

**EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG  
THE SCHEDULED TRIBES OF MADHYA PRADESH**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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1989**

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Certified that the dissertation entitled :  
"Education And Occupational Mobility Among The  
Scheduled Tribes of Madhya Pradesh", submitted by  
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out of a total requirement of twenty-four credits  
for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this  
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to my Supervisor Dr. (Mrs) Geetha B. Singh without whose able guidance, incisive criticism, in-depth analysis and consistent encouragement this work may not have reached its fruition. I am also indebted to Dr (Mrs) Sushila Singhal, Chairperson of the Centre, for her encouragement and useful suggestion.

I am thankful to all the staffs of JNU Library, NCERT Library, NIEPA Library and ICSSR Library, for their help and cooperation.

I am especially thankful to Ms. Sangeeta, my wife, whose memory worked as a perennial flow of inspiration.

I cannot forget to thank my friends Sri Ajay N. Jha, Sri Rabindra Kumar, Sri S.K. Thakur, Sri Vivek Prasad and others for their cooperation and for making the work more pleasurable than otherwise it had been. Lastly, I also thank my typist, Mr. T.P. Ramachandran for finishing the work in time.

NEW DELHI, 1989

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

A significant feature of our society is the unequal sharing of fruits of development by different strata. While certain groups have received favourable treatment and have become privileged, others remained backward. One of the most backward sections of India is its tribal population which occupies the lowest position on all fronts of development i.e. social, economic and political.

The definition of the tribe has always been problematic. Social anthropologists have tended to look for ideal tribes, in the sense of isolated, economically backward, self-sufficient Communities, with a well defined political, linguistic and cultural boundary where stratification is absent etc. Such definitions tend to view tribes as static Communities. However, there has always been some kind of interaction between the tribal Communities and wider society which has brought about a number of changes in tribal society. What is important for us is the element of change in the tribal society, particularly that which has followed from exogenous forces such as urbanisation, industrialization and modern means of communication. A number of changes are taking place in tribal Communities. For instance, stratification, though in its incipient form, has been observed

in most of the tribal societies except for a few nomadic tribes. The ownership of land, for instance, is an important criterion of stratification in a tribal society and distinction on the basis of wealth and occupation are visible (Beteille, 1977: 14; Shah G hanshyam, 1979: 464; Pathy; 1984:22). Thus, there is hardly, any real tribe in today's India, in anthropological sense of the term - what we find are tribes in transition (Majumdar, 1937; Beteille, 1977; Desai, 1977; Dube, 1977).

The structure of tribal economy in Madhya Pradesh is based on traditional agriculture and/operated with primitive tools and implements, household industries without being Commercialized, involvement of tribals in the form of unskilled labour in mining, quarrying, forestry, livestock, fisheries, hunting etc. from which more than 90 percent of workers, derive their livelihood. The other avenues of work such as manufacturing industries other than household, Construction, trade and Commerce, transport and storage, and other activities taken together engage less than 10 percent of the workers. The poor involvement of tribal workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy denotes the backwardness of tribal economy on the one hand and insignificant role of modern occupations in their economic life on the other.

The reason for such a depressing state of economy can be traced to a number of factors which include poverty, exploitation by money-lenders etc. Their low level of

literacy and poor level of education are also emphasized as important reasons for the backwardness of the tribal people. In the Indian context formal education has been seen as an important instrument of change and status enhancement for scheduled tribes by policy makers. One of the important governmental programmes for tribal development in post-independent India has been education. Along with programmes of education, there have also been industrialization, urbanization, development of modern means of communication, administration etc. These factors have set in process of change in these Communities : one of the important changes is the creation of new occupational opportunities. What was characteristic feature of most of these occupations was that formal education was essential to avail of them. Thus the introduction of formal education in tribal society can be seen as a new avenue of status improvement as distinct from the traditional indices of status.

It was assumed that education would help the tribals shift from traditional occupations to modern occupations, thereby, leading to enhancement of their socio-economic status. In other words, mobility of the tribal people tended to be seen as the shift from traditional agricultural occupations to occupations in the modern sector of the economy. While this is a general trend of understanding in many official documents, there are very few studies which have analysed the spread of education among tribes and the kind of



occupations that are being taken up by tribal people.

In order to examine this assumption properly, we will make an indepth study of the growth of education among scheduled tribes as well as movement of scheduled tribes from the traditional occupations to modern occupations. In addition, even the kind of occupations they enter in modern sector of the economy are important.

The scheduled tribes are late-comers in the field of formal education. They were deprived of education for centuries. Formal education and subsequent occupations are now being emphasized by the government for the advancement of the scheduled tribes and for their integration in the national economic and cultural mainstream.

Table I

Literacy Rate Among Scheduled Tribes And General Population at All India Level in 1961, 1971 and 1981

| Community          | 1961  | 1971  | 1981  |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| General Population | 24.02 | 29.45 | 36.02 |
| Scheduled Tribes   | 8.54  | 11.30 | 16.25 |

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

As can be seen from the Table I the literacy rate among the scheduled tribes has been very low in comparison to non-tribals, over the years. Though the growth rate of literacy among the scheduled tribes is faster than that of the general population, still the gap is very wide between the tribal population and the non-tribal populations in terms of literacy rate. Scholars who have analysed inequalities in education among the tribes have focussed on the factors which are constraints in the spread of education. These structural constraints are such as ecological which is defined in terms of geographical barriers, socio-economic status at the family level and the internal structure of school system (Rathnalah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987; Shyamlal, 1987); For instance, one of the important ecological constraints which hinders the spread of literacy and education among the scheduled tribes is the spread of educational facilities. It is commonly accepted that socio-economic conditions of the family have their impact on the educability of the children. And finally, the school as a system also works as a major structural constraint which hinders the growth of literacy and education among tribal children. For instance, tribal education suffers because the school system in terms of language and the content of education is not adapted to the needs of tribal social structure and local conditions prevailing thereupon.

There is a misconceived notion regarding the relationship which exists between education and occupational mobility. Thus it becomes necessary to dwell on occupational mobility, after dealing with the problem of "Inequality of Educational Opportunity" in order to show what kind of relationship does exist between education and occupational mobility.

When we speak of occupational mobility we mean a shift from one occupation to another occupation. In Miller and Form's study (1964) this phenomenon has been called 'individual Career mobility'. The shift of occupations can be considered at two levels, shift within the generation and shift within two or more generations.

This study attempts to analyse the growth of education and occupational mobility among scheduled tribes in a specific area, namely, Madhya Pradesh. We have chosen Madhya Pradesh, not only because the state has the largest concentration of tribal population but also it is inhabited by major tribes of India. According to 1981 census scheduled tribes comprise 23% of the total population of the state. The tribal people belong to fifty-eight Communities. The major tribes are the Gonds, the Bhills, the Oraons, the Kols, the Baigas, the Halbas etc. The most numerically dominant tribes of Madhya Pradesh are Bhils and Gonds who account, for 19.02 and 38.41 percent of the total tribal population of Madhya Pradesh respectively (Census 1971).

Objectives:

Our study would comprise of two parts: In the first, we will analyse the growth of formal education in tribal Madhya Pradesh. It would also make a comparison between tribes and non-tribes in terms of growth and expansion of education. And this comparison would be made with the help of indicators such as literacy rate, enrollment rate, spread of educational facilities, representation of scheduled tribes in different educational institutions.

The second part of our study would analyse the occupational mobility among scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh. Occupational mobility would be studied in terms of movement of tribals from traditional occupations to modern occupations. Besides, we would also try to examine the nature of mobility among tribes - whether it is horizontal or vertical.

The analysis of education and occupational mobility among the scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh would be done at two levels. At macro-level, it would be the analysis of education and occupational mobility among the scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh as a whole. And at micro-level, it would be the analysis of education and occupational mobility among the scheduled tribes of Bastar and Jhabua districts of Madhya Pradesh.

The theoretical model which we are going to use to analyse the problem of inequality of educational opportunity, believes that differential educational achievements among the different sections of a society arise mainly due to three sets of structural factors which are as follows:

- (a) the ecological factors at the community and group level;
- (b) the socio-economic status at the family level; and
- (c) internal structure of the school system.

Sources of Data:

Our work is primarily based on secondary sources. These include (i) Monographs and field studies; (ii) Government reports and documents; (iii) Census of India; (iv) All India Educational Surveys.

CHAPTER IIEDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY - A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Occupational mobility is an integral part of the wider process of social mobility. Bendix and Lipset define social mobility as "the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society; positions, which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical roles (Bendix and Lipset: 1959: 1-2)". According to Morrish, the social mobility is basically the movement of individuals from one social position to another. This movement may be up or down, between the classes in any social hierarchy or stratification (vertical mobility) or it may occur within a particular social class (horizontal mobility) (Morrish, 1972: 145).

The interrelationship between education and social stratification has been on the forefront of sociology of education ever since the end of Second World War. During the last three decades scholars have tried to understand the relationship between education and occupation in order to highlight the role of education in the drama of social mobility (Banks, 1978: 39). The postulates underlying the thesis of a positive relationship between education and upward mobility may be briefly summarised as follows. Occupation becomes the main if not the sole basis of social stratification, on the one hand, the occupation of an

individual will reflect his education, values and previous personal associates, on the other hand, it will strongly influence his current personal associates, income, job security, working conditions, the wealth which he can accumulate and the life style which he can afford and choose... The occupations themselves will contribute to the social honour bestowed upon the occupant, independently of these other more specific dimensions of economic and status power which the occupations may reflect and produce (Hopper, 1971: 16). " Hence, the hierarchy of broad occupational categories is 'serviceable as a rough and ready guide to overall differences in socio-economic position, so far as the bulk of the population goes' (Westergaard and Resler, 1975: 288) .

In such a 'credential society', as Collins (1979) label it, entry into a large range of occupations is restricted to those who have acquired the requisite qualification. Generally, those at or near the apex of the occupational hierarchy will have more education than those at the bottom (Collins, 1977: 118-19). 'Data on more than sixty countries... show that a society's occupational differentiation exhibits substantial positive correlation with the level of education.' (Blau, 1976: 243) .

Besides conferring social status through occupational placement, education has a status value in itself, for it has

traditionally been a status symbol. This is what Havighurst (1961: 113) terms the 'symbolic' value of education as different from its 'functional' value in the context of occupational placement and social mobility.

As the educational system is the channel for social mobility other things remaining the same, the rate of growth of education can be taken as an indicator of vertical mobility. There is no dearth of empirical support for this thesis. A number of studies conducted on social mobility in the West have highlighted the crucial role of education. Hall and glass' study (1954: 291-307) in Great Britain and that of Centers (1949) in the USA, though varying in details, substantially point to the same direction : "Within lower status groups a child is more likely to be socially mobile if he has a superior education, and at the same time a superior education lessens the possibility of downward mobility for those in the high status group." (Banks, 1976: 43) .

Blau and Duncan (1967: 403) in their major study of the American occupational structure have argued that 'education exerts the strongest direct effect on occupational achievements' and that 'most of the influence of social origins on occupational achievements is mediated by education and early experience. This thesis is also supported by Sewell and Hauser's (1975) .



On the basis of the available proof, several social scientists have foreseen educational achievement having a far greater impact on occupational achievement.

Havighurst (1961: 119-20) predicts that the industrial and democratic society of the year 2000, will be even more open and fluid than the most highly industrialised society today, so that education will be the main instrument for upward mobility and lack of education or failure to do well in one's education will be the principal cause of downward mobility//

Husen (1974) predicts a 'learning society' where the educational credential will be democracy's substitute for ascriptive social prerogative.

However, the above thesis and the evidence given in its support have not gone unchallenged. It was Anderson (1961) who struck perhaps the first sceptical note in his well known controversial paper. Reanalysing the separate sets of data concerning education and mobility in Britain, the United States of America and Sweden, he argued that "while education certainly influence a man's chances to move upward or downward, only a relatively modest part of all mobility is linked to education", and therefore, "education is but one of many factors influencing mobility, and it may be far from a dominant factor" (Anderson, 1961: 171 and 176).

Jencks and his associates (1973) have also echoed Anderson's scepticism. By way of concluding their analysis of occupational inequality in America they observe that 'while occupational status is more closely related to educational attainment than to anything else we can measure, there are still enormous status differences among people with the same amount of education'. They have drawn attention to the part played by random factors, which they inappropriately call 'luck' (Jencks, et al 1973: 8-9 and 191). The remarkable point to be noted here is that neither Anderson nor Jencks and his associates deny the influence of education on occupation, but they only give stress on its limitations as the sole or complete explanation of differential occupational achievement.

Boudon (1974: 13-15), a French sociologist has also made an important contribution to this line of thought. His review of the level of educational attainment and mobility has led him to conclude that : "except under very special conditions which are unlikely to be met, a highly meritocratic society will not necessarily give to those who have reached a high level of education more chances of promotion or fewer chances of demotion than those whose level of education is lower". He believes that this apparent paradox is derived from two circumstances : "First, since

those who obtain a high level of education more frequently have a higher background, they have to climb still higher in the hierarchy of social status in order not to experience demotion, second, one consequence of this discrepancy between educational and social structure is that even under a high degree of meritocracy, people with the same level of education will reach different social status." Hence, he thinks, 'even if a society has a strong tendency toward granting the best social positions to those who are better educated, education may have no apparent influence on mobility'. Boudon (1977: 195) has further argued that "there is no reason to expect that a considerable increase in educational demand, which is occurring in industrial societies is connected to an increase in social mobility even if accompanied as it certainly is, by a reduction in unequal educational opportunity".

Thus the dictum that education is the key in the process of upward social mobility has been belied to a large extent. On the other hand, a new kind of fact has come to the light that the educational system is a significant mechanism which contributes to the 'reproduction' of the existing social structure (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, Bourdieu, 1974; Passerson 1977). Moreover, the educational system is guilty of legitimizing and perpetuating existing social inequalities (Bourdieu, 1974; Bowles, 1977).

There are several aspects of the role of education as a mechanism of social reproduction and an important aspect among them is what is known as 'unequal education' or inequality of educational opportunities, i.e, differences in level of educational attainment according to social background (Boudon,1974: xi).

However, on the basis of the conceived relationship between education and occupational mobility, the government has given due attention towards the educational development of the economically, socially and educationally backward communities of our society. Therefore, it becomes necessary for us to locate properly the place of education in the process of mobility of these communities particularly those of scheduled tribes.

There are some structural constraints which are seen to have been responsible for the low rate of growth of literacy and education among scheduled tribes. These structural constraints can be broadly divided into three categories-

- (i) Ecological Constraints;
- (ii) Socio-economic constraints; and
- (iii) Internal structure of school as a constraint.

Some of the important ecological constraints which hinder the spread of literacy and education among the

scheduled tribes are relatively isolated nature of the tribal inhabitants, the difficult geographical barriers and the spread of educational facilities (Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987; Shyamalal, 1987). For instance, Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (1962), the Backward Class Commission (1956) and L.R.N. Srivastava (1962) have made it clear that the slow and tardy progress of education among the tribes in India is due to inadequate schooling facilities for these communities.

It is commonly accepted that socio-economic conditions of the family have their impact on the educability of the children. Most of the tribes are very poor and economically backward. Thus the sending of their children <sup>to schools</sup> is mainly guided by the economic factor, because their children start working from the very early age. They think that if they send their children to the school, they will be losing, an earning hand. Therefore, the poverty and economic backwardness, size of the family are some of the important socio-economic constraints which determine the educability of tribal children (Ambasht, 1970; Srivastava, 1971; Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987; Shyamalal, 1987). For instance, T.B. Naik (1969) pointed out that it was the upper strata of the society which got the maximum educational benefit or which got educated. (Rathnaiah, 1977,

Shah & Patel, 1985). The size of the family has also affected the tribal education. It has been found that educated ones often come from large size families (Naik, 1969; Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987).

The school as a system also works as a major structural constraint which hinders the growth of literacy and education among tribal children. It is generally recognised that educational expansion is also a function of the structure of the school system. It is found that there is a gap between the tribal social system and the school system. And it is seen that tribal education suffers because the school system in terms of language and the content of education is not adopted to the needs of tribal social structure and local conditions prevailing thereupon. Thus, owing to the alien nature of the content of education, language and the poor quality of instruction at the primary level of school, most of the tribal students were experiencing difficulties in certain subjects like English, Mathematics, General Science etc. (Dhebar Commission, 1962; Sachchidananda, 1967; Bernstein, 1961; Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987). That is why Renuka Ray Committee (1959) has emphasized the need to make the language of the tribes the medium of instruction.

It has been pointed out that one of the main causes for the high drop out rate in the tribal areas at

the primary stage is the curriculum (M. Rebellow, 1978).

Some of the studies have highlighted the problems of primary education for tribals particularly in the areas of stagnation, wastage, getting right type of teachers etc. The important reasons given for wastage and stagnation were the lack of encouragement given to the students by their parents, the lack of continued interest of the teachers in the students, the poor economic conditions and the medium of instruction (Dhebar Commission, 1962; N.K. Ambasht, 1970; Sita Toppo, 1979).

The youth dormitory Dhunkuria has served as an educational institution among the oroons of Bihar. What is special about this traditional educational institution is that it is fast dying out due to various factors of cultural change and is being replaced by modern school and colleges (Sachchidananda, 1958; Sita Toppo, 1979).

It has been found that the states having the higher literacy rate in general population also have higher literacy in tribal population. The case of Madhya Pradesh can be cited in this regard. Madhya Pradesh is considered as one of the educationally backward states of India. Reason being, its literacy rate of general population (27.87 percent) is lower than that of All India average (36.02 percent). Similarly its literacy rate of tribal population (10.68 percent) is lower than that of All India

average (16.25 percent) (A.B. Bose, 1970; Census of India, 1981).

On the basis of survey of literature, we are in a position to draw the following conclusions:

(i) There has been a paucity of research on tribes in general and education and occupational mobility in particular.

(ii) Some of the studies have focussed on a particular tribe. The limitation of such type of studies has been that these studies have not been able to make an inter-tribal comparison, in terms of education and occupational mobility. Since the tribe is not a monolithic entity, therefore such type of comparison is essential.

(iii) And finally, most of the studies did not touch upon the interaction between the school and home environment and its effect on the educability of tribal children.



CHAPTER IIIINEQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

This chapter analyses the nature of inequality of educational opportunity between tribals and non-tribals as well as among tribals themselves in Madhya Pradesh. Literacy, enrolment and provision of educational facilities are seen as important indicators of inequality of educational opportunity. An attempt would be made to analyse the problem of inequality of educational opportunity in terms of structural variables such as ecological constraints; socio-economic constraints and school system as a constraint. The problems of inequality of educational opportunity will be dealt with at two levels, i.e., macro as well as micro. For the purpose of macro-level study our unit of analysis would be Madhya Pradesh as a whole and for the purpose of micro-level study, our unit of analysis would be Bastar and Jhabua districts of Madhya Pradesh.

Pre-Independence Period

One of the important institutions of Gonds of Bastar has been its traditional system of education which is known as 'ghotul'. It was a bisexual youth dormitory

where the youth of both sexes spent their evenings and slept at night. The Ghatul played two major roles in tribal society. Firstly, it has been socializing the tribal children and making them acquainted with the tribal culture. Secondly, it has also prepared the children for their adult role. Besides, Ghatul was a place where the youth were initiated into the mysteries of sex. The young folk were their own masters in a Ghatul. That is why Elwin calls it a 'children's Republic' (Elwin, 1947). Similarly, the institution of the youth dormitory, popularly known as 'Dhumkuria' has been very popular among the Oraons of Chotanagpur in tribal Bihar. Though much literature is not available on the traditional system of education but what is notable about these institutions is that with the introduction of western education, they began losing their significance.

The growth of western education among the tribals was tardy before independence. According to 1931 Census percentage of literacy among the tribals was as low as 0.7 percent as compared to general literacy rate of 8.3 per cent. The position of education among tribal women was still worse; their literacy rate in 1931 being 0.2 percent as compared to the general female literacy of 2.3 percent. While there is little reference to early education among tribes of Madhya Pradesh, it is possible that among the reasons for poor literacy rates are the

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inaccessibility and remoteness of areas inhabited by tribals, lack of interest shown by the British Government in India towards the socio-economic development of tribal people etc. Accounting for the difficulties in promoting education among tribes, Verrier Elwin, emphasised that for a tribal family, to send its grown-up boys and girls to school is essentially a matter of economics and involves dislocation in the traditional pattern of division of labour. Girls give every kind of help to their mothers at home and boys work in the field with their parents (Elwin, 1963).

It also appears that the role of various missionaries has been very limited in the development of tribal education in Madhya Pradesh. In fact, literature available on the subject hardly mentions the contribution that missionaries may have made to education in tribal Madhya Pradesh. On the other hand, in states like Bihar and in the North East early education in tribal pockets can largely be traced to the efforts of missionaries (German, Lutheran and Roman Catholic) in the late 19th century.

#### Post-independence Era

The government of India has shown a keen interest in the all-round development of one of the most backward communities, namely, scheduled tribes of our society. In

pursuance of this policy, a number of provisions have been inserted into the constitution of India, with a view to abolish all forms of discriminations and bring these groups at par with others. The constitution directs that the state shall promote with special care the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of people and in particular, of scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Art 45). Art 15 and 16 are also amended to lay down that nothing in these articles shall prevent the state from making special provisions for the advancement of any socially or educationally backward classes of citizens or for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (Art. 15 (iv) and 16(v)).

Even after having all these constitutional provisions and efforts made by the government for the educational development of tribal people, the basic question which arises is: has there been any substantial improvement of scheduled tribe students in terms of educational opportunities available to them? And this question can be answered in terms of educational opportunities which should not be measured by educational facilities and financial aid alone but by literacy rates, enrollment and spread of educational facilities of the tribes in comparison to non-tribes.

Literacy

According to 1981 census, the literacy rate for the M.F. general population was 27.87 percent. The scheduled tribes among whom only 10.68 percent are literate lag far behind the general population. In the last twenty years,

Table I

Literacy Rate Among Scheduled Tribes and general population  
in Madhya Pradesh in 1961, 1971 and 1981

| Communities        | In percentage |       |       |
|--------------------|---------------|-------|-------|
|                    | 1961          | 1971  | 1981  |
| General Population | 17.1          | 22.14 | 27.87 |
| Scheduled Tribes   | 5.10          | 7.62  | 10.68 |

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

the literacy rate of scheduled tribes has barely doubled (Table I). Another thing which can be inferred from Table I is that the growth in the literacy rate of scheduled tribes has been faster than that of the general population.

Table II

Percentage of Total Tribal Population and Literacy Rate of Bhils and Gonds in 1971 (Madhya Pradesh)

| Tribe | % of total tribal population | Literacy Rate |       |
|-------|------------------------------|---------------|-------|
|       |                              | 1971          | 1981* |
| Gonds | 38.41                        | 9.02          | -     |
| Bhils | 19.02                        | 3.71          | -     |

\* Literacy Rate of Individual Tribe not available in 1981.

Source: Census of India, 1971.

The wide gap exists not only between tribes and non-tribes in terms of literacy rate but also among different tribes. Table II shows that the Bhils are lagging far behind the Gonds in terms of literacy rate. Thus, it can be said that inequality of educational opportunity operates at various levels.

There has been an impact of urbanization and industrialization on tribal education in India. In urban areas there is a diversification of the economy in trade professions and occupations which requires literacy and education.

Urban areas also have better educational facilities. That is why we find larger literacy rates and enrollment in the urban areas than in the rural areas whose economy is less diversified and predominantly agrarian in nature.

Table III shows that maintaining the general trend, literacy rates in Madhya Pradesh are much higher in the urban areas in comparison <sup>with</sup> rural areas. The significance of the above trend lies in the fact that according to 1981 census, less than 10 percent of the scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh reside in the urban areas. Now the point which is notable and relevant in this regard is, to what extent the government educational programmes benefitted the 90 percent tribals who reside in the rural areas of Madhya Pradesh.

Table III

Rural and Urban Literacy Rates Among the Scheduled Tribes of Madhya Pradesh in 1971 and 1981

| Communities      | In Percentage |       |
|------------------|---------------|-------|
|                  | 1971          | 1981  |
| Scheduled Tribes |               |       |
| Rural            | 7.39          | 10.05 |
| Urban            | 21.12         | 27.62 |
| Total            | 7.62          | 10.68 |

Source: Census of India 1971, 1981.

School Education

The comparison of enrollment ratio of scheduled tribes with the enrollment ratio of general population provides an important tool through which one can study the educational problems of tribes.

Table IV

Enrollment Ratio of General Population and Scheduled Tribes at Classes I - V and VI - VIII in various years in Madhya Pradesh

| Year    | Classes I-V (Age groups 6-11 years) |                  | Classes VI-VIII (Age groups 11-14 years) |                  |
|---------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--|------------------|
|         | General Population                  | Scheduled Tribes | General Population                       | Scheduled Tribes |
| 1979-80 | 63.1                                | 40.3             | 30.6                                     | 10.1             |
| 1982-83 | 75.6                                | 54.1             | 33.5                                     | 13.7             |
| 1983-84 | 80.3                                | 59.8             | 35.0                                     | 15.5             |
| 1984-85 | 82.3                                | 64.5             | 36.2                                     | 15.9             |

Source: Selected Educational Statistics, Ministry of Education and Culture, Planning, Monitoring and Statistics Division, Government of India, 1980-81, 1983-84, 1984-85, 1985-86.

Table IV shows that there is a wide gap between scheduled tribes and non-scheduled tribes in terms of Enrollment ratios at both the educational levels (i.e. classes I - V and Classes VI - VIII). The gap between the tribes and non-tribes is much wider in terms of enrollment ratios



at the level of classes VI - VIII. Though there has been a continuous improvement in enrollment ratios of scheduled tribes over the years, the fact remains that the scheduled tribes still lag far behind the non-scheduled tribes in terms of enrollment ratios.

There is no doubt about it that literacy is an important indicator of the educational situation of the scheduled tribes in Madhya Pradesh, but it tells us a only about the access to educational opportunities. If we want to examine further the disparity in educational opportunities between the tribals and non-tribals, we will have to study enrollment at different levels in educational institutions and in different courses particularly at higher levels of education which are directly or indirectly linked up with better job opportunities.

Two important things can be inferred from Table V. First of all, we find that within the non-professional as well as professional courses, when we move from the under graduate stage to <sup>the</sup> post-graduate, there is a decrease in enrollment of scheduled tribes in Madhya Pradesh, which is well within the general trend found at all India level. Secondly, when we make a comparison between non-professional and professional courses at under-graduate as well as post-graduate levels in terms of enrollment of scheduled tribes,

Table V

Enrolment in Non-professional and Professional Courses at  
under-graduate as well as post graduate level in Madhya  
Pradesh, in 1978 - 79.

|                | Non-Professional        |                   |                | Professional         |                  |                |
|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
|                | Total                   | Scheduled Tribes  | % to Total     | Total                | Scheduled Tribes | % to Total     |
| Under-Graduate | 1,36,353<br>(18,26,500) | 5,128<br>(32,405) | 4.82<br>(1.79) | 34,156<br>(4,67,867) | 712<br>(5,277)   | 2.20<br>(1.32) |
| Post-Graduate  | 21,604<br>(2,15,812)    | 657<br>(3,263)    | 3.04<br>(1.58) | 1,788<br>(33,250)    | 3<br>(137)       | 0.22<br>(0.50) |

All India Figure in Parentheses

Source: Facilities to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Universities and Colleges:  
A Report by UGC SCT Cell, 1978-79.

it is found that their representation in professional courses is very poor. However, if we make a comparison between tribal and non-tribal students in non-professional courses as well as professional courses at under-graduate and post-graduate levels, we get a very gloomy picture about the tribal education as such.

Moreover, the minor representation of scheduled tribe students in professional courses, diminishes their job opportunities, because professional courses provide a better chance for getting a good job having higher socio-economic status.

Bastar is predominantly rural and tribal district with 68 of its 1981 population, being tribal. The district is educationally backward. We will try to study the educational problems of Bastar tribals from two different angles. First of all, we will make a comparative study of two predominantly tribal districts, Jhabua (its tribal population constitutes 83 per cent of the total population of the district) and Bastar in terms of educational situation of tribes. And this will provide a good example of inter-regional variations in tribal education. Secondly, we will also try to compare Bastar district with Madhya Pradesh as a unit, wherever possible.

Table VI

Literacy Rate Among Scheduled Tribes of Bastar and Jhabua districts in Madhya Pradesh in 1971 and 1981

| In percentage |        |        |
|---------------|--------|--------|
| Year          | Bastar | Jhabua |
| 1971          | 4.2    | 1.6    |
| 1981          | 7.4    | 4.1    |

Source: Census of India 1971 and 1981.

We can infer from the Table VI that both the districts namely, Bastar and Jhabua are educationally backward. Their tribal literacy rates are 7.4 and 4.1 in 1981 respectively as against the state's tribal literacy rate of 10.68 per cent. We find that tribals are lagging far behind the non-tribals in terms of literacy rate. Not only that but also the tribals in the different regions of the state differ with each other in the field of education. For instance, tribals of Jhabua is lagging far behind the tribals of Bastar district in terms of literacy rate (Table VI). One of the factors which most probably could be responsible for this is the backwardness

of Jhabua in terms of spread of educational facilities particularly at the primary schools/sections level in comparison to Bastar.

Education has been taken as an important input in tribal development and in the various Five Year Plans enhanced allocations are being made for tribal education. Various kinds of special incentives and facilities have also been provided with a view to enabling these groups to avail the educational facilities. As a result of it, literacy rates of scheduled tribes improved to a considerable extent. Enrollment has also gone up at various levels of education. However, the gap between the scheduled tribes and non-scheduled tribes continues to be wide not only in literacy but also in enrollment. The enrollment percentage of scheduled tribes of successive level of education becomes lower and lower and drop out rates continue to be higher (Table IV & V). So far as higher education is concerned, the proportion of scheduled tribes in prestigious professional courses continue to be low.

The continued low utilization of facilities by the tribals can be explained both in terms of external constraints-ecological and socio-economic as well as internal constraints of the school systems such as structure of school system, organisation, content and medium of instruction and method

of teaching etc. In the process, we would be dealing with the causes of inequality of educational opportunity. The theoretical model which we have adopted for analysing the problem of inequality of educational opportunity believes that differential educational attainments among the different sections of a society arise mainly due to three sets of structural variables : (a) the ecological factors at the Community and group level; (b) the socio-economic status at the family level; and (c) internal structure of the school system.

#### Ecological Constraints

We are well aware of the fact that most of the tribal population live in an isolated backward region. And terrain of the region used to be full of streams and rivulets. So far as transport and communication facility is concerned, it is very poor in tribal areas of India in general and Madhya Pradesh in particular. Hence, in this kind of backward and isolated region, the Communication and geographical factors and the spread of educational facilities work as important constraints in the spread of formal education (Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987; Shyamalal 1987).

The provision of educational facilities within the habitation is considered as an important factor in positively contributing to school education. Facilities like the availability of a school within the habitation.

is considered as an important factor in motivating the parents as well as children in making use of the schooling facilities.

According to the Fourth All India educational survey, primary schooling facilities are available to 77 percent of rural population within the habitation and 90% of children in rural areas had these facilities within 1 km. from their homes in Madhya Pradesh. As against these only 54% of the total population had primary schooling facilities within the habitation. Similarly, only 72 per cent of scheduled tribes population had primary schooling facilities within a walking distance of 1 kms. (Table VII). Thus, we can say that even in terms of provision of schooling facilities, scheduled tribes are lagging far behind the general population.

Table VII

Percentage of Population in Rural Habitations with Primary Schools Sections within Habitation and Upto 1 km. for ST and Total Population in Madhya Pradesh

| Total Population         |                  | Scheduled Tribes          |                   |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Within Habitation</u> | <u>Upto 1 Km</u> | <u>Within Habitations</u> | <u>Upto 1 Km.</u> |
| 77.14                    | 90.17            | 53.93                     | 71.56             |
| (78.53)                  | (92.82)          | (63.96)                   | (82.99)           |

Source: Fourth All India Educational Survey (NCERT)

Note - The All India Figure are given in parentheses.

Table VIII

Percentage of Population in Rural Habitations with Primary Schools/Sections within Habitation and upto 1 km for Habitations Predominantly populated by Scheduled Tribes in Bastar District, Jhabua District, and Madhya Pradesh.

| Distance               | Percentage of population |        |        |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------|--------|
|                        | Madhya Pradesh           | Bastar | Jhabua |
| Within the habitations | 53.9                     | 53.5   | 50.4   |
| Upto 1 km.             | 79.5                     | 78.1   | 74.3   |

Source: Fourth All India Educational Survey (1978-79), State Tables, Madhya Pradesh, Directorate of Public Instruction, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal.

Table IX

Percentage of Population in Rural Habitations with Middle Schools/Sections within Habitation and upto 1 km. for Habitations Predominantly populated by Scheduled Tribes in Bastar district, Jhabua district and Madhya Pradesh.

| Distance               | Percentage of the total population |        |        |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
|                        | Madhya Pradesh                     | Bastar | Jhabua |
| Within the Habitations | 6.8                                | 7.6    | 7.3    |
| Upto 1 km.             | 8.2                                | 7.4    | 7.5    |

Source: Fourth All India Educational Survey (1978-79), State Tables, Madhya Pradesh, Directorate of Public Instruction, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal.



After making a comparison between tribes and non-tribes in terms of provisions of educational facilities, now, we are going to make a comparison between different regions in terms of provision of educational facilities of primary and Middle Schools/Sections. If we compare Bastar and Jhabua districts with Madhya Pradesh as a unit, in terms of provisions of educational facilities in habitations predominantly inhabited by scheduled tribes, we find that percentage of population in rural habitations with primary schools/sections within habitation and upto 1 km is more or less the same in Bastar district as it is found at the state level. As far as Jhabua district is concerned, it is lagging behind both Bastar and Madhya Pradesh as a whole in terms of provisions of educational facilities at the primary schools/sections level. We find that percentage of population in rural habitations with middle schools/sections within habitation and upto 1 kms. is more or less the same in Bastar and Jhabua districts as it is found at the state level.

As we have seen that only 54 percent of total tribal population in Madhya Pradesh is covered by the facilities of primary schools within their habitations (Table VII). The case of Jhabua and Bastar districts is not very different from the case of Madhya Pradesh as a whole in terms of spread of educational facilities at the primary schools/sections.

Thus a large number of tribal children remain deprived of primary educational facilities. As a result of it they remain illiterate. It is very difficult for the children in the age-group of 6-11 to go to other village crossing the difficult geographical barriers. This is one of the important reasons for the slow growth of enrollment and literacy among scheduled tribes. For overcoming this problem, the Dhebar Commission (1962) has recommended that schools should be established in tribal habitations having 30 children of school going age and in other case there should be schools having hostel facilities. It seems that the recommendation made by Dhebar Commission in this regard has not been implemented in toto. The poor growth rate of enrollment and literacy among tribal children is the reflection of this fact.

It is true that unfavourable geographical conditions impede educability, but this hurdle could be overcome by producing the hostel facilities in as many tribal villages as possible. Generally, it is found that despite the physical distance and the difficult topography, the schools having hostel facilities attracted more number of tribal students than the schools without hostels (Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987).

It has also been found that some groups take advantage of the available opportunities more than others having the same ecological constraints. This happens because of the

socio-cultural characteristics of the concerned groups (Rathnaiah, 1977).

Socio-Economic Constraints:

Socio-economic conditions of the family have their impact on the educability of the children. As discussed in Chapter I, the tribal society in India is no longer homogenous, hence the spread of education has not been even <sup>among</sup> different strata. It is found that the children from the upper socio-economic status groups have been utilising the available educational opportunities more than the middle and lower socio-economic status groups (Rathnaiah, 1977; Shah & Patel, 1985; Sujatha, 1987). For instance, the children of the upper strata of the Bhil society of Madhya Pradesh, Bhilala farmers, big patels, zamindars and other well-to-do Bhils have been able to go to Schools and got benefitted from the facilities like scholarships, hostel accommodation etc. made available to them by the government (Naik, 1969).

In a tribal society which is economically backward, the size of the family has also its impact on the educability of the children. This factor becomes crucial at secondary level of education. It does not matter at the primary level, as the children are not yet fully grown up for assisting

the parents in agricultural work, sparing the children for school is not problematic. But when the child has to be sent to a secondary school, it becomes problematic for parents to spare grown up children for schools who can assist them in agricultural work. It is here that size of the family becomes a determining factor<sup>of the</sup> educability of the children. It has been seen that educated among Bhils tend to come from comparatively large sized families. This is also supported by Rathnaiah's study of tribes in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh (Naik, 1969; Rathnaiah, 1977). Another factor which has been constraining the spread of education among the tribals is the pathetic attitude of the parents towards the education of the girls. If we compare the tribal female literacy rate (3.60 percent) in 1981 with tribal male literacy rate 17.74 percent) in 1981 in Madhya Pradesh, we find that tribal female is lagging far behind the tribal male in the field of education.

#### School System as Constraints

The educational expansion also depends upon the internal structure of the school system. The gap which exists between the tribal social system and the school system affects the education adversely, particularly when the latter is not adapted to the local surroundings (Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987). The important educational lags which are having direct bearing on the expansion

of education in tribal areas are as follows:

We are well aware of the fact that unfavourable geographical conditions and low socio-economic level of the families act as constraints. Given this fact, even if the school does not evolve suitable mechanisms to retain the children, the wastage would be further accelerated. Thus in the schools in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, the rate of drop-out was very high. Naik's study of 'Impact of Education Among Bhils in Madhya Pradesh' showed that very few children attended school after 5th standard as compared to 4.9 percent tribal students upto 5th standard (Naik, 1969).

The medium of instruction, contact of education and background of teachers also affect the educability of the children. One of the major problems which tribal education faces is that they are not taught through their mother tongue. Thus, it becomes extremely difficult for the tribal students who are studying at the primary level to learn the regional language and simultaneously understand the lessons which are taught in the class through regional language (Rathnaiah, 1977; Sahay & Vidyarthi, 1980; Sujatha, 1987).

The contents of education are also not related to the tribals socio-economic and cultural life and thus it is quite alien to them. That is why contents of books do not make any significant impact on the tribal students and the lessons become insipid for the students residing in different ecological conditions, having different economy and socio-cultural history of their own (Rathnaiah, 1977; Sujatha, 1987).

Thus, all the three major structural variables play their own role in the operation of inequality of educational opportunity at various levels. But the most significant and determining structural variable is the socio-economic constraint.

CHAPTER IVEDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

This chapter analyses the nature of occupational change among the scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh with special reference to a shift from traditional agricultural and allied occupations to modern ones. Modern occupations are those occupations which require certain minimum educational qualifications. We will also explore the nature of linkages which exists between the growth of education and occupational mobility.

The Tribal Economy

The structure of tribal economy in Madhya Pradesh is predominantly agricultural which is operated with primitive tools and implements. As agriculture of tribal Madhya Pradesh is backward, so they have to look for other occupational avenues, which they find in the form of agricultural labourers, forest labourers, road and railway construction workers. Still, more than 90 percent form the primary sector of the economy. The other avenues of occupation such as manufacturing industries other than household, construction, trade and commerce, transport and storage and other activities taken together engage less

than 10 percent of the workers. The poor involvement of tribal workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy denotes the backwardness of tribal economy on the one hand and insignificant role of modern methods of occupation in their economic life on the other.

The tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh have been industrially very backward in the past. It was only during the last three-four decades that a number of heavy industries have come up. But the tribal families could hardly get any substantial economic advantage from the growth of heavy industries. By now, the hope of planners and administrators that the industrialization of the tribal areas would help in improving the socio-economic status of the tribal community has also belied to a large extent. Instead of improving their lot, the major industrial projects located in tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, have uprooted them from their houses. These industrial projects have failed to provide employment opportunities to all those who were uprooted (Rajwada, 1984 : 172-73). For instance, the large scale acquisition of land for Bhilai Steel Plant, Korba Thermal Power Station has uprooted the tribals living in those areas as many of them who have not been rehabilitated on land, have gone for manual labour on construction sites. This has generated a new outlook on life which is dominated by insecurity and apprehensions about employment after the completion of construction work (Ashfaq Ali, 1973: 167). Moreover, the attitude of the project/public sector administration has been negative towards the tribals in terms of



absorbing them in the various industries. They think that their responsibility to the tribals ends with the payment of the compensation for the acquisition of their land. It is true that their rehabilitation poses a serious problems for the administration which may divert the attention and resources of the project/public sector management from their own development. However, some training programmes can be conducted for the uprooted tribals so that majority of them could be absorbed as skilled and semi-skilled workers in that industry (Raizada, 1984: 173). In this context, we can also cite case studies from tribal Bihar. By and large, the modern industrialization programmes in Chotanagpur have failed to improve the lot of the tribal people of the region. They have not been provided with skilled jobs in industrial establishments due to lack of requisite trainings and skills. In spite of the great sacrifice which they had to make in terms of their means of subsistence and house for the industrial development, in turn, they neither got employment in the industries nor some other alternative employment opportunities were created for them. Hence, industrial development instead of improving the lot of the tribal people, led to deterioration in the employment conditions of the tribals of Chotanagpur. On the basis of the findings of this study, it can be said that industrialization and accompanying regional socio-economic prosperity is not necessarily synonymous with the tribal

areas/people. On the other hand, the industrial development has widened the gap between the mass of poor tribals and microscopic minority of elite on the one hand and affluent tribals and non-tribals on the other (Sachchidananda 1972: 178; Singh, 1986: 275).

Occupational Change - A shift from traditional Occupations to Modern Ones.

We have already referred to occupational mobility as the movement of individuals, families or groups from one occupation to another (Blau, 1967). We have followed this definition of occupational mobility for our purpose. We consider the phenomena of occupational mobility as a shift of tribal working force from traditional agricultural and allied occupations to modern occupations. In a particular society, people's occupational mobility may be considered as one of the important indicators of their changing socio-economic structure. Occupational mobility is associated with income level, social status and personal satisfaction (Singh, 1986: 213).

Now, we are taking up the case of changes in occupational pattern of scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh over a period of time. For this purpose, we are going to use primarily the data from the census of 1971 and 1981. In 1971 and 1981 census large number of persons have been

grouped under other activities. Similarly, employment under mining, quarrying, livestock and forestry, hunting, plantation, orchards etc. is given together. In the following table classification of workers among agriculture, mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, etc. household industry, trade and commerce, transport and communication and other categories is given. Following the pattern as adopted by the Directorate General of Employment and Training, Government of India, we have divided the economic sector into primary, secondary and tertiary categories. The primary sector consists of the census industrial categories of cultivator, agricultural labourer, livestock, hunting, mining and quarrying etc. The secondary sector consists of the census industrial categories of household industry, manufacturing (other than household industry) and construction. The tertiary sector includes the industrial categories of trade and commerce, transport and communication and other services.

The change in the occupational structure of the scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh during 1971-81 indicates a positive transformation, there is a fall of more than 2.4 per cent in the proportion of primary workers, on the one hand, whereas the percentage of secondary and tertiary workers have increased by 1.82 and 0.62 percent, respectively on the other. The details of change in occupational structure of different categories is given in Table I. It is noteworthy that each category of secondary sector as well

Table I

Change in Occupational Structure of the Scheduled  
Tribes Workers in Madhya Pradesh

| ( in percentage)                                     |       |       |                   |
|--|-------|-------|-------------------|
| Occupation<br>% of workers                           | 1971  | 1981  | Change in 1971-81 |
| Cultivators  | 62.13 | 60.83 | -1.32             |
| Agricultural<br>labourers,<br>Livestock,<br>Forestry | 33.25 | 31.45 | -1.8              |
| Hunting and<br>allied<br>activities                  | 0.97  | 1.35  | +0.38             |
| Mining and<br>Quarrying                              | 0.49  | 0.87  | +0.38             |
| Primary<br>Sector                                    | 96.9  | 94.5  | -2.4              |
| Household<br>Industry                                | 0.77  | 0.92  | +0.22             |
| Other than<br>household<br>Industry                  | 0.41  | 0.92  | +0.51             |
| Construction   | 0.22  | 1.38  | +1.16             |
| Secondary Sector                                     | 1.4   | 3.22  | +1.82             |
| Trade and<br>Commerce                                | 0.21  | 0.42  | +0.21             |
| Transport,<br>Storage and<br>Communication           | 0.21  | 0.39  | +0.18             |
| Other services                                       | 1.28  | 1.51  | +0.23             |
| Tertiary Sector                                      | 1.7   | 2.32  | +0.62             |
| Total  | 100   | 100   |                   |

Source: Census of India, 1971 & 1981.

as tertiary sector has recorded an increase in their proportion in 1981 as compared to 1971. However, the increase is only marginal. There has been a notable increase in construction work (+ 1.16%) during the 1971-81. That is why we find that increasing number of tribal people in Madhya Pradesh are being employed as construction workers in railways and roads. The extent of transformation in occupational structure is also a good index of occupational mobility. Because the movement of individuals or groups from one occupation to another in an economic system is known as occupational mobility. But the shift of tribal people from the traditional occupations to modern occupations, raises an important question, namely, whether this shift is an indication of upward occupational mobility and whether education makes any substantial contribution to it. The occupational mobility in tribal occupational context shows the degree to which the members of per tribal family are in non-agricultural occupation. Basically, it gives an idea about the time period, how old is the practice of non-agricultural occupation in tribal communities of Madhya Pradesh in particular and India in general.

On the basis of Table - I we are in a position to say that still, agriculture and allied activities, i.e., primary sector is the main source of employment. If we go by our own definition of occupational i.e., a shift from

traditional and allied occupations to modern ones, then we find that there has been a very little occupational mobility of scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh during the period 1971-81. One of the plausible reasons for this can be assigned to the relatively slow rate of industrialization of the tribal belts of Madhya Pradesh unlike the tribal belts of Bihar.

#### Education And Occupational Mobility

The job aspiration of educated tribals gives some indication of the employment opportunities that are aspired for. Tribal students have high job aspirations and majority of them have expressed a desired to seek new employment opportunities rather than continue with traditional occupations. In a study of Madhya Pradesh students, it was found that 83 percent of school students and 92 percent of College students did not want to enter their father's occupations (Naik and Sinha, 1975 : 71-2). Sachchidananda has also conducted a study regarding the job aspirations of tribal students of Bihar, in which he found high occupational aspirations existing among tribal students. Majority of them wanted to break away from their fathers' occupation (Sachchidananda, 1974). A majority of tribal students wish to move away from fathers' occupations, aspire for government services. For instance, 86 percent tribal schools students and 63 percent college students have their first preference for

government service. On the other hand, while 5 percent school students and 27 percent colleges students have their first preference for private sector and only 9 percent school students and 30 percent college students have their first preference for self-employment (Naik and Sinha, 1975: 87-88) .

The high aspiration for government services may be due to the fact that in many tribal areas only jobs that are available are government services. Besides, the constitution of India also provides some safeguards regarding their employment. In sociological parlance, these constitutional provisions which give the scheduled tribes some privileges with regard to their educational and employment problems are known as 'positive discrimination'. Article 16(4) provides for "reservation in appointment in favour of the backward class citizens who, in the opinion of the state, are not adequately represented in the services". Article 335 stipulates that "the claims of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes shall be taken into consideration while making appointments in the services, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency in administration". In the services and posts under the control of the Union Government, 5% vacancies were reserved for the members of scheduled tribes with regard to direct recruitment. Recently this has been raised from 5% to 7½%.

Representation of Scheduled Tribes  
in the Government Services

There are three trends in education of scheduled tribes that affect their occupational opportunities and thereby upward mobility. Firstly is the decreasing representation of tribal students at successively higher levels of education. Secondly, they cluster in and around liberal science degree. And thirdly they are largely found in less prestigious institutions and perform poorly in examination. Hence, their representation in prestigious and highly paid jobs is likely to be relatively poor. Class I and Class II services usually require a relatively higher level of education, graduation degree as minimum. The minimum educational qualifications required for the class III jobs are lower. And the minimum educational qualifications required for the class IV services are the lowest. If acquiring of education leads to occupational mobility, an increase in the number of educated tribals as well as government's policy of reservations should result in their increased representation in the services. If factors other than education play a prominent role in the employment of the scheduled tribes, than an increase in the number of educated tribes would not necessarily result in a proportionate increase in the number of those employed in services particularly those that require certain minimum educational qualifications. There should also be some trend towards reaching parity with the non-tribals



in terms of a proportionate representation of educated tribes in the various categories of jobs according to their representation in the total population. Table II, however, shows that this is not the case.

Table II

Representation of Scheduled Tribes in Central Government Services in 1971 and 1981.

| Categories   | Percentage of Scheduled Tribes to Total |      |                     |
|--------------|---|------|---------------------|
|              | 1971                                    | 1981 | Change in 1971-1981 |
| 1. Class I   | 0.41                                    | 1.12 | 0.71                |
| 2. Class II  | 0.43                                    | 1.31 | 0.88                |
| 3. Class III | 1.77                                    | 3.16 | 1.39                |
| 4. Class IV  | 3.93                                    | 5.07 | 1.14                |

Sources: (a) Patriot, New Delhi, 21 August 1972.

(b) Shyam Lal, Education Among Tribes, pp. 126-127.

We see that scheduled tribes are poorly represented in the various categories of Central government services. This is more so in the case of Class I and Class II which have a relatively higher socio-economic status when compared to class III and class IV services. In 1971 as well as in 1981, the percentage of tribals in Central government

services tends to increase as we move from Class I to Class IV jobs. However, in none of the categories of jobs, reserved quotas have been filled by the scheduled tribes. If we make a comparison of the two years, it further indicates that there has been no substantial increase in the employment of scheduled tribes in the various categories of jobs, during this period.

The Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1965-66) points out that in view of the special efforts made by the Government to promote education from primary to post-matric level there should be no shortage of candidates for non-technical posts. Even filling up of semi-technical posts should not be a problem because seats are reserved for scheduled tribes in the most of the technical institutions. However, in reality the picture is different. It has been observed that when a post requiring technical qualifications is to be filled up, recruiting authorities as well as the employment exchanges often say that suitable scheduled tribe candidates with the required qualifications are not available (Nambi ssan, 1978: 94).

In Madhya Pradesh 18% of vacancies in class I and II posts and 20% in class III and class IV posts are reserved for members of scheduled tribes. However, the actual representation of scheduled tribes has been very low in all classes of posts. The following table shows the actual

representation of scheduled tribes employees in various categories of services under the government of Madhya Pradesh.

Table III

The Reservation Provided and the Actual Representation of Scheduled Tribes in Different Classes of Posts in M.P. on 1-1-1986

|                       | <u>In Percentage</u> |          |           |          |
|-----------------------|----------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
|                       | Class I              | Class II | Class III | Class IV |
| Reservation Provided  | 18                   | 18       | 20        | 20       |
| Actual Representation | 1.04                 | 2.44     | 9.45      | 8.67     |

Source: Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Eighth Report (April 1985 - March '86)

We see from Table III that the percentage of the tribals in state government services increases as we move from Class I to class IV jobs. Besides, in none of the categories of jobs, reserved quotas have been filled by the scheduled tribe candidates. In this context, the Dhebar Commission has recommended that efforts should be made to absorb

all the candidates having the required qualifications (1962). The commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes has also recommended the setting up of special employment cells which would help in enforcing the policy of reservations for the tribals in the various categories of services (1969-70).

Occupational Change And Mobility -  
Bastar And Jhabua

The Bhils and the Gonds are the major tribes of Jhabua and Bastar respectively. At present, the Bhils are basically an agricultural people, although they were hunters in the past. The poor condition of soil, small holdings of land and underdeveloped methods of agriculture have made cultivation alone, inadequate for subsistence throughout the year. Hence, they are forced to seek other subsidiary sources of income. Such income is labour and agricultural labour. Here we are taking up the case of Jhabua. In Jhabua also Bhils are primarily agriculturists, although labour economy has also made its appearance in this region. As forests are declining many Bhils work as labourers on railways and roads. Bhils also migrate during April-May to September-October in search of manual labour on railway and roads construction - particularly in region around Nagda and Ujjain and some adjoining parts of the Gujrat state. It appears that the economy of the Bhils in this region is considerably dependent on

labour economy. Thus it is found that the economy of the the Bhils has shifted slowly from an agriculture and hunting economy to labour economy (Naik, 1969: 212; Chakrabarti and Mukherji, 1971: 98-101).

Majority of the Gonds also are cultivators. Their traditional system of cultivation (shifting cultivation) is known as bewar or bimra in Madhya Pradesh. Nowadays plough cultivation is widely practised though shifting cultivation is carried out in hill areas. A large section of Gonds is engaged in agriculture, on roads and in forests. The subsistence economy of Gonds is cultivation which is often supplemented by hunting, fishing and collecting (Chakrabarti and Mukherji : 1977). After comparing the Bhils and the Gonds in terms of their occupations, we have come to the conclusion that majority of the working force from both the tribes are absorbed in the primary sector of the economy. Moreover, it also proves the assumption that the tribal occupation is not only determined by education but also factors other than education play their role. We say this thing because in terms of literacy, there is a wide gap between Gonds and Bhils, as we have already shown in Chapter III (Table II). However, in terms of occupations, we hardly find any substantial difference between these two tribes.

The shift of tribal people from the traditional occupations to modern occupations which require certain minimum

educational qualifications, is generally taken as an indication of occupational mobility. This can be shown through the presentation of data on change in occupational structure of the scheduled tribe workers in Bastar and Jhabua district during the period 1971-81. The linkage of education and occupational mobility will be shown by establishing the relationships between the literacy rates and the change in occupational pattern of scheduled tribes in both the districts.

As we have already shown in Chapter II that there is a wide gap between the literacy rates of tribes of Bastar and Jhabua. The tribes of Bastar are more advanced educationally than that of Jhabua.

However, if one takes a look at the occupational pattern of Scheduled Tribes of both the districts, it gives more or less the same picture (Table IV and V). This implies that the linkage between education and occupational mobility is not very strong. Further it is an indication of important influence of other factors than education on the pattern of occupational mobility.

The change in the occupational structure of the predominantly tribal districts of Bastar and Jhabua during 1971-81, indicated, a positive transformation. There are fall of more than 1.13 percent in Bastar and 0.53 percent in Jhabua in the proportion of primary workers on the one hand, whereas the percentage of secondary and tertiary

Table IVChange in Occupation Structure of the Scheduled Tribes  
Workers in Bastar District in Madhya Prade

| Occupation<br>% of workers                           | In percentage |       |                        |
|--|---------------|-------|------------------------|
|  | 1971          | 1981  | Change in<br>1971-1981 |
| Cultivators  | 78.33         | 80.41 | +2.08                  |
| Agricultural<br>Labourers,<br>Livestock,<br>Forestry | 18.87         | 15.54 | -3.33                  |
| Hunting and<br>allied<br>activities                  | 0.52          | 0.63  | 0.11                   |
| Mining and<br>Quarrying                              | 0.19          | 0.20  | +0.01                  |
| Primary Sector                                       | 97.91         | 96.78 | -1.13                  |
| Household Indus-<br>tries                            | 0.59          | 0.44  | -0.15                  |
| Other than<br>Household<br>Industry                  | 0.13          | 0.35  | +0.22                  |
| Construction   | 0.11          | 0.63  | +0.52                  |
| Secondary Sector                                     | 0.83          | 1.42  | +0.59                  |
| Trade and<br>Commerce                                | 0.17          | 0.24  | +0.07                  |
| Transport,<br>Storage and<br>Communication           | 0.12          | 0.25  | +0.13                  |
| Other Services                                       | 0.92          | 1.21  | +0.29                  |
| Tertiary Sector                                      | 1.21          | 1.7   | +0.49                  |
| Total  | 100           | 100   |                        |

Source: Census of India 1971 &amp; 1981.

Table VChange in Occupational Structure of the Scheduled  
Tribe Workers in Jhubbua District in Madhya Pradesh

| Occupation<br>% of workers                 | In percentage |       |                   |
|--|---------------|-------|-------------------|
|  | 1971          | 1981  | Change in 1971-81 |
| Cultivators                                | 88.68         | 89.99 | + 1.31            |
| Agricultural<br>Labourers                  | 8.74          | 6.96  | - 1.78            |
| Hunting and allied<br>activities           | 0.74          | 0.48  | - 0.26            |
| Mining and<br>Quarrying                    | 0.01          | 0.21  | + 0.20            |
| Primary Sector                             | 98.17         | 97.64 | - 0.53            |
| Household Indus-<br>try                    | 0.14          | 0.09  | -0.05             |
| Other than<br>Household<br>Industry        | 0.07          | 0.19  | +0.12             |
| Construction                               | 0.05          | 0.47  | +0.42             |
| Secondary Sector                           | 0.26          | 0.75  | +0.49             |
| Trade &<br>Commerce                        | 0.11          | 0.30  | +0.19             |
| Transport,<br>Storage and<br>Communication | 0.21          | 0.19  | -0.21             |
| Other services                             | 1.19          | 1.08  | -0.11             |
| Tertiary sector                            | 1.51          | 1.57  | +0.06             |
| Total                                      | 100           | 100   |                   |

Source: Census of India, 1971 and 1981



workers have increased by 0.59 and 0.49 in Bastar and 0.49 and 0.06 in Jhabua, respectively, on the other. The detail of change in occupational structure of different categories of both the districts are given in Table IV and V. It is true that most of the categories of secondary as well as tertiary sector have recorded an increase in both the districts in 1981 as compared to 1971. However, the increase is only nominal. Thus it can be inferred from Table IV and V that the occupational pattern of scheduled tribes in Bastar and Jhabua is not very different from the occupational pattern of the scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh as a whole.

Hence, the tribal economy is a uni-sectoral economy. In order to accelerate the economic development of the tribal areas it has to be diversified. In the scheduled areas, the secondary sector needs greater and specific attention along with primary sector to bring about sustained growth of the tribal economy. If we are really interested in relieving the pressure on land in the tribal areas and provide gainful employment to employable surplus there the only way is the development of the non-agricultural sector. The poor state of tribal economy cannot be attributed to the sheer negligence of a particular trade or activity but is the result of cumulative effect of all depressed activities. The remedy of the problems lies in all round development by exploiting local resources,

introducing new trade and technique, suitable to their culture and traditions (Jaiswal 1979: 108).

In this chapter, we have made an attempt to show that tribal economy is still uni-sectoral, i.e, primarily based on agriculture and allied activities. The primary sector continued to absorb more than 90 percent of the tribal working force. Thus, according to our definition of occupational mobility, there has been negligible occupational mobility of the Scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh during the period 1971-81.

Job aspirations of educated tribals have been very high. There has been the constitutional provisions regarding job reservations for the scheduled tribes in all categories of government services. Even so the representation of the scheduled tribes is very poor particularly in the services having higher socio-economic status. Thus it can be said that mere educational growth is not a sufficient condition for occupational mobility. There is a need to study other factors than educational qualifications, if we want to have a true picture of the problem of occupational mobility of the tribal people.

CHAPTER VCONCLUSION

Our work has dealt with the various dimensions of the process of education and occupational mobility among the scheduled tribes of Madhya Pradesh. We observed the changing nature of tribal society where the process of urbanization, industrialization and the development of modern means of communication and transport have introduced some economic and socio-cultural changes since Independence. As a result of these changes some modern occupations requiring a certain minimum level of educational qualifications have been introduced in tribal areas. If tribal youth wish to enter into these modern occupations which could mean upward occupational mobility for them, they will have to avail of educational opportunities.

This link between education and occupational mobility has been repeatedly emphasized by administrators, planners and political leaders in our country. Their thinking rest heavily on the assumption that 'the equalizing effects of education can counter the disequalizing forces inherent in the free market system(Bowles, 1977: 137) . That is why sociologists as well as politicians have succumbed to this doctrine and reposed implicit faith in education as an important factor for alleviating social inequalities. However, our work tells us a different story. Thus, a need arose for taking many economic and

socio-cultural factors other than education into account while dealing with the nature of occupational mobility in tribal Madhya Pradesh.

As we have already mentioned in Chapter I, the tribe is not a monolithic entity. Hence, the introduction of formal education among tribes at different socio-economic and cultural levels would evoke differential responses among them. Two important preconditions for utilizing available facilities and special programme of assistance for education by an individual are that he is aware of available facilities and special programmes of assistance and that he perceives the importance of acquiring education. Like any other state, in Madhya Pradesh also the stage of socio-economic development of the tribe has an important influence on the educational development. It has been found that a gap exists in the development of education not only between different tribes but also between different strata of the same tribe. For instance, the children of the upper strata of Bhil society have been able to go to School and take advantage of scholarships and hostel facilities made available to the tribals by the government, more than the lower and middle socio-economic status groups (Naik, 1969). Similarly, in a tribal study of Andhra Pradesh it has been found that the Pradhans and Dhotis who are better represented in schools are more acculturated than the others

(Rathnaiah, 1977). In another tribal study of Gujarat which observed a strong and positive relationship between social class and educational attainment, it has been found that those belonging to higher social classes have taken a greater advantage of government assistance for education than their counterparts from the lower social classes (Shah and Patel, 1985).

There is a wide gap between the cultural system values and skills of the tribal people and the cultural system, values and skills imparted by the School. Hence, the medium of instruction, the content of education and the social background of the tribal children would play an important part in the success of western education among the tribes. The above mentioned socio-cultural and economic factors not only determine the entry of the tribal children into formal education but also their retention in it and the level of achievement attained. They thus define the extent of inequality of Educational Opportunity<sup>in</sup> the tribal context.

One of the important hurdles which comes in the spread of education among the tribals is the medium of instruction. In most of the cases, the formal education is imparted to them in the regional language which they do not adequately understand. It has been recommended that the tribals should be taught in their mother tongue at least at the primary stage and only later on the regional

language should be introduced (Elwin, 1963) .

Another major problem which the tribal education has been facing is the alien nature of the content of education. They often see formal education as irrelevant to the socio-economic needs of their society. Hence in order to promote education among tribes, it is necessary that they should be provided with adequate financial assistance and also make them aware of the immediate economic benefit which can accrue from education. Thus both economic and soci-cultural factors determine to a certain extent the success or otherwise of the tribal children in the school.

One of the significant ecological constraints which determines the educability of the tribal children is the spread of educational facilities. As we have already shown in Chapter III that even on this front tribals are relatively deprived in comparison to non-tribals. As a result, a majority of tribal children remain illiterate.

For the last four decades, the government has been following a policy of 'positive discrimination in order to promote the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections including the scheduled tribes'. The constitution also recognises the need for special attention to the weaker sections and thus directs the state

to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of weaker sections, in particular, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes' (Article 46). The government has launched various programmes to motivate and assist the scheduled tribes to obtain education. For instance, the 'National Policy On Education 1986' has also emphasized the aspect of 'Education for Equality'. A whole section of the document is devoted to this aspect. Beginning with the necessity of attending to the specific needs of those who have been deprived so far, the policy spells out strategies for expanding education among scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, minorities and the handicapped. The goal of policy would be to bring different groups at par with one another.

Despite the efforts made by the government, the education of scheduled tribes in Madhya Pradesh is relatively poor when compared with non-tribal population of the state. The tribes are living under acute poverty and they are also at a lower stage of economic development. They cannot spare their children who are economic assets for sending schools. So far as higher education is concerned, it does not attract many of them, because it can give economic benefits to them, only after a long gestation period. Until or unless the immediate economic benefit is seen they attach low value to education.

As per our assumption the shift of tribal working force from traditional agricultural and allied occupations to modern ones can be taken as an indication of occupational mobility. Mobility of the scheduled tribes depend not only

on education but also on the absorption of the educated tribals in modern occupations. The change in the occupational structure of the tribal people of Madhya Pradesh registers a positive transformation. It implies that there has been a shift from the traditional agricultural occupations to modern occupations. Hence, this should be an indication<sup>of</sup> occupational mobility. However, as we have already shown in Chapter IV that the magnitude of change in the occupational structure of the scheduled tribes is marginal. Even if there has been a shift it has been from agricultural labour to construction labour. The number of tribals employed in the government jobs, which is the largest employer of the educated manpower, forms only small percentage of the total employees engaged therein. Moreover, an interesting fact about the tribal employees in government is that the largest concentration of the tribals are to be found in class III and IV jobs which have a lower socio-economic status. At this juncture, a pertinent question arises, whether a shift of the tribals from agricultural labourers to unskilled manual industrial workers should be considered as a case of occupational mobility or not. We think that it is not a case of vertical occupational mobility with which we are basically concerned rather it is a case of horizontal mobility.

The social background plays a significant role even in



the matter of employment of tribal youth. We find that in spite of the growing number of scheduled tribes who have the required educational qualifications and high job aspirations, the vacancies that are reserved in the various categories of government services have not been filled by the tribals. This gives rise to the possibility that educated youth from tribal areas who are for the first time thrown into free competition for jobs with the non-tribals may be judged unsuitable for jobs by prospective employers in urban industrial society. The employer's standards being urban biased. Thus, it is possible that the tribal candidates, in many cases would be unfit from the employer's standard.

In the beginning, the process of industrialization and urbanization in tribal areas had generated a great deal of hope among social anthropologists, planners, administrators and politicians. They assumed that these processes would serve as a panacea for the tribal problems. However, their hopes have been belied to a large extent, within few years. It was hoped that the growth of industries in tribal areas would open up avenues of employment for all those tribals who have been displaced by the process of industrial expansion. However, it did not happen, not only because they lacked requisite educational qualifications skills and trainings essential for skilled non-manual jobs but also due to the discriminatory approach adopted by employers towards tribal candidates. Since the level of industrial development in tribal

areas of Madhya Pradesh has been minimal, conditions of occupational mobility also do not exist. Thus the tribals have been only able to supply manual unskilled workers and have not achieved occupational mobility, on the other hand skilled jobs have gone in favour of non-tribals.

In recent times, one of the important avenues of status enhancement of the educated tribals has been in the field of political leadership. Modern Panchayati Raj institutions and formal education have made an important contribution in this regard. The tribal people are becoming more conscious of the value of education in relation to leadership than in anything else. As a result, the educated Bhils have become very popular even in the traditional Panchayats where previously only traditional leaders like Pahan, Mahto etc. used to have any say. Today they play an active role in the political and social life of the tribal village (Naik, 1969). The establishment of the modern to the educated Bhils for assuming the leadership role. Previously, the leadership was the monopoly of a particular clan or the clan of original settlers of the village. Now we find that the people are sending more and more of their educated members to these political bodies in order to adapt this new social mechanisms to their own systems. In the process, larger number of educated tribals are engaged in these modern grassroot political institutions which enhance their social status as well. Even an indepth study of the revival and reformist movements particularly in

in terms of leadership throws some light on the role of educated tribals. It has been found that all the Bhils who have led these movements were educated to some extent (Naik, 1969).

While dealing with the nature of 'Inequality of Educational Opportunity' and the linkages which exist between it and occupational mobility, broadly we have observed two things. Firstly, the growth of tribal education has been tardy and the magnitude of occupational mobility has been negligible. Secondly, the linkages between education and occupational mobility are not strong. On the other hand, both education and occupational mobility are determined by the larger socio-cultural and economic processes of the society.

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