost equal that in the Mina households (64.9 per cent). In fact both Bhil as well as Mina households which have no access to 'service' income are able to enrol less than 20 per cent of their children in schools. However, since only 24.4 per cent of Bhil households as compared to 72.2 per cent of Mina households have access to 'service' income, the overall enrolment rate in the Bhil households is significantly lower than that in the Mina households.

Thus it is possible to maintain that the tribal households do display a positive attitude towards education. This is seen in the relatively large number of households which send at least one child to school...The magnitude of enrolment (i.e. the number of children actually enrolled) is however much lower. We have seen that the socio-economic status of the households (i.e. their access to 'service'income) to a large extent defines the magnitude of educational opportunities availed of by the households in both sections of the tribe.

Table 5.9

Access to 'Service' Income and Enrolment of Children (6-16 years) in the Bhil and Mina Households

Access of Members to 'Service' Income	No.of House-holds*	Male Children			Female Children			Total Children		
		Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%	Total	Students No.	%
Minas										
a. No member in 'services'	30	36	9	25.00	31	4	12.90	67	13	19.40
b. One member in 'services'	53	74	48	64.86	47	12	25.53	121	60	45.59
c. More than one in 'services'	25	36	32	88.89	27	6	22.22	63	38	60.32
d. Total	108	146	89	60.96	105	22	20.95	251	111	44.42
Bhils										
a. No member in 'services'	87	121	33	27.27	105	9	8.57	226	42	18.58
b. One member in 'services'	17	34	21	61.76	35	9	25.71	69	30	43.48
c. More than one in 'services'	11	26	22	84.82	27	4	14.81	53	26	49.06
d. Total	115	181	76	41.99	167	22	13.17	348	98	28.16
Total (Bhils & Minas)	223	327	165	50.46	272	44	16.18	599	209	34.89

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Households with members in the school-going age group (i.e. 6-16 years).

Achievement in Education

The level of achievement within the educational mainstream is crucial especially within the context of occupational mobility. As mentioned earlier a minimum of middle school education has become essential in order to avail of new occupational opportunities Hence, apart from looking at the extent of educational opportunities availed of by the households, the actual levels of education attained by the members would be pertinent.

In chapter III it was noted that the pattern of enrolment in schools resembles that of a pyramid like structure. While the largest number of students were found in primary schools, middle and high schools accounted for a proportionately smaller number of students. The percentage of enrolment of tribal students in middle and high schools (as compared to non-tribal students) was relatively smaller than in primary schools.

While no studies have systematically dealt with the causes of this fall in enrolment at successive stages of education a few explanations of this trend have been mentioned in passing by a number of scholars. Referring specifically to education in tribal areas, Rathnaiah says that:

> children may be sent to school between the ages of six to eight because at this tender age, they may not be of much help at home. After the age of nine or ten, the child becomes an economic asset because he can work at home or earn something

> outside. The child is, therefore, withdrawn from school and thus becomes a dropout. 10

The fathers/guardians of children who 'dropped' out of school were interviewed in a study of Bhil 'dropouts'. As many as 87 of the 104 respondents stated that the major difficulty they faced in educating their children, was that their help was needed in domestic work. The fathers also stated that "they exercise force on their children to engage in work so that they can add to family income".[11] In yet another study of the Phils it was observed that:

> The children are generally withdrawn from the school as soon as they cross the age of nine or ten, irrespective of the fact whether they have completed the desired course or not, because the Bhil families can hardly afford to have an economic loss and a long interruption in the normal household duties. 12

The studies quoted above also list several other factors social, and cultural, which tend to impede the progress of students within the educational mainstream. For instance, occupational background, income levels, educational background,

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10. Rathnaiah, op.cit. p.135. See also Shah and Patel, op.cit. 1981, pp.91-2.

11. N.N. Vyas. "The Drop-Outs in a Tribal Situation. Tribe. Vol.VIII, No.1&2. 1971, p.109.

12. Naik, op.cit. p.66.

family size and motivation and aspirations are also among the factors which are seen as constraints in tribal education.[13] Similarly socio-economic backwardness, absence of the tradition of learning and the contradiction between the value patterns of home and school are seen as responsible for poor enrolment figures at higher stages of learning.[14] These studies however, do not make a distinction between the relative influence of the above mentioned factors and their incidence at different levels of education.[15]

The present study makes a distinction between enrolments in the 6-11 year age group as compared to the 12-16 age group. While the 6-11 age group is usually taken as the primary school-going age group, the latter is considered the post-primary school-going age group. It is hypothesized that the percentage of enrolment of children of 6-11 years is likely to be higher than those who are between 12-16 years of age. This is likely to be so for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the possibility of withdrawal from schools in the context of the contribution of the child to

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13. Rathnaiah, op.cit. pp.178-89.

14. See Patwardhan, op.cit. pp.96-7. Karleker, op.cit. p.181; etc.

15. For a study which presents a framework for the study of inequality of educational opportunity taking into account both social and economic factors see Boudon, op.cit.

household labour is likely to be greater in the 12-16 age group, rather than when children are younger.

Apart from the contribution to labour that the member is likely to make, it is important to note that the cost of education is higher in post primary as compared to primary schooling. Primary education is usually available within or near the village. However, middle and high school education often involves a crucial decision by the head of the household as to whether to send the child away from the village or not. In such cases, the cost of books, transport, hostel expenses, private accommodation in the absence of scarce hostel accommodation and incidental expenses, make middle and high school education relatively more expensive than primary schooling.

Table 5.10 presents the pattern of enrolment in each age group in the surveyed households.

In table 5.10 we see that the percentage of enrolment of children varies between the two age groups. The magnitude of enrolment in the 6-11 year age group exceeds that in the 12-16 age group. While the Brahmin households also reveal a variation in the percentage of enrolment, Appendix K shows that this observation is misleading. Only one male Brahmin child in the older age group did not attend school. However, since the number of Brahmin children in each age group is extremely small the percentages tend to get magnified.

Table 5.10

Enrolment in Age Groups*

Community	Percentage of Members Enrolled in Schools**								
	6-11 years			12-16 years			6-16 years		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Scheduled Tribes									
a.Mina	46.20	65.12	23.61	40.86	55.00	15.15	44.22	60.96	20.95
b.Bhil	31.13	45.05	15.84	23.53	37.14	9.09	28.16	41.99	13.17
c.Total	37.57	53.81	19.08	30.57	45.30	11.11	34.89	50.46	16.18
Brahmins***	87.10	100.00	75.00	75.00	93.33	58.82	80.95	96.67	66.67
Total	40.90	56.13	23.81	37.55	53.10	18.10	39.27	54.34	21.64

Source: 1980 Survey.

* The details of the table are laid out in Appendix V

** These are the percentage of enrolment of the total number of children in each category.

*** The number of Brahmin households is extremely small in number. (Children in the 6-16 age group are found in only 2? households). Hence, while the actual number enrolled in each age group does not really differ, the percentages are likely to be misleading.

The percentage of enrolment of children from tribal households falls from 37.6 per cent in the 6-11 year age group to 30.6 per cent in 12-16 year age group. This pattern is reflected in the magnitude of enrolment of both male and female children. Within the tribal households again, it is the Bhils who send a relatively smaller number of children in each group to school. While 31.1 per cent of the Bhil children in the 6-11 year age group are students, only 23.5 per cent in the 12-16 year age group go to school. On the other hand, while the Mina households also display a relatively higher percentage of enrolment of children between 6 to 11 years of age, they are sending 40.9 per cent of children in the older age group to school. Similarly, while 15.2 per cent of Mina girls aged between 12 and 16 years are studying at present, this is true of only 9.1 per cent of female children from Bhil households. Thus we see that despite the fact that as many as 53.6 per cent (*.f. Table 5.4) of the tribal households are able to send at least one child to school, only 34.9 per cent of children are actually enrolled in schools. However, while 37.6 per cent of children of 6-11 years old go to school this is true of only 30.6 per cent of these in the 12-16 year age group.

It has been suggested that the enrolment of tribal children (especially in the 12-16 age group) is influenced not only by cultural and social factors but by economic factors as well. In fact we have observed that education of members of this

age group is likely to be more of an economic proposition than in the younger age group which is usually associated with primary schooling. Hence, households which have a relatively better economic status are likely to send a larger number of children in the older age group to school as compared to relatively poorer households.

A positive relationship between relative economic status and percentage of enrolment can be seen in table 5.11 above. The percentage of enrolment in the older age group is as much as 50.4 per cent in households with more than one member in 'service'. On the other hand in the tribal households as a whole the enrolment of children in this age group is only 30.6 per cent.

Households which have no access to 'service' income at all account for more than 50 per cent of the tribal households. In comparison to households with one or more members who have access to service income, these households display the lowest enrolment rates. In the 12-16 year age group we see that in these households only 9.8 per cent of male children and 1.9 per cent of female children are enrolled in schools.

The percentage of enrolment of female children has been significantly lower than that of male enrolments in all categories of households. It has been said that "tribal parents are generally indifferent towards the education of their children and, more so in the case of girls. This is due to the differential conception

Table 5.11

Access to Service Income and Enrolment in Age Groups.

Access of Members to 'Service' Income	Households*	Percentage of Children Enrolled								
		6-11 years			12-16 years			6-16 years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Scheduled Tribes										
a.None in 'Services'	116 (129)	26.67	37.50	14.29	6.19	9.84	1.92	18.77	26.75	9.56
b.One member in 'services'	71 (73)	45.90	64.18	23.64	50.00	63.41	29.63**	47.37	63.89	25.61
c.More than one in 'Services'	36 (39)	51.47	79.41	25.53	60.42	96.43	10.00	55.17	87.10	18.52
d.Total	223 (241)	37.57	53.81	19.08	30.57	45.30	11.11	34.89	50.46	16.18

Source: 1980 Survey.

* These are the households which have members in the 6-16 year age group. The total number of households ineach category is given in parenthesis.

** The number of female students in the 12-16 year age group is very small. Only 11 tribal girls in this age group are sent to school.

of the functional roles of girls in the traditional societies".[16] While this attitude towards female education is a feature of society at large, it is important to see that households with members in 'services' are sending some of their female children to school. The reason for this trend may however not only be economic. As a consequence of employment in 'services', members of the household move out of the isolation of the village and are exposed to new experiences, values and attitudes which may often get assimilated within their own world view.[17]

The influence of the access to 'service' income in each section of the tribal households is seen in table 5.12. What is of significance is that the percentage of enrolment in Bhil households with 'service' income is strikingly high in the 12-16 year group. Thus, a few Bhil households which have one or more members earning income from 'services' are able to send as many as 45.9 per cent of children to school. However, what is important is that these families are able to send as many as 50.9 per cent of children in the older and more crucial age group to school.

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16. Rathnaiah, op.cit. p.122.

17. Naik also makes a mention of the impact that employment in the service sector has on the attitudes of the tribal people. He says that the educated Bhils go outside the village communit area to find employment as peons, chowkidars and constables. These are occupations hitherto unknown in the tribal area. They return with new ideas and aspirations. A reflection of these in some respects in seen in the education of not only boys but of girls as well. See Naik, op.cit. 1969, p.215.

Table 5.12

Access to Service Income and Enrolment in Age Groups in Mina and Bhil Households

Access of Members to 'Service' Income	No.of House-holds with Children (6-16 years)	Age Group of Members: 6-11 years Persons	6-11 years Students No.	6-11 years Students %	12-16 years Persons	12-16 years Students No.	12-16 years Students %	6-16 years Persons	6-16 years Students No.	6-16 years Students %
Mina										
a.No Member in 'service'	30	35	10	28.57	32	3	9.38	67	13	19.40
b.One or More members in 'services'	78	123	63	51.22	61	35	57.38	184	98	53.26
c.Total	108	158	73	46.20	93	38	40.86	251	111	40.22
Bhil										
a.No member in 'service'	86	145	38	26.21	81	4	4.94	226	42	18.58
b.One or more members in 'services'	29	67	28	41.79	55	28	50.91*	122	56	45.90
c.Total	115	212	66	31.13	136	32	23.53	349	98	28.16

* The relatively higher percentage of enrolment in the 12-16 as compared to the 6-11 year age group in this category is surprising. This could to some extent be a result of discrepencies in the reported ages of children. Further, the number of observations themselves are few. However, this trend is visible mainly in Bhil households which derive some income from occupations based on skills such as carpentry and tailoring. We tentatively suggest that such households may wish to educate one or two children till high school while the remaining children may be persuaded to learn the specific occupational skills.

Educational Attainment and Performance

We have hitherto analysed the educational pattern within the identified age groups. It is assumed that students in the 12-16 year age group are likely to have completed primary school and are within the middle or secondary stage of education. Hence households with school going members in the 12-16 years age group are more likely to have higher levels of educational attainment as compared to those which are not sending members in this age group to school.

The progress of tribal students who enter the educational mainstream is however not smooth. A number of problems associated with relative isolation and backwardness of a community have often based cited to explain the poor performance of those children who enter school. Among these are the unfamiliar media of education, the alien content of education, the contradiction between the value system of home and school etc.[18] Rath, for instance, argues that the cognitive growth of a tribal child is depressed even before he comes to school. He maintains that cultural deprivation retards the child's linguistic abilities and conceptual development. The

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18. For example Srivastava in a study of the relatively isolated Saoras of Orissa, points out that one of the reasons why they have responded poorly to the system of formal education is that it is taught in the regional language which they do not understand. See Srivastava et.al. Identification of Educational Problems of the Saora of Orissa. New Delhi: N.C.E.R.T. 1971, p.121.

illiterate home environment provides no intellectual stimulation and academic help to children. As a result says Rath"...it is initially difficult to bring these children to school and still more difficult to retain them there for long".[19]

Arguing along similar lines Rathnaiah also claims that "it is evident that the educational level of the parents contributes to a greater extent in sending the children to school and further continuance of the children's education from primary to secondary level".[20]

In the context of educational attainment and performance a few studies have made a mention of the phenomenon of 'wastage' and 'stagnation' in education in the tribal areas. 'Wastage' is defined as "the withdrawal or dropping out of students before completing a given course. Generally when a student takes more than one year to pass a class it is considered a case of 'stagnation'".[21] A high degree of wastage and stagnation in education in the tribal households is likely to result in relatively low levels of educational attainment of those members who enter schools.

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19. R. Rath. "Equalization of Educational Opportunities for the Tribal Children", in D. Panda (ed.). Tribal Problems of Today and Tomorrow. Bhubaneshwar: Cultural Society. 1980, p.45.

20. Rathnaiah, op.cit. p.119.

21. Srivastava, op.cit. 1971, p.41.

Table 5.13 shows the level of education attained by the adult members in the surveyed households.

Table 5.13

Level of Education of Adult Members.

Community	Households		No.of Adults** with Schooling	Level of Education Attained		
	Total	With Adults with Schooling*		1st to 5th Class	5th to 8th Class	9th and above
Scheduled Tribe						
a.Mina	117	89	152 (100)***	65 (42.76)	38 (25.00)	49 (32.24)
b.Bhil	124	53	85 (100)	56 (65.88)	20 (23.53)	9 (10.59)
c.Total	241	142	237 (100)	121 (51.05)	58 (24.47)	58 (24.48)
Brahmin	28	27	51 (100)	12 (23.53)	4 (7.84)	35 (68.63)
Total	269	169	281 (100)	128 (45.55)	60 (21.35)	93 (33.10)

Source: 1980 Survey.

* 'With Schooling' in this table refers to persons who have at some point entered the school system.

** Members who are at present enrolled in schools have been excluded.

*** Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages.

While all Brahmin households (with the exception of one) have at least one educated member, this is so in only 58.9 per cent of the tribal households. Members from only 53 (42.7 per cent) Bhil households have some minimum level of schooling. In contrast 76.1 per cent of Mina households have members who have entered schools at some point of time.

The levels of education attained by majority of the educated members of tribal households is fairly low when compared to that of the Brahmin members. While as many as 51.1 per cent of schooled members from tribal households had attained only primary education, an impressive 68.6 per cent of educated Brahmin adults were educated beyond the middle school stage.

The contrast between the Mina and Bhil households is not limited to the variation in the number of educated members in their respective communities but can also be seen in the differential pattern of educational attainment of the members. For instance 32.2 per cent of educated Minas have more than middle school education. In contrast only 10.6 per cent (i.e. nine members) Bhils in the surveyed households claim that they have studied beyond middle school. Persons who leave school prior to the completion of high school can be regarded as having dropped out of school.

In a study of dropouts in a tribal situation it was found that "failure in examination and economic hardships are two major causes for dropouts".[22] Failure within the educational mainstream

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22. Ibid., p.43.

is to some extent a manifestation of the student's inability to cope with the educational system. While the pattern of failure among the educated was not noted in the survey of households a reflection of the performance of tribal students can be surmised from the results of examinations presented below.

Table 5.14

Performance of Secondary and High Secondary Students in Examinations, 1979-80.*

Year	Tribal Students				Non-Tribal Students**			
	Total No.	No. Successful Total	No. Successful %	% who passed in 3rd divn.	Total No.	No. Successful Total	No. Successful %	% who passed in 3rd divn.
1979-80	126	84	66.67	75.00	106	73	68.87	65.75
1980-81	186	104	55.91	77.88	156	113	72.74	64.60
1981-82	235	132	56.17	81.06	160	108	67.50	59.26

Source: Educational Records - Higher Secondary School, Kherwara.

* This information pertains to the examination results of the students of Secondary (IX and X) and higher Secondary classes in Kherwara higher Secondary school.

** Non-Tribal students here exclude persons from Scheduled Caste communities and other Backward Classes.

Two points are illustrated in table 5.14. Firstly, while there are failures among students of each community, the magnitude of failure is greater among the tribal students. Secondly, the performance of the tribal students who do succeed in their examinations is also relatively poor. A larger percentage of tribal students (as compared to the non-tribal students) pass with a third division.

A study of the educated adults in the Respondents households reveals that as many as 24 of the 59 persons who have more than primary school education dropped out of school after failing in examinations. Though the sample Respondents is very small, the households have been classified according to their sources of income to see whether the pattern of educational performance is uniform in all households. This can be seen in Table 5.15.

In table 5.15 we see that failures and drop outs among the educated is a feature of households of all categories of households. However, the table also implies that households which have some access to 'service' income have relatively higher levels of educational attainment and relatively fewer number of failures.

The importance of a conducive home environment for educational advancement has been mentioned earlier. It is often said that the educational attainment of parents significantly influences the entire socialization process of the children. Singhi declares that "uneducated parents have generally little

Table 5.15

Educational Attainments and Achievement Respondents* Households

Source of Household Income	No.of House holds	Level of Education Attained by Adults									
		I - V		VI - VIII		IX & X		XI & above		Total	
		Per sons	Fail ures	Per sons	Fail ures	Per sons	Fail ures	Per sons	Fail ures	Per sons	Fail ures
With Access to Service Income											
a.Cultivation + 'service'	17	10	-	4	-	13	9	13	-	40	9
b.Cultivation + Labour 'service'	11	7	-	6	2	12	7	2	-	27	9
c.Total	28	17	-	10	2	25	16	15	-	67	18
No Access to 'Service' Income											
a.Cultivation and Labour only	29	10	-	3	2	6	4	-	-	19	6
Total	57	27	-	13	4	31	20	15	-	86	24

Source: Respondents Survey 1980.

* A total of 57 Respondents (tribal) were interviewed. The table presents the level of achievement of the educated adults (including the Respondents)

impact in shaping the educational needs, career and path of their offsprings".[23]

A comparison between the level of enrolment of children and the educational status of the households reveals that a majority of students come from households which have at least one educated adult member. This trend is especially visible in the educational status of households which have post-primary school students. The relationship between the educational status of the households and level of enrolment of its members is depicted in table 5.16.

Table 5.16

Educational Status of Tribal Households and Enrolment of Children

Educational* Status of Households	Level of Enrolment of Tribal Students					
	Primary School			Middle School and Above		
	House-holds	Students	%	House-holds	Students	%
With educated members	67	101	72.66	52	65**	85.33
Without educated members	27	38	27.34	6	11	14.47
Total	94	139	100.00	58	76	100.00

Source: 1980 Survey.

* The educational status of the households is seen in terms of whether the adult members (i.e. those beyond the school-going age group) have attended school or not.

** Four Mina and two Bhil students who have gone in for higher education have been included. These persons were not included in the school-going age group as they are beyond 17 years of age.

23. Singhi,N. Educational Problems of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students in Rajasthan. mimeo. Jaipur. 1975, p.186.

While 27.3 per cent of the primary school students come from households with no history of formal education, only 14.5 per cent of middle school students come from households of this educational status. As many as 85.3 per cent of post primary school goers come from household which have educated adult members.

In this section we have analysed the inequality of educational opportunity that exists in the surveyed households. While the fact that a fairly large number of tribal households (53.3 per cent) are sending at least one child to school has been inferred as a signs of a positive attitude towards education, the relatively low percentage of overall enrolment of children (35.2 per cent) has been seen as resulting from a number factors. Among these are: (a) the relative isolation of the tribal community; (b) the size of the individual households; (c) the relative economic status of households.

While the relatively isolated Bhils are educationally the most backward of the surveyed households, those households which have a larger number of members in each section of the tribal community are able to send a larger number of children to school. However, within each section of the tribal community and especially among the Bhils it is those households which have a better economic

status (i.e. those which have access to 'service' income) which are able to send the largest number of children to school. The variable of economic status becomes more significant as the tribal children proceed from primary to middle and secondary school. Households which have no access to 'service' income, Bhils as well as Minas are able to send less than 20 per cent of children in the 12-16 year age group to school. On the other hand, households with more than one member in 'services' are able to send at least 50 per cent of members in this age group to school. Thus, inequality of educational opportunity seems more pronounced between households of differential economic status[24] rather than between the less isolated and the more isolated sections of the larger tribal community. This suggests that despite disadvantages (social and cultural) which tribal communities are likely to suffer from in the process of education, households which have a relatively better economic status are in a better position to overcome such disadvantages. The Brahmin households we have shown, are economically and educationally far more advanced than the Bhil and Mina households.

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24. Shah and Patel have also found that "There is a positive and strong relationship between social class and educational attainment of the tribals". op.cit. 1981, p.141.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE AND MOBILITY

This chapter will focus on occupational changes that have taken place in the tribal community mainly in terms of a shift from traditional agricultural and allied occupations to those in the modern sector. Movement, if any, into skilled occupations will also be seen as an indicator of occupational change. The magnitude of occupational mobility (in the sense of changes in occupational status between generations) in the tribal households, and its relationship with the growth of formal education will also be discussed in this chapter.

Occupational Change

The Bhils today are primarily engaged in cultivation. While references to activities like hunting and food gathering do find a mention in the early literature on the tribe, as many as 93.2 per cent of the Bhil work force in Rajasthan were returned as cultivators and agricultural labourers in 1971. Similarly, we have seen that only 3.9 per cent of the working population of Kherwara tehsil are engaged in non-agricultural occupations.

There has been no significant shift in the pattern of economic activity of the tribal workers at the level of the State or within Kherwara tehsil. A glance at the composition of the

workforce over the years reveals that there has actually been a fall in the number of persons engaged in activities other than cultivation.[1]

In table 6.1 it is surprising to see that while cultivation is the primary economic activity of the working population in the surveyed villages, the percentage of workers engaged in non-agricultural activity has fallen in the 1961 to 1971 period. Within the non-agricultural sector it is in the category of 'other service' occupations that the maximum number of persons have been absorbed. From a total of 26 persons in 1961, the number of persons engaged in 'other services' in the villages increased to 44 in 1971. The overall occupational pattern thus remains relatively undiversified in the tribal area in general and the surveyed villages in particular. This predominantly rural, agrarian pattern of the economy is likely to constrain

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1. Statement showing Percentage of Tribal Workers Engaged in:

	Cultivation and Agricultural Labour	Non-Agricultural Activity
Rajasthan Bhils		
a. 1961	89.71	10.29
b. 1971	93.20	6.80
Kherwara (Tribals)		
a. 1961	89.62	10.38
b. 1971	96.10	3.90

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971. Rajasthan.

Table 6.1

Occupational Pattern of Surveyed Villages* 1961, 1971

Type of Activity	1961	1971
Total Population	1623	1973
Number of Workers	552	390
Cultivator	509	337
Agricultural Labourer	-	1
Mining, Animal Husbandry, etc.	2	2
Household Industry and Manufacture	10	1
Construction, Storage, Trade, Commerce and Transport	5	5
Other Services	26	44

Source: Census of India 1961. Vol.XIV. Rajasthan District Census Handbook Udaipur District.

Census of India 1971. Series 18. Rajasthan District Census Handbook Udaipur District.

* The consolidated figures for the villages of Badla, Baroti and Umra have been given.

the magnitude of occupational mobility that would otherwise have been possible.[2]

In chapter IV we had seen that all the surveyed households are to a large extent dependent on income from cultivation. Manual labour is also an important source of income for majority of the tribal households. However, we had also noted that 167 persons from the surveyed tribal households are engaged in activities that have been included under the broad category of 'services'. 'Service sector occupations in this study include not only service as employees of the government, semi-government or other organizations but 'skilled' occupations as well. These are occupations which involve the practice of certain specific skills. The distinction is thus made between the traditional sector (i.e. cultivation and labour) and the modern sector (i.e. services and skilled occupations

In table 6.2 we see that 16.2 per cent of the tribal adults are engaged in skilled occupations and services (including persons who have retired from service). In contrast 38.8 per cent of

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2. The phenomenon of occupational mobility (i.e. occupational change between or within generations) first witnessed in industrializing societies, occured within an increasingly complex occupational structure. In chapter two we have already commented upon the significant shift in the composition of the work force from primary to tertiary sector occupations as the process of industrialization set in.

Table 6.2

Pattern of Employment of Members Earning an Income from 'Services'

Community	Total Members	Adult Members (over 17 years)	Members* Engaged in 'Services' **					
			Total	Services			Skilled*** Occupations	Others
				At present	Retired	Total		
Scheduled Tribe								
a.Mina	805	501	119 (23.8)****	72	36	108	8	3
b.Bhil	1013	528	48 (9.1)	30	4	34	14	-
c.Total	1818	1029	167 (16.2)	102	40	142	22	3
Brahmin	184	98	38 (38.8)	33	3	36	1	1
Total	2002	1127	205 (18.2)	135	43	278	23	4

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Persons who are from the household but are employed outside the village and hence were not present at the time the survey was being conducted have been included.

** 'Services' include services as well as skilled occupations.

*** 'Skilled occupations' include carpentry and tailoring. Under the category of 'Others' are included employment in private establishments such as hotels as well as in business.

**** Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages.

Brahmin adults have entered the 'service' sector. Among the tribal adults, 23.8 per cent of Minas as compared to only 9.1 per cent of Bhils earn an income from services and skilled occupations.

Skilled Occupations

The Bhils did not traditionally practice any specific occupational skills. As mentioned elsewhere, the necessary occupational services were rendered by castes like the Chamars (scavengers), Suthar (carpenter), Lohar (iron smith), Jogis (messengers etc.). In the last few years, however, a few tribal households have begun to practise certain skills, namely, carpentry and tailoring. These occupations are carried out in addition to cultivation.

In the Bench Mark Survey conducted in 1977 it was observed that specialized occupational skills were practised in six of the tribal households of Badla and Baroti. While three households practised carpentry, tailoring was an important activity in the remaining three households.[3]

Similarly in table 6.2 we see that 23 persons in the surveyed households render skilled services. These persons come from 18 households. Skilled service income earners are however

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3. Bench Mark Survey Records, 1977.

still only a negligible proportion of the total service income earners. In the table 6.2 we see that persons practising skilled occupations form only 11.2 per cent of the total number of members who receive an income from all 'services'.

Only one Brahmin member practices a skilled occupation (tailoring). A larger number of Bhils as compared to Minas are engaged in occupations like carpentry and tailoring. We see that fourteen Bhil members and eight Mina members practice skilled occupations.

Services

In table 6.2 we saw that only 16.2 per cent of tribal members beyond the age of 17 years are engaged in services and skilled occupations. However, as many as 85 per cent of these persons are earning an income from services i.e. from employment in government and other organizations. Within this category are also included 40 persons who are presently receiving a pension as a consequence of previous employment in these organizations.

In contrast to the tribal households, 38.8 per cent of Brahmin adults receive a 'service' income. As many as 36 of the 38 Brahmins in the 'service' sector are drawing an income from the government and other organizations. One Brahmin adult is engaged in business. While 108 Minas draw an income from services, only 34 Bhils receive such an income. Three Mina members are also

engaged in private service in wayside hotels.[4]

Type of Service

In an earlier chapter we had traced the historical circumstances which led to the growth of modern occupational opportunities in the Kherwara area. Towards the end of the nineteenth century not only was a military township established at Kherwara but a majority of the recruits in the Mewar Bhil Corps (M.B.C.) were from the Bhil community.[5]

The earliest recruits for the M.B.C. belonged to the Bhil villages which surrounded the Kherwara military township. The growth of settlements around the Kherwara township have largely been attributed to the employment opportunities offered by the M.B.C. Vyas in this context says that "the employment opportunities were a big attraction as they raised the economic standards of the recruits".[6]

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4. The occupational structure in the villages does not permit the absorbtion of 'service' income earners within their villages of origin. While persons engaged in carpentry do carry on their trade from within the village, this is not so in the case of other services. The tailors, a couple of teachers and some others are at present working in the tehsil headquarters. Hence these persons are able to stay on their respective villages. The majority of persons earning a service income at present however, reside outside the tehsil for the major part of the year. These persons are not included as members of the village in the Census Surveys.

5. Vyas, op.cit. 1964.

6. Ibid., p.54.

The tribal people of the Badla village settlement were among the first to take advantage of these early occupational opportunities. In contrast,only a few Bhils of Baroti were among those who were initially employed in the M.B.C. The Bhils of Umra, the most isolated of the three surveyed villages, had no early access to new occupational opportunities.

At present the Mewar Bhil Corps employes 420 persons. It is said that at the turn of the century the Corps employed as many as 1000 persons. In addition to the M.B.C. (which today forms part of the Rajasthan Police) it is the other instrument of administration i.e. the police force and military which absorb a sizeable number of persons who are engaged in the service sector.

A majority (75.9 per cent) of the tribal people in the service sector are employed in the police force, military and M.B.C. Officers of the government (17.9 per cent) and schools (4.1 per cent) employ only a small proportion of members from tribal households. In contrast, only one Brahmin member obtaining income from services is employed in the army. A majority (61.1 per cent) of the Brahmins are employed in institutions of education.

Services under the government and local bodies are classified under four categories i.e. Class I, Class II, Class III and Class IV. While Class I services have the highest levels of income, authority and status, Class IV services comprise the most poorly paid services which also have the lowes

degree of authority and status. Information on the changes in the pattern of employment of the tribal population in the various categories of services in Rajasthan State is scanty. Data pertaining to the year 1971 however, indicates that the representation of tribal people in services is minimal. The pattern of recruitment of members of the tribal community in each category of service is given below.

Table 6.3

Pattern of Employment in the State Services 1971.

Category of Services	Total Number Employed	Number of Scheduled Tribe Employees	Scheduled Tribes as a % of Total Employees
Class I	3584	83	2.32
Class II	32646	1234	3.78
Class III	10021	388	3.88
Class IV	12375	1450	11.72
Total	58626	3155	5.38

Source: Rajasthan Mein Samaj Kalyan Part.1. 1972, p.8.

Table 6.3 shows that tribal employees comprise a negligible 5.4 per cent of the total number of persons employed by the State Government. However, what is most striking is the fact that the

proportion of tribal employees to total employment is maximum in Class IV services which as mentioned have the lowest economic and social status.[7]

Information on the employment situation at the end of the year 1979 was collected from the offices of Udaipur district as part of an ongoing project.[8] The pattern of recruitment in 321 offices for which data was available is given in table 6.4.

Table 6.4

Pattern of Employment in Services in Udaipur District, 1979

Class of Service	Persons Employed*		% of Tribal Employees
	Total	Scheduled Tribes	
Class I	541	11	2.03
Class II	4102	131	3.19
Class III	2380	236	9.92
Class IV	3086	174	5.64
Total	10109	552	5.46

Source: Project Data - Employment Exchange Office (Tribal) Udaipur.

* This data does not include the employees of organizations like the military and police force which recruit the maximum number of tribal employees. Further, information from only 321 offices of Udaipur district was available at the end of December 1980. The project is still an ongoing one.

7. The data do not reveal what communities the tribal employees belong to.

8. The Employment Exchange Office (Tribal Cell) Udaipur district, is at present conducting a survey on the employment pattern in offices in the district. In Table 6.4 we have presented the information obtained from the project records.

In the offices of Udaipur district the government, semi-government and local bodies, Scheduled Tribe employees are poorly represented in Class I and Class II services. Table 6.4 shows that members of the Scheduled Tribes are found in only 2.0 per cent of Class I posts and 3.2 per cent of Class II posts.

Thus, both at the level of the State as well as at the district level we see that (a) the members of the tribal community form only a negligible proportion of the total number of service employees. (b) Further, it is in the Class III and IV services which have a relatively low economic and social status that the largest number of tribal employees are found.

The survey of households also reveals that no member employed in the service sector is found in occupations which have the highest status i.e. professional, high administrative and managerial. While the Brahmins are found mainly in occupational categories which have a relatively higher status the tribal employees are concentrated at the lower end of the occupational prestige scale.[9]

Only persons who receive an income from the 'service' sector have been classified in table 6.5. Hence the majority of members who are engaged in cultivation and labour only, have not been included. In table 6.5 we note that 84.2 per cent of

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9. We have used the prestige scale of occupations constructed by Victor D'Souza, op.cit. For a discussion of D'Souza's occupational classification see chapter II. p.

Table 6.5

Socio-Economic Classification of Occupations of Members in 'Services

Occupational* Prestige Grade	Persons in 'Service' Sector				
	Total	Scheduled Tribe			Brahmin
		Mina	Bhil	Total	
I (Professional and High Administrative)	-	-	-	-	-
II (Managerial and Executive)	3 (1.46)	-	-	-	3 (7.89)
III (Inspectional, Supervisory, Non Manual (higher grade)	42 (20.49)	7 (5.88)	6 (12.5)	13 (7.76)	29 (76.32)
IV (Inspectional, Supervisory, Non Manual (lower grade)	117 (57.03)	90 (75.63)	22 (45.83)	112 (67.07)	5 (13.16)
V. (Skilled Manual and routine ** grades of Non Manual)	26 (12.68)	11 (9.24)	14 (29.17)	25 (14.97)	1 (2.63)
VI (Semi-Skilled)	17 (8.29)	11 (9.24)	6 (12.5)	17 (10.18)	-
VII (Unskilled Manual)***	-	-	-	-	-
Total	205 (100)	119 (100)	148 (100)	167 (100)	38 (100)

Source: 1980 Survey.

* While D'Souza's assigns a number to each prestige grade, we have included the description of the occupations in parenthesis.

** Skilled occupations are included in category V.

*** Persons who are engaged in unskilled manual labour have not been included in this table.

**** Persons who have retired have been classified in accordance with their occupational status while in service

the Brahmin members are in occupations of relatively high status. i.e. managerial and supervisory (higher grade) occupations. On the other hand, only 7.8 per cent of the members from tribal households have been able to enter higher grade supervisory occupations, i.e. occupational category III. Majority of the Bhils and Minas are concentrated in occupational categories IV, V and VI.

In chapter II we had suggested that the prestige classification of occupations does not fully portray the magnitude of income differentials among the 'service' income earners. This is mainly because each of the above occupational categories are not characterized by any uniformity in income levels. Table 6.6 presents the classification of 'service' income earners on the basis of their scales of pay.

In table 6.6 we see that whereas only 5.3 per cent of Brahmin members in 'services' earn less than Rs.400 per month this is true of 91.0 per cent of tribal 'service' income earners. We also see that 8.4 per cent of Minas and as many as 31.3 per cent of Bhils in the 'service' sector earn less than Rs.200 a month. On the other hand 36 of the 38 Brahmin earners are in the pay scale of over Rs.400 a month.

A comparison of table 6.5 and table 6.6 reveals that whereas 74.8 per cent of the tribal earners are in the occupational prestige categories of III and IV in terms of income

Table 6.6

Pattern of Income from 'Services'

Community	Members* in Services	No.of Members with an Income Per Month of (Rs)				
		Less than 200	201-400	401-600	601-800	More than 800
Scheduled Tribes						
a.Mina	119	10 ** (8.41)	100 (84.03)	7 (5.88)	2 (1.68)	-
b.Bhil	48	15 (31.25)	27 (56.25)	4 (8.33)	2 (4.17)	-
c.Total	167	25 (14.97)	127 (76.05)	11 (6.59)	4 (2.39)	-
Brahmin	38	1 (2.63)	1 (2.63)	28 (73.68)	6 (15.79)	2 (5.26)
Total	205	26 (12.68)	128 (62.43)	39 (19.02)	10 (4.89)	2 (0.98)

Source: 1980 Survey.

* In the case of persons who have retired, the pay scales while in services have been considered.

** Figures in parenthesis are percentages.

earned their status is very much lower. Further it is important to remember that 35 tribal adults who are pensioners and who have been included in the Rs.201-400 scale, presently receive only around Rs.200 a month.

The employed Brahmins are found in the relatively well paying teaching profession. Two persons are working as head masters while 19 hold posts as school teachers. The tribal service income earners are employed mainly as constables, soldiers, peons and security guards. Only six of the adult tribal members have entered the teaching profession. Those who fall in the income scale of more than Rs.600 a month include an overseer, a junior engineer and a Class II Officer.

Policy of Reservations and Occupational Opportunities

Of crucial importance for the question of employment of the tribal people, and especially the educated among them, is the policy of reservation of job vacancies for members of this community.[10]

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10. As mentioned earlier, the Central Government reserves 7.5 per cent of its vacancies for the Scheduled Tribes. The State Government of Rajasthan has declared that 12.5 per cent of vacancies arising in the departments of the state government and local bodies are to be reserved for members of the tribal community.

In table 6.3 we had observed that tribal employees comprise only a small percentage of the total number of employees in various categories of services in the State. No details however have been given regarding the extent of reserved vacancies and recruitment within each category. Some data in this context has been collected by the Employment Exchange Office.

The National Employment Service is an important agency through which recruitment is made for certain categories of services under the Central and State Governments. The Employment Exchange Act of 1969 has made it obligatory on the part of the appointing authorities in the government, statutory corporations and local bodies to notify the vacancies, occuring in their departments, to the employment exchange.

The tribal cell of the Employment Exchange office in Udaipur organizes frequent camps in Kherwara tehsil in order to encourage the registration of the unemployed and especially the educated unemployed tribal youth. Recruitment especially in Class III and Class IV categories of services require that applications are routed via the employment exchange.

It has often been said that not all the unemployed persons from the tribal community register with the employment exchange.[11] However, it is important to see what happens

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11. L.P. Vidyarthi. Cultural Configurations of Ranchi. Calcutta: J.N. Basu and Co. 1969, p.133-34.

to the few tribal members who do actually register with the Exchange.

A perusal of data from the Employment Exchange reveals facts that are contrary to the stated policy of reservations of the State Government. We see that in no year did the actual number of reserved vacancies exceed five per cent of the total vacancies notified in the past few years. Prior to 1977 not even three per cent of the yearly notified vacancies were reserved for tribal candidates (Table 6.7). What is even more surprising is that even the few vacancies which are notified as reserved for tribal candidates have not been completely filled by them in any given year.

Table 6.7

Percentage of Vacancies Notified and Filled by the Employment Exchange Udaipur District,* 1974-79

Year	% of Vacancies Reserved for Scheduled Tribes	% of Reserved Vacancies Filled
1974	2.09	34.8
1975	1.84	46.67
1976	2.20	47.62
1977	5.50	56.04
1978	5.21	68.42
1979	4.61	78.70

Source: Employment Exchange (Sub Regional Office) Records. Udaipur District.

* The information pertains only to registrations made in Udaipur district.

One of the frequent explanations given for the poor recruitment of members of the tribal community in services is that of 'suitability'. Recruiting authorities often state that there is:

1. Lack of suitable candidates;
2. Lack of adequate response from candidates with required educational qualifications, and;
3. The failure of the candidates to reach the prescribed standard in the written and oral tests.[12]

In this connection it must be smentioned that the Government of Rajasthan has issued instructions that vacancies against reserved quotas should invariably be filled from amongst members of the concerned community. Reserved vacancies should not remain unfilled merely on the grounds of suitability as long as persons with necessary qualifications are available.[13]

The relatively large number of submissions made against reserved vacancies every year indicates that so many candidates on the live register possess the essential qualifications.

A study of the registrations in the Employment Exchange reveals that the number of persons who remain on the live register are only a fraction of those who register in any

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12. Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. 1970-71. New Delhi: The Manager of Publications, p.170.
13. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. Vol.1. op.cit. p.332.

particular year. The majority of applications made by the tribal people tend to lapse within a year or two of registration. This can be seen with reference to the registration of tribal applicants from Kherwara tehsil:

Registrations Made in 1976 (Tribal)*	Number (Kherwara Tehsil)
Total Applicants (1976)	584
Number which lapsed (1976-1980)	516
Number of Placements (Upto 1980)	6
Number remaining on the live Register (1980)	62

* This information was obtained from the Sub-Regional Employment Exchange Office, Udaipur District. Details were collected from the registration cards as the Tehsil-wise information had not yet been computed. The details pertain to tribal applicants (from Kherwara tehsil) who registered in 1976.

In the above table we see that as many as 88.4 per cent of the registrations made by tribal applicants in the year 1976 had lapsed by the end of December 1980. What is of most significance especially in the context of occupational opportunities of tribal people is that, only six applicants had actually obtained placements through the Exchange. The cumbersome process of re-registering every year and the negligible number of placements affected through the employment exchange seem to be important reasons why the large magnitude of tribal applicants allow their registrations to lapse over the years.

We have in the foregoing pages noted that there has been only a marginal change in the occupational structure of the tribal area over the years. Cultivation (and manual labour) which has been the traditional occupation of the Bhils continues to be the main activity of majority of the working population. A shift, though marginal, which is observable away from traditional economic activity has been mainly towards occupations in the 'service' sector. However, we have seen that the number of service sector occupations are extremely limited.

In a situation where the avenues to regular sources of income are almost negligible, the relatively small number of 'services' are likely to become the sphere of intense social competition. It becomes essential to look at the pattern of access to occupational opportunities by members of the tribal community. Is there differential access to occupational opportunities, and if so, what is the basis of the differential ability of persons to profit from new occupational structures?

Spread of Occupational Opportunities

Not all households have access to the 'service sector'. Only 16.2 per cent (167 persons) of the adults from tribal households have access to this source of income. These persons come from 112 of the tribal households. While the 119 employed Minas come from 83 households, the 48 Bhils in this category are members of 29 households. Further in table 6.8 we also see that the 167 tribal members obtaining an income from service occupations

are themselves part of only 93 immediate families which now stand partitioned.

Table 6.8

Spread of Occupational Opportunities in Tribal Households

Item	Community		
	Mina	Bhil	Total
Total Households	117	124	241
Persons engaged in 'services'	119	48	167
Households with one or more members in 'service'	83	29	112
Families* with members engaged in 'services'	72	21	93

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Family here refers to the 'family of origin' to which the heads of individual households formerly belonged.

The above table suggests that not only is the spread of occupational opportunities in the households relatively limited, but the magnitude of occupational change between generations is also likely to be relatively small.

Intergenerational Occupational Change and Mobility

In an occupationally hitherto relatively undiversified tribal society, intergenerational occupational change can be broadly looked at in terms of:

> the shift in the occupations of sons away from the traditional occupations of their fathers.

Intergenerational occupational mobility on the other hand is defined as the change in occupational status between generations. It is seen in:

> the movement between generations from occupations of lower socio-economic status to those which have a higher socio-economic status. 14

In order to study the nature and magnitude of intergenerational occupational mobility in the surveyed tribal households, the occupational of members in the 17-30[15] year age group have been compared with that of their fathers. The educational level of these members has also been compared to that of their fathers in order to understand the influence of formal education in the process of intergenerational occupational mobility.

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14. Occupational Change refers merely to a movement from one broad category of economic activity to another. It may or may not involve some amount of occupational mobility. Occupational mobility looks at the movement between occupations graded into status categories. Agriculture and labour have also been assigned a specific occupational status grade.

15. We will refer to the members in the 17 to 30 age group as 'youth'.

Occupational Change - From Traditional to Non-Traditional Occupations

Of the 474 youth in the 17-30 year age group only 51 (10.8 per cent) are presently engaged in activities within the 'service' sector. If all 'service' income earning youth are the first generation of members to have entered this non-traditional occupational sector, we can conclude that they have all experienced occupational mobility. However, we have already noted that the spread of new occupational opportunities among the households has been relatively narrow. Hence, a fairly large number of 'service' income earning youth are likely to have fathers who have entered the non-traditional i.e. 'service' sector. The magnitude of occupational change between generations can be seen in table 6.9.

In table 6.9 we see only 16 of the 51 'service' income earners in the 17-30 age group have experienced intergenerational occupational change. These are youth whose fathers are still engaged in activities like cultivation and labour. The remaining 68.6 per cent of members have fathers who have already entered the service sector. While 12 Mina youth (35.3 per cent) have fathers who are engaged in cultivation and labour only four of the 17 Bhil youth come from such backgrounds. This trend suggests that there is a definite process of self-recruitment in households which already have access to new occupational opportunities.

Table 6.9

Intergenerational Occupational Change in the Tribal Households

Occupation of Father	'Service' income Earners 17-30 years		
	Mina	Bhil	Total*
Agriculture	11	3	14
Agriculture and Labour	1	1	2
Skilled Occupations	-	2	2
Services**	22	11	33
Total	34	17	51

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Five Minas and three Bhils who are engaged in skilled occupations are included among 'service' income earners'.

** Persons who have retired from Services have been included.

Occupational Mobility - Intergenerational Change in Occupational Status

We have already observed that the majority of tribal individuals who enter the 'service' sector are concentrated in occupations which have the lowest economic and social status. In fact, few tribal employees are found in Class I services or for that matter in the higher status professional and high administrative occupations. What is, however, of relevance in the context of intergenerational mobility is whether younger generations of 'service' income earners have been able to achieve a relatively higher occupational status than have their fathers.

In table 6.10 we have compared the occupational prestige grades of the service income earning youth with that of each of their fathers. While the present occupation of the members in the 17 to 30 age group has been considered, the last occupation of the fathers who have retired from service has been noted for purposes of intergenerational comparison.

Table 6.10

Intergenerational Change in Occupational Status

Occupational Status of Father	Occupational Status of Member 17-30 years							Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7*	
I - Professional and High Administrative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II - Managerial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III - Supervisory (higher grade)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
IV - Supervisory (lower grade)	-	-	4	21	5	1	-	31
V - Skilled Manual**	-	-	5	6	3	2	-	16
VI - Semi-Skilled	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
VII - Unskilled	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total	-	-	10	28	10	3	-	51

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Members in the 17-30 age group who fall in category VII i.e. those who are engaged in manual labour have not been included in this table.

** In his prestige classification of occupations D'Souza (1968) includes 'owner-cultivator' in the occupational status category III. However, given the poor conditions of cultivation in the tehsil as compared to Punjab where D'Souza's study has been carried out we have included cultivation as a skilled manual occupation in category V.

Table 6.10 presents the cross classification of the 'service' occupations of the tribal youth with that of their fathers.[16] The horizontal rows portray the differential social opportunities of offsprings whose fathers have the same occupational status. The columns on the other hand trace out the differing occupational orgins of youth who have a similar occupational status at present. The diagonal cells (darkened) show the number of youth in the 'service' sector whose status has remained the same as their fathers.

The majority of both fathers as well as offsprings are found in the lower grade supervisory occupations i.e. in occupational grade IV. Looking at the diagonal cells we note that the largest number of offsprings (21) who have remained in the occupational status of the origin are also in the lower grade supervisory occupations. The remaining seven offsprings in this occupational category have a higher occupational status than their fathers and hence can be said to have experienced intergenerational upward occupational mobility. Downward mobility can be seen in case of some youth who are at present in skilled manual occupations. While 3 persons have the same, occupational status as their fathers, five have a higher occupational origin. That is, five offsprings in skilled manual occupations have

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16. As the spread of occupational opportunities is relatively narrow. 15 youth are siblings. However, the status of the father of each youth has been considered separately.

fathers who are in supervisory lower grade occupations. Thus it is important to note that no offspring has made the 'big leap' into professional or managerial occupations. The mobility that has been achieved is mainly that which is described as 'short jump' movements from semi-skilled or skilled to supervisory occupations. In other words intergenerational occupational mobility appears restricted to movement through one or two status categories only.

In order to understand the direction of mobility in the households, we have looked at the number of offsprings who have different occupational prestige grades as compared to their fathers. From among these youth we have distinguished between those who have achieved upward mobility from those who have attained a lower status than their occupations of origin. The occupational status of tribal youth and their fathers have been compared in table 6.11.

In table 6.11 we see that only 18 (i.e. 35.3 per cent) of the 'service' income earning youth have achieved upward occupational mobility. While eight youth (15.6 per cent) actually experience downward mobility, 25 persons (49 per cent) have attained the same occupational status as their fathers.[17] This

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17. It is possible to maintain that youth presently below the age of 30 years have prospects of further 'career' mobility which again has implications for upward occupational mobility. However, the experience of 'service' income earners in the older age groups has been to enter one occupational grade and remain in it. This is probably because of the scarcity of job opportunities as well as low educational qualifications which inhibit intragenerational career mobility.

Table 6.11

Occupational Status of Tribal Youth and Their Fathers

Occupational Status of Father	Occupational Status of Youth (in 'services') as Compared to Fathers			Total
	Same	Different		
		Higher	Lower	
I	-	-	-	-
II	-	-	-	-
III	1	-	-	1
IV	21	4	6	31
V	3	11	2	16
VI	-	1	-	1
VII	-	2	-	2
Total	25	18	8	51

Source: 1980 Survey.

occupational inheritance is predominant in the lower supervisory grade occupations where as many as 21 offsprings (i.e. 67.7 per cent) have the same occupational origin. Thus, not only do occupational categories reveal a district pattern of self-recruitment or status inheritance in certain households, but the social distances spanned by the occupationally mobile are also relatively small.

Movement into Skilled Occupations

Have the tribal youth any aptitude for skilled occupations? In other words, are the tribal youth and especially the educated tribals moving into occupations which involve the use of specialized skills? While tailoring, the carpentry were cited as the main skilled occupations in the households, only eight tribal youth actually practised these skills. Of these, only one practised carpentry while the remaining seven were tailors. What is important is the fact that only one person practising carpentry has followed his father's occupation. The remaining youth engaged in skilled occupations have occupational origins other than tailoring. Further, these seven members consider themselves unemployed as they are practising tailoring not out of choice but because they have been unable to enter the police or military force in spite of repeated attempts at recruitment.[18]

Two employed youth have fathers who are carpenters. However, we see that only one has remained in the occupation of his origin. This is largely a result of the fact that tailoring and carpentry are low income occupations. Hence, most fathers also prefer that their educated sons enter the

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18. According to these youth, tailoring which offered an income of barely around Rs.100 a month was equivalent to no employment at all.

services rather than skilled occupations.[19]

Education and Occupational Opportunities

In order to aspire for occupations in the service sector, it is essential to acquire certain minimum educational qualification In a survey of the offices in Kherwara tehsil it was surprising to note that the qualifications required for various posts tended to increase over the years. For instance, it was observed that Class IV posts for which no educational qualifications were required a few years ago, today require that aspirants have a minimum of five to eight years of education.

The Mewar Bhil Corps employes as many as 255 members of the tribal community (all of whom are not necessarily from the tehsil) as constables in the pay range of Rs.250-360. Formerly not even primary school education was an essential qualification for this post. However, in 1979 an order was passed by the Inspector General of Police, Rajasthan,making a minimum of middle school education a compulsory qualification for this post. The higher income posts are recruited from aspirants who have attained higher levels of education. For instance, for most Class I and Class II

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19. While the tribal members do not aspire for skilled occupations, it has been noted that households with at least one member engaged in carpentry and tailoring have been able to educate a fairly large number of children. For instance, these households send 41.8 per cent of children of 6-11 years and 55.2 per cent of those in the 12-16 year age group to school.

posts which are in the income scale of more than Rs.700 a month, at least graduation is insisted upon. Professional occupations again, require specialized qualifications which imply a fairly long period of formal education and training.[20]

The relationship between formal education and service employment is to some extent reflected in the surveyed households. In table 6.12 we see that of the 205 persons in the service sector 84.3 per cent have some minimum educational qualifications.

Table 6.12

Level of Education of Members in the 'Service' Sector

Level of Education	Number of Members in 'Services'*					
	Scheduled Tribe		Brahmin		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Formal Education	32	19.16	-	-	32	15.62
I-V	68	40.12	3	7.89	71	34.63
VI-VIII	29	17.37	2	5.26	31	15.12
IX and above	38	22.75	33	86.85	71	34.63
Total	167	100.00	38	100.00	205	100.00

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Eight Minas and Fourteen Bhils engaged in Skilled occupations have been included. Seven of the twelve persons engaged in carpentry have no formal education.

20. These observations are made on the basis of a brief survey (1980) of 10 offices in Kherwara tehsil headquarters.

It is surprising to see that 19.2 per cent of the tribal persons in services have no formal education. However, since formal education is essential for entry into services today, persons who have no formal education are likely to have entered the occupational mainstream several years ago. This can be seen in table 6.13.

Table 6.13

Level of Education and Age Group Employed Members

Level of Education	Age Group of Members in 'services'									
	17-30 years		30-45 years		45-50 years		More than 55 years		All Ages	
	ST*	B**	ST	B	ST	B	ST	B	ST	B
No formal education	1***	-	8	-	7	-	16	-	32	-
I - V	6	-	31	-	24	1	7	2	68	3
VI - VIII	16	1	12	1	1	-	-	-	29	2
IX and X	13	1	8	-	-	4	-	1	21	6
XI and above	15	11	2	11	-	5	-	-	17	27
Total	51	13	61	12	32	10	23	3	167	38

Source: 1980 Survey.

* 'ST' denotes members of the Scheduled Tribes.

** 'B' stands for Brahmins.

*** Five tribal members (including one without formal education) in the 17-30 year age group are engaged in skilled occupations. i.e. carpentry and tailoring.

many as 20 of the 23 service income earners (with no education) beyond the age of 45 are pensioners of the M.B.C., Military and Police. The remaining three are engaged in carpentry for which no formal education is called for.

We also see that the level of education of the earners rises as we approach the younger age groups. In the tribal households, 28 of the 51 service income earners in the 17-30 year age group have more than middle school education. Only one member in this age group has not entered school at all. The exception is a Bhil youth who is engaged in carpentry. In contrast to tribal members, the majority of Brahmin earners in each age group have relatively high levels of education. Brahmin employees even in the 45 to 55 year age group (with the exception of one member) have more than middle school education.

Education and Occupational Mobility in the Tribal Households

One hundred and twenty three tribal youth have attained some minimum level of education. However, only 36.6 per cent of them have attained more than middle school education. In table 6.14 we see that the percentage of youth who have entered the 'service' sector varies between levels of education. While the majority of service income earners have secondary and higher levels

of education, 76.4 per cent of youth without service employment have primary or middle school education.

Table 6.14

Levels of Education and Employment of Tribal Youth* 1980

Level of Education	Educated Tribal Youth 17-30 years		
	Total	Employed**	Without Employment
Primary or Less	36 *** (29.27)	7**** (13.73)	29 (40.27)
Middle	42 (34.15)	16 (31.37)	26 (36.11)
Secondary	20 (16.26)	8 (15.69)	12 (16.67)
Higher Secondary and above	25 (20.32)	20 (39.21)	5 (6.95)
Total	123 (100.00)	51 (100.00)	72 (100.00)

Source: 1980 Survey.

* 'Youth' denotes only members in the 17-30 year age group.

** 'Employed' here are those in the 'service' sector.

*** Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages.

**** All these persons are engaged in skilled occupations. Only one person has no education at all.

Since the acquisition of educational qualifications are today essential in order to enter the service sector, it is important to see whether expanding educational opportunities have influenced the process of mobility between generations. In the table 6.15 we have compared the education levels of fathers and offsprings (in the 'service' sector) in each occupational category.

Table 6.15

Educational Change Between Generations in the Tribal Households

Occupational Status of Fathers	Education of Youth As Compared to Father			
	Same	Lower	Higher	Total
I	-	-	-	-
II	-	-	-	-
III	-	-	1	1
IV	1	-	30	31
V	-	-	16	16
VI	-	-	1	1
VII	-	-	2	2
Total	1	-	50	51

Source: 1980 Survey.

All but one of the youth who have entered the 'service' sector have higher levels of education as compared to fathers. However, this intergenerational advancement in educational attainment has not been accompanied by an equal magnitude of upward occupational mobility of the offsprings. (c.f. table 6.11 and 6.15). Hence, while educational institutions are channels to the service sector today, the relationship between levels of education and occupational opportunities tends to change and devalue over time. This relationship between education and occupational mobility is even more ambiguous if we also look at the occupational origins of all tribal youth who have had some access to education but who have not been able to enter the service sector.

As many as 58.5 per cent of the educated youth in the 17-30 year age group have not been able to enter the service sector. As many as 53 of these youth have social origins which are characterized by non-manual and skilled manual (including cultivation) occupations. While 20 educated youth said they were unemployed, as many as 52 persons mentioned that they were engaged in manual labour during the course of the year. Thus, if we look at each occupational status category of fathers we see that a significant number of offsprings who have some educational qualifications have not only been unable to enter the service sector but have been working as manual labourers as well.

Table 6.16

Occupational Origins of All Educated Tribal Youth

Occupational Status of Fathers	Educated Youth 17-30 years			
	Total	Engaged in 'Services' Total	Not Engaged in 'Services' Total	Not Engaged in 'Services' Engaged as Labourers
I	-	-	-	-
II	-	-	-	-
III	1	1	-	-
IV	59	31	28	18
V	41	16	25	17
VI	5	1	4	2
VII	17	2	15	15
Total	123	51	72	52

Source: 1980 Survey.

The above trend has important implications for inter-generational occupational mobility. Hitherto we have not included youth engaged in manual labour in the occupational mobility matrix. However, fathers engaged in unskilled manual labour had been included under the status category of VII i.e. unskilled occupations. If educated offsprings engaged in manual labour are also included in category VII, the occupational mobility matrix assumes the following pattern.

Table 6.17

Occupational Status of Educated Tribal Youth 17-30 Years

Occupational Status of Father	Occupational Status of Educated Tribal Youth							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total
I	-	-						
II	-	-						
III	-	-	(1)	-	-	-	-	1
IV	-	-	4	(21)	5	1	18	49
V	-	-	5	6	(3)	2	17	33
VI	-	-	-	1	-	(-)	2	3
VII	-	-	-	-	2	1	(15)	17
Total	-	-	10	28	10	3	52	103

Source: 1980 Survey.

In table 6.17 we have included 52 educated youth who are engaged in unskilled manual labour. This occupational category is at the lowest rung of the occupational status classification. However, we note that as many as 37 of these offsprings come from occupational origins other than unskilled manual occupations. In other words, 71.2 per cent of youth (educated) engaged in manual labour have experienced downward occupational mobility, as their

occupations of origin are of a higher status than their present occupations. As a result we see that in each occupation status category of origin, the percentage of offsprings who have achieved upward mobility (those that fall to the left of the diagonal) is far smaller than those who have experienced downward mobility (i.e. those who fall to the right of the diagonal). Hence, while 40 persons (38.8 per cent) have the same occupational status as their father, 18 (17.5 per cent) have a higher status. However, as many as 45 youth (43.7 per cent) have attained an occupational status lower than that of their fathers.

Thus we have seen that there has been unequal access to occupational opportunities in the service sector. A smaller proportion of tribal as compared to Brahmin members, in the surveyed households, have access to income from 'services'. Again, Brahmins are found mainly in occupations which have a relatively high status. Tribal members are, on the other hand, concentrated at the lower end of the occupational prestige scale.

The spread of occupational opportunities in the tribal households is narrow and suggests that there is a definite pattern of self recruitment from households which already have access to new occupational opportunities.

Educational qualifications are today essential in order to enter the services. Expanding educational opportunities have, however not led to occupational mobility for majority of the educated Bhils and Minas. In most cases, the educated tribal

youth have even failed to attain their occupations of origin.

The attitudes and aspirations of tribal Respondents in the context of the discussion on the educational and occupational opportunities will be dealt within the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY - ASPIRATIONS OF TRIBAL RESPONDENTS

The attitudes and aspirations of communities and especially disadvantaged communities have been seen as crucial in defining their responses to new institutions (including formal education), innovations and opportunities. In Chapter II we had observed that scholars have often traced the educational backwardness of the tribes to their indifferent and apathetic attitudes to the 'alien' educational system and their low levels of motivation.[1]

We have in the foregoing discussion attempted to study the economic and socio-cultural constraints in education in the tribal area. In this section we will look specifically at the values and attitudes of the tribal people in the context of the changing economic and social situation in which they live.

An indepth study was made of the attitudes and aspirations of 57 tribal youth in the 25-30 age group.[2] While 36 persons were

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1. See also H.S. Becker 'Social and the System of Stratification', in Floud and Halsey. op.cit. 1961.

2. Respondents have been selected from an age group (25-30) years which is well beyond the school-going age group. Further it is assumed that by the time they reach the age of 25 years the Respondents will have the sufficient time to aspire for and avail of new occupational opportunities.

   A copy of the Interview Schedule used in the Respondents' Survey has been given in Appendix L.

selected at random from among those who had middle and higher levels of education, 21 persons were selected in a similar manner from among those with no formal education at all.

In chapter V we had posited the close relationship between the economic status of the household and the level of education of its members. In table 7.1 we see that Respondents who have not entered the educational mainstream at all come from households entirely dependent on cultivation and labour. While eight Respondents from households with this economic status have attained middle and secondary education, all those who have more than secondary education belong to households where at least one member draws a 'service' income.

Only 13 Respondents are employed in 'services'. All employed Respondent have more than middle school education.

Education of Respondents

All the Respondents have done their schooling within Kherwara tehsil. However, because of lack of adequate educational facilities within the village, as many as 20 of the 36 Respondents have completed part of their education by residing in hostels. Fifteen Respondents were forced to change schools more than twice because of sheer lack of educational facilities. For instance, Respondents from Baroti completed primary and middle school in their village, secondary school in Bawalwara and higher secondary in Kherwara or Rikhabdeo.

Table 7.1

Respondents - A Profile

Respondents' Level of Education	Respondents' Major Source(s) of Household Income				
	Total	Number of 'Services'	Cultivation and Labour	Cultivation, Labour and 'Services'	Cultivation and 'Services'
No Formal Education	21	-	21	-	-
Middle School (VI -VIII)	4*	-	3	1	-
Secondary School (IX,X)	20	5	5	8	7
Higher Secondary and above (XI and above)	12	8	-	2	10
Total	57	13	29	11	17

Source: Respondents Survey, 1980.

* All Respondents had completed middle school i.e. Class VIII.

Inadequate hostel accommodation for tribal students compelled a few of the Respondents to seek relatively expensive private accommodation to continue their studies. The three Respondents from Umra, which does not even have a primary school in the village, had with considerable difficulty managed to complete their primary schooling from the nearby village of Magra. Middle school facilities were available at Rajpur village in the neighbourin

State of Gujarat. The inability of the household to finance private accommodation for further studies of the Respondents as well as the periodic need for their labour in agricultural activity forced them to leave school at the middle stage.

The fathers of Respondents had little choice in the selection of schools for their education. All the Respondents noted that the only schools within easy access were the government schools in which they had studied. While two Mission Schools at the primary level are found within the tehsil, 'public schools' are located in Udaipur City. Thus it has been observed that "By and large /tribal/ students choose a school because of physical proximity and lack of any other alternative".[3]

The present study makes no attempt to look at the quality of education imparted in schools run by the government. However, a few studies do suggest that the quality of education imparted in the tribal areas is inferior to that imparted in schools in the non-tribal area. While Rathnaiah[4] observes the tribal students suffer because of 'ppor quality' primary schools, Srivastava specifically states that teachers working in the tribal Saora area were less qualified than their counterparts in a non-tribal

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3. N.K. Singhi; The Educational Problems of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe School Students in Rajasthan. Mimeo. 1975, p.209.

4. Rathnaiah, op.cit. p.148.

area.[5]

Performance, Wastage and Stagnation in School

Information from educated Respondents was collected regarding their age at leaving school, reasons for not pursuing their education, causes for failure, if any, etc.

Table 7.2

School Leaving Age and Educational Attainment of Respondents.

School Leaving Age of Respondents	Level of Education Attained				
	Middle School	Secondary School	Higher Secondary School	Above High* School	Total
16 years or less	4	7	-	-	11
17 years	-	2	1	-	3
18 years	-	4	-	3	7
19 years	-	1	1	-	2
20 years	-	-	-	3	3
More than 20 years	-	6	2	2	10
Total	4	20	4	8	36

Source: Respondents Survey 1980

* Teachers training courses have been included in this category.

5. L.R.N. Srivastava et.al. Identification of Educational Problems of the Saora of Orissa. Delhi: N.C.E.R.T. 1971b, p.52. Studies also note the predominance of single-teacher schools in tribal areas, the social distance between teachers and tribal students and the lack of interest that poorly paid teachers have in the educational process. See for instance, Ambasht, op.cit. p.70-93; L.R.N. Srivastava. "Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education", in Tribal Education in India. New Delhi: N.C.E.R.T. 1967, pp.79-80.

In the above table we see that a majority of the Respondents have left the educational mainstream after the age of 17 years. In most studies including our present study, the school-goingage group is generally taken to be 6-16 years. However, we note that of the 28 Respondents who have only school education barely 11 left school before the age of 17. In fact eight of these members claim they left school after the age of twenty. Similarly, in a study of tribal students in the state, it was noticed that the majority of secondary and higher secondary students were either 16 years of age or more.[6]

The large number of years taken to attain different levels of education suggest that there has been late entry into schools, repitition frequent dropouts, failure etc. Twenty five of the 36 Respondents with schooling said that they had failed one or more times during their education career.[7] Fifteen said they had left

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6. Singhi, op.cit. p.12.

7. Failure in examination has important implications for education. Not only does it imply wastage of resources and stagnation in education, but it also bars the tribal student from enjoying any of the special facilities provided to encourage education in tribal areas. For instance students who fail cannot avail of scholarships or hostel facilities.

school after they had failed in examinations. Only two Respondents revealed that their performance throughout school was meritorious.

A number of reasons were offered by Respondents to explain their poor performance in school. These are:[8]

a. Subjects are difficult to comprehend. (English and Mathematics are cited as the two subjects that are most difficult to cope with);
b. Lack of adequate instruction in school;
c. Inability to devote sufficient time for studies;
d. Poor health;
e. Not interested in studies.

Difficulties in comprehension and the inability to devote sufficient time for studies are cited by Respondents as the major factors behind their poor educational performance. While it was possible to obtain some tuition at the Kherwara tehsil headquarters, no Respondent took recourse to such instruction mainly because of the lack of resources.[9] The presence of

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8. Failure in examination and the inability to devote time to studies are also cited as the major reasons for the dropout of tribal children from school in a study by Srivastava. See. Srivastava. et.al. An Integrated and Comparative Study of a Selected Tribal Community Living in Contiguous Areas. New Delhi: N.C.E.R.T. 1971c, pp.41-2.

9. According to Singhi, though tribal students feel the necessity for coaching classes, the average student is economically not in a position to avail of tuitions. See, Singhi, op.cit. p.228.

educated adults members in the household may suggest that the school-going members can obtain adequate assistance and academic guidance whenever necessary. However, most of the older educated members in the Respondents' households were employed (and resided for a major part of the year) outside the village and hence their influence on the Respondents' actual performance in school was minimal.

Thus, while all Respondents acknowledge that the decision to enrol them in schools was taken by their fathers, only three maintain that a specific adult member had played an active role in their educational outcomes. Majority of the Respondents state that the levels of education they have attained is primarily a result of their own motivation and perseverance.

We have often emphasized the fact that children of school-going age are important economic units in the tribal household. All Respondents are of the opinion that involvement in household activities either before, after or during school hours has a deleterious effect not only on achievement of children in school but also on their interest and involvement in formal education.

A fairly significant proportion of school-going members from the respondents households are involved in activities that include cooking, cleaning, washing, minding the children and a number of odd jobs. This can be seen in the table 7.3.

Table 7.3

Contribution of School-Going Children to Household Activity.*

Members 6-16 years old	Male	Female	Total
Total Number of Members	68	61	129**
Number of Members Attending School	43	11	54
Persons Engaged in Household Activities			
a. School-Going	18	5	23
b. Non School-Going	14	36	50
c. Total	32	41	73

Source: Respondents' Survey 1980.

* The details pertain to households of all 57 Respondents.

** Four members who are over 16 years of age, but are still enrolled in school have been included.

While the tasks assigned to school-going children may appear relatively light and easy, they involve plenty of time and energy and hence are likely to create an environment which is not very conducive to studies.[10] It is likely that this is an

10. Shah and Patel observed that involvement in household activities was responsible for irregular attendance in school. Irregular attendance also led to failure in examinations which often resulted in dropouts. See.Shah and Patel, op.cit. 1981, p.92.

important factor in the extent of stagnation in education that is witnessed among the school-going children in the Respondents' households.

Table 7.4

Stagnation in Education

Age of School-Going Members (Years)	Class being Attended at Present					
	1st & 2nd	3rd & 4th	5th	6th & 7th	8th	9th & 10th	11th & above
6	XXXXX						
7	XXXXX						
8	XXXXXX						
9							
10	XX	XX	XX				
11		X	XX				
12		XXX	X	XXX			
13					X		
14		X	X	XXX	XX	XXX	
15			X	XX		X	
16		X			X	X	
17					X		
18						X	X
19							X

Source: Respondents Survey, 1980.

The tendency to take more than the prescribed time to complete a given course is as mentioned earlier, seen as a manifestation of stagnation' in education. If there is no stagnation in education it is assumed that students enter school at the age of six (take a year to complete each class) and complete class X by the age of 16 years. However, in table 7.4 it can be seen that the relationship between the age of a student and the class in which he/she is enrolled cannot be clearly defined. Each school class consists of tribal pupils of varying ages. For instance, in Class I and II students range from the age of six to the age of ten years. Similarly, in Classes IX and X enrolled members are between the ages of 14 and 18. This suggests that a majority of the tribal students are unable to cope with a years course in the prescribed time.

The 21 Respondents who did not enter school regretted that they have no education at all. Three of these Respondents have been engaged in cultivation and labour from an early age and see their present economic status as resulting from lack of education. When asked what was likely to have been the major factor behind the decision not to send them to school the following answers were given.

Table 7.5

Respondents' Reasons for Not Being Sent to School

Reason(s)	Respondents
Was involved in manual* labour from a very early age.	6
Could not be spared from house work.**	9
Being the eldest had to look after the younger children	3
Father unaware of the importance of education***	2
Refused to go to School	1
Total	21

Source: Respondents' Survey, 1980.

* Children are often involved in cotton picking and cleaning establishments. The wage earned in such work is around 2.5 kgs. of wheat a day. Such work is available mainly in Gujarat and hence require that children migrate along with heads of households looking for opportunities for manual labour.

** Respondents who were not sent even to primary school come from extremely poor households where adult males and females are involved in labour. The burden of households looking after younger children etc. falls on the children and especially the older children.

*** These Respondents maintain that despite their poor economic status, they would have entered school had they been aware of the benefits from education.

Respondents who have had schooling gave the following reasons for leaving the educational mainstream:

Table 7.6

Reasons for Not Pursuing Studies

Reasons for Not Pursuing Studies	Level of Education of Respondents			
	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary & above	Total
Lack of resources/Had to contribute to household income	2	9	2	13
Felt would get service employment with this level of education	1	4	3	8
Failed more than once	-	4	-	4
Obtained service employment	-	-	4	4
Distinguished in studies	1	1	1	3
No reason given	-	2	2	4
Total	4	20	12	36

Source: Respondents' Survey, 1980.

Only four Respondents discontinued their studies because they had secured service employment. Majority had however left school on account of lack of resources, the necessity for them to contribute to household income[11] or because the level of education they had attained was the minimum required for lower status service occupations. While 15 Respondents had failed prior to leaving school, four specifically cited failure as the main reason for not furthering their studies.

Do the Respondents feel that formal education is essential? Are they likely to educate their children? All Respondents feel that formal education is essential and approved of schooling for children. Their main motive(s) for educating their children are statedin table 7.7.

We see that the economic motives are the dominating force which motivate the Respondents to aspire for the education of their children.[12] Education is seldom desired purely for

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11. As many as 23 of the educated Respondents were engaged in cultivation and manual labour immediately after leaving school.

12. The positive attitude of the tribal people towards formal education specifically in the context of economic betterment has been commented upon in studies such as Srivastava et.al. op.cit. 1971, p.47; N.S.A.E.R. Socio-Economic Survey of Primitive Tribes in Madhya Pradesh. New Delhi: 1963, p.91; etc.

Table 7.7

Respondents' Motives* for Educating Children

Responses	Respondents		
	With Schooling N = 36	Without Schooling N = 21	Total N = 57
Education in essential for service occupations	30	6	36
No job without education	12	10	22
Better life for children	4	6	10
Betterment of character	1	3	4
Will not be cheated	6	3	9
Increases prestige of parents	2	-	2
Makes a person wiser	2	2	4
Total	57	30	87

Source: Respondents' Survey, 1980.

* Most Respondents gave a number of responses each of which has been listed.

or social prestige.[13]

13. See for instance, Rathnaiah, op.cit. p.144.

While all Respondents are convinced of the utility of education, they differ on the nature and quality of educetion desired for their children. Respondents who are employed in services felt that all children regardless of sex needed to be educated. Most of them maintained that science and technical education need to be encouraged in the area as these subjects enhanced occupational opportunities.[14]

The educated unemployed Respondents maintain that modern occupational opportunities can be obtained only with levels of education higher than what they have attained. While a few of them said that their community does not encourage the education of girls, four Respondents plainly state that they are not likely to be in a position to educate their daughters. Respondents mention that most household and domestic tasks are done by female members and hence it would not be possible to send them to school. They also add that since daughters eventually leave the parental home, education given to them is a waste.

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14. None of the Respondents are science graduates. There is only one school in the tehsil (located at Rikhabdeo) which offers science courses. In this context it is noted that "One of the reasons for the lesser number of tribal students going in for professional education is that in higher secondary schools located in tribal areas science education facilities are not avilable". See R.S. Uppal, A note on Educational Facilities for Tribals in Rajasthan. Tribe. Vol.III. T.R.I.: Udaipur,1968, p.54.

The uneducated Respondents see schooling as the only road to economic betterment. However, looking at the constraints to schooling in a practical manner, majority admit that they aspired to the education of only one child preferably a boy. They maintain that to attempt to send all children to school, given their present economic status, will deprive them of even one meal a day. The labour of the child was essential, initially in domestic tasks and at a later stage in order to bring in wage income. They realise that education is essential for all members, but opine that when faced with the question of survival itself what else is to be done?[15]

Occupation of Respondents

Only 13 Respondents have entered the 'service' sector. In the table below we see that while three Respondents are teachers six are in the army and police. Only one is in a higher grade clerical occupation while three are in lower status jobs such as Chowkidar and Security staff. Respondents with schooling who are not employed in services and the unedducated Respondents are engaged in cultivation and/or labour or in some cases nothing at all.

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15. In an earlier study it was observed that most of the low social class respondents who "indicated their unwillingness to endure hardships to educate their children may be unable to do so" (emphasis ours). See Shah and Patel, op.cit. 1961, p.121.

Table 7.7

Occupations of Respondents

Occupations of Respondents	Respondents	
	With Schooling	Without Schooling
Services		
a. Clerical (higher grade)	1	-
b. Teacher	3	-
c. MBC/Police	6	-
d. Class IV/Security Staff	3	-
e. Total	13	-
Cultivation and/or Labour	16	19
Nothing at all	7	2
Total	36	21

Source: Respondents' Survey, 1980.

What were the main activities of the educated Respondents after leaving school? Only four of the Respondents now in the 'service' sector obtained employment soon after leaving school. The remaining nine were either engaged in cultivation and/or labour or merely searched for employment for a period of around two years after leaving school. Respondents who have schooling but are without service employment have been by and large engaged in cultivation and labour. It must be mentioned that cultivation is not a full time occupation of these Respondents who are involved in only a few operations.

Why have the Respondents with schooling have been unable to enter the service sector? No Respondent with schooling reported voluntary unemployment. All of them said that they were keen to enter the service sector. Is it that these Respondents do not wish to leave their villages? Doshi in his study maintains that the 'Bhils' affection' for his village is the main factor against mobility.[16] On the contrary none of the Respondents are averse to occupations outside the village or tehsil. Respondents are well aware that most service employment results in out-migration of individuals for the major part of the year.

All the Respondents have made a number of attempts to enter the service sector. Middle and higher secondary education it may be recalled are the minimum educational qualification for the lower posts in the service sector. Hence the Respondents feel that they possess the necessary qualification demanded by the recruiting authorities.

A number of formalities have to be completed while applying for jobs. Some Respondents complained of practical problems faced in the cumbersome procedures involved right from

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16. Doshi, op.cit. 1971, p.141.
    According to Doshi, Bhils prefer starvation rather than moving out of their villages in search of job opportunities. However, we have seen that there is a significant degree of out migration from the village in connection with both manual labour as well as services.

Table 7.8

Difficulties Experienced by the Educated Unemployed Respondents in the Search for Service Employment

Difficulties Experienced	Number of Responses*
Went for several tests/interviews but was not selected	23
Did not have sufficient qualifications	-
Cumbersome, bureaucratic procedures	4
Bias against tribal community	6
Not aware of other occupational opportunities	3
Social, personal contacts are essential	8
Need to bribe petty officials	10

Source: Respondents' Survey, 1980.

* Most Respondents have given more than one response.

procuring the 'caste' (tribe) certificate and the character testimonials to filling in the forms which are often rejected because they are incomplete, and even of the necessity to keep the clerks in the post office in good humour in order that the interview letter, if any, is delivered to them on time.

Respondents also feel that interview boards manned invariably by non-tribal individuals are hostile to members of their community. They are often made to feel nervous and

ill at ease. Some Respondents also admitted that they are probably not aware of all the employment opportunities that exist for persons with their educational qualifications.[17] They come to know of vacancies only through friends and relatives.

Majority of the Respondents however, feel that it is their lack of social contacts and their inability to bribe petty officials which is primarily responsible for their inability to enter the service sector.

'Social Networks'[18] and contacts are becoming increasingly important in the competition for employment in the service sector. This is especially so in the context of employment in the M.B.C. and police force where no specialized skills or qualifications are required for recruitment. The large demand for a relatively limited number of services has brought into play an increasing amount of petty corruption. Though petty corruption is an all pervasive feature within society at large, the average tribal is singularly ill equipped to cope with it. A few of the educated have managed to enter the army and police force primarily because their fathers were or are still employed in them andhhence know the lower level officials who decide whether to disqualify a

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17. Shah and Patel maintain that social class differences in educational attainment can be reduced by a high level of awareness of facilities and programmes of education. op.cit. 1981, pp.126-27.

18. For a discussion of the importance of 'social networks' for the process of mobility see Saberwal, op.cit.

candidate or not. However, the majority of Respondents claim that they were rejected in these selection tests primarily because they were unable to pay the concerned officials the requisite amount of money as a bribe. It is surprising to learn that for a job which has an income scale of less than Rs.400, the money to be paid as an inducement ranges from Rs.500 to Rs.1000 per candidate.

It is also surprising to note that all Respondents (including the undducated) and reconciled to these problems in their search for service employment. 'Buying' a service has become so common a feature that it has almost become a way of life for the educated members of the community. In fact, aspirations both for education and occupational opportunities subsume within them and understanding that if they educate their children, the occupation they desire will definitely be available for a price.

Occupational Aspirations

It is said that the occupational aspirations of the tribal students are significantly low in comparison with those of the higher castes. Rath in his studies notes that the low level of aspirations are nothing "but the internalized projections of similar aspirations of their parents".[19] What are the occupational aspirations that the Respondents have for the children they are educating at present or are planning to educate?

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19. Rath. Teaching and Learning Problems of the Disadvantaged Tribal Children. (Presidential address, Twelveth Annual Conference of the Indian Academy of Applied Psychology, Bhubaneshwar. 1974).

Table 7.9

Occupational Aspirations of Respondents for their Children.

Type of Occupations Aspired For	Status of Respondent		
	With Schooling		Without Schooling
	In Service	Not in Service	
Any service with regular income	-	10	15
M.B.C. or Police	2	8	3
Teaching	4	2	-
Government service	4	3	3
Higher Administrative occupations	2	-	-
Higher professional occupations	1	-	-
Agriculture	-	-	-
Total	13	23	21

Source: Survey, 1980.

The majority of Respondents aspire for regular service sector occupations for their educated offsprings. While Respondent who are employed are specific about the nature of occupations aspired for the unemployed and especially the uneducated Respondents are only keen that their children obtain some service that offers regular income.

The changing aspirations of the tribal people away from cultivation and towards new occupational opportunities are reflected in a number of studies. For instance, in a study in Bihar it was noted that only 8.0 per cent of tribal parents' interviewed wanted their children to carry on cultivation after education.[20] Similarly in Rathnaiah's study it can be seen that while the tribal parents are not specific about the nature of occupations they would like their children to enter, only 5.1 per cent were emphatic that their offsprings also take to cultivation.[21] In the same study it has been noted that 78.6 per cent of the secondary school students aspired to non-traditional occupations.[22] Again, in a study of tribal students of Rajasthan, Singhi records similar aspirations for occupations other than cultivation.[23] Thus it can be concluded that "in a purely agricultural /tribal/ community a process of change in aspirations has set in and now the parents want their children to take up professions other than agriculture".[24]

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20. Srivastava, op.cit. 1971, pp.46-47.
21. Rathnaiah, op.cit. 1977, p.145.
22. Rathnaiah, loc. cit.
23. Singhi, op.cit. p.23.
24. Srivastava, op.cit. 1971, p.45.

The relatively small number of Respondents who especially aspire for high administrative occupations is likely to be seen as a manifestation of low aspiration levels.[25] However, our study suggests that the level of aspirations of the Respondents are to a large extent influenced by their perceptions of their economic and educational situation. For instance, we have seen that higher and professional (even science) education is absent in the entire tehsil. Hence, in order to aspire for such education the following pre-conditions are necessary:

a. An awarance of higher and professional educational and occupational opportunities;

b. Economically and educationally favourable backgrounds of students. This is essential not only in order that the household is in a position to finance higher education which is relatively expensive, but also in order that the student is able to achieve the level of education aspired for.

A few studies have related levels of aspirations to the socio-economic background of students. Such studies have noted

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25. Even in Rathnaiah's study it is seen that only 25 students (out of a total of 125 who preferred non-traditional occupations) specifically aspired for professional occupations. See Rathnaiah, loc.cit. In another study it was noted that majority of school and college (tribal) students aspired for jobs of teachers, nurses, gram-sewaks, soldiers, police and government officers. See Sachidananda, op.cit. 1974,p.141.

that higher professional occupations was aspired for mainly by those who come from relatively educated and financially comfortable homes.[26] In Singhi's study also it was observed that students from financially better homes have higher occupational aspirations.[27]

Why do the Respondents not want their children to take to cultivation? The reasons given are mainly the following:

a. Cultivation does not provide even their subsistance requirements;
b. Land is infertile and irrigation facilities are scarce;
c. Only employment in services assures a regular income. This is assured neither by cultivation nor by labour.

Hence, new occupational opportunities are not aspired to only because traditional occupations are less prestigeous or have a low status.[28] We see above that the Respondents

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26. Ibid., p.143.

27. Singhi, op.cit. p.236.

28. Srivastava in a study notes that educated (tribal) people feel shy and are ashamed of cultivating their land and tending their cattle because these occupations are not prestigious. See Srivastava, "Role of Education in the Modernization of Two Tribes" Indian Educational Review, Vol.6, No.1, 1971a, p.169.

are aware of the economic constraints in cultivation and hence see a better future for their children in non-agricultural service occupations.

Thus we have seen that the Respondents have a positive attitude towards education and new occupational opportunities. It has often been said that tribal people are irrational, superstitious and are suspicious of innovations and programmes which are carried out for their benefit. On the contrary we have seen that the tribal people are accepting modern education primarily because it has benefitted a section of their community. In fact, regular service income is emphasised by the tribal people as the only panacea for their problems of poverty and backwardness.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

We have studied the impact of education on occupational mobility among the Bhils of Rajasthan. The study specifically pertains to the predominantly tribal tehsil of Kherwara which has been exposed to definite economic and social changes over the years. We have tried to show that these changes have tended to reduce to a myth the so-called 'tribal' character of the Bhils. The Bhils do not exhibit the characteristics of an ideal tribe in the sense of being an isolated, self sufficient, homogenous and egalitarian society.

The surveyed villages are not characterized by the ideal 'tribal' form of social organization, yet the area is backward, rural and characterized by the relative absence of industrial activity. Hence, the complex occupational structure seen in urban industrial areas is not visible at the level of the village or tehsil. More than 85 per cent of the work force is engaged primarily in agricultural activity. Barely 12 per cent of the working population, on the other hand, has been absorbed in the modern tertiary sector occupations.

The conditions under which cultivation is carried on are extremely poor. Infertile fragmented land, and the absence of irrigation facilities serve to make cultivation alone inadequate to meet the subsistence needs of the population. The working

population is, hence, forced to depend on two major avenues of income to supplement that which is obtained from cultivation. They are (a) wage labour and (b) 'service' occupations. Households which have access to 'service' income are economically in a better position than the other households which do not receive such income. In the surveyed villages it was noted that dependence on wage labour was least in households where more than one member is engaged in services and skilled occupations. However, given the backward rural economy, the service sector occupations are restricted to a small number which fall within the area of administration and welfare services of the government. These service sector occupations which are the only avenues of relatively regular income have hence become the major sphere of social competition.

Historical circumstances reduced the Bhils to a semi-nomadic community, forced to depend on the forests for subsistence. While the Brahmin, Patel and other communities took to cultivation fairly early, the Bhils are relatively late comers to settled cultivation. The Bhils today cultivate the infertile and hilly areas of Kherwara tehsil, while the non-tribal Brahmins and Patels cultivate the relatively more fertile low lying areas. In the surveyed villages we have seen that the tribal households are economically more disadvantaged as compared to the non-tribal Brahmin households. For instance, the Brahmin households have greater access to irrigation facilities and do not depend on income

from wage labour at all. Further, while 89.3 per cent of Brahmin households have at least one member in the 'service' sector, as many as 53.5 per cent of the tribal households have no access to 'service' income at all. Further 61.8 per cent of the tribal households depend on wage labour.

Two aspects of change within the tribal community are also highlighted. (1) The uneven nature of development in the tehsil as a result of which two sections are visible within the larger Bhil tribe. (a) The relatively isolated section of the tribal community which has been exposed to a lesser magnitude of change i.e. the Bhils (b) The relatively more exposed and economically better off section i.e. the Minas (2) The unequal access to resources (i.e. irrigation and 'service' income) that exists within each section of the tribal community itself. It is within the context of the changing canvas of tribal society that we have attempted to study the response of the tribals to formal education and modern occupational opportunities.

Inequality of Educational Opportunity

Access to Education

Inequality of educational opportunity among the tribals as compared to the non-tribals is observable at the level of the tehsil. We have seen that the extent of coverage in schools is far lower among the tribals especially at the middle and higher stages of education. In the surveyed households, the percentage of enrolment of children from Brahmin households is distinctly

higher than that in the tribal households. While 35.2 per cent of tribal children are enrolled in schools, as many as 80.9 per cent of Brahmin children go to school.

The ability of the household to send at least one child to school was seen as indicative of a positive attitude towards formal education. The fact that more than half the tribal households (53.4 per cent) are sending at least one child to school was seen to contradict the prevailing notion that tribes are apathetic or indifferent to formal education.

The relatively low percentage of overall enrolment of tribal children (35.2 per cent) was seen to result from a number of factors. Among these are: (a) The relative isolation of the community; (b) The size of individual households; (c) The relative economic status of households. The hitherto relatively isolated Bhils of Baroti and Umra are also educationally more backward than the relatively less isolated Minas of Badla village. For instance, while 44.2 per cent of Mina children go to school, Bhil households have enrolled only 28.2 per cent of their children in schools. It was also noted that households which have a larger number of members are able to send a larger number of children to school. However, within each household size, a larger percentage of Mina as compared to Bhil children are students.

The economic status of the household appears to be a crucial factor behind inequality of educational opportunity. Households which are economically weak in each section of the

tribal community are characterized by relatively low percentage of enrolment of children. Households which have access to regular income from the 'service' sector are economically in a relatively better position as compared to the average household. It is these 'service' income households which have enrolled the maximum number of children in school. Only 23.4 per cent of Bhil as compared to 70.9 per cent of Mina households have one or more than one member in 'services'. Thus, while the Bhil households have an overall lower percentage of enrolment as compared to the Mina households, it is significant that Bhil households with access to 'service' income reveal a percentage of enrolment of children which almost equals that of Mina households of comparable economic status.

Achievement in Educational Institutions

The distinction between enrolment in educational institutions and actual attainment of achievement within them has been seen as crucial especially in the case of relatively disadvantaged communities. In the context of tribal communities, the disadvantages likely to be suffered from within the educational mainstream, are seen by social scientists as not only economic but also those which arise from the relative isolation of these communities and gives them distinct patterns of culture and behaviour. These studies trace the educational backwardness of the tribal communities to differences in language, cultural traits, lack of intellectual environment and apathy and indifferent attitudes. The present study however maintains that

an interplay of economic and cultural factors defines not only access to educational opportunities but also levels of achievement attained within the educational mainstream. While a fairly large number of tribal households enrol at least one child in school, the levels of education attained and achievement within the school is relatively poor. This can be seen in the relatively smaller percentage of enrolment in the 12-16 year age group, failure and stagnation within the school, and the relatively small number of persons who actually attain more than the level of middle school.

The 12-16 year age group is seen as crucial in the study of educational opportunity. We have seen that economic and cultural constraints in education are likely to have a greater impact beyond the age of 12 years (i.e. in the post primary school-going age group). The role of the child in the predominantly rural, backward economy as well as the relatively more expensive post primary education are seen as significant bottlenecks to middle and high school education. While the overall percentage of enrolment in the 12-16 year age group is lower than that in the 6-11 year age group in the tribal households, it is far lower in the Bhil as compared to Mina households. However, here it is the variable of economic status that appears to be most crucial in the access to education opportunity beyond the primary school stage. Households which have no access to 'service' income are able to send less than 20 per cent of children between 12 and 16 years of age to school. On the other hand households,

Bhils as well as Minas, which have one or more than one member engaged in 'services' are able to send around 50 per cent of members in this age group to school.

Wastage and stagnation in educational institutions are a feature of all the tribal households. The actual level of education attained by members who enter school is hence relatively poor. Only 24.4 per cent of the educated adult members have attained more than middle school education. Again, only 10.6 per cent of Bhil adults as compared to 32.2 per cent of Minas have nsecondary and higher levels of education. The performance of students is also marred by failures and poor levels of achievement. The contribution of the school-going child to household work, withdrawal from school and irregular attendance, the inability to cope up with the content of education and lack of an environment conducive to study are some of educational disadvantages which tribal children suffer from. It is suggested that the manifestation of these disadvantages are most pronounced in households which are economically the weakest. Thus, households which have some access to 'service' income have members with relatively higher levels of educational attainment and fewer number of failures.

In contrast, to the tribals, the Brahmin households are educationally far advanced. Not only are a majority of Brahmin children enrolled in schools, but the level of education attained is also relatively high. The Brahmin children are less confronted by the educational disadvantages

mentioned above. All but three Brahmin households have one or more than one member engaged in the 'services' sector. They are not engaged in agricultural activity and children are not usually burdened with household work. Further, these households have a tradition of learning which helps to create an environment conducive for study.

Occupational Change and Mobility

Nature of occupational opportunities

The structure of occupational opportunities has remained relatively unchanged over the years. Cultivation and manual labour which have been the traditional occupation of the Bhils continue to be the main activity of majority of the working population. We have also seen that members of the Scheduled Tribes comprise only around 5 per cent of persons employed in the State services. Though the state government has laid down a specific policy of reservation of jobs for members of the tribal community, in no year have the provisions of this policy been adhered to.

Not only are a negligible number of tribals absorbed in the service sector, but the majority are found in occupations which have the lowest economic and social status. In the surveyed households as well, we have seen that the tribal members are concentrated in the lower status (clerical and unskilled manual) occupations which have an income scale of less than Rs.400 a month. Only 7.8 per cent of tribal members in 'services' have been

able to enter higher grade supervisory occupations. The Brahmins on the other hand predominate in 'service' occupations of relatively higher social and economic status. The majority of Brahmins are found in the income range of Rs.401 to Rs.600 per month.

The pattern of access to regular sources of income is not uniform in the tribal households. A significantly larger number of Minas as compared to Bhils receive a 'service' income (including pension). However, the spread of occupational opportunities is extremely limited. A majority of 'service' income earners come from households or immediate families where one or members are already in the 'service' sector. The differential access of tribal households to 'service' income is further seen in the magnitude of intergenerational occupational mobility that has been experienced by tribal youth.

Intergenerational Occupational Change and Mobility

Intergeneration occupational change has been experienced by only 31.4 per cent of the tribal youth who are in the 'service' sector. On the other hand, 68.6 per cent of these youth have fathers who themselves derive an income from 'services'. There is thus a process of self recruitment in households which already have access to modern occupational opportunities.

We have seen that 35.3 per cent of the tribal youth engaged in 'services' have attained upward occupational mobility. However, intergenerational movement between occupational status

categories is relatively restricted to movement through one or two status categories only. No offspring has made the 'big leap' into professional or managerial occupations. Movement between generations, if any, is from semi-skilled or skilled occupations, to supervisory ones. While a few tribal youth (15.7 per cent) have experienced downward mobility, the majority (49 per cent) have attained the same occupational status as their fathers. In other words, while the social distance spanned by the occupationally mobile is relatively short, occupational categories reveal a definite pattern of self recruitment or status inheritance in certain households. Though skilled occupations have been included in the 'service' sector, the educated tribal youth are unwilling to take to such occupations as they offer very little remuneration. In fact, fathers practising skilled occupations are keen that their sons enter government service rather than the occupations they are themselves practising.

Education and Occupational Mobility

All the youth who have entered the 'service' sector have higher levels of education than their fathers. However, intergenerational advancement in educational attainment has not been accompanied by an equal magnitude of upward occupational mobility. While the nature of occupational opportunities has remained relatively unchanged, the levels of education required to aspire for these occupations has progressively increased. In other words, a process of devaluation of educational qualifications has set in.

Occupational opportunities within the service sector require a minimum of middle school educational qualifications. All service income earning youth have attained a minimum of middle school education. Persons who fail to attain this level of education are objectively excluded from the process of occupational mobility. Thus a large number of tribal children who do not enter the educational mainstream or have less than middle school education are as a result effectively excluded from aspiring to new occupational opportunities.

Since diversification of economic activity is almost negligible and modern occupational opportunities are relatively scarce, an increasing number of educated tribal youth are today entering the field of wage labour. In the surveyed tribal households it was observed that 58.5 per cent of the educated tribal youth had not been able to enter the 'service' sector. As many as 42.3 per cent of the educated youth have been engaged as manual labour during the course of the year. Manual labour has been included under the category of occupations which have the lowest economic and social status. The social origins of the educated tribal youth who are engaged in manual labour reveal that as many as 71.2 per cent of them have experienced downward mobility.

The limited number of job opportunities in contrast to the overwhelming demand for them, tends not only to destroy valid job standards, but also encourages the growth of petty corruption and a dependence on social networks and contacts. Thus,

households whose members are already in services and hence have the necessary resources and personal contacts are likely to be in a better position to avail of job opportunities than those who come from non-service backgrounds.

The Brahmins have been able to obtain a lion's share of better paid occupational opportunities. This has been facilitated by higher levels of education attained by the Brahmin as compared to the tribal youth. The Brahmin households have had relatively early access to modern occupational opportunities which in turn has encouraged the early spread of education within this community.

Attitudes and Aspirations

Our study does not show that the tribal people are apathetic or indifferent to formal education. In fact, despite inadequate facilities, difficulties in comprehension, economic hardships and scarce occupational opportunities, the tribal Respondents reveal extremely positive attitudes towards education. Educational institutions remain by and large the only channels to regular income in the relatively vulnerable agricultural economy. It is this realization that has encouraged a growing number of parents to send at least one child to school, despite the costs that are incurred in this process.

Tribal youth who have little or no education tend to regret their lack of education primarily in the context of job opportunities. The less than subsistence tribal economy is usually contrasted with the betterment of economic status that service sector employment has assured to some. Regular service income howsoever minimal, through the acquisition of formal educational qualifications is emphasized by the tribal people as

the only panacea for their problems of poverty and backwardness.

Implications of the Study

The study emphasizes the need to analyse the tribal situation in the context of changes that are taking place in and around the tribal areas. Tribes can no longer be studied in isolation as widespread social and economic changes are increasingly drawing tribal households into the national economic and socio-cultural mainstream.

Decisions on education and occupational opportunities are influenced to a large extent by tthe economic and social situation in which the individual household find themselves. While socio-cultural disadvantages influence the overall response of tribals to education, howseholds which are economically relatively better off (i.e. those with access to regular service income) are better able to overcome these constraints. The positive aspirations of the tribals towards formal education are mainly because service occupations through educational qualifications have resulted in the economic betterment of a few.

However, not only is there a small magnitude of intergenerational occupational mobility but a fairly large number of educated tribals are going in for wage labour. As an increasing number of tribals find that education does not assure them new occupational opportunities it is possible that they may turn apathetic or indifferent to education.

It is important to emphasize that the predominantly agrarian and relatively undiversified economy of the tribal area

in itself restricts the overall magnitude of occupational change that takes place. Kherwara tehsil has, as a result of historical reasons, a relatively early exposure to the service sector. After independence there has been an expansion of services primarily because of planned intervention by the State. However, in the absence of industrial and entreprenurial activity which are crucial for the development of backward areas even the few opportunities for regular income that exist today are likely to dwindle. Such a situation again, has immediate implications for the spread of education and occupational mobility.

APPENDIX A

Land Use Pattern in Kherwara Tehsil (in hectares)

Land Use	1970-1971	1978-1979
Total geographical area	107667 (100.00)*	110498 (100.00)*
Forest land	13546 (12.58)	24725 (22.38)
Current fallow	4791	354
Net area sown	23656 (21.96)	26669 (24.13)
Total cropped area	26341 (24.47)	34774 (31.47)
Area sown more than once	2685 (2.49)	7779 (7.04)
Irrigated area	2070 (1.92)	2595 (2.35)

Source: 1. Statistical Abstract Rajasthan, Jaipur: Directorate of Economics and Statistics.

2. Land Records Udaipur District

* Figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage of total geographical area that has been put to different uses.

APPENDIX B

Average Yield of Crops - Udaipur District, Kherwara Tehsil (Kgs per hectare)

Crops	Kherwara Tehsil		Udaipur District	
	1973-74	1979-80	1973-74	1977-78
Paddy	458	480	890	1149
Jowar	179	204	350	428
Maize	175	147	410	728
Wheat	1013	2167	1079	1659

Source: 1. Statistical Abstract Rajasthan 1980. Jaipur: Directorate of Economics and Statistics Rajasthan.

2. Land Records. Kherwara Tehsil.

APPENDIX C

Pattern of Migration - Kherwara Tehsil 1977

Community	Total Persons	No. Who Migrated	Reasons for Migration			
			Service	Labour	Education	Trade
Scheduled* Tribe	104473	2403	1720	634	44	5
a. Bhil	48368	1016	627	357	27	5
b. Mina	48301	1230	991	227	12	-
Others	40789	1017	562	152	46	57
Total	145262	3420	2482	786	90	62

Source: Bench Mark Survey Records, 1977.

* Includes Persons Calling Themselves Adivasis and Garasias.

APPENDIX D

Estimates* of Employment of Casual Labour in the Tehsil 1979-80

Name of Office/ Programme	Period for which estimated (No.of months)	Estimated Number of Labourers	
		Total (man-days)	% of Bhil/ Mina Workers**
Soil Conservation Office	12	8500	85
Public Works Department			
a. Famine Works	3	1250	80
b. Construction of Buildings	12	360	90
Drought Prone Areas Programme	6	1800	70
P.W.D. National Highway Department	3	1000	90
Forest Range Office	12	10000	90
Panchayat Samiti	1	4670	90

* Estimates of Casual Employment were obtained during the course of our survey conducted in Kherwara in December 1980. No official records are kept of persons who are employed on daily wages, only a muster roll system is adopted. Hence officials in the concerned departments could give only a rough idea of the man-days of casual employment for a particular period.

**The tribal labourers are not necessarily from Kherwara tehsil alone.

APPENDIX E

Location of Higher/Secondary Schools in Kherwara Tehsil

Village	Scheduled Tribes as % of Total Population (1971)	Scheduled Tribe Students as % of Total Enrolment (1979)
Higher Secondary Schools		
Channi	1	49
Nayageon	20	45
Jawas	2	45
Bawalwara	29	39
Kalyanpur	3	40
Adibali	NA	31
High Schools		
Kherwara Chaoni	10	46
Rikhebdeo	17	33

Source: 1. Records of the Education Department. Udaipur, 1979.

2. Census of India 1971. Rajasthan. Series 18. District Census Handbook, Udaipur District.

APPENDIX F

Social Organization of the Tribe

Village	Tribe	Number of Clans	Names of Clans
Badla	Mina	6	Limbat Bhanat and Palat (commonly known as Damor) Nanama and Bhagora.
Baroti	Bhil	9	Damor, Nanama, Khokara, Mewat, Bhil Girasia, Kalasua, Phanat, Kharadi, Bhagora.
Umra	Bhil	4	Karoa, Nanama, Rathoer, Bodar.

Source: 1980 Survey.

APPENDIX G

Pattern of Land Ownership in the Villages* (1977)

Size of (hectares)	Scheduled Tribe		Others		Total	
	Households	Land Owned	House-holds	Land Owned	House-holds	Land Owned
Landless	9	-	3	-	12	-
Less than 1	148	95.92	16	9.8	164	105.72
1-2	88	109.40	14	15.8	102	125.20
2-3	50	113.20	7	15.6	57	128.80
3-4	11	33.80	3	10.0	14	43.80
More than 4	21	86.20	9	42.8	30	129.00
Total	327	438.52	52	94.00	379	532.52
Average Size of Holdings		(1.34)		(1.80)		(1.41)

Source: Bench Mark Survey Records. 1977.

* The land ownership pattern for the three villages (Badla, Baroti and Umra) are given below. The data relates to the year 1977.

APPENDIX H

Pattern of Land Use in Badla Baroti and Umra - 1979-80
(in hectares)

Land	Badla	Baroti	Umra	Kherwara(1979)
Total cropped area	254 (100)	253.49 (100)	38.40 (100)	34774 (100)
Net area sown	169.20 (66.62)	194.46 (76.68)	24.40 (62.5)	26669 (76.69)
Area sown more than once	84.80 (33.38)	58.03 (22.89)	14.00 (36.5)	7779 (22.37)
Irrigated area	13.20 (5.19)	1.11 (0.44)	- -	2595 (7.46)

Source: Land Record Kherwara Tehsil.

APPENDIX I

Dependence on Manual Labour in the Households

Size of Owned land/Access to Irrigation	Households		Households Dependent on Labour			
	Total	Dependent on labour	Scheduled Tribe			Brahmin
			Mina	Bhil	Total	
With Access to Irrigation						
a. Less than 1 hectare	20	3	3 (14)*	-	3 (14)	0 (6)
b. 1-2 hectares	30	12	12 (26)	0 (1)	12 (27)	0 (3)
c. More than 2 hectares	10	0	0 (5)	0 (1)	0 (6)	0 (4)
d. Total	60	15	15 (45)	0 (2)	15 (47)	0 (13)
Without Access to Irrigation						
a. Less than 1 hectare	99	65	39 (57)	26 (29)	65 (86)	0 (13)
b. 1-2 hectares	65	44	10 (12)	34 (51)	44 (63)	0 (2)
c. More than 2 hectares	45	25	2 (3)	23 (42)	25 (45)	-
d. Total	209	134	51 (72)	83 (122)	134 (194)	- (15)

Source: 1980 Survey.

* Figures in parenthesis indicate total number of households.

APPENDIX J

Family Size and Access to Education in the Tribal Households

Size of Household	Households	Households Sending		
	Total	With Members 6-16 years old	One Child to school	More than one to school	One or more children to school
Mina					
0-4	17	10	3	1	4
5-6	45	44	15	9	24
7-8	30	27	11	6	17
9 and above	25	24	10	12	22
Total	117	105	39	28	67
Bhil					
0-4	19	14	3	-	3
5-6	25	24	3	2	5
7-8	23	23	6	6	12
9 and above	57	57	11	21	32
Total	124	118	23	29	52

Source: 1980 Survey.

APPENDIX K

Enrolment in Age Groups in the Households

Community	6 - 11 years				12 - 16 years			
	Children		Students		Children		Students	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Scheduled Tribe								
a.Mina	86	72	56	17	60	33	33	5
b.Bhil	111	101	50	16	70	66	26	6
c.Total	197	173	106	33	130	99	59	11
Brahmin	15	16	15	12	15	17	14	10
Total	212	189	121	45	145	116	73	21

Source: 1980 Survey.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW NO. [/]

IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON THE OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF THE BHILS

RESPONDENTS' SURVEY (INTERVIEW SCHEDULE)
(1979-80)

DATE OF INTERVIEW _____

TIME TAKEN _____

I. IDENTIFICATION PARTICULARS

1. NAME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD _____
2. VILLAGE _____
3. SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD _____
   a. CASTE/TRIBE OR COMMUNITY _____
   b. CLAN _____
   c. RESPONDENT _____
   d. MAIN OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD _____

II. DETAILS OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD[1]

Sl. No.	Members (Relation to Respondent)	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education 2	Occupation/Economic Activity	
						Main[3]	Any Others

1. Include all persons living together and eating from the same kitchen for at least six months during the past year as well as immediate family members (father, son etc.) who may be living outside the village due to the exigencies of work but contribute to household income.
2. Mention 'S' if still studying, 'F' if failed.
3. Give the main occupation or activity that the member is engaged in and the time spent on it every day.

III. LAND OWNED BY THE HOUSEHOLD

1. Total Land Owned: Local Units _____ Hectares _____

2. Area of Cultivable Land _____

3. Number of Fragments into which owned land is divided _____

IV. AREA UNDER CULTIVATION (1979-80)

1. Season 1 _____

2. Season 2 _____

3. Crops Grown 1. Season 1 _____

2. Season 2 _____

4. Details of Irrigation Facilities:

1. Owns irrigation equipment _____

2. Only has access to irrigation _____

3. Type of irrigation facilities

a. Owned _____

b. Has access to _____

4. Area of Land irrigated _____

V. INCOME FROM LABOUR

1. Has any member (including yourself) earned an income from labour-agricultural, mine, construction etc. during 1979-80? give the following details:

Sl No.	Member Engaged in Wage Labour[1]	Type of Labour[2] (Describe)	Wage Per Day		No. of Days	Total Income for the year	
			Cash	Kind		Cash	Kind

1. If any member is engaged in more than one type of labour during the year, each should be mentioned separately.

2. Agriculture, mine, construction labour etc.

VI. DETAILS OF NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

1. Has any member obtained income from other non-agricultural (including skilled) occupations during 1979-80?

Members	Age	Sex	Education	Nature of Occupation	Place where employed	Income	Manner[1] in which job was obtained
Staying in the Village							
Staying Outside Village [2]							

1. Mention how the member came to know of the job and the channel through which he got it.

2. These are the members who contribute to household income, but are employed outside the village. The relationship of each member to the head of the household should be given.

VII. What was the households' expenditure during 1979-80 on:

a. Education _____

b. Health _____

c. Ceremonies _____

d. Marriages _____

VIII. Given the following details of education/household activity of children (6-16 years) of the household:

Members (6-16 years)	Household Activity Done Daily		Whether his/her labour essential	Comments[1]
	Nature of Work	Hours Per Day Spent in it		
Going to School				
Not-Going to School				

1. Mention if household work has prevented the child from being sent to school or has affected the child's performance in school. Also find the reason why children (if any) have not

IX. PARTICULARS OF EDUCATION

1. For Respondents with Schooling.

   a. Who was responsible for sending you to School? _____

   b. Where did you complete your:

      i) Primary Schooling _____

      ii) Middle Schooling _____

      iii) Secondary and above _____

   c. While studying did you avail of:

      i) Hostel facilities _____

      ii) Private accomodation_____

   d. When did you leave school? (Give Year) _____

   e. What was the highest level of education that you attained _____

   f. Why did you leave school?/Why did you not pursue Further studies? _____

   g. How did you perform in your last examination?

      i) Examination _____

      ii) Performance _____

   h. If you failed in the examination mentioned above, give reasons for the same _____

   i. Did you experience any difficulty in your studies? Please list these difficulties _____

   j. Did you take tuition? _____

2. For Respondents Without Schooling.

   a. What are the reasons for your

      i) Not being sent to school _____

      ii) Not attending school _____

   b. Do you think schooling is important? Give reasons _____

   c. Do you think your position would have been different if you had had some schooling? Please elaborate _____

3. Aspirations for the Education of Children.

a. Do you think it is essential that children should be educated?

i) Yes/No _____

ii) Give reasons for (i) _____

b. Are you educating/planning to educate your children? Give reasons seperately for:

i) Male Children _____

ii) Female Children _____

c. How far do you plan to educate your child/children? Give the level and type of education aspired for:

i) Male Children _____

ii) Female Children _____

4. Occupational Aspirations.

a. What is your present occupation? _____

b. Other than the present occupation, what are the activities you have taken up:

i) After leaving school _____

ii) After the age of 17 years (if you have not attained school) _____

c. Did you register with the employment exchange? _____

d. How did you obtain your present job? _____

e. Have you experience any difficulty in the search for employment?

Yes/No _____

Please give details _____

f. Are you satisfied with your present occupation?

Yes/No _____

g. If no, (i) What did you aspire for? _____

(ii) Why have you been unable to fulfill your aspirations? _____

h. What occupation do you aspire for your child?

i) Child who goes to school _____

ii) Child (if any) who does not/may not go to school _____

i. What are the main occupational avenues for:

i) Persons with schooling _____

ii) Persons without schooling _____

j. (If Respondent is not engaged in cultivation) Why have you not taken up cultivation? _____

k. What are the main reasons for poverty in your community? ____

l. What are main factors that can lead to development of your community? _____

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