

**SCHOOL DROPOUTS IN MANIPUR : TRIBAL AND NON-TRIBAL  
RESPONSE TO FORMAL EDUCATION**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**1989**

To my parents.



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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "SCHOOL DROPOUTS IN MANIPUR: TRIBAL AND NON-TRIBAL RESPONSE TO FORMAL EDUCATION", submitted by S.Vikramjit Singh, in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of this University has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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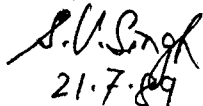
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Chapter I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The introductory chapter is divided into five sections. Section I discusses the expansion of education in India especially after independence. This section also briefly outlines the problem of dropout and various issues involved; Section II reviews very briefly some of the existing studies on wastage in education and discusses, in brief, factors that underlie premature withdrawal of students from the school. Section III discusses the operational definition of the terms and various other issues connected with it. Section IV focuses on the aim and objective of the present study. This section also introduces the sociological concepts used in the present study. In the final section, we have briefly described the sample chosen and the methodology and tools employed.

## I

It is an acknowledged fact that education plays a key role in the development of a country. The national policy on education promulgated in the year 1986 pointed out that the educational system must produce young men and women of character and ability committed to national service and development. The role of education according to the Education Report - 1964-65, may be summed up as:

In a world based on science and technology, where education determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people, it is not any more a mere rhetoric to believe in the saying that - the destiny of India is now being shaped in her classrooms. We have now come to a stage, where, on the quality and number of persons coming out of our schools and colleges will depend our success in the great enterprise of national reconstruction. The principal objective of which is to raise the standard of living of our people. (NCERT:1971:3)

Ever since independence, there has been an impressive expansion of education at primary, secondary and higher levels in India. There has been a great deal of accomplishment in the field of education and the number of recognised institutions at all levels has increased from 2,31,598 in 1951 to an estimated 7,55,000 in 1984-85. The total enrolment over the same period in these institutions increased from 24 million to nearly 132 million (India, 1985, vol.II:252). The Constitution of India as per the Directive Principles envisaged the achievement of universal compulsory education for children up to the age of fourteen years.

In the year 1950-51, the Ministry of Education spent Rs.19.55 lakhs for the children of the age group of 6-11 years studying from first to fifth standards. In 1979-80, this amount was increased to Rs.722 lakhs. The number of primary school teachers appointed and the students enrolled in them have since increased to a considerable extent. In 1951 the

number of primary schools in India was 2,90,671. In 1960-61 the number was 3,30,339 and in 1970-71, there were 4,64,418 schools and in 1978-79 the number of schools was 4,74,993 and by 1984-85, the number of schools increased to 5,50,000. The enrolment of children's population in the age group of 6-11, was 42 per cent in 1950-51; 71 per cent in 1965-66 and 80 in 1980-81. And in the year 1983-84 the enrolment figure in this age group increased to 93 per cent.

However, this expansion suffers from certain drawbacks. For instance, while the enrolment has increased the number of 'dropouts' have also increased at all levels; particularly at the primary level. Broadly speaking the term 'Dropout' refers to students who leave school before completing a course and it is also viewed as 'wastage'. While wastage is a broader term than dropout and has attracted the attention of educational experts, the phenomenon of dropout is a relatively new term and there have been very few studies on it. The term dropout is either used interchangeably with wastage or is included in wastage. It is thus imperative that we distinguish between these terms. We shall discuss these terms and the various issues connected with it, in order to look for answers to the phenomenon of dropout. Later, we shall define dropout for purposes of our study.

The problem of wastage in the Indian educational system was first highlighted about sixty years ago by the Auxillary

Committee, popularly known as the Hartog Committee. Using the latest statistics then available, the Committee pointed out that, of the 53,38,878 pupils who were studying in Class I in 1922-23; 1,61,228 reached class II in 1923-24; 86,846 reached class III in 1924-25; 55,794 reached class IV in 1925-26 and only 33,588 or 18 out of every 100 that had entered the school five years previously reached class V in 1926-27 (NCERT, 1964:132). Speaking on the educational system, the Committee remarked: "It should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote but unfortunately, in the Indian educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness throughout the whole educational system." (NCERT; 1970:47). Wastage in education is a problem, which both the developed and underdeveloped countries are facing today. It is well known that all pupils admitted to the first grade of an educational cycle do not complete that cycle within the prescribed minimum period. Some of them dropout before the end of the cycle and some repeat one or more grades before either dropping out or completing the last grade of the cycle successfully (UNESCO; 1972:11). This problem has been widely investigated for many years in the developed countries like UK, USA and other European countries. However, in India, even though several studies have been conducted at various levels, the problem of wastage continues to plague the educational system.

Ever since the report of the Hartog Committee the problems of wastage and stagnation have been discussed almost continuously and a number of significant issues have been raised. For instance, what is wastage? How can it be measured? What are the causes of wastage and what programme of action can be devised to reduce or eliminate it? Or in view of the larger extent of wastage in elementary education, would it be desirable to go ahead with still further expansion or would it not be better to concentrate on a programme of consolidation and improvement? These and other allied problems have dominated the discussion of elementary education during the last few decades. Unfortunately, they have not been supported either by the necessary research or by an action programme to eradicate these evils and in spite of all the learned disputations, wastage and stagnation continue to dominate the scene.

More recently, the Kothari commission identifying this as a major problem claimed:

Wastage and stagnation are like headache and fever and not diseases in themselves, they are really symptoms of other diseases in the education system; chief among which is lack of proper articulation between education and health and the poor capacity of the school to attract and hold students. To these may be added the third ailment, poverty, which falls outside the system. (NCERT; 1970)

Expressing a parallel view point Chitkara:

it is only when the basic weakness of the educational system, such as poor quality of teachers, poor equipments, inefficient methods of teaching or defective system of examinations are eliminated that these evils can be made to disappear. (1961:8)

The extent of wastage is more acute at the primary stage where the dropout rate is as high as 65 per cent. According to a study conducted by the research unit in the Directorate of Education, Maharashtra, "If one begins with 1000 students in class I, as many as 414 of them leave school before completing class IV." (1960). According to Hartog Committee, "the problem of wastage and stagnation had crept into education, especially at the primary stage because of too much attention being paid to higher education while primary education was entirely neglected." (NCERT; 1970). However, the problem of wastage has spread to secondary as well as higher education. As Rawat puts it, "Out of every hundred students who entered first year class in a degree college only forty-one could reach and pass out." (1970). In the words of the Education Commission report, "The extent of wastage and stagnation in our system is very large." (NCERT; 1970). As a matter of fact, the problem of dropout in education is one of the major problems that the country is facing today.

In India a few studies of dropouts at different stages of education have been carried out so far. Some of these studies are undertaken by professional researchers while others

are dissertations submitted by the students as part of the requirement for the degree of Master of Education in different universities (Sharma and Sapra; 1971). However, the problem of dropout in our educational system has not been able to capture the active interest of any substantial segment of the social scientists.

## II

Dropout is a relatively new term and has hardly been used in studies on premature school leaving. Therefore, it becomes necessary to review the literature on wastage which covers dropout. Most of the studies at the primary level report a high rate of wastage and stagnation - about 56 per cent for boys and 62 per cent for girls. About two-thirds of this wastage occurs in class I. (NCERT; 1970). Das in his study of wastage and stagnation in Assam reports that the incidence of wastage and stagnation is 76.27 percent (1963).

A national study conducted by NCERT (1967) reported that the total rate of wastage and stagnation is 65.30 per cent by the time students reach grade V and 78.35 per cent by the time they reach VIII grade. Sapra (NCERT; 1967) reports the incidence of wastage at 75.09 per cent for boys and 84.74 per cent for girls. A UNESCO Study (1969) which covered data of 58 countries reported that in India, over



50 out of 100 school children dropout. Punalekar et al (1975) reported the dropout at the primary level rate among the Harijan children at 73.33 per cent. Rawat (1977) reported that the rate of educational wastage is roughly 60 per cent in the primary stage. Pillai (1984) reported that for every hundred children who enter class I, about half complete class IV and only thirty four complete class VII.

A study conducted by Nayak (1971) covered 10,000 cases of educational wastage at all levels. The study revealed that economic causes led to the dropping out of 65 per cent of children. About 30 per cent of children dropped out because of ancillary services like incomplete schools, lack of proper teaching equipments etc. Gadgil and Dandekar (1971) in their study in Satara district with particular emphasis on socio-economic factors reveal that dropout rate is affected by one's caste factor. Their investigation highlighted that factors like social status of the caste, family income, occupation and size of agricultural holdings were positively correlated to the incidence of wastage and stagnation. It was revealed that higher caste groups like Brahmin, Jain, Vani etc. were less prone to dropout problems than the lower caste groups such as Mahar, Chamar, Mang, Dhangar etc.

Most of the studies on wastage and stagnation identify two factors mainly responsible for children having to leave school prematurely. They are: student factors and institutional

factors. The student factor includes ability, age at entry, order of birth, caste, parent's education, occupation and income, location of their home-town etc. The institutional factor include student-teacher relationship, student-student relationship, academic performance, extra-curricular activities etc.

Most of the studies on dropout thus highlight the following facts: that, the dropout is highest at the primary stage and it reduces gradually as one moves up; that, the dropout rate is higher among the girls than the boys whether they are Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe or any other communities; that, the dropouts at all levels among the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and other weaker sections of the society are higher than among other communities.

The main concern of these studies has been to find out the incidence of wastage and stagnation while a few studies have attempted to study the causes. However, the existing literature on this subject does not provide a satisfactory answer to the question of why do more or less half of the students leave their studies especially at the primary level.

### III

This section discusses the definition of the term wastage, stagnation and the operational meaning of the term

'dropout'. It also examines the various issues involved in defining these terms. It may also be mentioned here that a discussion of the various definitions of wastage and stagnation is imperative because the term dropout is either used interchangeably with wastage or is included in wastage.

The Hartog committee defined 'wastage' to mean "the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of primary course" and 'stagnation' was defined to mean "the retention in a lower class of a period more than one year." (Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission; 1929:47).

While there has been no disagreement concerning the definition and implication of the term stagnation given by the Committee for subsequent research work, the Committee's definition of wastage has raised counter opinions despite its formal acceptance among researchers. Thus, on the one hand, we have a set of arguments which claim that wastage needs to be related to the objectives of education prescribed for the stages (primary, secondary and higher) under investigation (Ved Prakash; 1964:133). For instance if attainment of permanent literacy is considered a major objective of primary education (Class I-V) then any child who dropsout or in other words, withdraws before the completion of sufficient time (at least 120 days) from grade IV or V is considered a case

of wastage. On the other hand, a second set of arguments towards defining 'wastage' is based on the concept of 'incremental gain' in learning outcome. Those who support this definition argue that the 'year' instead of the 'stage' should be taken as the temporal unit of enquiry because every year of schooling adds to the partial attainment of the objective laid down for the stage under investigated (Chikerman, 1962; Choudhary, 1965; Gadgil and Dandekar, 1955; Sharma and Sapra, 1969). The UNESCO Study (1971) defines wastage as: failure to provide universal education; failure to recruit children into the system; failure to hold children within the system; failure to set appropriate objectives and inefficiency in the achievement of objectives.

Punalekar et al (1975) defined wastage as: "if a student withdraws from school before completing a stage, viz. primary, middle and secondary, he is a dropout." According to Chikermane (1983) "those children who are withdrawn from the school prematurely and lapse into illiteracy are termed dropouts". Some prefer to use the term 'dropout' instead of 'wastage' to denote the premature withdrawal of the students since wastage is a broad term which includes various other forms of academic failure (Brimer and Pauli, 1971).

However, in most of the studies so far carried out in India, the two terms wastage and dropout are most often

used interchangeably. The term dropout is relatively new and denotes the premature withdrawal of the students from the educational system. The term dropout would also refer to all those cases where students sever their contacts with the system before they reach the expected or desirable end of the continuum. On the other hand, wastage is a value loaded term and it indicates apart from premature leaving, many other forms of academic failure. Wastage implies that investment in education is wasted if the student does not complete a 'stage' or acquire a certificate or 'label' which is available only after completion of education after a certain number of years.

Coming back to the issue of wastage and stagnation, it may be noted here that though the two terms have been discussed separately, they are not two distinct phenomena but are perhaps the results of the same set of socio-economic causes. Wastage in some cases might be a direct result of stagnation and in many cases might be definitely induced by stagnation. For instance, those students who leave school after having been stagnated at any stage before finally dropping out of the school usually spend more years in the school than those students who successfully complete that stage.

It is in this context that we would like to introduce the two concepts: "Actual utilization of school year" and

"Effective utilization of school year". Effective utilization means the number of years of school-life which have been profitably utilised. For instance, if a student completes class one, he may be said to have completed one effective year of school life; if he completes class II, he may be said to have completed two effective years of school life and so on. On the other hand, if a student passes class I after three years, he would have actually utilised three school years but his effective utilization would be one school year only. Similarly if a student takes four years to complete class II, his actual utilization is four school years but his effective utilization is only two schools years. Most often, it is found that those students whose actual utilization of school years is more than the effective utilization of school years are more prone to dropout than others.

Sometimes dropout may be only provisional and pupils leaving the school system may and often do, become reinstated. Here, two different situations may then arise. First, a pupil may return to the same grade in which he was enrolled during his last school year, in which case he is counted as a repeater or he may join the next grade and be counted as promoted. Secondly, a dropout may have received a considerable amount of education. So that, at least in the educational terms it would be improper to consider all his school career as wastage. Here, in such cases, it would be more correct to

level them as a clear case of wastage both from economic evaluation and from educational point of view since they have not contributed anything to the educational output. There is waste, if viewed in terms of implicit educational intention evident in the organisation of educational goals.

For our research purposes, we would like to use the term 'dropout' to denote leaving school before the completion of a given stage of education or leaving at some intermediate or non-terminal point in a cycle of schooling. It would imply not only withdrawal from the educational system. For our operational purposes, dropout would be defined as 'Those children who leave school permanently anytime after completing primary education but before finishing class X'.

It may be mentioned here that while identifying the dropouts, the case of transfer where the students leave school and join another would not be viewed as dropouts because it involves only the change in school and not complete withdrawal from the educational system. Similarly, the re-admission cases where a student leaves temporarily and rejoins school afterwards would not come under the purview of dropout.

#### IV

#### The Study

The problem of dropout being so vital in the field of education, attention of educational planners, administrators

and parents is drawn from time to time and queries are made frequently about this problem. The first ever study in this area seems to have been made in the beginning of 1940s when a report on stagnation and wastage in primary schools was brought out by the Bombay Provincial Board of primary education, in the erstwhile Bombay province (NCERT; 1981). Since then several institutions and individuals have made studies in the area, identifying the extent and causes of wastage and stagnation and suggested some remedial measures. Initially, these studies were confined either to their own province/ state or to certain regions within a state or to even a district within a state. The first effort to study wastage and stagnation at the national level was made by the NCERT in 1964 when a study was conducted under HEW project (project partly supported by the Health, Education and Welfare Department of the USA). However, these studies have highlighted only the economic factor of wastage in general and dropout in particular. Moreover, most of the earlier studies on school dropout highlight only those factors external to the school. They only tell us 'what' causes dropout without explaining the 'why' of it. They also do not look into the school and how it affects the continuation or non-continuation of schooling by children. They only emphasise the economic factor to the exclusion of cultural factors. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap. The study aims at focussing on the



problem of dropout from an integrated perspective by fusing of the external as well as internal factors. The main aim of the present study is to approach the problem of school dropouts from a sociological perspective with a special focus on the role of schooling in reproducing the existing social structure.

It is here that we would like to introduce Bourdieu's model of 'Cultural Reproduction'. Bourdieu's model focuses on the role of cultural factors and it would allow us to explain why some children dropout. It will give a holistic perspective in so far as it combines the factors of dropout which are external to the school along with those which are internal to it.

Bourdieu is one of those radical educators who holds the view that the main functions of the schools are the reproduction of the dominant ideology, its forms of knowledge and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the social division of labour. He views schools as agencies of social and cultural reproduction.

Bourdieu looks at school as the most important agency for perpetuating the existing inequality and give legitimacy to it. This, Bourdieu says, is done in the schools by imparting education in a manner very akin to those of the dominant class. Thus, the children of the dominant class whose 'cultural capital' is like those that the schools impart find it easier to continue their studies than those who come

to the school without this cultural capital. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital consists of the 'cultural heritage' and 'cultural ethos'. In Bourdieu's terminology cultural heritage consists of mainly 'language' which is the main vehicle of culture. Cultural ethos consists of those internalised values and norms which are highly esteemed by all sections of society. Bourdieu says that our likes and dislikes, our evaluation of things etc. are all cultural things and our mode of socialization and schooling determines our perception. The cultural capital which is being imparted in these schools not only perpetuates and reinforces the existing social inequality but it legitimates social reality as well. Here a social gift is treated as a natural one. Each family transmits to its children indirectly or directly a certain cultural capital and this has an impact on the performance of the student. Since the cultural capital which is being imparted in schools is that of the dominant class and thus, apparently children coming from families with the cultural capital do better than those coming from relatively deprived sections.

#### Objectives of the Study

1. To study and compare the socio-economic background of the tribals and non-tribal dropouts.
2. To examine the importance of economic factors to the exclusion of other factors among the tribals and non-tribals

and also to look at the intra-tribal differences.

3. To explore and ascertain the cultural factors as defined by Bourdieu responsible for their dropout from the educational system.

4. To study the perceptions of dropouts, teachers and headmasters vis-a-vis the importance of economic and cultural factors.

#### Hypotheses

1. Economic factor alone is not responsible for school dropout but cultural factors, as defined in Bourdieu's terminology, are more significant;

2. Lack of this cultural capital handicaps the tribal children;

3. The non-tribal students because they possess the dominant culture are at an advantage;

4. There is a difference in the response to education between the tribals from the hills and the tribals from the plain because of the latter's proximity with the dominant culture.

The study would thus focus on the social background of the tribal and non-tribal students in Manipur and see if these factors affect the educational response of the students. Some of the sociologically relevant factors,

which would be taken into account are caste/tribe, religion, hill/valley background, parents' education, parents' occupation, parents' income, household size and order of birth etc. Apart from these, the teachers' views on some teachers' dimensions of the phenomenon of school dropouts would also be taken into account. Thus, some of the teachers and headmasters from the selected schools would be interviewed as well.

#### V

#### Universe of the Study

Since it is a comparative study and the main objective of the present study is to compare the dropouts between the tribals and the non-tribals in Manipur, the first task before us was to identify those schools where both were fairly represented. Being a pilot study, we decided to collect our sample from two such schools.

The first school from where we collected our sample of the dropouts is situated in the middle of a tribal pocket in Imphal. This was established in 1964. There are altogether 45 teachers (20 men and 25 women) in the school. It is a non-aided private school and the medium of instruction is English. Unlike the first school, the second school from where we collected our sample of the dropouts is situated on the fringe of one of the tribal pockets. This school was

also established in 1964. There are 25 teachers (5 men and 20 women) in the school. It is a government institution and the medium of instruction is English.

The reason why we had chosen these two schools to select our sample are; these schools were fairly represented by tribal and non-tribal students and the nature of the study being a 'comparative study', it was thought more proper to pick our sample from these schools. Secondly, the medium of instruction in these schools is English (Manipuri is the lingua franca of the state and the medium of instruction in other schools is mainly Manipuri which incidentally is mainly spoken by the non-tribal students. It was mainly to avoid the medium of instruction being held as one of the reasons for dropout because many studies point out the medium of instruction as an important reason for dropout).

Above all, these schools were situated in and around the tribal pockets. So that the children, especially the tribal students, are not placed at a disadvantage as far as their learning environment is concerned.

The year 1984 was treated as the base year for collecting our sample from the selected schools. There were a total of 197 students in these schools in 1984 in class VI. Out of these, 85 (43.1 per cent) were tribal students and the rest 112 (56.9 per cent) were non-tribal students.

Table 1.1 shows the class-wise (Class VI-X) distribution of students enrolled in the sample schools between the year 1984-88. It can be seen from the table that in the year 1984 in Class VI there were 197 students out of which 85 (43.1 per cent) were tribal students as against 112 (56.9 per cent) non-tribal students. Likewise a break-up of the class-wise data on tribal and non-tribal students reveals that both the sections were fairly represented.

Table - 1.1

Classwise Distribution of Students Enrolled in the Sample Schools(1984-1988)

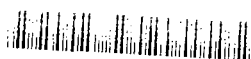


| Class | Year | Number of students | Tribal |      | Non-tribal |      |
|-------|------|--------------------|--------|------|------------|------|
|       |      |                    | No.    | %    | No.        | %    |
| VI    | 1984 | 197                | 85     | 43.1 | 112        | 56.9 |
| VII   | 1985 | 185                | 88     | 47.6 | 97         | 52.4 |
| VIII  | 1986 | 165                | 75     | 45.5 | 90         | 54.5 |
| IX    | 1987 | 158                | 65     | 41.1 | 93         | 58.9 |
| X     | 1988 | 120                | 52     | 43.3 | 68         | 56.7 |

Note: Data compiled on the basis of attendance register/ fees register maintained at schools.

Table 1.2 shows the classwise distribution of students by sex. It can be seen from the table that in each class, about one third of the students are girls.

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Table 1.2

Distribution of Students by Grade (Class)  
and Sex in the Sample Schools (1984-1988)

| Class | Year | Number of students | Girls |      | Boys |      |
|-------|------|--------------------|-------|------|------|------|
|       |      |                    | No.   | %    | No.  | %    |
| VI    | 1984 | 197                | 75    | 38.1 | 122  | 61.9 |
| VII   | 1985 | 185                | 74    | 40.0 | 111  | 60.0 |
| VIII  | 1986 | 165                | 61    | 37.0 | 104  | 63.0 |
| IX    | 1987 | 158                | 60    | 38.0 | 98   | 62.0 |
| X     | 1988 | 120                | 37    | 30.8 | 83   | 69.2 |

Using the Cohort<sup>1</sup> method, information on dropouts was first collected with the help of attendance/fees register maintained at the schools. The year 1984-85 was treated as the base year to compile the list of dropouts in the two high schools. Those children who had enrolled themselves in Class VI in January 1984 should normally have reached class X in the year 1988 and by May 1989 they should have completed their high school. Those who failed to keep up this yearly movement were either repeaters, transfers or dropouts. For our

1. Cohort is a group of persons who experience a certain event in a specified period of time (UNESCO; 1972). Here, Cohort refers to a group of pupils joining the same grade in a given year. It involves the tracing the flow of students from one class to another over a period of time. As we trace the movement of the students from one class to another over a period of time, we notice a diminution in number. The diminution may be due to a number of reasons like, Educational (Repetition), Social (Migration) and Morbidity (Death). However, in the light of previous findings (UNESCO; 1972; Choudhary, 1965; Dandekar, 1955; Chikermane, 1962) the diminution is mostly due to the most potent factor, i.e., dropout.

operational purposes, those who left school before completion of a grade after taking their transfer certificate were not treated as dropouts. Only such cases where students fail to turn up for a long time or till the end of the year when the promotion examinations are conducted were treated as dropouts. A list of those students who enrolled themselves in Class VI in 1984 was taken note of; their year-wise progress was followed through the registers and on that basis a list of the dropouts was compiled.

### Sample

For the purpose of selecting the sample, the names and addresses of the parents and guardians of the dropouts were collected from the admission registers maintained at the schools. Questionnaires were administered to the dropouts according to their accessibility. Our respondents consist of the dropouts themselves, their parents and guardians and teachers and headmasters of the schools from where the incidence of dropouts have been recorded. Apart from the questionnaires, it was further supplemented by informal interviews with the respondents. Since it was a comparative study it was decided to collect a fairly equal number of tribal and non-tribal dropouts. It was also decided to include as many girl dropouts as possible. The opinion of the parents and guardians of the dropouts on their ward's discontinuation of



studies were recorded. Their expectations in sending their wards to school were also taken into account. Suggestions through which the problem of dropouts can be tackled were also recorded. It was also decided to interview some teachers and headmasters as they play an important role in the student's academic success or failure. In view of this, as many as fifteen teachers (seven men and eight women) views on dropouts in general were also recorded.

Table 1.3 shows the classwise distribution of our sample of dropouts. It can be seen from the table that there are 52 dropouts; out of which 63.5 per cent (33) are tribal and 36.5 per cent (19) are non-tribal.

Table 1.3  
Classwise Distribution of Dropouts  
(1984-1988)

| Class | Years | Number of dropouts | Tribals |      | Non-Tribals |      |
|-------|-------|--------------------|---------|------|-------------|------|
|       |       |                    | No.     | %    | No.         | %    |
| VI    | 1984  | 11                 | 7       | 63.6 | 4           | 36.4 |
| VII   | 1985  | 18                 | 11      | 61.6 | 7           | 38.9 |
| VIII  | 1986  | 10                 | 7       | 70.0 | 3           | 30.0 |
| IX    | 1987  | 10                 | 6       | 60.0 | 4           | 40.0 |
| X     | 1988  | 3                  | 2       | 66.7 | 1           | 33.3 |

Table 1.4 sets out the classwise distribution of our sample of dropouts by sex. It can be seen that out of 52 dropouts 35 (67.3 per cent) are boys and 17 (32.7 per cent) are girls.

Table 1.4  
Classwise Distribution of the Dropouts  
by Sex

| Class | Year | Number of dropouts | Boys |      | Girls |      |
|-------|------|--------------------|------|------|-------|------|
|       |      |                    | No.  | %    | No.   | %    |
| VI    | 1984 | 11                 | 8    | 72.8 | 3     | 27.2 |
| VII   | 1985 | 18                 | 13   | 72.2 | 5     | 27.8 |
| VIII  | 1986 | 10                 | 6    | 60.0 | 4     | 40.0 |
| IX    | 1987 | 10                 | 6    | 60.0 | 4     | 40.0 |
| X     | 1988 | 3                  | 2    | 66.7 | 1     | 33.3 |

As already mentioned the following tool was used in this enquiry:

1. Questionnaire for parents and guardians of dropouts (see Appendix I).
2. Questionnaire for the teachers and headmasters (see Appendix II).
3. Questionnaire for the dropouts (see Appendix III).

#### Analysis of Data

The data collected through these questionnaires was analysed manually since the size of our samples was small. Simple frequency tables were prepared on data relating to the personal profile of dropouts and their social background. Since it is a comparative study of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts, caste/tribe, hill/valley are important variables. Some cross tabulations have also been prepared.

### Organisation of Chapters

Chapter I discusses the expansion of education in India. It also briefly reviews the related literature on wastage. Apart from it, it also deals with the problem of dropouts and various issues involved. It also introduces the sociological concepts, the sample chosen, the methodology and tools employed.

Chapter II discusses the development of education in Manipur.

Chapter III deals with the personal profile of the dropouts. Data regarding their age, household size, present occupation, reasons for dropout etc. have been analysed and observations made.

Chapter IV focusses the social background of the dropouts in terms of educational, occupational and income levels of parents. An attempt has been made to compare the social background of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts.

Chapter V presents a summary of the major findings and conclusions of the study.

Chapter II

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN MANIPUR

Manipur came under the British rule as a princely state in 1891. India's independence brought about a merger with the Indian Union in October 1949 as a part 'C' state and then a union territory until it became a full fledged state on the 21 January 1972. At present there are 60 elected members in the state Assembly.

Manipur, a state of exquisite natural splendour has been variously described as, "a flower on the lofty heights", "a little paradise on earth", "Switzerland of India", etc. Jawaharlal Nehru described it as a 'jewel of India'. The state is know for her colourful dances, handloom and handi-craft products.

Situated at the lower Himalayan ranges at the far eastern border of India, Manipur extends from latitudes  $23^{\circ}51'$  and  $25^{\circ}41'$  North, and longitudes  $93^{\circ}2'$  and  $94^{\circ}47'$  East. It covers an area of 22,327 sq.kms. which constitutes 0.7 per cent of the total land surface of India. Manipur lies halfway between the trijunctions of India-Burma-China in the North and India-Burma-Bangladesh in the South. It is a hilly state. It has two distinct geographical divisions, namely the hills and the valley. The hills cover about 20,089 sq.kms. of the total land mass and it forms a part of the Himalayan mountain system. The valley comprises of 2,238 sq.km. (about one-tenth of the land mass) of flat

alluvial plateau (see Appendix IV, Table 1). In fact the valley is a plateau having an altitude of more than 2500 ft. above sea level. However, it is called a valley only in relation to the hills rising above it (Tombi Singh; 1975:44). The valley portion of the state is surrounded by hill ranges from all sides. The valley shows a slant of its surface level from the North to the South, resultantly making a north-south drainage system which is visible from the runway of the streams on the flat surface of the valley (Panchani; 1987:2). The valley is the centre for most of the important activities, namely trade and commerce, cultural, political and educational activities etc. It is inhabited by more than two-thirds of the whole population and most of the inhabitants of this valley are the Vaishnavite Meiteis (see Appendix IV, Table 2). The hills form two-thirds of the entire area of the state and this part is inhabited by one-third of its population. This part is very thinly populated and the inhabitants are tribals (See Appendix IV, Table 3 and Table 4). The contribution this part makes to the state economy is mainly through agricultural and forest products.

### The People

The origin of Manipur is obscure and the written records and other evidences have either been destroyed or are not available. There are different views regarding the origin of

the people of Manipur. Captain Pamberton considers them to be the descendants of Tartar clan from China (1911:36). According to Brown, the valley was originally occupied by several tribes, the principal of which were Khumul, Moirang, Luang and Meitei, all of whom have come from different directions. Later on, the meiteis subdued the other tribes and the name meitei has become applicable to all (Brown;1874). However, the upper and learned classes of the meiteis do not accept this view. They deny their origin from the hill tribes surrounding the valley. They state that they always belonged to the valley and have always been a separate race. To make their points strong, they claim their ancestors to be the Pandavas.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Hodson says that there is far more ground to conclude them to be the descendants of the surrounding hill tribes (1908:6). Hodson is of the opinion that,

the chronicles afford sufficient warrant for the statement that prior to the introduction of Hinduism, the meiteis were in the habit of bringing in the heads of the defeated enemies as trophies of prowess. Doubtless, this custom disappeared when gentler customs which are associated with Hinduism became generally adopted in the state (1908:94).

Today, the meitei society is a highly advanced Hindu society and it has adopted all norms of the ritualistic

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1. According to a popular story Arjuna came to Manipur and married Chitrangada, the princess of Manipur. Their grandson, Pakhangba, the first king of Manipur is treated as the ancestor of the meiteis and they thus claim a Hindu descent.

complexities to the most micro details (Panchani;1987:49).

However, Johnstone synthesizes different viewpoints when he says, 'the Manipuris are a fine stalwart race,

descended from an Indo-Chinese stock with some admixture of Arjuna blood, derived from the successive waves of Aryan invaders that have passed through the valley in the pre-historic days.... Since then, the race has been constantly fed by additions from the various hill tribes surrounding the valley and the result is a fairly homogeneous people of great activity and energy.  
(Johnstone;1896:97)

The people of Manipur may be broadly divided into two groups. The valley people and the hill people. The valley people are subdivided into three groups, namely (1) the Meiteis, (2) the Bishnupriyas, and (3) the Manipuri Muslims. About two-thirds of the population is concentrated in the valley and this consists mainly of Manipuri Hindus known as the Meiteis.

On the other hand, the hill people of Manipur are composed of a number of small tribes. There are as many as 29 tribal groups in Manipur inhabiting the surrounding hills. These tribes can be broadly grouped under two categories, namely (1) the Nagas and (2) the Kukis. The Nagas inhabit the north-eastern, northern and north-western hills while the kukis mostly occupy the eastern and southern hills. They form about 28 per cent of the total population of the state. About 2.6 per cent of the tribal population lives in



the valley while 73.97 per cent lives in the hills. Thus, they are mostly concentrated in the surrounding hills. Besides, the scheduled castes in Manipur form about 1.25 per cent of the total population. It is believed that the 'Lois' or the scheduled castes and the meiteis have a common ancestor but the 'Lois' were driven out from the confederacy for social offence.

#### Economy and the Occupational Structure

Manipur has an essentially agricultural economy. About 70 per cent of her people are directly dependent on agriculture. Apart from agriculture, weaving, fishing and other cottage industries are the main supplements. Weaving forms an essential occupation for every woman in Manipur. It is done irrespective of the status of her family and is done strictly on the traditional loom. Practically almost every house is equipped with a loom or some weaving materials (Tombi Singh; 1972). There are no heavy industries at present. Cottage industries such as carpentry, blacksmithy, tailoring, embroidery, bamboo and cane works engage small section of the people.

Agriculture is the backbone of the state economy. However, agricultural conditions vary in different parts of the state with differences in physical configuration, climatic pattern and soil condition. For example, the Imphal valley,

with a vast stretch of alluvial soil provides an admirably suitable area for cultivation. The Imphal valley together with the Barak basin has more than 80 per cent of the area under cultivation. Rice is the main item of cultivation and it accounts for 78.17 per cent of the cropped land in the central valley and 92.31 per cent of the total cultivated area of the state. Sugarcane is grown throughout the valley. Wheat is a recent introduction in the cropping pattern of Manipur. Apart from this pulses, oilseeds particularly mustard are also cultivated widely in the valley. Cultivation in the valley is done on a regular and permanent basis. The farmers in the valley use the plough. Ploughing is done with the help of either buffaloes or cows. Mechanisation of agriculture is very limited.

In agricultural operations the size of the holdings plays an important role. In 1980-81 there were 79,927 holdings, operating over an area of 92,340 hectares giving an average size of 1.15 hectares to the holdings. More than 98.9 per cent of the holdings were of less than 4.0 hectares, which operated over 94.6 per cent of the cropped area in the state. This reflects that most of the holdings were uneconomical and operational holders were mostly underemployed (see Appendix IV, Table 5). Apart from agriculture weaving, fishing and other cottage industries serve as a supplement. Fishing is pursued as a hobby as well as a profession. About weaving in Manipur,

Tombi Singh puts it, "weaving is as essential as breathing for every woman of Manipur" (1972:99). Though the traditional occupation has been agriculture, the meitei society of today has undergone a vast change. Now about 40.4 per cent of the meiteis are engaged in various occupations other than agriculture (Manipur, Statistical Handbook, 1985).

Like the meiteis in the plains, the tribals who live in the surrounding hills also practise agriculture. The main occupation of the majority of the tribal population is cultivation. More than 80 per cent of the population in the hills is engaged in agriculture. However, the total geographical area covered under any crop in a year is rought 5 per cent of the total area. The remaining 95 per cent of the land consists of forests, barren land, rivers, streams and the area of settlement etc. Thus, the area available for cultivation is very small and is also scattered at different places. Moreover, it may be noted that these areas are not economically viable in the sense that in these areas many of the cultivated fields have got slopes ranging from 20 per cent to 40 per cent. Because of the topographical reasons, agriculture is mainly carried through a traditional method called the Jhum cultivation.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Otherwise known as the shifting cultivation, it is done by burning the mountain slopes. Under this type of cultivation a certain area can be utilised for 3 to 5 years after which a new site for cultivation has to be selected and established. It is an unproductive system of farming, which has made the cultivators economically most backward. Moreover, under increasing population pressure it becomes a wasteful practice resulting in rapid deterioration of soil and the forest cover. Apart from Jhuming; cultivation is also carried on a semi-

However, settled cultivation is also practised at the foot hills and along the river beds.

In the hill areas the land has not been surveyed and as such the implementation on the actual holding size of the owners is not available. However, calculating the approximate area indirectly from the average production per unit of land we can estimate the ownership size. More than 88 per cent of the households in these hill areas have got their operational holdings between 0.5-2 hectares and the area distributed for cultivation in this size range is about 83 per cent of the total crop area. This reflects that most of the holdings are small and uneconomical and the operational holders are mostly underemployed (see Appendix IV, Table 6).

Fishing is also done in hill streams, ponds and ditches. However, both fishing and hunting are prohibited during cultivating seasons. This shows the prevalence of a common societal influence over individual actions. Tribal societies thus reflect a well knit and compact society.

However, due to the outside influence, mainly Western education, the scene is somewhat different today. The introduction of Western education paved the way for outside influence. This consequently increased the degree of interaction between the tribal and non-tribal communities which resulted in the

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permanent nature. For instance, in some areas where Jhuming had been practised earlier, the follow up cultivation in the same piece of land is also done. Of late, about 5 per cent of the hills have been brought under terrace cultivation.

gradual changing of the traditional tribal occupations. Though the traditional occupation of the tribals had been hitherto agriculture, hunting, weaving and fishing, the educated youth have now started seeking official jobs and some of them engage themselves in different kinds of business (Parachani; 1987).

### Religion

The meiteis who inhabit mostly in the valley are Vaishnavite Hindus while the hill people are mostly Christians. However, the type of Vaishnavism in Manipur, is a hybrid in nature. Though the religious rites and festivals connected with Vaishnavism have been performed by the meiteis for almost three centuries, one often comes across old Vaishnavs with 'Chandan' marks on their foreheads happily eating fish dishes without any hesitation.

It is not definitely known when Hinduism came to Manipur but the mass conversion of the meiteis to Hinduism started in the early eighteenth century. However, the Hinduism in Manipur is an example of a synthesis between the old animistic religion with its gods and goddesses and myths and of Brahmanical Hinduism with its special worship of Radha and Krishna (Saroj Nalini; 1980:79). Today, Hinduism has been fully integrated in Manipuri religion as an essential factor in the faith and

life of the people. The Manipuris are spiritually involved in the religion and religious institutions and it is reflected in their performance of Rasalila dance,<sup>3</sup> a synthesis of art and religion.

While most of the meiteis in the valley embraced Vaishnavism, the tribals in the surrounding hills continued to practise the aboriginal animistic type of religion. As a result of this, there was a religious hiatus between the inhabitants of the plains and the hills. It was against this backdrop that the Britishers were able to win through a systematic religious policy the tribal hearts and thus Christianity soon began to spread in the hill tracks of Manipur and its neighbouring states. So far as Manipur is concerned, the British religious policy was very clear. They knew that the princes of Manipur were staunch Hindus and almost all in the valley had accepted Hinduism. They therefore, propagated Christianity only in the surrounding hills. At present, at least 90 per cent of the hill tribal population is Christian. However, in the words of Panchani, "most of the tribals have adopted Christianity, but the indigenous animistic rituals are also performed alongside" (1987:63).

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3. Rasalila dance depicts the story of Sri Krishna's divine love sports with the Gopis of Brindavan as explained in the tenth chapter of Srimad Bhagabat. This contains the highest of divine Rasas. Seeing, hearing, performing and even a remote attention to Rasalila is considered an act of supreme virtue.

In the spread of education especially the Western education among the tribals the contributions made by the Baptist Christian <sup>missionaries</sup> are notable. The hill tribals lived in isolation for years in their small villages. However, it was only in the late nineteenth century that they were exposed to the wider society due to the efforts of the Christian missionaries and the British administrators.

It was only in 1829 that interaction between these tribes and other communities began when Assam was annexed by the British government. This consequently increased the degree of interaction between the tribal and non-tribal communities which resulted in a gradual changing of the pristine tribal life. This eventually paved the way for Christian missionaries who became an important agency for change in the later years.

It may be mentioned here that the most remarkable contributions made by these missionaries were in the field of education and literature along with other welfare measures which were mainly responsible for changing the tribal life. Speaking on this, Roy says, "by promoting modern education, reforming social evils and curing diseases, the missionaries have not only brought these hill-men from darkness to light but also have earned for them and regards from others which these tribals never had before" (1973:200).

In the field of education, the most significant contribution was made by Thomas Jones, a Welsh Presbyterian missionary in the 1840s by advocating the use of Roman script for the tribal dialect. Later other missionaries were responsible for using the Roman script to write at least fifty different languages in the hill areas of the north east. Thus, the introduction of the written language contributed to spreading of literacy among the tribals as well as to the development of tribal identity (Downs;1983:241). Today, the tribals of this region can be regarded as one of the most literate communities among the rest of the tribals in India.

Besides spreading Western education the missionaries also introduced a number of welfare measures like hospitals, charity organisations etc. They also started various other vocational institutions for the social and economic upliftment of the tribals. The missionaries were thus responsible for bringing the benefit of education and a socio-economic advancement among the tribals. Another noteworthy contribution made by the missionaries, was perhaps in the field of evangelical activities. It was due to the efforts of these missionaries that Christianity has become the most dominant religion in most of the hilly areas of Manipur and other neighbouring states. Speaking on the contributions made by the missionaries in the field of religion Dube says, "Their zeal of spreading the gospel was imparalleled" (1972:281).



### Educational Development in Manipur

The first primary school to impart Western education in Manipur was founded by Major General Nuthal in 1872 (Dun; 1886:26). After him Sir Johnstone founded a middle school after his own name in 1885 (Johnstone;1896). The year 1891 marked a new era in the history of Manipur. It not only marked the British conquest but also the beginning of general education in the state. In the subsequent years a number of schools were established in the valley. According to Mangoljao, the number of students enrolled in middle English school was fifty and in the lower primary schools it was 988. This included a newly established girls' lower primary school with 53 students on the roll. By 1907, the number of lower primary schools increased to 60 with an enrolment of 2,595 students. In 1920-21, the middle English school was converted to a full fledged high school and it was affiliated to Calcutta University in 1921-22 (1967:5-7).

However, it may be mentioned here that most of these schools were concentrated in the valley alone. Incidentally, it was about this time that the Christian missionaries through their religious policy preached the message of Western education in the hill areas. The first primary school in the hill areas was established at Mao in 1893.

By the year 1934-35, there were 217 primary schools. Out of these, 123 were in the hills and 94 were in the valley.

Out of the 123 schools in the hills, 53 were missionary schools. There were 4 middle schools and 3 high schools in the valley all of which were run by the state government. In 1946, Dhanamanjuri College, was founded under the name of the then queen of Manipur.

Table 2.1 gives the number of educational institutions and the enrolment in 1946.

Table 2.1  
Number of Educational Institutions in  
Manipur -1946

| <u>Type of institutions</u> | <u>No. of institutions</u> | <u>Enrolment figure</u> |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Lower primary               | 89                         | 14,109                  |
| Upper primary               | 7                          |                         |
| Middle school               | 6                          | 3,962                   |
| High school                 | 5                          |                         |
| College                     | 1                          | 40                      |
| <b>Total</b>                | <b>108</b>                 | <b>18,111</b>           |

Source: Fifth all India Education Survey Manipur, Directorate of Education, Government of Manipur, 1986.

It can be seen from the table that the position of education and its development prior to independence were very limited.

### Development of Education After Independence

The administrative set up and expansion of educational institutions after independence changed due to the changing political set up and the resultant administrative reorganization. A full fledged Legislative Assembly of 40 elected members was set up. Accordingly, the Education Minister became the Head of the Education Department. The Assembly was later dissolved when Manipur was finally integrated into the Union of India on 15 January 1950. Manipur became a Chief Commissioner Province (part-c state) in terms of state merger order in 1950.

The progress of education increased after Manipur gained statehood and became a full-fledged state in 1972. The Board of Secondary Education was set up. Later on, the Manipur University was also set up in 1980. In addition, the State Institute of Education was established for academic improvement. During this decade (1968-77) the administrative set up was also overhauled. Higher education was placed under a Director and the school education was placed under another Director.

In order to have a clear picture of the progress of education let us now, in brief, look at the growth of education in the state since 1901.

Table 2.2 sets out the progress of literacy in Manipur and India between 1901 and 1981.

Table 2.2  
Progress of Literacy in Manipur and India  
1901-1981 (figures in percentage)

| Year | Manipur |       |        | India |       |        |
|------|---------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
|      | Total   | Male  | Female | Total | Male  | Female |
| 1901 | 0.93    | 1.86  | 0.04   | 5.35  | 9.83  | 0.69   |
| 1911 | 2.05    | 4.04  | 0.12   | 5.92  | 10.56 | 1.05   |
| 1921 | 3.82    | 7.65  | 0.15   | 7.16  | 12.21 | 1.81   |
| 1931 | 3.25    | 6.39  | 0.30   | 9.50  | 15.59 | 2.93   |
| 1941 | 5.06    | 9.76  | 0.61   | NA    | NA    | NA     |
| 1951 | 11.41   | 20.77 | 2.37   | 16.67 | 24.95 | 7.93   |
| 1961 | 30.42   | 45.22 | 15.93  | 24.02 | 34.44 | 12.95  |
| 1971 | 32.91   | 46.04 | 19.53  | 29.46 | 39.45 | 18.72  |
| 1981 | 41.4    | 53.3  | 29.1   | 36.2  | 46.9  | 24.8   |

N.A.: Not available.

Source: Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1985;  
Manipur's Economic Progress in Figures, 1987.

It can be seen from the table that the literacy rate in the state was 0.93 per cent as against an all India average of 5.35 per cent in 1901. Manipur recorded a literacy of 11.41 per cent and the Indian Union, 16.67 per cent in 1951. However, in the next 30 years (1951-1981) Manipur has reached 41.4 per cent literacy as against the all India figure of 36.2 per cent. In the last eight decades (1901-1981) male literacy in Manipur

has increased from 1.86 per cent to 53.3 per cent and female literacy from 0.04 per cent to 29.1 per cent as against the national literacy rate of 9.83 per cent to 46.9 per cent in the case of males and from 0.69 per cent to 24.8 per cent females.

Let us now have a look at the district-wise literacy rate of Manipur.

Table 2.3

District-wise Literacy Rates in Manipur, 1981  
(figures in percentage)

| Districts       | Literacy Rate |       |        |
|-----------------|---------------|-------|--------|
|                 | Total         | Male  | Female |
| Manipur north   | 31.03         | 41.08 | 20.20  |
| Manipur west    | 36.38         | 46.44 | 26.06  |
| Manipur East    | 41.99         | 52.09 | 30.99  |
| Manipur south   | 44.85         | 52.99 | 36.09  |
| Manipur central | 54.0          | 66.0  | 42.0   |
| Tengnoupal      | 34.23         | 42.71 | 25.16  |
| MANIPUR         | 41.35         | 53.29 | 29.06  |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1985.

It can be seen from the table that Manipur Central district with 54.0 per cent (66 per cent male and 42 per cent female) literacy tops the list followed by Manipur South district with 44.85 per cent (52.99 per cent male and 36.09 per cent female) and Manipur East district with 41.99 per cent (52.09 per cent male and 30.99 per cent female). Manipur west

district, Manipur north district and Tengnoupal district have literacy rates of 36.38 per cent; 31.03 per cent and 34.23 per cent respectively; much lower than the state's average level of literacy (see figure 1). It may be noted that in all the districts, the literacy level of the males is much higher than that of the females (see figure 2).

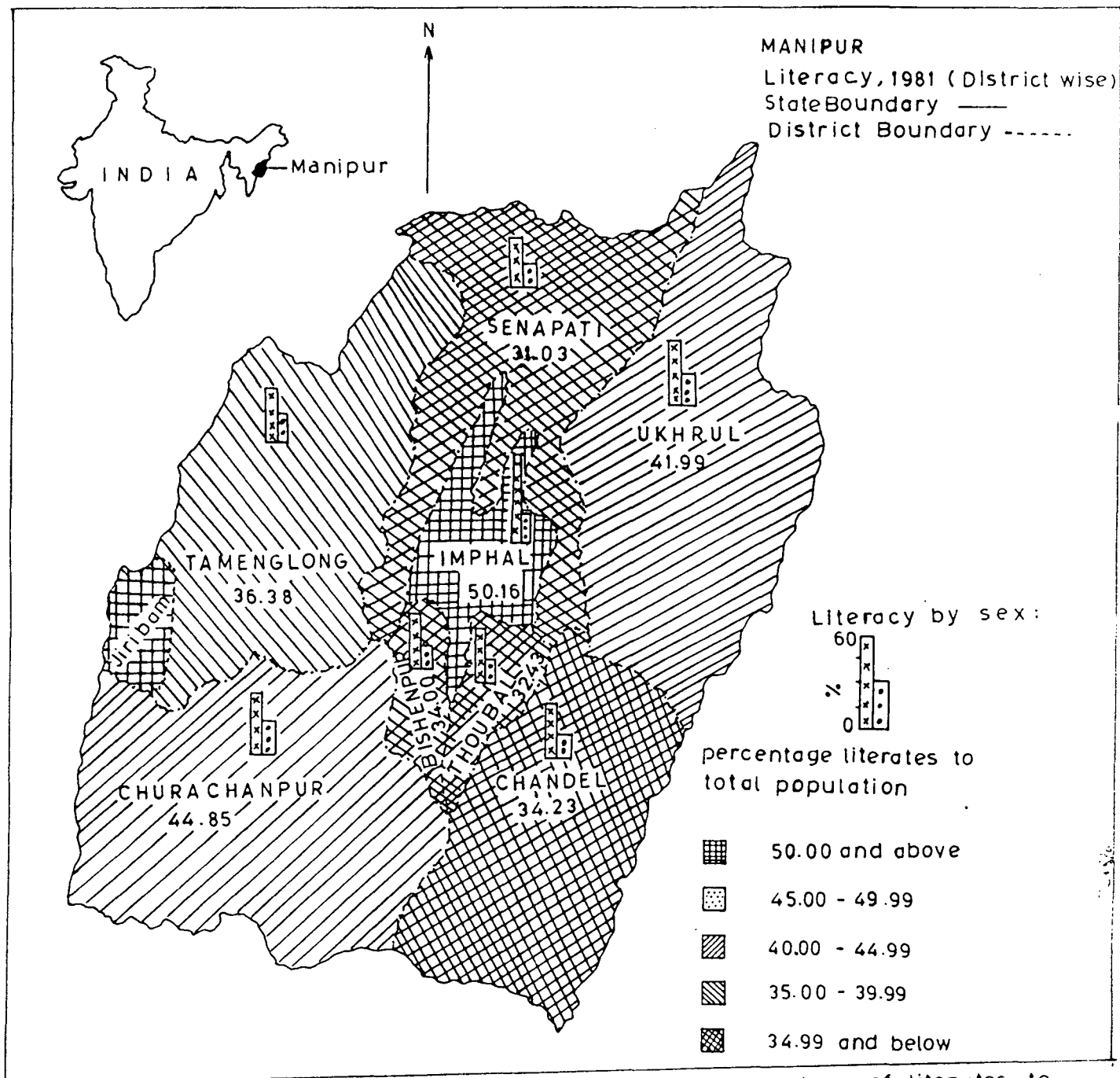
Manipur has made rapid progress in the field of educational advancement. The following table shows the progress of education in Manipur between 1955 and 1984.

Table 2.4

Number of Institutions in Manipur (1955-1984)

| Category                                     | 1955-<br>1956 | 1960-<br>1961 | 1965<br>1966 | 1970-<br>1971 | 1975-<br>1976 | 1979-<br>1980 | 1983-<br>1984 |
|--|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Colleges for general education               | 2             | 2             | 11           | 12            | 20            | 22            | 28            |
| College for professional/other education     | 1             | 1             | 10           | 14            | 40            | 38            | 41            |
| High/Higher Secondary School                 | 23            | 55            | 118          | 123           | 212           | 264           | 329           |
| Middle school                                | 87            | 313           | 299          | 383           | 432           | 391           | 447           |
| Primary school                               | 878           | 1660          | 2077         | 2472          | 3463          | 3429          | 2725          |
| Schools for professional and other education | 104           | 315           | 555          | 390           | 438           | 575           | 517           |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                 | <b>1095</b>   | <b>2346</b>   | <b>3070</b>  | <b>3394</b>   | <b>4605</b>   | <b>4719</b>   | <b>4087</b>   |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1985



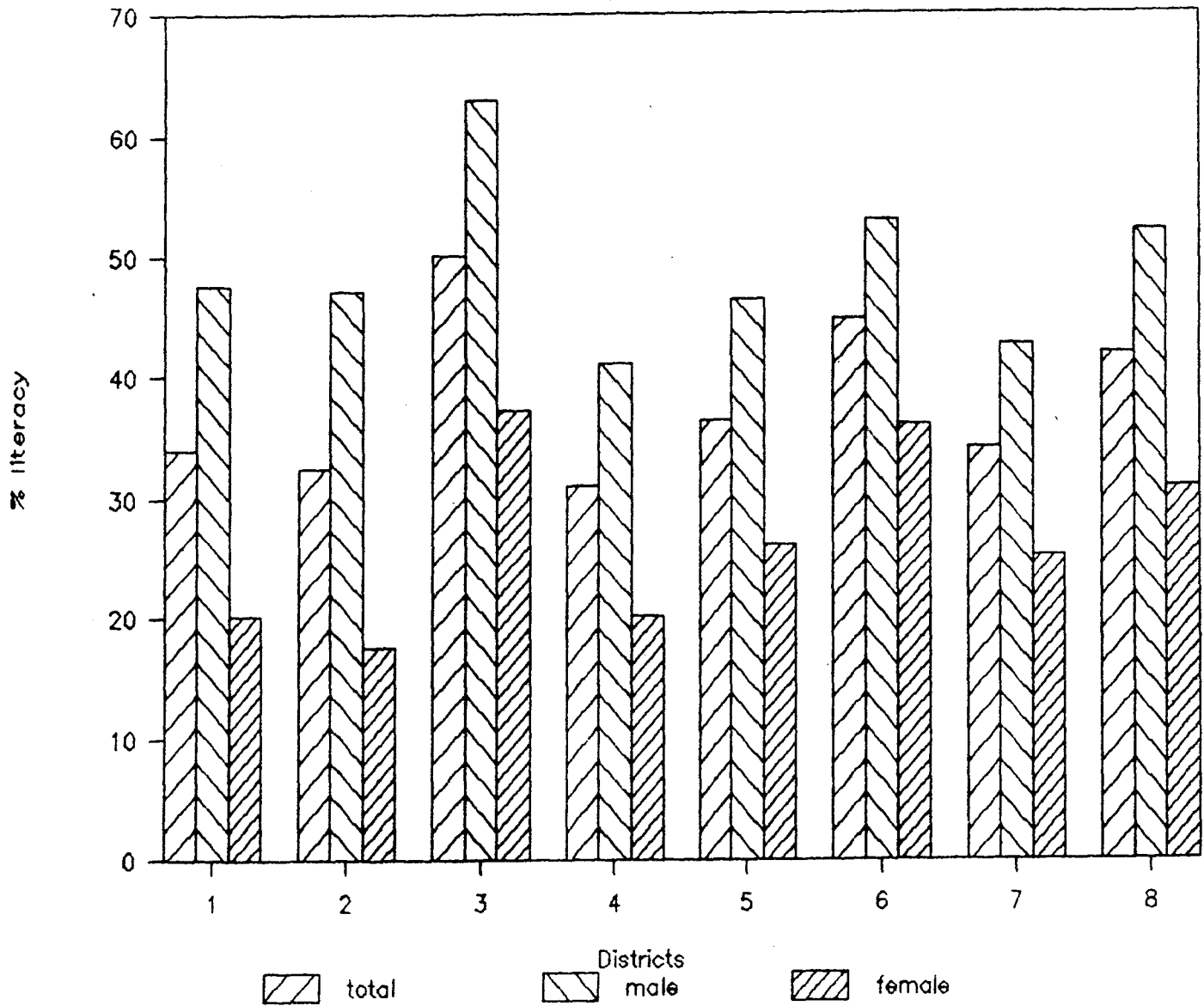
Note: 1. Figures below the district's name indicate percentage of literates to total population.

2. Imphal, Bishenpur, & Thoubal districts are in the valley while the rest of the districts are in the hills. Jiribam is under Imphal district.

Fig. 1

\* MANIPUR \*

Literacy rate, 1981



Name of the Districts :

Valley

Hills

1. Bishenpur

4. Senapati

2. Thoubal

5. Tamenglong

3. Imphal

6. Churachandpur

7. Chandel

8. Ukhrul

Fig.2



It can be seen that there were 1095 institutions in 1955-56, out of which there were only 0.27 per cent (3) institutions for higher studies while 99.73 per cent (1092) were schools. However, in the year 1979-80, the number of institutions rose to 4719; out of this 1.27 per cent (60) were for higher education and 98.73 per cent (4659) were schools. There were 80.2 per cent (878) primary schools in 1955-56 as against 72.7 per cent (3429) in 1979-80. In 1983-84, the total number of institutions was 4087 out of which 1.68 per cent (69) were of higher education and 98.3 per cent (4018) were schools. Here, we can observe two things, namely the number of institutions for higher studies has increased from 60 in 1978-80 to 69 in 1983-84. Secondly, the number of middle schools has increased from 391 to 447 in the same period. This period also shows a decrease in the number of primary schools in 1983-84.<sup>4</sup>

During the same period 1955-84, the number of students in the various institutions of the state especially the enrolment of the girls has increased. Table 2.5 shows the enrolment figure of the students between 1955-56 and 1983-84.

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4. It may be because of the government's policy to upgrade the existing primary schools into middle schools and finally into a full fledged high schools. It also shows the government's policy to improve and upgrade the existing institutions rather than going in for indiscriminate expansion.

Table 2.5

Enrolment of Students by Sex  
(All levels) - 1955-84

| Year    | Enrolment figure |         |         |
|---------|------------------|---------|---------|
|         | Boys             | Girls   | Total   |
| 1955-56 | 72,302           | 21,567  | 93,869  |
| 1960-61 | 111,486          | 47,373  | 158,859 |
| 1965-66 | 139,228          | 78,681  | 217,909 |
| 1970-71 | 161,875          | 97,566  | 259,441 |
| 1975-76 | 207,956          | 134,916 | 342,872 |
| 1979-80 | 181,837          | 135,122 | 316,959 |
| 1983-84 | 215,435          | 166,028 | 381,463 |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Manipur, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur, 1985.

It can be seen from the table that the number of students in various institutions of the state increased from 93,869 to 3,81,463. Sex-wise breakup of the data reveals that the enrolment of the girls has increased from 21,567 to 1,66,028; a seven fold increase in the last three decades. The enrolment of the boys in the same period rose from 72,302 to 2,15,435; about three fold increase in the same period. Thus women's education in Manipur has recorded a rapid growth in recent years.

Let us now have a look at the growth of the number of teachers by sex at all levels between 1955-84. The following table sets out the number of teachers by sex.

Table 2.6

The Number of Teachers by Sex (All Levels)  
1955-84

| Year    | Number of Teachers |         | Total |
|---------|--------------------|---------|-------|
|         | Males              | Females |       |
| 1955-56 | 2849               | 83      | 2932  |
| 1960-61 | 6649               | 332     | 6981  |
| 1965-66 | 9910               | 708     | 10618 |
| 1970-71 | 11084              | 973     | 12057 |
| 1975-76 | 15240              | 1767    | 17007 |
| 1979-80 | 15545              | 2548    | 18093 |
| 1983-85 | 16305              | 3601    | 19906 |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Manipur, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur, 1985.

It can be seen from the table that during the period 1955-84 the number of teachers in various institutions of the state increased from 2,932 to 19,906. Sexwise breakup of the data reveals that the men teachers have increased from 2849 to 16,305, while the women teachers increased from a mere 83 to 3601.

However, the distributional pattern of educational institutions in the state reveals the scarcity of educational facilities, particularly of higher education in the hills. Table 2.7 shows the distribution of educational institutions at all levels.

Table 2.7  
Hill/Valley Distribution of Institutions  
(all levels) - 1986

| Stage of Education                           | Number of Institutions |             |             |
|--|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | Total                  | Hill        | Valley      |
| Primary                                      | 2679                   | 1343        | 1336        |
| Middle                                       | 440                    | 235         | 205         |
| High/Higher Secondary                        | 358                    | 118         | 240         |
| Schools for professional/<br>other education | 75                     | 29          | 46          |
| College for general<br>education             | 28                     | 6           | 22          |
| College for professional/<br>other education | 35                     | 7           | 28          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                 | <b>3615</b>            | <b>1738</b> | <b>1877</b> |

Source: Manipur at a Glance: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur, 1986.

It can be seen from the table that there are 28 colleges for general education in the state out of which 21.4 per cent (6) are in the hills while 78.6 per cent (22) are in the valley. Again, out of 35 colleges for professional education 20 per cent (7) are situated in the hills while 80 per cent (28) are located in the valley. At the primary level, out of 2,679 schools, 50.1 per cent (1343) are situated in the hills while 49.9 per cent (1336) are located in the valley. At the middle school level out of 440 schools, 53.4 per cent (235) are in the hills while 46.6 per cent (205) are in the

valley. In the high school level, out of 358 schools, 32.9 per cent (118) are in the hills while 67 per cent (240) are in the valley.

Thus it may be concluded that while 48 per cent (1738) of the schools at all levels are situated in the hills another 52 per cent (1877) are located in the valley.

Table 2.8 shows the hill/valley distribution of the enrolments at all levels.

Table 2.8

Hill/Valley Distribution of Enrolments  
(at all levels) - 1986

| Stage of Education                           | Enrolment Figure |                |                |
|--|------------------|----------------|----------------|
|  | Total            | Hill           | Valley         |
| Primary                                      | 179690           | 57,663         | 122,027        |
| Middle                                       | 71,547           | 27,961         | 43,586         |
| High/Higher Secondary                        | 105,999          | 28,044         | 77,955         |
| Schools for professional/<br>other education | 1,975            | 475            | 1,500          |
| College for general<br>education             | 26,801           | 3,655          | 23,146         |
| College for professional/<br>other education | 3,166            | 309            | 2,857          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                 | <b>389,178</b>   | <b>118,107</b> | <b>271,071</b> |

Source: Manipur at a Glance, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur, 1986.

It can be seen from the table that, out of the 26,801 students enrolled in the colleges 13.6 per cent (3,655) and 86.4 per cent (23,146) enrolled in the institutions located in the hills and in the valley respectively. At the primary level, the enrolment is about 32 per cent (57,663) in the hills while it is 68 per cent (1,22,027) in the valley. In the middle schools, the enrolment is 39 per cent (27,961) in the schools situated in the hills while it is 61 per cent (43,586) in those of the valley. Again, in the high school of the hills the enrolment is 26.45 per cent (28,044) as against 73.54 per cent (77,955) in the valley.

In general, it may thus be concluded that while there is not much difference in the number of institutions between the hills and the valley, there is however, a vast difference in the enrolment figure in the hills and the valley. The enrolment in the institutions located in the hills is relatively lower than those in the valley.

And, finally, it may be noted that the increase in the expansion and enrolment figure is also accompanied by a high proportion of dropout especially in the primary stage. The national figure of dropout in the primary stage stood at 62.7 per cent (56.9 per cent boys and 66.7 per cent girls) in 1977-78. However, the figure came down to 50.5 per cent

(47.1 per cent boys and 55.5 per cent girls). in 1981-82. The dropout rate in Manipur, in the same period (1977-78 to 1981-82), is much above the national average. While it was 81.2 per cent (79.6 per cent boys and 83.1 per cent girls) in 1977-78, the figure rose to 81.1 (80.1 per cent boys and 82.3 per cent girls) in 1981-82. (See Appendix IV, Table 7).

Chapter III

THE DROPOUTS : A PROFILE



This chapter deals with the personal profile of the dropouts. It highlights the general information about the dropouts. The variables that have been included in this chapter are age, sex, tribe/non-tribe, size of the household etc. Data regarding the distribution of the dropouts by tribe/non-tribe, age, sex, place of residence, reasons for dropout, whether they are working or not, size of the household etc. have been analysed. Since it is a comparative study, the data is presented separately for the tribal and non-tribal dropouts.

As mentioned earlier, a total of 52 dropouts have been interviewed. The following table presents data in terms of hills and valley distribution of the dropouts.

Table 3.1

Hill/Valley Distribution of the Dropouts

| Hill/Valley | Tribal |       | Non-Tribal |       | Total |       |
|-------------|--------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
|             | No.    | %     | No.        | %     | No.   | %     |
| Hill        | 10     | 30.0  | 1          | 5.0   | 11    | 21.2  |
| Valley      | 23     | 70.0  | 18         | 95.0  | 41    | 78.8  |
| Total       | 33     | 100.0 | 19         | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

It is seen from the table that 78.8 per cent (41) of the dropouts are from the valley while only 21.2 per cent (11) are from the hill areas. A break-up of the data shows that 30 per cent (10) tribal dropouts are from the hill areas as

against 5 per cent (1) non-tribal dropouts. On the other hand 70 per cent (23) tribals are from the valley as against 95 per cent (18) non-tribal dropouts.

Table 3.2

Distribution of Dropouts by Age

| Age group | Tribal |       | Non-Tribal |       | Total |       |
|-----------|--------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
|           | No.    | %     | No.        | %     | No.   | %     |
| 12-13     | 1      | 3.0   | 1          | 5.3   | 2     | 3.8   |
| 14-15     | 13     | 39.4  | 12         | 63.1  | 25    | 48.0  |
| 16-17     | 16     | 48.5  | 6          | 31.6  | 22    | 42.3  |
| 18-19     | 3      | 9.0   | 0          | 0.0   | 3     | 5.8   |
| Total     | 33     | 100.0 | 19         | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

Table 3.2 shows the distribution of dropouts by age. It can be seen that the dropouts are in their teens. Out of the 52 dropouts, 48 per cent (25) belong to the age group of 14-15 years followed by 42.3 per cent (22) dropouts in the 16-17 age group. Another 5.8 per cent (3) are in the 18-19 age group. While 3.8 per cent (2) are in the 12-13 age group. The percentage of the dropouts is mostly in the age group 14-17 years which accounts for 90.3 per cent (47). This may demonstrate that children from this age group dropout because they are in the 'productive age group' and are required to provide some economic support to their families.

A break-up of the data in terms of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts shows that 39.4 per cent (13) tribal dropouts are 14-15 years old as against 63.1 per cent (12) non-tribals in the same age group. However, the situation is reverse in the 16-17 age group. Here 48.5 per cent (16) tribal dropouts fall under this age-group as against 31.6 per cent (6) non-tribal dropouts. Data shows that while there are 9 per cent (3) tribal dropouts in the 18-19 age group there are none among the non-tribal dropouts. Thus, a larger proportion of tribal dropouts are in the two upper categories while the proportion of non-tribal dropouts is higher in the two lower categories.

The following table shows the distribution of the dropouts by sex.

Table 3.3  
Age-wise Distribution of Dropouts by Sex

| Age group | Boys |       | Girls |       | Total |       |
|-----------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|           | No.  | %     | No.   | %     | No.   | %     |
| 12-13     | 2    | 5.7   | 0     | 0.0   | 2     | 3.8   |
| 14-15     | 16   | 45.8  | 9     | 52.9  | 25    | 48.0  |
| 16-17     | 15   | 42.8  | 7     | 41.1  | 22    | 42.3  |
| 18-19     | 2    | 5.7   | 1     | 5.9   | 3     | 5.8   |
| Total     | 35   | 100.0 | 17    | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

It can be seen from the above table that out of 52 dropouts, 67.3 per cent (35) are boys and 32.7 per cent (17)

are girls. About 90.3 per cent of dropouts are in the age group of 14-17 years. While 88.6 per cent dropouts are boys in the same age-group, 94.8 per cent (16) are girls. There are no significant difference in the age-group in which they drop out between the two sexes.

The following table shows the hill and valley distribution of the dropouts by sex.

Table 3.4

Hill/Valley Distribution of the Dropouts by Sex

| Hill/Valley | Boys |       | Girls |       | Total |       |
|-------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|             | No.  | %     | No.   | %     | No.   | %     |
| Hill        | 8    | 23.0  | 3     | 18.0  | 11    | 21.2  |
| Valley      | 27   | 77.0  | 14    | 82.0  | 41    | 78.8  |
| Total       | 35   | 100.0 | 17    | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

Figure shows that 23 per cent (8) boys are from the hills as against 18 per cent (3) girls. On the other hand 77 per cent (27) boys are from the valley while 82 per cent (14) girls are from the valley.

Data also indicates that 77 per cent (27) boys are from the valley while only 23 per cent (8) are from the hill areas. Likewise 82 per cent (14) girls are from the valley, another 18 per cent (3) girls are from the hill areas. In general, it may be mentioned here that only one-fifth of the dropouts are from the hill areas, while the rest of the dropouts are from the valley.

Many studies reveal that the size of the household plays an important role in determining the educability of a child. Thus, we were interested in finding out the size of the household of the dropouts and see if there were any differences in the size of the house-hold between the tribal and non-tribal dropouts.

The table below shows the distribution of dropouts by size of the households.

Table 3.5

Distribution of Dropouts by the Size of the Households

| Size of the household | Tribal    |              | Non-tribal |              | Total     |              |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                       | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| 5-6                   | 12        | 36.4         | 8          | 42.1         | 20        | 38.5         |
| 7-8                   | 20        | 60.6         | 10         | 52.6         | 30        | 57.7         |
| 9 and above           | 1         | 3.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 2         | 3.8          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>          | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

Out of 52 households, 57.7 per cent (30) households have between 7 and 8 members. Another 38.5 per cent (20) households have between 5 and 6 members. Only 3.8 per cent (2) households have 9 and more members.

The tribal and non-tribal distribution of the dropouts shows that 36.4 per cent (12) tribal households have between 5 and 6 members as against 42.1 per cent (8) non-tribal house-

holds. However, 60.6 per cent (20) tribal households as against 52.6 per cent (10) non-tribal households have between 7 and 8 members. There is one tribal household which has 9 and more members. Similarly there is one non-tribal household in this category. However, there are no major differences in the size of the household in both the sections.

We were interested in finding out the why of dropout and therefore we asked them the reasons for dropout (see Appendix II).

Table 3.6 sets out the reasons mentioned by the dropouts for dropping out of the school.

Table 3.6

Distribution of Dropouts Showing Reasons for Dropping Out of Schools

| Reasons for Dropout  | Tribal    |              | Non-tribal |              | Total     |              |
|--|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|  | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| <b>Economic:</b>   |           |              |            |              |           |              |
| (a) Need for employment  | 12        | 36.4         | 9          | 47.36        | 21        | 40.4         |
| (b) Ill health or death of some member in the family             | 2         | 6.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 3         | 5.8          |
| <b>Academic</b>  |           |              |            |              |           |              |
| (a) Failed   | 3         | 9.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 4         | 7.7          |
| (b) Found the subject taught in the school irrelevant and boring | 11        | 33.0         | 7          | 36.8         | 18        | 34.6         |
| <b>Any other:</b>  |           |              |            |              |           |              |
| Distance and location of school etc.                             | 5         | 15.6         | 1          | 5.3          | 6         | 11.5         |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

We have grouped their responses into two broad categories, namely economic and academic. For example, those who dropped out because of immediate need of employment or because someone died and they had to withdraw (since they had to work or the financial burden was too much) have been put under the first category. Those who failed or found the course irrelevant and boring have been placed in the second category. It may be because of the importance given to the contribution of children to household services and secondly, the lessons imparted in the schools are not immediately linked to their wider social context. As a result, they lose interest in their studies and eventually, it leads to permanent withdrawal from the school.

Accordingly, we found that out of the 52 dropouts, 46.2 per cent (24) of them withdrew from the school because of the economic reasons. While 42.3 per cent (22) dropped out because of academic reasons. It shows that 'poverty' and 'academic failure' are equally responsible for school dropouts.

A break-up of the data shows that 52.6 per cent non-tribals as against 42.4 per cent tribals dropped out because of economic reasons. Another 42 per cent in both the cases i.e. the tribals and the non-tribals, dropped out because of academic reasons. While 'academic reasons' and 'poverty' are the two chief factors for school dropouts there is yet another not very significant factor which leads to school dropout, namely distance from the school or frequent transfers of

parents etc. Data indicates that 11.5 per cent dropped out because of these reasons. It may be mentioned here that there are no significant differences between the tribal and the non-tribal students except the need for employment. More tribal children dropout proportionately because they have to work. Again, distance and location of the school also affect more tribal children.

Table 3.7

Reasons for Dropout by Sex

| Reasons for dropout  | Boys      |              | Girls     |              | Total     |              |
|--|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|  | No.       | %            | No.       | %            | No.       | %            |
| <b>Economic</b>  |           |              |           |              |           |              |
| (a) Need for employment  | 18        | 51.4         | 3         | 17.6         | 21        | 40.4         |
| (b) Ill health or death of some member in the family             | 1         | 2.8          | 2         | 11.8         | 3         | 5.8          |
| <b>Academic:</b>   |           |              |           |              |           |              |
| (a) Failed   | 1         | 2.8          | 3         | 17.6         | 4         | 7.7          |
| (b) Found the subject taught in the school irrelevant and boring | 14        | 40.0         | 4         | 23.5         | 18        | 34.6         |
| <b>Any other:</b>  |           |              |           |              |           |              |
| Distance and location of school etc.                             | 1         | 2.8          | 5         | 29.4         | 6         | 11.5         |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>35</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

Table 3.7 shows the distribution of reasons of dropout by sex. Proportionately more boys than girls dropout of school due to economic reasons. For example, 54.3 per cent (19) boys



dropped out because of economic reasons as against 29.4 per cent (5) girls. However, there is not much of a difference in the dropouts because of academic failure. Here 41.1 per cent (7) girls as against 42.8 per cent (15) boys dropped out because of this reason. One interesting fact which needs to be highlighted here is that out of 11.5 per cent (6) dropouts because of 'any other reason' (it includes distance and location of school) 29.4 per cent (5) are girls as against 2.8 per cent (1) boys. It may be because girls are likely to be more handicapped if schools are not available in the vicinity of their homes. This also confirms the usual expectation that boys have to be the 'earners' in their families and the pressure begins early in life. Thus, those who discontinue their studies do so more often for economic reasons and are more often tribal boys.

If they discontinue studies for reasons of employment, do they succeed in getting jobs? And if they do, what kind of jobs do they get?

Table 3.8 shows the distribution of the present occupation of the dropouts. Out of 52 dropouts, about one-third i.e., 30.8 per cent (16) are still unemployed while 69.2 per cent (36) are earning a livelihood through self-employment or paid work. While 27 per cent (14) of the dropouts are still engaged in their own household work, such as farm labour, weaving, handicraft etc.; another 25 per cent (13) are

employed in the organised sector. Another 17.3 per cent (9) are engaged in the small scale business.

Table 3.8

Present Occupation of the Dropouts

| Present Occupation        | Tribal |       | Non-tribal |       | Total |       |
|---------------------------|--------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                           | No.    | %     | No.        | %     | No.   | %     |
| Small scale business*     | 5      | 15.2  | 4          | 21.1  | 9     | 17.3  |
| Household work**          | 9      | 27.3  | 5          | 26.3  | 14    | 27.0  |
| Independent employment*** | 8      | 24.2  | 5          | 26.3  | 13    | 25.0  |
| Unemployed****            | 11     | 33.3  | 5          | 26.3  | 16    | 31.0  |
| Total                     | 33     | 100.0 | 19         | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

\*Contract work, shopkeeping etc.

\*\*Farm labour, weaving, handicraft etc. connected with the household.

\*\*\*Employed in sectors other than family land, farm etc. It includes those who are working in some government offices or in some registered office.

\*\*\*\*Those who are not employed and mentioned that they had applied for a loan to start a business or preparing for matriculation examination privately.

A break-up of the figures shows that there is not much difference in the present occupational pattern of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts.

Many studies reveal that there is a close link between one's occupation and sex. Let us now have a look at the present occupation of the dropouts and see if there is any difference in the occupations between the two sexes.

Table 3.9 shows the sexwise distribution of the present occupations of the dropouts. While 29.4 per cent (5) girls are engaged in household work; 25.7 per cent (9) boys are engaged in the same sector. However, 17.6 per cent (3) girls as against 28.6 per cent (10) boys are employed in the independent sector. An equal proportion of boys and girls i.e., 17 per cent are engaged in small scale business. Data indicates that proportionately more girls are unemployed while more boys are working for wages.

Table 3.9

Present Occupation of the Dropouts by Sex

| Present Occupation     | Boys      |              | Girls     |              | Total     |              |
|------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                        | No.       | %            | No.       | %            | No.       | %            |
| Small scale business   | 6         | 17.1         | 3         | 17.6         | 9         | 17.3         |
| Household work         | 9         | 25.7         | 5         | 29.4         | 14        | 27.0         |
| Independent employment | 10        | 28.6         | 3         | 17.6         | 13        | 25.0         |
| Unemployed             | 10        | 28.6         | 6         | 35.3         | 16        | 31.0         |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>35</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

In concluding remarks, it may be summed up that the number of dropouts is highest in the productive age-group. It may be because the service of the child is required at home. We also found that poverty and academic failure are two chief reasons for dropouts. In addition it may also be

mentioned that the lack of conveyance due to distance from the school also plays an important part. It is particularly so for the girls who come from the hills and other remote areas. It may also be mentioned that there is a direct link between the number of dropout with the size of household. We have also noticed that there is a link between the reasons for dropout and their present occupation. Most of the dropouts are now either unemployed or are engaged in the household work. It may be because they were compelled to leave school prematurely as their services were required at home or due to the poor academic performance which eventually led to premature school leaving.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE DROPOUTS

This chapter deals with the social background of the dropouts. Social background is a very broad and comprehensive term. Many sociologists use terms such as 'social-class', 'family background' or 'home background' to refer to social background. For instance, Dale and Griffith are of the opinion that, 'the concept of social class gathers under its umbrella many factors in the home which are associated with pupil attainment' (1970:72). Likewise, Douglas is of the opinion that social class summarises many different aspects of the home environment (1967:81).

It has been acknowledged that the upbringing of the child is different from one family to another depending upon the socio-economic status of the family. Not only does the way in which families differ in their life style distribute certain kinds of knowledge differently throughout society, but the very complex and specialised nature of contemporary economic roles also implies a further distribution of the stock of social knowledge. Thus, different families transmit a particular milieu to the child which later on affect the child's mental make up. Speaking on the influence of social background on an individual, Punalekar says, "Social and economic conditions of one's family wield an all pervasive influence on one's capacity to carve out a plan for himself in society. If these conditions are sound and stable, the individual members of the family can hope to advance further,

socially and economically, acquire positions of prestige and respectability. They would leave a comfortable legacy to the subsequent generations to improve their prospects in course of time. The social and economic status of one's family, therefore, has a crucial bearing on his life chances of finding suitable opportunities and making full use of these for personal growth' (1975:35).

Floud et al had opined that the social class of a child may either offset or reinforce a child's tendency to learn. According to them, if a child come from a family whose material condition is rated as good then his attitude towards education is likely to be favourable. On the other hand, those children who come from a home rated as having poor material condition then his attitudes were more likely to be unfavourable to education (1956:91-95).

Fraser, is also of the opinion that there is a close link between the home environment and success at school. Speaking on the effect of parental encouragement on the educability of a child, Fraser says, "consistent parental encouragement is most important in providing the incentive to make efforts that resulted in achievement at school" (Fraser;1959). Weber is of the opinion that children born to wealthy families have better life chances than the children of poor parents. The child undergoes social

experiences of power and prestige upon which his ideas of class are built (quoted in Musgrave;1965:62).

Himmelweit is also of the opinion that children coming from working class families were less successful in schools than children coming from middle class families. A major contributory cause for this, according to Himmelweit is due to the lack of parental support for working class boys. The parents of the middle class children often come to watch school games or plays more frequently. Thus, the middle class boys themselves thought that their parents are more interested in their progress at school. Moreover, the parents of the middle class boys supervised the homework of their ward' (quoted in Glass;1954).

The kind of authority wielded to discipline a child in different families, to a great extent determine the personality of a child. For instance, Bernstein is of the opinion that the working class parent will often make his child do what he wants more by a gesture than by a verbal command. Punishment in the working class home is most often based on the consequence of the wrong done rather than on the intent of the action (1963:58-63).

Apart from these studies, there is yet one more dimension of personality that is much more directly related to success in education. This is the need felt by an individual



for achievement. According to Swift, 'the need for achievement is learnt very early during the process of socialisation. Parents put before the child frames of reference defining what is thought to be excellent and encourage the child to refer to these standards in all he does. The parents of such children tend to set problems for them that are not too difficult but are just beyond their present capacities and to encourage them warmly without actually interfering whilst their children are seeking solutions (Swift; 1966).

In India, interest in the social background of students pre-occupied sociologists in the sixties and seventies. It was around this time that sociology of education had began to assume importance due to the interest taken by noted sociologists such as I.P.Desai and M.S.Gore. However, most of the earlier studies focused on caste as a very crucial variable and included occupation and income of the father as additional variables. Later, occupation, income and education of the father/guardian assumed more importance. This will be true of the surveys of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students as well. Some of the earlier studies focusing on social background are as follows: Desai (1953); Shills (1960); Misra (1963); Kamat and Deshmukh (1963); Shah (1964); Naik (1965); Parekh (1966);

Chitnis and Aikara (1973); Ahmad (1974) etc. All these studies have highlighted that there is a close link between the educability of a child and one's social background. Speaking on this, Ahmad is of the opinion that "the difference in the school backgrounds of the students are closely interlocked with their social backgrounds or with the educational, occupational and income level of their families" (Ahmad, K; 1974:190).

At times, because different families from different class differ in their values, there is the likelihood that some children may come to school with values that clash with those held by their teachers. This can lead to a discontinuation or a gap in values between school and home (Musgrave; 1965:28).

To summarise it is clear that in our contemporary society, the family acts as a powerful agent of socialisation, especially for primary roles and of the knowledge of routine activities.

While dealing with the social background of the dropouts we would be dealing with the educational, occupational and income level of the parents. And then go on to describe the expectations of the parents, order of birth and family size, reasons for leaving school, parents and guardians' opinion on remedial measures that may be taken up for minimising the problem of dropouts etc.

### Parents Education

Many studies reveal that there is a negative relationship between the educational level of the parents and the rate of dropout. For instance, Chikermane found that the presence of a large number of illiterate members in the family was related to the phenomenon of wastage in primary education (1962:88). This has been supported by Sharma and Sapra who found a negative relationship between the educational status of parents and families of school children and the rate of dropout (1969:88). The educational level of the parents of the dropouts in the sample has been classified into four categories: those who did not receive any formal education have been classified as illiterates; those who finished high and higher secondary education but did not go further have been classified as school educated while those who are graduates have been classified as college educated. Those who acquired post-graduate or other higher degree has been classified as university educated.

Table 4.1 shows the educational level of the fathers of the dropouts. It is seen that higher the educational level of the father lesser is the number of dropouts. It may be noted that only 7.7 per cent (4) of the fathers have had university education while 32.7 per cent (17) of the dropouts have illiterate fathers. Again while 28.9 per cent (15) are

Table 4.1  
Fathers' Education

| Level of Education | Tribal    |              | Non-Tribal |              | Total     |              |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                    | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| Illiterate         | 11        | 33.3         | 6          | 31.6         | 17        | 32.7         |
| School             | 10        | 30.3         | 5          | 26.3         | 15        | 28.9         |
| College            | 11        | 33.3         | 5          | 26.3         | 16        | 30.8         |
| University         | 1         | 3.0          | 3          | 15.8         | 4         | 7.7          |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

school educated; another 30.8 per cent (16) are college graduates. Fathers of 33.3 per cent (11) tribal dropouts are illiterate as against 31.6 per cent (6) non-tribal dropouts. While the fathers of 30.3 per cent (10) tribal dropouts are school educated as against 26.3 per cent (5) fathers of non-tribal. Likewise, the fathers of 33.3 per cent of the tribal dropouts are college educated as against the fathers of 26.3 per cent non-tribal dropouts. However, while the fathers of 15.8 per cent of the non-tribal dropouts have received university education, the fathers of 3 per cent of the tribal dropouts have had university education.

Table 4.2 shows that level of education of mothers of the dropouts. If we look at the mothers education; 44.3 per cent of them are illiterate and 32.7 per cent are school educated. Another 19.2 per cent are graduates while only 3.9 per cent of them are university educated.

Table 4.2  
Mothers' Education

| Level of Education | Tribal |       | Non-tribal |       | Total |       |
|--------------------|--------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                    | No.    | %     | No.        | %     | No.   | %     |
| Illiterate         | 15     | 45.5  | 8          | 42.1  | 23    | 44.3  |
| School             | 11     | 33.3  | 6          | 31.6  | 17    | 32.7  |
| College            | 6      | 18.2  | 4          | 21.0  | 10    | 19.2  |
| University         | 1      | 3.0   | 1          | 5.3   | 2     | 3.9   |
| Total              | 33     | 100.0 | 19         | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

A break-up of the data reveals that the mothers of 45.5 per cent of the tribal dropouts are illiterate as against the mothers of 42.1 per cent non-tribal dropouts. Likewise, the mothers of 33.3 per cent tribal dropouts are school educated as against 31.6 per cent non-tribals. While 18.2 per cent tribals have graduate mothers. 21 per cent of the non-tribals have mothers with a similar qualification. However, only 3 per cent tribals dropouts and 5.3 per cent non-tribal have university educated mothers. With nearly 33 per cent of the fathers and 45 per cent mothers of the dropouts being illiterate and nearly 29 per cent of the fathers and 33 per cent of the mothers being barely school educated, we may conclude that a majority of the dropouts come from families whose parents are barely educated. It may also be noted that higher educational attainment of

parents is positively related to greater participation in education. We may, thus, infer that illiterate parents are less likely to be aware of the value of education and may not find it necessary to educate their children. In addition, they may be engaged in occupations which do not require education as an input for increased earnings or income.

### Parents' Occupation

The significance of occupation as a social background variable can hardly be exaggerated. Since the level of education influences the kind of occupation one takes up, the study of occupation becomes very important in determining the social background of an individual. Jayaswal and Kale, in their study of Gujarat University students found that the occupation of parents was the most important factor in the education of a child (1965:53-71). However, it is the nature of the data and the objectives of the researcher that determine how a researcher classified the various occupations (Heath; 1981: 50). In view of this, the occupational background of the parents of the dropouts has been classified as follows: all those whose occupations are advocate, doctor, engineer etc. have been categorised as professionals while the government servants are classified as clerks, soldiers in the army, school teachers etc. Those who are contractors, traders, etc. have been categorised as business-men. All those persons who are engaged in carpentry

tailoring, automobile mechanic, driving, beautician etc. have been classified as skilled workers. The marginal cultivators and farm labour etc. have been put under the category of agriculture. Those who are unemployed and house-wives have been categorised under any other.

Table 4.3

Fathers' Occupation

| Nature of occupation | Tribal    |              | Non-tribal |              | Total     |              |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                      | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| Professional         | 1         | 3.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 2         | 4.0          |
| Government servant   | 7         | 21.2         | 5          | 26.3         | 12        | 23.0         |
| Business             | 2         | 6.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 3         | 5.8          |
| Skilled worker       | 3         | 9.0          | 2          | 10.5         | 5         | 9.6          |
| Agriculture          | 19        | 57.6         | 10         | 52.6         | 29        | 55.8         |
| Any other            | 1         | 3.0          | -          | -            | 1         | 2.0          |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

Table 4.3 shows the fathers' occupation of the dropouts. It can be seen from the table that a majority i.e. 55.8 per cent of the dropouts have fathers who are engaged in agriculture. Only 4.0 per cent of the dropouts have fathers who are professionals. About one-fourth i.e. 23 per cent of the dropouts have fathers who are government servants, while 9.6 per cent (5) have fathers who are skilled worker.

The father of 5.8 per cent (3) dropouts are in business while the fathers of 2 per cent of the dropouts are unemployed.

A break-up of the occupation of the fathers in terms of tribal and non-tribal dropouts does not reveal any significant difference. The fathers of 57.6 per cent of the tribal dropouts are engaged in agriculture are against the father of 52.6 per cent non-tribal dropouts. Similarly, the fathers of 21.2 per cent of the tribal dropouts are government servants are against 26.3 per cent non-tribals.

Table 4.4 shows the occupation of the mothers of the dropouts.

Table 4.4

Mothers' Occupation

| Nature of occupation | Tribal    |              | Non-tribal |              | Total     |              |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                      | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| Professional         | -         | -            | -          | -            | -         | -            |
| Government servant   | 4         | 12.1         | 3          | 15.8         | 7         | 13.5         |
| Business             | 3         | 9.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 4         | 7.7          |
| Skilled worker       | 2         | 6.0          | 2          | 10.5         | 4         | 7.7          |
| Agriculture          | 20        | 60.6         | 11         | 57.9         | 31        | 59.7         |
| Any other            | 4         | 12.1         | 2          | 10.5         | 6         | 11.5         |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |



As regards the occupation of the mothers of the dropouts, 59.7 per cent are engaged in agriculture. While 13.5 per cent are in government service, 11.5 per cent are either house-wives or are unemployed. Again 7.7 per cent each are engaged either in business or are skilled workers. A break up of the figures in terms of tribal and non-tribal does not reveal any major difference in the occupation of the mothers. A majority of the mothers of both the tribals and non-tribal dropouts are engaged in agriculture. It may also be noted that none of the dropouts have a professional mother. However, what is noteworthy is that most of them are working. These findings indicate that an overwhelming majority of the dropouts come from an agricultural background and only 4.0 per cent come from families whose parents are in professional occupations.

#### Family Income

The third important variable of social background is the income of the parents. In spite of certain methodological problems arising out of its computation and reliability, family income constitutes a significant indicator of social status. Income is closely associated with the level of education one gets and the kind of occupation one takes up. As a result, the differences in education and occupations are carried over

to the difference in income. Sharma and Sapra (1967) are of the opinion that the income of the family is a predictor of educational status of the children. They go on to argue that parents exposed to education may command more income. Thus, the more highly educated parents are likely to be aware of the value of education and because they earn more, may be in a position to invest more in the education of their children than their less educated counterparts.

Table 4.5 shows the income level of the fathers of the dropouts.

Table 4.5

Monthly Income of Father

| Income slab (in Rs.) | Tribal    |              | Non-tribal |              | Total     |              |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                      | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| Below 500            | 2         | 6.0          | 2          | 10.5         | 4         | 7.7          |
| 501-1000             | 16        | 48.5         | 9          | 47.4         | 25        | 48.0         |
| 1001-1500            | 10        | 30.3         | 5          | 26.3         | 15        | 28.0         |
| 1501-2000            | 3         | 9.0          | 2          | 10.5         | 5         | 9.6          |
| above 2000           | 2         | 6.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 3         | 5.8          |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

Note: Fathers' income includes monthly salary and/or rent from a stable source.

It can be seen from the table that 55.7 per cent of the dropouts come from families whose fathers income is below Rs.1000 and only 5.8 per cent of them belong to families whose fathers

income exceeds Rs.2000. Another 38.5 per cent of the dropouts belong to families whose fathers income is between Rs.1000 and Rs.2000.

Comparison of the data between the fathers of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts reveals that 54.5 per cent tribal dropouts as against 57.9 per cent non-tribal come from families whose fathers income is less than Rs.1000. On the other hand, while 6.0 per cent of the tribal dropouts come from families whose fathers income exceeds Rs.2,000; 5.3 per cent of the non-tribal dropouts come from a similar economic background. Likewise, 39.3 per cent of the tribal dropouts come from families whose fathers income is between Rs.1,000 and Rs.2,000; as against 36.8 non-tribal dropouts. Thus 94 per cent of the tribal dropouts come from families where the income of the fathers is either low or medium as against 94.7 per cent non-tribal dropouts. We may thus conclude that there are no major differences in the income of the fathers of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts.

Table 4.6 sets out the income level of the mothers of the dropouts. It can be seen from the table that 84.6 per cent (44) of the dropouts have mothers whose income is below Rs.1,000, while 15.4 per cent (8) dropouts have mothers whose income is between Rs.1,001 and Rs.2,000. A break-up of the data in terms of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts shows no major variations. However, a noteworthy feature is that

many of the mothers of the dropouts are earning members.

Table 4.6  
Mothers' Income

| Income Slab (in Rs.) | Tribal    |              | Non-tribal |              | Total     |              |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                      | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| Below 500            | 16        | 48.5         | 9          | 47.3         | 25        | 48.0         |
| 501-1000             | 13        | 39.4         | 6          | 31.6         | 19        | 36.5         |
| 1001-1500            | 4         | 12.1         | 3          | 15.8         | 7         | 13.5         |
| 1501-2000            | 0         | 0.0          | 1          | 5.3          | 1         | 2.0          |
| Above 2000           | 0         | 0.0          | 0          | 0.0          | 0         | 0.0          |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

So far we have considered the socio-economic status of the family of the dropouts in terms of educational, occupational and income level of their parents. Though these variables have highlighted the general social background of the dropouts, they do not actually tell us in a concrete way how a particular child is treated by his parents or what kind of psychological processes are at work which determine their response to education.

Thus, it is in the second set of social background variables that we would be taking up which would enable us to know about the actual processes that are promoting or acting as obstacles to success in education. Some of the variables

that we would be taking up are the household size, the order of birth, reasons for dropout (as expressed by guardians and parents etc.). Besides this we would also be dealing with the opinions of the parents and guardians regarding the remedial measures, their expectations in send their wards to school etc. Apart from these, we would also be highlighting the general view of the teachers on the problem of drop-outs.

The size of the household and the order of birth plays an important role in determining the educability of the child. Dale and Griffith are of the opinion that there is a close link between the household size with deterioration in academic performance which is most of the cases leads to subsequent premature withdrawal from the school. They reported that fifty-one per cent of the deteriorators<sup>1</sup> and thirty per cent of the non-deteriorators come from the families having four or more children and there was no family of a non-deteriorator which had more than five children (1970:77). Boocock is also of the opinion that household size is very closely related to the educational attainment of the child. She further relates it with the socio-economic background of the family. She says, 'Lower Socio-Economic Status (SES) children start school with a verbal disadvantage simply because they are more likely to be born into large families where the opportunities for verbal communication with adults are limited, quite apart from the

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1. Those who showed a steady decline in studies.

verbal facility or lack of it that parents may have and since mothers and other older siblings in lower SES families are more likely to be working and to spend less time at home, conversational opportunities are further restricted (Boocock: 36). In other words, if the number of siblings is large, then the amount of attention which is due to one child or two children gets divided and the proper care of that particular child is not done. It may be mentioned here that a majority of the dropouts in our study are from a medium-sized family. (See table 3.5).

Apart from the household size, the order of birth of the child to a great deal determines the educability of the child. Douglas is of the opinion that, 'the experience of a child in the home or out of it is to a considerable extent influenced by his position in the family. Thus he opines that the first born children do better than expected from their measured ability and later born children do worse' (1970:120-44).

Table 4.7 shows the distribution of the dropouts by order of birth. For analytical purposes, we have grouped the dropouts into four categories according to the order of birth. It can be observed from the table that out of the 52 dropouts, 13.5 per cent are the first born children while 36.5 per cent of them are the fifth and after born children.

Table 4.7

Order of Birth

| Order of birth    | Tribal |      | Non-tribal |      | Total |      |
|-------------------|--------|------|------------|------|-------|------|
|                   | No.    | %    | No.        | %    | No.   | %    |
| First born child  | 4      | 12.1 | 3          | 15.8 | 7     | 13.5 |
| Second-third born | 8      | 24.2 | 4          | 21.0 | 12    | 23.1 |
| Fourth-fifth born | 9      | 27.2 | 5          | 26.3 | 14    | 26.9 |
| Fifth and after   | 12     | 36.4 | 7          | 36.8 | 19    | 36.5 |

A comparison of the data between the tribal and non-tribal does not show any significant differences. The percentage of first born among the tribal dropouts is 12.1 as against 15.8 non-tribal dropouts. On the other hand, it may be noted that a maximum of tribal dropouts, 36.4 per cent, are the fifth and after borns as against 36.8 per cent non-tribal dropouts. Thus, it can be observed that for both the tribal and non-tribal dropouts, the number of dropout is minimum among the first borns and maximum among the later born children.

Withdrawal from the school is a form of non-participation and now we turn to the reasons for the premature withdrawal of the students from the school as opined by the parents and guardians of the dropouts. The reasons for dropout as advanced by the dropouts themselves have already been discussed earlier in chapter three. (See Tables 3.5 and 3.6). However,

the views expressed by the parents and guardians regarding the reasons for dropout are also important. It would also enable us to compare the reasons as given by the dropouts themselves with those of the parents and guardians.

Table 4.8 sets out views of parents and guardians on the reasons for leaving school.

Table 4.8

Parents' /Guardians' Views on Reasons for Leaving School

| Reasons                  | Tribal |       | Non-tribal |       | Total |       |
|--------------------------|--------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                          | No.    | %     | No.        | %     | No.   | %     |
| I. Economic              |        |       |            |       |       |       |
| Need for employment etc. | 16     | 48.5  | 10         | 52.6  | 26    | 50.0  |
| II. Academic             |        |       |            |       |       |       |
| Repetition etc.          | 12     | 36.4  | 6          | 31.6  | 18    | 34.6  |
| III. Others              |        |       |            |       |       |       |
| Transport problem etc.   | 5      | 15.1  | 3          | 15.8  | 8     | 15.4  |
| Total                    | 33     | 100.0 | 19         | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

It can be observed from the table that 'economic reason' is the most important factor for premature withdrawal of students from the school. In other words 50 per cent of the parents and guardians cited economic reason as the most important reason for the withdrawal of their wards from the school. While 34.6 per cent of the parents and guardians viewed academic reason as the cause of dropouts. Another 15.4



per cent of the parents viewed migration or transport problem as the cause of withdrawal from the school.

A break-up of the data reveals that there are no significant differences in the views of the parents of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts. While 48.5 per cent of the parents of the tribals held economic reason as the reason for dropout; 52.6 per cent of the parents and guardians of the non-tribal dropouts had a similar viewpoint. Another 36.4 per cent of the parents and guardians of tribal dropouts held ~~academic~~ reason as the cause of dropout as against 31.6 per cent parents of the non-tribal dropouts. Thus the parents of both the tribal and non-tribal dropouts held economic reason to be the main cause of dropouts.

It is expected that parents who had enrolled their children in the school feel unhappy and dejected in the event of their child's dropping out of the school. Parents always have some expectations from their children. When they send their children to school they generally hope that their children should derive some benefits from the education they receive. Therefore, we enquired from them about their expectations in sending their wards to the school.

Table 4.9 shows the expectations of the parents and guardians in sending their wards to school. It can be seen from the table that 55.8 per cent of the parents and guardians

Table 4.9

Expectations of Parents and Guardians about  
School Education

| Nature of Expectations             | Tribal |       | Non-Tribal |       | Total |       |
|------------------------------------|--------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                    | No.    | %     | No.        | %     | No.   | %     |
| Economic Security                  | 20     | 60.6  | 9          | 47.4  | 29    | 55.8  |
| To attain higher status in society | 9      | 27.3  | 7          | 36.9  | 16    | 30.8  |
| To be a cultured person            | 4      | 12.1  | 3          | 15.8  | 7     | 13.5  |
| Total                              | 33     | 100.0 | 19         | 100.0 | 52    | 100.0 |

of the dropouts expected their wards to have economic security. It may be because the parents and guardians expected that education would provide better employment opportunities to their children, this is especially so in a society where almost all the jobs in the organised sector and those which earn a reasonable salary require a minimal degree of education. While 30.8 per cent of the parents and guardians of the dropouts viewed education as a means to attain higher status in the society another 13.5 per cent of the parents and guardians expected their wards to be a cultured person by sending them to school.

A break-up of the data reveals that there is a significant difference in the expectations of the parents of the tribal and

non-tribal dropouts in so far as the economic benefits are concerned. For example, while 60.6 per cent of the parents and guardians of the tribal dropouts expected their wards to attain economic security by sending their wards to school only 47.4 per cent of the parents of the non-tribals did the same, Again 27.3 per cent of the parents and guardians of the tribal dropouts and 36.9 per cent of parents and guardians of the non-tribal dropouts expected that education would enable their wards to attain higher status in the society. Another, 12.1 per cent and 15.8 per cent of the parents and guardians of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts viewed education as a mean to become a cultured person.

In general it may thus be concluded that while most of the parents and guardians of both the tribal and non-tribal dropouts expressed their expectations that education would provide better employment opportunities and thus lead to economic security of their children yet a larger proportion from among the non-tribals emphasize social benefits.

In the light of the information on the social background of the dropouts and the reasons for premature school leaving, let us now look at the views expressed by the parents and guardians of the dropouts as to how this problem of dropout may be diminished, if not eradicated totally.

The problem of dropout is a highly complex issue and a multiple of reasons being responsible for it, the remedial measures as suggested by the parents and guardians are also

diverse in nature. However, for analytical purposes, the remedial measures as expressed by the parents and guardians are grouped under three categories: financial aid such as scholarship, free-ship, uniform, books etc., academic measures such as the formation of parent-teacher association, relaxation of school rules to make curricula interesting and relevant etc., and providing provision of hostel facilities especially to the tribal children.

Table 4.10 shows the measures for reducing dropout as expressed by parents and guardians of the dropouts. A majority, i.e. 52.0 per cent of the parents and guardians of the dropouts

Table 4.10  
Measures for Reducing Dropout

| Nature of measures          | Tribal    |              | Non-Tribal |              | Total     |              |
|-----------------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|                             | No.       | %            | No.        | %            | No.       | %            |
| Financial aid<br>(Economic) | 17        | 51.5         | 10         | 52.6         | 27        | 52.0         |
| Academic measures           | 10        | 30.3         | 7          | 36.8         | 17        | 32.6         |
| Hostel facilities           | 6         | 18.2         | 2          | 10.5         | 8         | 15.4         |
| <b>Total</b>                | <b>33</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>19</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

mentioned provision of financial aid as one of the measures for reducing the problem of dropout. This may be in the form of

incentives like scholarship, freeship, uniforms, books etc. About one-third i.e. 32.6 per cent of the parents of the dropouts mentioned academic measures. This may be because many children dropout due to academic problems like boring and irrelevant lessons, repetition etc. Some of the academic remedial measures suggested by the parents and guardians include the formation of parent-teacher association, relaxation of rigid school rules, make curricula interesting and relevant etc. Besides this, 15.4 per cent of the parents and guardians suggested measures like providing hostel facilities, especially for those tribal students who come from remote hilly regions.

The third all India Educational Survey on hostel facilities for Scheduled Tribes revealed that the main reason for the high percentage of wastage and dropout among the tribal students is the lack of hostel and proper residential facilities. The survey reports that the problem of dropout arises mainly for students of middle and high school students because these students have to travel long distance and schools are situated in such places where there are no relatives who could provide them shelter and their economic position cannot live accommodation in these places. In such cases hostel become necessarily adjuncts to school. (NCERT, 1981:3).

A break-up of the data does not reveal any significant difference between the measures expressed by the parents and guardians of both the tribal and non-tribal dropouts. The

order in which the parents and guardians of both the tribal and non-tribal dropouts are financial aid, academic measures and others.

In view of teachers' role in a students' career whether it be academic success or failure, it was decided to collect information on their views on the problem of dropout. Thus, apart from the parents and guardians of the dropouts, a group of teachers (15 in number, 7 males and 8 females) were administered a separate *questionnaire*. Their views, however, were quite general and thus not specifically related to the 52 dropouts that have been taken as a sample for our study. First of all, the teachers' views on, "how do they perceive the problem of dropouts in their respective schools" were elicited. To this question, out of the 15 teachers, (86.7 per cent) (13) are of the opinion that the problem of dropout was 'quite a problem' and another 13.3 per cent (2) felt that this was a 'big problem.'

Apart from this, we were also interested in finding out their views on the social background of the dropouts in general. The teachers were generally of the view that the students who dropped out of school were generally from economically backward families. As many as 60 per cent of the teachers mentioned poverty as the main reason for dropout while about one-third, i.e. 33.3 per cent teachers cited 'academic failure' as the

reason for dropout. Besides another 6.7 per cent of teachers expressed 'the lack of hostel facilities' as another reason for dropout particularly the tribal students who came from the hills.

Since we have the reasons for dropout as expressed by parents (Table 4.8), students (Table 3.6) and teachers let us now make an attempt to compare their views.

Here table 4.11 sets out the reasons for dropout as expressed by the parents and guardians the dropouts and the teachers. As many as 50 per cent of the parents and guardians cited economic problem as the main reason while 46.2 per cent of the dropout themselves and 60 per cent of the teachers held a similar reason. Again, one-third i.e. 34.6 per cent of the parents and guardians expressed 'academic problem' for dropout

Table 4.11

Reasons for Dropout

| Reasons      | Parents/<br>Guardians |              | Students  |              | Teachers  |              |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
|              | No.                   | %            | No.       | %            | No.       | %            |
| Economic     | 26                    | 50.0         | 24        | 46.2         | 9         | 60.0         |
| Academic     | 18                    | 34.6         | 22        | 42.3         | 5         | 33.3         |
| Others       | 8                     | 15.4         | 6         | 11.5         | 1         | 6.7          |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>52</b>             | <b>100.0</b> | <b>52</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>15</b> | <b>100.0</b> |

while 42.3 per cent of the dropout themselves and 33.3 per cent of the teachers held a similar viewpoint. Another 15.4 per cent of the parents and guardians held 'other' like transport problem etc. and reason for dropout while 11.5 per cent of dropout themselves and 6.7 per cent of the teachers held a similar reason. It may thus be concluded here that a majority of the respondents attribute 'economic problem' as the main reason for dropout.

The teachers were also asked to express their views on how the problem of dropout may be tackled. To this question, as many as 53.3 per cent of the teachers, suggested economic measures like giving stipends, freeships etc. Another 33.3 per cent (5) teachers' views were related to academic measures. For instance, 'to make lessons more interesting and making curricula practical, to reorient the academic programme in such a way that they are made relevant and interesting and above all, creating an educational atmosphere both at home and at school is essential. Besides this, 13.3 per cent (2) of the teachers were of the opinion that closer ties between the parents and teachers would be very helpful in jointly monitoring progress of a student.

Table 4.12 shows those measures to curb the number of dropouts as expressed by the parents and guardians and the teachers. It can be seen from the table 4.12 shows that their views coincide and are remarkably similar.



Table 4.12

Measures for Reducing Dropout

| Nature of Measures | Parents/Guardians |       | Teachers |       |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------|----------|-------|
|                    | No.               | %     | No.      | %     |
| Economic           | 27                | 52.0  | 8        | 53.3  |
| Academic           | 17                | 32.6  | 5        | 33.3  |
| Others             | 8                 | 15.4  | 2        | 13.3  |
| Total              | 52                | 100.0 | 15       | 100.0 |

In the light of the above discussion it may be inferred that there is a negative relationship between the level of education of parents and guardians and the number of dropouts since many of the dropouts come from families whose parents are either illiterate or barely school educated. As regards the occupation of parents and guardians, a majority of the dropouts are from poor agricultural background and very few of them come from families whose parents are in professional occupations. The study also shows that most of the dropouts are from a relatively poor economic background. However, a notable feature in our study is that mothers of most of them are working although they have very low income.

Further many dropouts come from medium sized families and a majority of them are later born children. It may be mentioned here that our study shows no significant differences in the social background of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts.

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The present study was undertaken to make a comparative study of the tribal and non-tribal response to schooling in Manipur. The main focus of our study has been to find out who drops out? Why do some students leave schools prematurely? And also what type of social background do they come from? The study mainly sought to compare the social background of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts and to see if there were any differences between them. Some of the variables that have been taken into account are the educational, the occupational and the income level of the parents. In order to support our study we have also taken certain other factors like the size of the household, the order of birth, the reasons for dropout, the present occupation of the dropouts.

In terms of the educational level of the parents, our study shows that most of the dropouts have either illiterate or high school educated parents. Thus, most of the dropouts come from families who have either illiterate or the least educated parents. A break-up of the data in terms of the tribal and non-tribal dropouts shows no major variations. However, while 15.8 per cent of the non-tribal dropouts have university educated fathers. Only 7.7 per cent tribal dropouts have fathers who are university educated. It may be because education is a later phenomenon among the tribals (see Table 4.1).

Our findings on the occupation of the parents reveal that a majority, 55.8 per cent of the fathers of the dropout are engaged in agriculture, as against only 4 per cent in the

professional occupations. A break-up of the data shows no major difference between the occupations of the parents. However, one noteworthy feature is that most of the mothers of the dropouts are working (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4).

Again, our findings on the income of the parents show a majority of the dropouts come from low income families. As many as 55.7 per cent of the dropouts come from families whose fathers income is below Rs.1,000 while only 5.8 per cent of the dropouts come from families whose fathers income is above Rs.2,000. Likewise as many as 84.6 per cent of the dropouts come from families whose mothers income is below Rs.1,000. However, it may be mentioned here that most of the mothers of the dropouts are earning. Comparison between the tribal and non-tribal dropouts reveal that there are no marked difference in the income of the fathers and mothers between them (see Tables 4.5 and 4.6).

Our findings on the reasons for dropout reveal that as many as 50 per cent of the students dropped out because of economic reasons like boring and irrelevant lessons, failure etc., while about 34.6 per cent dropped out because of academic reasons. A break up of the data does not reveal any difference in the reason for dropout between the tribal and non-tribal students (see Table 4.8).

Earlier studies on dropout reveal that economic factor is the crucial factor in determining the problem of dropout. However, our findings show that it is not economic factor alone which is crucial in determining the educational response of a student.

Here we have different explanations provided by different sociological theories. To look for an explanation we will examine some of the different theories.

### The Functionalist Perspective

The functionalist analysis of society is based on the idea of consensus. Thus, the functionalist theorists mainly devoted their attention to the question of stability and maintaining equilibrium in the society. Every part or institution of the society is seen to have a particular function to perform and these interdependent parts worked in coordination for the survival of the system. In order to have an indepth study of the role of education from the functionalist perspective let us consider the contributions made by Durkheim and Talcott Parsons and Davis and Moore.

According to Durkheim (1956) the major function of education was the transmission of society's norms and values and it is done through the methodical socialisation of the young generation. By this he meant that education developed these values and intellectual skills needed by children to

to perform the role in society to which they had been allocated. This ensured the survival and development of society. Durkheim thus maintained that society can survive only if there exist among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity and education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities which collective life demands. Without these social life itself would be impossible.

Like Durkheim, Parsons (1961) is also concerned with the 'problem of order' in the society. He maintains that there has to be some way of ensuring coordination among the various parts of society and of responding to new developments and external threats. Any society if it is to survive and develop must recruit new members as the older generation dies out. Parsons is of the opinion that education is one of the main agencies through which a methodical recruitment of the younger generation takes place. According to him the main function of education is 'socialisation' and 'role selection' (Parsons; 1961:453). Parsons thus viewed school class as a social system 'in miniature'. In his own words, Parsons says, 'The school is an agency of socialisation and thus it is an agency through which individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles.'

According to Davis and Moore success in the examination is determined in such a way to ensure that only a minority of jobs require high levels of skill. Thus, according to the functionalist analogy if some children leave school with unequal levels of attainment, it is the result of individual differences in 'intelligence' and 'performance'.

However, functionalism has its own logical flaws. For instance their assumptions like 'there is consensus in the society', 'education system is to the service of all', 'achievement is because of individual difference in intelligence' etc. are all open to question. The functionalist idea of consensus of values is oblivious to the fact that modern industrial societies are multi-cultural, composed of people from a wider range of origins and cultures. There are very few shared values, if any, and most often, if there is a dominant culture, it has been imposed on a culturally diverse society. As such, there is every possibility that the consensus is an 'engineered consensus' by those from a ruling minority rather than of society as a whole. Thus, within the functionalist paradigm failure and withdrawal of students from the school may be attributed to individual difference in intelligence. It is explained in terms of functional requirements of society. Thus, the functionalist perspective explains the withdrawal of students but they do not answer the 'why' of the dropping out of students from the school prematurely.

### The Neo-Marxist Perspective

This provides a radical alternative to the functionalist perspective. It differs from functionalism in its rejection of the idea of consensus in the society. However, it shares its view with functionalism as far as the economic function of the education is concerned. While functionalism is concerned with consensus and maintaining equilibrium in a society, research in the Marxian perspective is mainly guided by the question: how does the educational system produce the kind of workforce required by capitalism? Education according to this theory is seen as an element of the 'state apparatus', the crucial function of which is to perpetuate the capitalist relations of production. Education according to this theory helps to 'reproduce' or maintain the capitalist economic system. Thus, this theory is also known as the theory of 'direct reproduction'. Here, we would be taking up the contributions made by Bowles and Gintis and Althusser and see if their theories explain the 'why' of the phenomenon of dropout.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that the major role of education is the reproduction of labour-power. Education according to them does this in two ways: first, it justifies and legitimates the class structure and inequality by fostering the belief that economic success depends essentially on the



possession of ability and appropriate skill or education; secondly, it prepares young people for their place in the world of class dominated and alienated work by creating those capacities, qualifications, ideas and beliefs which are appropriate to a capitalist economy (Blackledge and Hunt; 1985:135). Put differently, the function of education is reproduction and it takes place by means of legitimation and socialisation. In addition, they viewed schools as a mechanism for social control to help political stability by reproducing the same class structure from one generation to another.

Like Bowles and Gintis, Althusser is also of the view that the main function of education is reproduction. He argues that no class can hold power for any length of time simply by use of force. Ideological control provides a far more effective means of maintaining class rule. Althusser views education as one of the 'ideological state apparatuses' with which the existing system is maintained. In his own words, 'no class can hold power for a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the ideological state apparatus' (1971:254).

According to the neo-Marxist perspective, education not only transmits a general ruling class ideology which justifies and legitimates the capitalist system, it also

reproduces the attitude and behaviour required by the major groups in the division of labour. Because of the gap between the cultural capital of the home with that of the knowledge and ideology of the schools the tribal students are likely to find it difficult to adjust in the schools. The tribal students thus suffer from a double handicap, that, they come from a poor economic background and secondly, the ideology and knowledge which are being imparted are those of the dominant class.

Thus, this theory emphasises that the ruling class moulds education to suit its own purpose. However, this perspective has been criticised for offering an 'over-socialised' views of human beings with no independent will of their own. This framework thus ignores the internal factors of the school like structure of syllabi, teacher-taught relationship and curriculum etc. Incidentally, our findings show that academic reasons are very crucial. Thus, the neo-Marxist framework because of its over emphasis on the external factors fails to explain fully the 'why' of dropout.

#### The Interactionist Approach

Unlike the positivist theories, the interactionist theorists argue that it is social interaction which shapes

reality and not any social system. The interactionists criticise the positivist theories like the Marxist and the functionalist perspectives for their characterisation of humanity as entirely shaped by social forces. According to the interactionists, man actively constructs social reality and his actions are not simply shaped by social forces which act upon him. Man becomes the author of his own action rather than passively responding to external constraints. Meanings are thus, not only constructed by actors in the process of interaction but they are developed, modified and changed in the process of negotiation. Men according to this analogy are active members who construct their own social world. Rejecting the positivist approach Nell Keddie in her article, 'Class Room Knowledge' (1971) says that human behaviour can never be objectively measured and quantified by methods similar to those used in physical sciences. In addition, she argues that in order to explain educational success and failure, the ways in which teachers and students interpret and give meaning to educational situations and other interaction processes in the class room must be examined.

Though the interactionist perspective has provided a fresh insight, it has some limitations. For instance, they have been criticised for not offering a predictable methodology. It is particularly so when they construe meaning and

social realities as simply constructed in class room interaction. Here it is difficult to account for the apparent uniformity of meaning which results from a multitude of interactions. Moreover they lay too much of emphasis on the internal factors of the school to the exclusion of other external factors.

This perspective helps to explain the perceptions of students about themselves, about the functions of the educational system and their place in it. These in turn may affect success or failure of students. However, this perspective helps partially in explaining or understanding the phenomenon of dropout. Therefore, we turn for a theoretical framework which encompasses almost all the relevant parameters of the theories discussed earlier and while integrating them goes beyond. It, therefore, succeeds in explaining the problem of dropout.

#### The Cultural Reproduction Theory

Like the Marxists, the theories of cultural reproduction are also essentially concerned with the question of how the capitalist societies are able to reproduce themselves. However, while the neo-Marxists believe in reducing mechanically all sets of ideas to class interest, the cultural reproduction theories lay emphasis not only on the crucial role played by economy but also on the mediating role of culture in reproducing class societies.

The notions of culture and cultural capital are central to the cultural reproduction theory. Here, we would be taking up the contributions of Bernstein and Bourdieu and examine the subcultural differences between social classes which account for educational attainment.

The central theme of Bernstein's contribution is in his understanding of different speech patterns according to one's social class and their relationship to educational attainment. His assumption is based on the belief that each social class generates a system of communication shared by members of that class and specific to it. He called this system 'Codes'. These codes consist of meaning, symbols and relationship expressed through language. According to him, these codes may be divided into two: 'the restricted code' and 'the elaborated code'. Bernstein states that restricted codes are characterised by short, grammatically simple often, unfinished sentences. There is a limited use of adjectives and adjectival clauses, of adverbs and adverbial clauses. Meaning and intention are conveyed more by gesture. The meaning is dependent on the context in which it is spoken and as such, it is particularistic. These codes are generally used by the working class. On the other hand, the elaborated codes are context-independent and explicitly verbalise many of the meanings which are taken for granted in a restricted code. As such, its meanings are universalistic and are not tied to a particular context. Bernstein

explains the origin of social class speech codes in terms of family relationships and socialisation practices and the nature of manual and non-manual occupations. He argues that the working class family life fosters the development of the restricted codes, while the middle class family encourages the use of an elaborated code.

Bernstein is thus, of the opinion that the children coming from the linguistically deprived section are more likely to be withdrawn from the school because their language code is different from that of the school and as such there is a gap between the language code of the home with that of the school. This places the working class child at a disadvantage because he is limited to the restricted code. The restricted code by its nature reduces the chances of working class people to successfully acquire some of the skills demanded by the educational system. If these children want to do well, then, they must adopt a linguistic code which devalues the family experience from which they come.

However, Bernstein has been criticised for offering inadequate empirical evidence to support his theory. For instance, he uses an imprecise definition of social class and does not demonstrate the link between thought processes and language. Moreover, his contention that the working class language is inferior to the language codes of the

middle class is open to question. The cultural deprivation theory has also been criticised because it implies that working class children are culturally deficient. Rejecting the linguistic deprivation theory, Keddie is of the opinion that 'To attribute educational failure to cultural deprivation implies that it is the children's own fault, like blaming on its victims.' (Keddie;1971). Here, attention is drawn away from the basic structural causes of educational inequality.

Coming back to the issue of dropouts, it may be mentioned here that Bernstein explains the withdrawal of students in terms of linguistic deficiency. He maintains that, the working class because they have restricted codes which are inappropriate in schools are more likely to withdraw from schools than the children of middle class families. We had hypothesised that the tribals as well as non-tribal children will have the same disadvantage if we selected English medium school. Since we have not collected evidence that the tribal children suffer from a linguistic deficiency and thus are put to a disadvantaged position vis-a-vis the non-tribal students. Thus, we can only infer that this may be so.

It is here that we would like to introduce Bourdieu and his theory of 'Cultural Reproduction'. Bourdieu is one

of those radical educators who holds the view that the main functions of school are the reproduction of the dominant ideology, its forms of knowledge and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the existing social system. Bourdieu looks at the school as the most important agency for perpetuating the existing inequality and give legitimacy to it. This Bourdieu says, is done in the school by imparting education in a manner very akin to those of the dominant class. Thus, the children of the dominant class whose 'cultural capital' are like those that the school impart find it easier to continue their studies than those who come to school without these cultural capital. In the words of Bourdieu, while there is a continuity of cultural capital between the school and the home of the dominant class, it is not the case for others. Thus, the children from the dominated class have to 'first learn how to learn' those cultural capital being imparted in the school and it affects their degree of educationability as there is a vacuum in their 'cultural capital' and thus they are more likely to dropout than the children of the dominant class.

This may explain the reason why the tribals in Manipur though placed on an equal footing economically with their non-tribal counterparts, are more likely to dropout. While the non-tribal (the meiteis) children come to the school with



a 'cultural-capital', which are similar to those of the one being imparted in the schools, the tribals, on the other hand are relatively devoid of such an advantage. The tribal children since they come to school without the cultural capital of the school and later on withdraw from the educational system altogether.

Moreover, among the various tribals, their level of response to schooling is directly affected by their degree of interaction and exposure to the other communities. For instance, the tribals in the plains show better educational response than the tribal from the hills. Here, one may argue that it is because the plain tribals are better off economically than their hill counterparts. Though the role of economy cannot be underestimated, there is yet another very important factor, namely, the cultural capital. Those tribals, because of their proximity and constant interaction with the dominant culture to a certain degree have managed to equip themselves with those of the cultural capital imparted in the schools. This may be the reason why there are lesser number of dropouts among the plain tribals than the hill tribals and again less dropouts among the meiteis or the non-tribals than the tribals in general.

It may also be mentioned that, traditionally, the meiteis formed the dominant group, and they have had a long

literary tradition. On the other hand, the tribals who lived in the hilly regions were geographically isolated. Unlike the meiteis, the tribals did not have a literary tradition until the Christian missionaries came to Manipur in the late nineteenth century. The meiteis were thus placed at an advantage because they possessed the cultural capital which was highly esteemed by one and all.

However, Bourdieu's work is not without serious theoretical flaws. For example, in Bourdieu's analogy, culture represents a one way process of domination. As a result, his theory suggests falsely that working class cultural forms and knowledge are homogeneous and merely a pale reflection of dominant cultural capital. Working class cultural production and its relation to cultural reproduction through the complex dynamics of resistance, incorporation and accommodation are not acknowledged by Bourdieu. As a result what is missing in Bourdieu's work is that culture is both a structuring and transforming process.

Again, Bourdieu's analysis of schooling suffers from a one-sided treatment of ideology. While it is useful to argue that dominant ideologies are transmitted by schools and actively incorporated by students, it is equally important to remember that ideologies are also imposed on students who occasionally view them as contrary to their own interests and

either resist them openly or conform to them under pressure from school authorities. In other words, dominant ideologies are not just transmitted in schools nor are they practised in a void. Thus, it must be acknowledged that the schools are not simply static institutions that reproduce the dominant ideology rather they are active agents in its construction as well, a complex dynamics which Bourdieu has not acknowledged.

However, Bourdieu's work is significant to the extent that it provides a theoretical model for understanding aspects of schooling together with the wider context of the society that have been virtually ignored in conservative and liberal accounts. Bourdieu's model of cultural reproduction has thus helped us to explain the 'why' in the difference of educational response between the tribals and the non-tribals.

In the light of the above argument it may thus be admitted that being fully aware of the limitations of the micro-empirical study of this type, it would suffice to say that the findings of this study will have to be revalidated by a series of similar studies. It is only through a further comprehensive research at a broader level that would enable us to attempt some macro level generalisations at a later stage.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENT/GUARDIAN

1. Name and address of the school:

2. Name of the Ward:

3. Caste/Tribe:

- I. Brahmin
- II. Kshatriya (Meitei)
- III. Scheduled Tribe
- IV. Scheduled Caste
- V. Any other

4. Religion:

- I. Hindu
- II. Christian
- III. Muslim
- IV. Any other

5. Household Data

.....  
S.No. Name of the member Sex Age Relation with the head of the household Education and qualification Occupation Income  
.....

6. When and in which class did your ward drop out of school?

- I. Year \_\_\_\_\_
- II. Class \_\_\_\_\_

7. Why did your child stop going to school?

8. After the dropout did you/your family members ever try readmitting your child in the school?

Yes/No

9. If yes, what efforts were made to readmit him/her?

10. Were these efforts successful? If no, please state reasons.

11. What has your child been doing since he/she left school?

12. Did you keep yourself informed your wards progress in school?

Yes/No

In case you did not, is there anyone else in the family who monitored the progress of the child?

13. With what expectations had you put your ward in the school?

- I. To provide economic security
- II. To achieve higher status in society.
- III. To be a cultured person
- IV. Any other.

14. What can be done to retain your ward within the system?

Appendix II

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE HEAD OF THE SCHOOL/TEACHER

1. How do you perceive the incidence of Dropout in your school
  - I. A very big problem
  - II. quite a problem
  - III. No problem at all
2. Why do you think some students leave their studies before completion of school?
3. What do you think, it can be done to prevent it?
4. Do the dropouts ever come back?

## Appendix III

## QUESTIONNAIRE : FOR THE DROPOUTS

1. Name:
2. Sex : Male/Female
3. Age :
4. Religion:
  - i. Hindu
  - ii. Christian
  - iii. Muslim
  - iv. Others
5. Caste/Tribe:
  - i. Brahmin
  - ii. Kshatriya (Meitei)
  - iii. Scheduled Tribe
  - iv. Scheduled Caste
  - v. Any other
6. Year of dropout:
  - i. 1984
  - ii. 1985
  - iii. 1986
  - iv. 1987
  - v. 1988
7. Reasons for dropout:
  - I. Need for an early employment
  - II. Ill health or death of some member in the family
  - III. Failed
  - IV. Could not afford the cost of tuition fees, clothes, etc.
  - V. Found the subjects taught in the school irrelevant and quite boring.
  - VI. Any other reason (specify)
8. Did you receive any financial assistance at school or from the government?
 

Yes/No.

If yes, how much? Rs. \_\_\_\_\_  
 And, for what? (specify)



9. With whom do you live?

- I. Parents
- II. Relatives
- III. Hostel
- IV. Rented room
- V. Any other place (specify)

10. Do your parents live together?

If not, why?

Specify

11. Household Data

| s.No. | Name of the member | Sex   | Age   | Relationship with the respondent | Educational qualifications | Occu- pation | In come |
|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|---------|
| ..... | .....              | ..... | ..... | .....                            | .....                      | .....        | .....   |

12. What are you doing these days?

Appendix IV (1)

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF MANIPUR.

| NAME OF DISTRICTS | GEOGRAPHICAL AREA IN Sq.Kms. | POPULATION |          | SCHEDULED CASTES |         | SCHEDULED TRIBES |          | OTHERS |           |       |
|-------------------|------------------------------|------------|----------|------------------|---------|------------------|----------|--------|-----------|-------|
|                   |                              | Total      | MALE     | FEMALE           | PERSONS | %                | PERSONS  | %      | PERSONS   | %     |
| <b>VALLEY</b>     |                              |            |          |                  |         |                  |          |        |           |       |
| IMPHAL            | 1,201                        | 556,146    | 279,488  | 276,658          | 16,153  | 2.90             | 17,996   | 3.24   | 521,997   | 93.86 |
| THOUBAL           | 507                          | 231,781    | 1,16,252 | 1,15,549         | 780     | 0.34             | 2,250    | 0.97   | 228,751   | 98.69 |
| BISHNUPUR         | 530                          | 1,41,150   | 70,843   | 70,303           | 213     | 0.15             | 3,895    | 2.76   | 1,37,042  | 97.09 |
| <b>HILL</b>       |                              |            |          |                  |         |                  |          |        |           |       |
| CHINAPATI         | 3,271                        | 1,55,421   | 80,583   | 74,838           | 271     | 0.17             | 1,05,655 | 67.98  | 49,495    | 31.85 |
| JAMENGLONG        | 4,391                        | 62,289     | 31,530   | 30,751           | 7       | 0.01             | 29,259   | 46.97  | 33,023    | 53.02 |
| CHURACHANDPUR     | 4,570                        | 1,34,776   | 69,875   | 64,901           | 109     | 0.08             | 1,16,254 | 86.26  | 18,413    | 13.66 |
| CHANDDEL          | 3,313                        | 56,444     | 29,174   | 27,270           | 189     | 0.33             | 38,430   | 68.09  | 17,827    | 31.58 |
| UNKHEL            | 4,544                        | 82,946     | 43,273   | 39,673           | 33      | 0.04             | 74,238   | 89.50  | 8,675     | 10.46 |
| MANIPUR           | 22,327                       | 1,42,09,53 | 72,10,06 | 69,99,47         | 17,753  | 1.25             | 3,87,977 | 27.30  | 10,15,223 | 71.45 |

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Manipur at a glance (District-wise) 1986: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur, Imphal.  
Manipur Economic Progress in figures, 1987: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur, Imphal.



Appendix IV(2)Distribution of Population by Religion  
(1981 Census)

| Religion                       | Number of followers | Percentage to total population |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Hinduism                       | 8,53,180            | 60.4                           |
| Christians                     | 4,21,702            | 29.68                          |
| Muslims                        | 99,327              | 6.99                           |
| Jains                          | 975                 | 0.07                           |
| Sikhs                          | 992                 | 0.07                           |
| Budhists                       | 473                 | 0.03                           |
| Other Religions                | 35,490              | 2.50                           |
| Religion <sup>not</sup> stated | 8,814               | 0.62                           |
| <b>Total</b>                   | <b>14,20,953</b>    | <b>100.0</b>                   |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1985, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur.

Appendix IV(3)Hill/Valley Distribution of Population, Density  
of Population and Sex Ratio

|              | Population       |                |                | Density of population | Sex Ratio (per 1000 male) |
|--------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
|              | Total            | Male           | Female         |                       |                           |
| Hill         | 491,876          | 254,443        | 237,433        | 25                    | 992                       |
| Valley       | 929,077          | 466,563        | 462,514        | 266                   | 937                       |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>1,420,953</b> | <b>721,006</b> | <b>699,947</b> | <b>64</b>             | <b>964</b>                |

Source: Manipur at a Glance-1986, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur.

Appendix IV(4)

Occupied Residential Houses, Households,  
Household Size in Manipur According to  
Districts (1981 Census)

| District/State  | Population | Number of<br>Occupied<br>residential<br>houses | Number of<br>house-<br>holds | Average<br>household<br>size |
|-----------------|------------|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Manipur North   |            |  |                              |                              |
| Rural           | 145,790    | 24,530   | 24,678                       | 5.90                         |
| Urban           | 9,631      | 1,787  | 1,792                        | 5.30                         |
| Manipur West    |            |  |                              |                              |
| Rural           | 58,008     | 8,828  | 9,144                        | 6.34                         |
| Urban           | 4,281      | 677  | 727                          | 5.88                         |
| Manipur South   |            |  |                              |                              |
| Rural           | 109,617    | 17,255   | 17,289                       | 6.34                         |
| Urban           | 25,159     | 4,148  | 4,469                        | 5.62                         |
| Tengnoupal      |            |  |                              |                              |
| Rural           | 48,766     | 8,550  | 8,635                        | 5.64                         |
| Urban           | 7,678      | 1,505  | 1,552                        | 4.94                         |
| Manipur Central |            |  |                              |                              |
| Rural           | 606,189    | 96,723   | 98,799                       | 6.13                         |
| Urban           | 322,888    | 45,983   | 49,996                       | 6.45                         |
| Imphal (M)      |            |  |                              |                              |
| Urban           | 156,622    | 19,644   | 23,070                       | 6.78                         |
| Manipur East    |            |  |                              |                              |
| Rural           | 77,123     | 12,862   | 12,957                       | 5.95                         |
| Urban           | 5,823      | 1,057  | 1,085                        | 5.36                         |
| Manipur (Total) |            |  |                              |                              |
| Rural           | 1045,493   | 168,748  | 171,502                      | 6.09                         |
| Urban           | 375,460    | 55,157   | 59,621                       | 6.29                         |

Source: Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1985, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur.

Appendix IV (5)Size of Operational Holdings in Manipur  
1981

| Size in hectares | No. of holdings |      | Area covered      |      |
|------------------|-----------------|------|-------------------|------|
|                  | Total           | %    | Total in hectares | %    |
| Below 0.25       | 2,227           | 2.8  | 468               | 0.5  |
| 0.25-0.5         | 6,976           | 8.7  | 2090              | 2.3  |
| 0.5-1.0          | 23,474          | 29.4 | 14895             | 16.1 |
| 1.0-2.0          | 34,270          | 42.9 | 40634             | 44.0 |
| 2.0-3.0          | 9,776           | 12.2 | 22184             | 24.0 |
| 3.0-4.0          | 2,208           | 2.7  | 7029              | 7.6  |
| 4.0-5.0          | 658             | 0.8  | 2184              | 3.0  |
| 5.0-10.0         | 316             | 0.4  | 1485              | 2.0  |
| 10.0-20.0        | 15              | 0.02 | 179               | 0.2  |
| 20.0-40.0        | 7               | 0.01 | 199               | 0.2  |
| Above 40.0       | -               | -    | -                 | -    |

Source: Agriculture Census of Manipur, 1981.

Appendix IV (6)Size of Operational Holdings in Manipur  
(Hills)

| Size of Operational holdings | % gross holdings | % gross cultivated area in the different sizes of holdings |
|------------------------------|------------------|--|
| Below 0.5                    | 5.1              | 1.70   |
| 0.5-1.0                      | 37.0             | 25.10  |
| 1.0-2.0                      | 51.1             | 57.64  |
| 2.0-3.0                      | 5.6              | 11.40  |
| 3.0-4.0                      | 0.5              | 1.63   |
| 4.0-5.0                      | 0.6              | 2.20   |
| 5.0-7.5                      | 0.1              | 0.33   |
| 7.5-10.0                     | -                | -  |

Source: Integrated Tribal Development Project Report, Department for Development of Tribals and Backward classes, 1985.

## Appendix IV (7)

Drop out rates at primary stage of schools by sex in States/Union Territories from 1977-78 to 1981-82

| Sl. No.   | State/Union Territory. | 1977-78 |       |       | 1978-79 |       |       | 1979-80 |       |       | 1980-81 |       |       | 1981-82 |       |       |
|-----------|------------------------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
|           |                        | Boys    | Girls | Total | Boys    | Girls | Total | Boys    | Girls | Total | Boys    | Girls | Total | Boys    | Girls | Total |
| (1)       | (2)                    | (3)     | (4)   | (5)   | (6)     | (7)   | (8)   | (9)     | (10)  | (11)  | (12)    | (13)  | (14)  | (15)    | (16)  | (17)  |
| 1.        | Andhra Pradesh         | 60.5    | 64.8  | 62.2  | 60.8    | 64.3  | 62.2  | 58.6    | 61.9  | 59.5  | 58.4    | 61.6  | 59.7  | 58.5    | 62.9  | 60.3  |
| 2.        | Assam                  | 68.3    | 71.1  | 69.5  | 73.7    | 75.5  | 74.5  | 62.4    | 65.2  | 63.5  | 59.5    | 64.5  | 61.6  | 59.4    | 66.6  | 62.5  |
| 3.        | Bihar                  | 64.0    | 70.3  | 65.7  | 63.4    | 71.4  | 65.7  | 63.5    | 70.2  | 65.7  | 68.3    | 75.5  | 70.5  | 67.8    | 73.7  | 69.6  |
| 4.        | Gujarat                | 69.1    | 63.0  | 60.7  | 46.6    | 52.9  | 49.2  | 50.5    | 54.4  | 52.1  | 53.5    | 58.0  | 55.3  | 53.2    | 56.7  | 54.6  |
| 5.        | Haryana                | 24.2    | 38.5  | 28.9  | 25.3    | 33.9  | 28.0  | 14.2    | 33.7  | 21.2  | 28.0    | 41.3  | 32.7  | 18.0    | 29.2  | 21.8  |
| 6.        | Himachal Pradesh       | 29.3    | 37.4  | 32.6  | 24.7    | 34.1  | 28.6  | 26.1    | 32.5  | 28.7  | 25.9    | 27.6  | 26.6  | 28.7    | 30.7  | 29.6  |
| 7.        | Jammu & Kashmir        | 45.6    | 54.4  | 48.9  | 45.6    | 50.4  | 47.9  | 42.8    | 47.9  | 44.6  | 44.1    | 49.8  | 45.7  | 38.5    | 46.1  | 41.3  |
| 8.        | Karnataka              | 64.2    | 71.8  | 67.5  | 59.1    | 69.0  | 63.6  | 58.9    | 68.9  | 63.4  | 58.1    | 68.8  | 63.0  | 54.1    | 68.6  | 60.8  |
| 9.        | Kerala                 | 6.6     | 12.2  | 9.4   | 9.3     | 13.0  | 11.1  | 5.9     | 10.6  | 8.1   | 9.1     | 11.7  | 10.3  | 9.4     | 10.7  | 10.1  |
| 10.       | Madhya Pradesh         | 60.7    | 74.3  | 65.8  | 53.3    | 66.1  | 57.8  | 50.8    | 62.5  | 54.9  | 52.1    | 62.6  | 55.7  | 46.7    | 59.8  | 52.6  |
| 11.       | Maharashtra            | 52.0    | 62.4  | 56.6  | 51.7    | 62.2  | 56.4  | 50.0    | 60.3  | 54.5  | 53.0    | 63.1  | 57.5  | 50.0    | 61.0  | 54.9  |
| 12.       | Manipur                | 79.6    | 83.1  | 81.2  | 82.1    | 83.4  | 82.7  | 81.9    | 83.7  | 82.7  | 80.5    | 82.6  | 81.5  | 80.1    | 82.3  | 81.1  |
| 13.       | Meghalaya              | 75.8    | 74.5  | 75.1  | 76.1    | 75.0  | 75.6  | 82.5    | 84.8  | 83.6  | 79.6    | 80.4  | 80.1  | 75.1    | 76.8  | 76.0  |
| 14.       | Nagaland               | 58.3    | 60.7  | 60.0  | 69.0    | 67.1  | 68.2  | 75.1    | 75.7  | 74.9  | 74.3    | 73.8  | 74.1  | 71.1    | 71.5  | 71.3  |
| 15.       | Orissa                 | 70.1    | 72.1  | 70.9  | 67.9    | 62.3  | 69.2  | 68.1    | 71.3  | 69.3  | 63.7    | 68.3  | 65.4  | 63.4    | 63.3  | 63.4  |
| 16.       | Punjab                 | 42.8    | 45.2  | 43.5  | 43.2    | 46.0  | 44.8  | 49.0    | 52.7  | 50.7  | 52.8    | 57.9  | 55.7  | 58.2    | 62.2  | 60.1  |
| 17.       | Rajasthan              | 55.5    | 61.7  | 57.0  | 59.5    | 64.3  | 60.6  | 58.1    | 64.4  | 59.9  | 52.7    | 60.1  | 54.6  | 47.6    | 57.1  | 50.0  |
| 18.       | Sikkim                 | N.A.    | N.A.  | N.A.  | N.A.    | N.A.  | N.A.  | 50.0    | 51.5  | 50.5  | 66.0    | 70.1  | 67.5  | 61.5    | 66.7  | 63.6  |
| 19.       | Tamil Nadu             | 42.6    | 45.0  | 43.7  | 37.8    | 44.8  | 41.0  | 30.1    | 38.2  | 33.8  | 33.4    | 40.1  | 36.5  | 30.7    | 38.2  | 34.2  |
| 20.       | Tripura                | 71.9    | 72.6  | 72.2  | 68.0    | 68.0  | 68.0  | 68.4    | 68.2  | 68.3  | 60.0    | 60.2  | 60.0  | 55.9    | 55.4  | 55.7  |
| 21.       | Uttar Pradesh          | 69.9    | 83.1  | 76.0  | 69.2    | 82.7  | 80.7  | 66.7    | 81.3  | 72.5  | 63.7    | 80.2  | 70.3  | 40.8    | 62.3  | 44.5  |
| 22.       | West Bengal            | 70.6    | 75.2  | 72.3  | 72.3    | 75.6  | 73.6  | 74.5    | 73.7  | 74.2  | 63.5    | 58.4  | 61.5  | 58.9    | 61.8  | 60.1  |
| 23.       | A & N Islands          | 26.9    | 37.5  | 31.9  | 30.9    | 37.6  | 34.0  | 32.7    | 40.9  | 36.4  | 33.3    | 40.5  | 36.7  | 33.1    | 40.6  | 36.5  |
| 24.       | Arunachal Pradesh.     | 76.9    | 79.7  | 77.7  | 78.4    | 77.4  | 78.2  | 77.8    | 76.7  | 77.5  | 77.7    | 76.8  | 77.4  | 74.6    | 72.2  | 73.9  |
| 25.       | Chandigarh             | 21.1    | 20.6  | 20.9  | 15.3    | 13.7  | 14.6  | 26.2    | 23.8  | 25.1  | 21.7    | 33.1  | 26.8  | 25.4    | 31.9  | 28.3  |
| 26.       | Dadra & N. Haveli      | 82.2    | 85.4  | 83.4  | 79.4    | 83.3  | 80.9  | 77.4    | 81.5  | 79.0  | 72.4    | 78.4  | 74.6  | 68.1    | 73.3  | 70.1  |
| 27.       | Delhi                  | 7.2     | 30.2  | 23.2  | 22.9    | 31.5  | 27.2  | 24.4    | 28.6  | 26.3  | 24.1    | 27.1  | 25.5  | 18.1    | 26.8  | 22.1  |
| 28.       | Goa, Daman & Diu       | 43.1    | 50.8  | 46.6  | 35.8    | 44.2  | 39.8  | 60.3    | 64.7  | 62.3  | 23.6    | 28.8  | 26.1  | 20.6    | 28.6  | 24.4  |
| 29.       | Lakshadweep            | 10.8    | 38.2  | 24.2  | 18.3    | 46.0  | 32.0  | 34.0    | 36.1  | 34.9  | 33.7    | 36.6  | 35.0  | 0.3     | 16.7  | 7.9   |
| 30.       | Mizoram                | 56.7    | 58.2  | 57.0  | 58.0    | 59.4  | 58.7  | 71.2    | 74.2  | 72.7  | 67.3    | 70.5  | 68.8  | 65.2    | 69.7  | 67.3  |
| 31.       | Pondicherry            | 19.7    | 31.9  | 25.2  | 15.7    | 30.6  | 22.4  | 12.7    | 23.5  | 17.7  | 4.8     | 20.4  | 12.1  | 0.0     | 6.2   | 0.0   |
| I N D I A |                        | 56.9    | 66.7  | 62.7  | 58.7    | 65.5  | 62.6  | 57.3    | 63.7  | 59.8  | 56.3    | 62.5  | 58.8  | 47.1    | 55.5  | 50.5  |

Drop out rates at Primary stage during the year =  $\frac{\text{Enrolment in Class I preceding 4 years} - \text{Enrolment in Class V during the year}}{\text{Enrolment in Class I preceding 4 years}}$

Source: Women in India: A statistical profile; Department of Women and Child development; Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, New Delhi; 1988.