

# **Education and Occupational Mobility Among The Tribes—A Study of The Santals of Bihar**

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D E C L A R A T I O N

Certified that the thesis entitled, "Education and Occupational Mobility Among the Tribes - A Study of the Santals of Bihar", submitted by RIMIL TUDU is in part fulfilment for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University and is his own work.

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

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## INTRODUCTION

Education has been a very important agent of socialisation from time immemorial. It helps in the creation of awareness and building of an integrated human being. With the onset of Industrial Revolution education has been further, invested with the task of meeting the needs of the economy and consequently every developed or developing country has recognised the importance of education.

India has been no exception to this general trend. Soon after Independence our policy planners laid down elaborate guidelines to promote nation-building Education was seen as the key to meet the requirements of the economy and hence a lot of emphasis was laid on it. Special emphasis was laid on integrating the disadvantaged groups with the mainstream. This necessitates occupational skills which were to be gained through education. This emphasis on education can be seen in all policy documents. Hence it becomes important to look at the link between education and occupation.

Though education has been seen as a leveller of inequalities it has been increasingly seen that education has been status-quoit catering to the needs of the higher socio-economic strata.

Thus inspite of the numerous facilities provided education has not been able to equip the lower socio-economic strata especially the tribals with the necessary occupational skills.

The present study aims to discover the education-occupation nexus among the scheduled tribes of Bihar in general, and the Santal tribes in particular while comparing them with the Mundas and Oraos.

There are 30 scheduled tribes in Bihar, scattered throughout the state. These tribes constitute about 9 percent of the total population of the state. Of them 8 percent reside in rural and 1 percent in urban areas. The Santals, Oraon and the Mundas are the most numerous among the tribes of Bihar.<sup>1</sup> Of the total tribal population 37 percent are Santals 15 percent are Mundas and 18 percent are Oraons. While 80 percent of the Santals are found in the district of Santal Parganas 75 percent of the Mundas and Oraons are concentrated in the Ranchi district.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Bihar, Census of India 1971; Vol.1, Part V-A(II)

2. Census Atlas, Bihar, Census of India, 1971, Vol. IV, Part IX.

There has been considerable debate on the definition of 'tribe'. Some social scientists define it as a society with a political, linguistic and somewhat vaguely defined cultural boundary, and further as a society based upon kinship where social stratification is absent.<sup>3</sup> Others opine that all the criteria mentioned above are to be found in real tribal situation. It has appeared to them that tribes are in transition and are to be found in different socio-economic levels of development and a system of stratification is emerging.<sup>4</sup>

The Santals it has been observed have been interacting with the outside world a specially since the British brought them under uniform administrative network. This in-turn brought about numerous changes in their socio-economic life and led to certain adverse effects such as land alienation and migration. Subsequently many of them were reduced to landless labourers. This exploitation culminated in the Santal rebellion of 1855-56 which has often been seen as a protest against land alienation.<sup>5</sup>

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3. Andre Beteille, The Definition of Tribe in Remesh Thapar(ed).

Tribe, Caste and Religion in India-MacMillian, 1977, p.13.

4. Ibid., p.7--14

5. Roy Choudhary, Gazetter of Santal Pargana, Bihar 1965, P.73,-133. Also Gautam Mohan 'In search of Identity 1937.



From 1880 onwards another movement popularly known as the Kherwar movement took place, in which some of the Santals had started emulating higher caste behaviour. This process was seen as an acculturation process by ~~some~~ social scientist in which the Santals were able to acquire many of the cultural traits of the Hindus thereby enhancing their socio-economic status.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, certain others believe that the selection of cultural traits from high castes in order to adapt to the dynamic changes have not facilitated but prevented mobility along caste lines. This process has been termed as 'Santalisation' rather than 'Sanskritisation'.<sup>7</sup>

After independence, participation in state and national level politics quickened the process of interaction of the village with external socio-economic administrative elements.<sup>8</sup> In addition programmes aimed at the development of tribes were introduced. This brought out numerous changes that are the result of a complex of factors economic, social, cultural and political. The most important among them is the rise in the occupational opportunities specially in the service sector.

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7. Gautam Mohan Ojast.

8. J. Troisi, Social Organisation of a Santal Village;  
 Extending socio-economic frontiers in Social Action,  
 Delhi, 24(4) Oct- Dec. 1974 P.331-344.

This necessitated certain skills which could be provided by formal education only. Hence tribal groups have increasingly realise the importance of educating the children it provided them with better living conditions and occupational opportunities.<sup>9</sup> This link between formal education and higher socio-economic status has been emphasised in a number of studies.

In this context it is interesting to note that the Government has a policy of reservation which alongwith eligibility of tribals in modern occupation will have an important part to play in the employment and hence the mobility of the tribals. Thus it becomes important to see whether education helps tribals to shift from traditional to modern occupations. Since the Santals have been exposed to forces of change, the system of stratification if any, may acquire importance within the community. If we look at the data that is available on education, two trends can be noticed.

- 1) The tribals are lagging behind the general literacy rate in Bihar.
- 2) There is uneven growth of literacy and education between the tribal groups.

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9. Gautam Mohan op.cit. Also, Sachidananda, Education Among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Bihar, ICSSR sponsored study Patna, 1975 p.128-35.

we thus see that the Santals lag behind the Mundas and Oraons.

LITERACY RATE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND GENERAL  
POPULATION IN BIHAR

	1961	1971	1981
GENERAL	18.4	19.7	26.20
SCHEDULED TRIBE	9.6	11.6	16.99
SANTALS	6.14	7.5	N.A
ORAOONS	13.2	19.0	N.A
MUNDAS	13.8	16.0	N.A

Source: 1961-1971-1981 Census.

In the context of the opportunities for mobility that are available to tribals it is important that new occupational opportunities have introduced a pattern of stratification which cuts across traditional boundaries and this in turn may influence access to opportunities.

THE STUDY

The Santals form a sizable portion of the tribal population of Bihar and a majority of them being concentrated in the district of Santal Paraganas. Though they have been pursuing traditional occupations they, like other tribals have been subjected to the throes of change. This has

resulted in major shifts both attitudinally (towards education ) and occupationally (towards the service sector). But inspite of these changes they have lagged behind the Mundas and Oraos in the educational and occupational sector. This disparity between tribes is due to a number of socio-economic, political and cultural factors. The present study is thus an attempt to answer the following questions:-

- What has been the nature of development of formal education among the Santals?
- Why have the Santals lagged behind the general literacy and educational rate? Of particular importance will be the comparison between Santals Oraos and Munda tribes .
- What factors determined inequality of educational opportunity among the Santals?
- What are the kinds of occupational opportunities available to the Santals and has it led to mobility?
- Has there been any degree of occupational change and how is it linked to modern occupation?
- Does occupational change lead to upward mobility among the Santals.

We shall use the variables of literacy, types of

schools and religion among many others to examine the education - occupation excess among the Santals, Mundas and Oraos. As data on education and occupational mobility is scarce senses data of the state and tribal dominated districts will be used for comparison.

DATA SOURCES: The present study is based mainly on secondary sources. i.e. Census data survey and reports and literature on the subject.

The discussion that follows has been divided into the following four chapters.

Chapter two reviews the literature on education and occupational mobility in general.

Chapter three analyses the development of formal education among the Santals. The spread of formal education among the Santals is compared with that of the Mundas and Oraogs.

In the Fourth Chapter the changing occupational structure among the Santals is examined in order to understand the relationship between education occupational change and mobility. As in the earlier chapter we present a comparative picture between the Santals vis-a-vis Mundas and Oraons. Finally we present a summary of the present study in Chapter Five.

Note:

*The census data, 1981 on individual tribes has not been published, (BIHAR)*

## CHAPTER - II

### EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY : REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Occupational mobility has been a popular theme within a broader conceptual frame work of social mobility and has been subjected to critical study and analysis by social scientists in recent years. There are many problems associated with the study of social mobility in general and occupational mobility in particular since it involves conceptualizing social and occupational hierarchies. Many researchers use prestige as criteria for ranking occupations while others emphasize economic rewards. The hierarchical occupational structure is usually taken to be synonymes with the patterned hierarchy of social groups that exist in the society concerned. The movement of individuals or groups from one stratum in society to another is what is called social mobility. Such mobility may be further subdivided into vertical (upwards or downwards) or horijontal (along the same scale) and, intergeneration (across generation), or intrageneration (within generation).

Most social scientists use economic factors for differenti- , ating social classes and consequently social mobility and thus an analysis of the occupational structure becomes necessary.

Again since it is education which is one of the key determinants of a persons occupational position, we shall proceed to analyse the occupational structure vis-a-vis education.

The present day society is based on meritocratic principles and individuals are judged and accorded prestige in terms of their educational status. Education is seen as a key factor to occupational status since it grades people in terms of ability which then helps enter appropriate vocation. The level of education attained has been seen to bear a relationship to the type of work in which people engage for an increasing number of occupations, initial entry is limited to those who have attained a given level of education. One must hasten to add that though the co-relation between educational level and occupational status is high in modern industrial societies, education can also have a symbolic value.<sup>1</sup> The correlation between education and occupation depends on a number of factors such as the stage of development of a particular society, availability of skilled manpower, and so on.<sup>2</sup> Turning to occupational mobility, it can occur within the life-time of an individual as an incident of his career or may be observed between

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1. Robert J Haughust, 'Education and Social Mobility in four Societies' in A.H. Halsey, Jean Floud and C Arnold Anderson (ed), Education, Economy and Society, The free Press, New York, 1969, p 105-120.
  2. A. Girard, 'Selection for Secondary Education in France', in Ibid, 183-194.

his father and himself. In the former case it is clearly an intra-generational mobility and in the later case as inter-generational mobility. Such mobility may be divided as upward or downward, vertical or horizontal as mentioned earlier.

Having discussed the relationship between educational attainment vis-a-vis occupational status it is necessary to point out that even in relatively open system where education provides the key to social mobility there are barriers to the possibilities and utilization of talent. In general the lower a individuals class position, the more the likelihood of his dropping out and the less likely he is to aspire for a highly rewarded position. Thus whether it is the social opportunities to succeed or the motivation to succeed, both are unequally distributed throughout the social system and hence we have inequality of educational opportunity. The causes for differential educational attainment may be many. There are as many explanations on this issue as there are social scientists. Some attribute differential educational attainment or inequality of educational opportunity to "intelligence". This argument, of course, is fraught with errors others attribute familial size, ethnic sub-culture, economic situation, environmental condition etc. to be reasons for inequality of educational opportunity.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Ivor Morris, 'Sociology of Education', George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House Museum, 1974, p129-137.



Various studies have viewed education as the single most determinant of social progress. The French sociologist Durkheim<sup>4</sup> for instance imputed a functional role to education as agent of transmitting norms & values conducive to the well-being of the society. It also teaches specific skill for the individual necessary for his future occupation. Parsons<sup>5</sup> too, like Durkheim invested education with the role of socialization and distribution of differential rewards for differential achievement. It selected individuals for their future roles. Davis and Moore<sup>6</sup> too see education as a means of role allocation. In Davis words 'it is the proving ground for ability and hence the selective agency for placing people in different statuses according to their capacities.

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Contd.

also

A.H. Halsey, Gean Floud and C Arnold Anderson, OP. cit.

4. Emile Durkheim, 'Education and Sociology', Translated by: Shewood D. Fox, Free Press, New York, 1968.
5. T. Parson, in A H Halsey, J Floud and C A Anderson (ed), 'Education, Economy, Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962 p. 453.
6. R. Bendix and S. M Lipset, 'Class Status and Power', Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1974, P659.

Following a similar line of argument, Floud and Halsey<sup>7</sup> in the early 1960 argued that ability and opportunity are matched in modern industrial societies. They opine that the economies of advanced industrial societies are 'dependent to an unprecedented extent on the results of scientific research, on the supply of skilled man-power and consequently on the efficiency of the educational system.

Though all the above arguments are powerful they are not supported by evidence as Randal Collins rightly proves. Further the relationship between educational attainment and occupational rewards is not particularly close as educational system does not always grade people in terms of ability. Moreover inequality of social background prevents the educational system from being objective.

One thus arrives at the fact that educational attainment cannot be seen as an independent variable affecting one's occupation. In fact there are numerous studies proving that education is embedded in the social structure.

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7. Gean Floud and A.H. Halsey, 'English Secondary Schools and the supply of labour', 1969, op.cit, p 80-92.

Raymond Boudon<sup>8</sup> throws light on inequality of educational opportunity due to inequality of social opportunity in his work entitled "Education, opportunity and social mobility". His positional theory puts forward the argument that inequality of educational opportunity is produced by a two-component process. The first is the primary effects of stratification which emerges due to cultural differences between social classes. The secondary effects begin with a persons actual position in the stratification system. Since people begin from unequal positions inequality of educational opportunity exists. He also relates the costs and benefits of a particular course selection to family and peer group solidarity by arguing that the opportunities for an class bdy for whom increased ambition becomes an alienating factor from his family peer group. In a nut shell Boudon argues that 'even with other factors being equal people will make different choices according to their position in the stratification system. He further states that inequality of educational opportunity can be eliminated only by having an unstratified society or an undifferentiated school system both of which are not really possible.

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8. Raymond Boudon, 'Educational Opportunity and Social inequality', Changing Perspects in Western Society', A Willey - Inter Science Publication, John Willey and Sons, New York, 1974.

Arnold Anderson<sup>9</sup> too is skeptical about equality in the educational system when in reality there are unequal life chances. He concludes by observing that while education has certainly influenced a man's chance to move upwards or downwards, only a relatively modest part of all mobility is linked to education. Moreover eventual placement is crucial and this is determined by one's socio - economic status and not education.

Natalie Rogoff<sup>10</sup> in "Recent trends in occupational mobility" has shown the nexus between education and social structure and he argues that job movement tends to take place within the same broad class of occupational categories rather than across classes. Rewards cut across social classes, only to some degree.

John S. Macpherson<sup>11</sup> in his case study of scottish secondary schools finds a similar trend. Thus certain sub-cultural differences between social classes have accounted for differential educational attainment.

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9. C Arnold Anderson, 'A Skeptical Note on Education and Mobility', in A.H. Halsey, Gean Floud and C. Arnold Anderson, 1969, op. cit, 164-182.
  10. Natalie Rogoff, 'Local Social Structure and Educational Selection', 1969, op. cit, 140-147.
  11. John S. Macpherson, 'Selection in Scottish Secondary Schools', op. cit, p. 195-208.

Basil Bernstein<sup>12</sup> an English sociologist has taken up class differences in speech patterns and the consequent differences in educational attainment. He distinguishes between 'elaborate code' and 'restricted code' since a child learns what it lives with children of the working class learn the restricted code of speech as against children of middle upper middle classes who learn the elaborate code. Restricted codes operate in terms of particularistic meanings while elaborate code verbalizes many of the meanings which are taken for granted in restricted code. Since schools use elaborate code, the working class child is placed at a disadvantage and consequently the acquisition of skills is jeopardised. American Psychologist such as Mortin Deutsch and Carl Bereiter have also opined along these lines.

Yet another model based on the study of Developing countries, has been presented by George Psacharopoulos<sup>13</sup>. He too argues that the social background plays a dominant role in effecting educational and occupational achievement. While linking family background, educational attainment and occupation he opines that a child exists in an inegalitarian set up even before it enters

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12. Basil Bernsterns, 'Social Class and Linguistic Development- A Theory of Social Learning, op. cit, p. 288-314.

13. George Psacharopoulos, 'Inequality in Education and Employment', in Inequality in Educational Development, Paper Presented at IIEP Seminar, UNESCO, Paris, 1982, p. 163-184.

school. Consequently the disparity in educational attainment. Inequality, he concludes exists before school, with in school and after child leaves the school.

✓ Taking up the case of India which is a multi cultural society we find that immense progress has been made in the educational field since Independence. India has embarked on growth path after having adopted a sovereign socialist secular Democracy and equality has been enshrined as one of the principle features of our constitution. It is in this context that special provisions have been made for the upliftment of the weaker sections especially the scheduled tribes. A number of facilities have been made available to these scheduled tribes in all realms of life including the educational field. Unfortunately many of the educational benefits have reached the targeted groups. Many social scientists have tried to look at the problem of illitracy of a large majority of the tribal population scientifically.

Thus Shah and Patel<sup>14</sup> mention that the tribes are at the bottom of the educational pyramid. As one moves up the educational pyramid the level of literacy increases.

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14. Vimal P Shah and Tara Patel, 'Social Context of Tribal Education', Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985.

They further rightly state that the spread of education has not been uniform, even among tribes. Thus for instance the upper crust of the Bhil tribe have increasingly drawn upon educational and occupational facilities provided by the government.<sup>15</sup>

✓ A recent study made on the tribes of Bihar specifically on the sonthal, Munda and Oraon tribe point out glaring inter tribal and inter regional disparities with regard to education of children. The three factors which influenced educational achievement were religion ie Ch<sup>o</sup>ristianity, sound educational and economic background.<sup>16</sup> Shah and Patel also maintain that sound economic background and educational attainment provide an impetus to gain further education.<sup>17</sup>

While there were definite reasons facilitating education as identified by social scientists there were a number of reasons both societal and individual which also impeded educational progress.

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15. T.B. Naik, 'Impact of Education on the Bhils', Research Programme Committee', Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1969.
  16. Sachidananda and B.B. Mandals 'Industrialization and Social Disorganization, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1982.
  17. Vimal Shah and Tara Patel, 1985, op. cit.

These conclusions have been substantiated by the ICSSR.<sup>18</sup> The numerous educational opportunities made by the government were utilized only by a select few who were literate and belonged to good economic backgrounds. By for most of the tribals were illiterate due to poor economic conditions, lack of school facilities and apathy to education because of familial condition.<sup>19</sup>

Thus tribal education is marked by glaring disparities ranging from well educated to totally illiterate.

It should be noted that different tribal sections have differential response to education based on different socio-economic conditions. Bihar too is no exception to this general trend. The benefits of education have been reaped by a few dominant tribes and the isolated and small tribes do not figure anywhere. Sachidananda shows the differential response varied tribal groups towards education. Thus the tribal groups of Ranchi have fared better educationally compared to their counterparts such as the Santhals, in the rest of Bihar.<sup>20</sup>

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19. N.K. Ambhast, 'A Critical Study of Tribal Education', Chand and Company, New Delhi, 1970.

20. Sachidananda, 'Education Among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in Bihar', ICSSR sponsored Research, 1975.



We shall proceed to examine in detail the educational and occupational attainment of the santhals while comparing them with two other dominant tribes - The Munda and Oraon and also to the overall tribal population of the state of Bihar.


Much of the previous research on tribal groups have been based on macro data and are hence neither analytical nor comparative. There is also very little done on the occupational mobility on tribes belonging to specific regions. Hence the present study is an attempt at overcoming these gaps. It proposes to be analytical by dealing with a specific tribal group - the santhals while at the same time being comparative by studying the education and occupational pattern of santhals vis-a-vis mundas and Oraons. The study shall draw on secondary data based on extracts from census, surveys, reports and literature available on the subject.

Such a study, it is hoped will examine the educational and occupational mobility of the santhals at a period when both tradition and modern processes of change are in full swing in the region. Since every research has to be continuously updated and re-studied in the content of cultural change, it will be worthwhile to examine santal Parganas - a society in flux, adapting itself to the changes of the outside world in the context of education and occupation and the factors inhibiting change.

As L.P. Vidyarthi<sup>21</sup> observes - "The study of tribal dynamics deserves special consideration Tribal culture is being rapidly transformed and it is high time that researches are directed to study this process of transformation from primitivism to civilization, from folk economy to industrial economy, from kin oriented leadership to democratic experiments, from the pre-literate to emergence of tribal elites and from isolated stagnant and closed societies to dynamic and open societies".

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21. I.C.S.S.R. Delhi, 'A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology', Vol. III, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1972.

### CHAPTER III

#### EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AMONG THE SANTALS

This chapter has been divided into two parts. In the first we discuss the nature of learning in traditional Santal society. We also analyse the early development of formal education in the tribal community. The second part of our discussion focuses on the pattern of education in the post independence period. As mentioned earlier, we have attempted to compare the progress of education among the Santals with the Oraons and Mirdas of Bihar in order to understand the factors which help or hinder the growth of education among tribal community.

#### PART I

#### TRADITIONAL LEARNING AMONG THE SANTALS

There was no indigenous educational institution among the Santals for educating boys and girls. Knowledge about life and learning was largely imparted by parents and elders in an informal manner. The content of education was linked with the life of the community. For instance youth imbibed during performance of rituals, ceremonies etc. while freedom was given to youth, they were guided by parents and the village Panchayats. Different social groups were knit together

in a social and cultural pattern based on mutual obligation. They played a significant role in the process of socialization, especially of the young.<sup>1</sup>

In recent times considerable changes have taken place with the growth of contact between the Santals and other communities. The introduction of formal education is a radical departure from the traditional informal way of learning. In this changed context, observed the most of the tribal children who go to school, do not like attending traditional educational institutions or learning process. Their interest in such institution has diminished.<sup>2</sup>

#### INTRODUCTION OF FORMAL EDUCATION

✓ The Christian missionaries were the pioneer in the spread of formal education among the Santals. While their main aim was proselytization, education and social work were also carried on by them. The first school for the Santals was established in 1845 in the district of Midnapore, West Bengal. In Bihar, the first school was established in 1850 at Bhagalpur. Subsequently, a number of schools managed

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1. N.K. Das Gupta, "Problems of Tribal Education and the Santals", Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangha, New Delhi, 1963.

Also, K.P. Chattopadhyay, "Tribal Education" in Man in India, vol.33, 1953.

2. L.F. Vidyardhi and B.K. Rai, "Tribal Culture in India," concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, p.376-371.

by Protestant and Catholic missions were opened in different parts of the district of Santal Pargana. After the despatch of 1854, the government began to take some interest in the education of the Santals. Government assistance was mainly in the form of infra-structural facilities, land and materials for the construction of school houses. The missionaries were subjected to inspection by the officer of the education department. This enabled the government to exercise control over missionary education particularly in the amount of religions teaching that went on in schools. It thus, appears that government was keen to spread education among the Santals. The Santal revolt of 1855-56 further prompted the government to intensify their effort to spread education among the Santals, as it was noted that those Santals who had attended missionary schools did not take part in the rebellion.

However, most of the school educational activity as such was carried on by the missionaries among the reasons why the government left tribal education in the hands of the missionaries, was because of the inhospitable terrain in which the tribal lived in, as well as the lack of resources.

#### EARLY SCHOOLING AMONG MUNDAS AND ORAON :

In contrast to the Santal areas, the initial impetus to education among the Oraons and Mundas was by the government

officials, as early as 1851 a school was established for the Mundas at Ramgarh. Subsequently, a school was set up at Chaibasa in 1834. Missionary efforts in school education began in the early forties, though it has been mentioned that tribal convert began attending the first schools set up by government officials. It appears from the literature that converts among these tribes were mainly keen to take to schooling because education created job opportunities which brought in better living condition for the converted and educated.)

Unlike in Santal Parganas, the local zamidars patronized education in Chotanagpur. They set up schools at their own initiative as well as donated money for educational purposes. The local people showed keen interest in education and at times, they set up schools themselves. Village heads used to encourage and compel village children to attend these schools. Although, it appears that poverty of the people had always been an important reason for withdrawing their wards from schools, the coverage and extent of school education was quite widespread among the Oraon and Mundas tribe. For example, in 1932, there were 1,507 schools with 58,468 scholars in Chotanagpur. On the other hand there were 449 schools with 15806 scholars in Santal Parganas. It shows that the number and schools were more among the Oraon and Mundas tribe as compared to the Santals.

The medium of instruction in Chotanagpur was English. But later on Hindi was introduced. In the middle and High Schools, three languages i.e. Hindi, English and Sanskrit were taught. Besides, History, Geography, and Mathematics were taught. In Santal Parganas (Bhagalpur division), the content and medium of instruction was the same as that of the Chotanagpur division. But attempt was made to introduce Santali at elementary stage.

Attempts were also made to introduce technical education among the tribes. Few elementary skills were imparted for instance carpentry, gongoning, weaving, electrical work, beekeeping etc. Some of the tribals who acquired technical education were employed as assistants by the missionaries and also by government.

We find evidence that in many cases training schools were not satisfactorily functioning. It appears that teaching past was not lucrative enough to attract students. Many students, in fact, joined the training schools to solve their problem of lodging. It also appears that attempts were not made to give higher education to the Santals, Oraons and Munda.

Thus by the early 20th century we find that some formal education had been brought to the tribals both in the Santal

Parganas (Santals) as well as among Oraons and Mundas.<sup>3</sup>

## PART II

### EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN POST INDEPENDANCE PERIOD

After independence, the government of India looks up the responsibility of spreading education among the scheduled tribes. According to a report on tribal development, a major portion of expenditure is incurred on education in order to bring the tribals at par with the developed section of society,<sup>4</sup> The finding of Ministry of Education in 1964-65, indicate the primary level of education was satisfactory among the scheduled tribes of Bihar.<sup>5</sup> However, we find that percentage of enrolment of scheduled tribe in all educational institution during

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3. J.Troisi, 'Education and Tribal Polity', in The Santals : Readings in Tribal Life, Vol.5, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1979.

Also, Satyanarayan Prasad, 'Modern Education among the tribals of Bihar in the second half of the 19th century in Man in India, vol.51, No.4, October.November 1971.

Also, Roychoudhary, 'District Gazetteers of Santal Parganas', Bihar, 1965.

Also, N.Kumar, 'District Gazetteers of Ranchi,' Bihar, 1970.

4. L.P.Vidyardhi(ed.), 'Tribal Development and its administration' Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981, p.34.

5. Ministry of Education, Government of India, 'Educational facilities to schedule Tribes and Caste', Bihar, 1969, p.17.



1969-70 was only 8 percent which decreased to 7.9 percent during 1970-71. Even the extent of coverage during 1969-70 and in 1970-71 decreased from 90.9 to 80.9. Further, enrolment figure shows that the magnitude of inequality of educational achievement is high at all educational levels<sup>6</sup>.

PERCENTAGE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES ENROLMENT TO  
TOTAL ENROLEMENT IN BIHAR

TABLE II

% OF ENROLEMENT OF SCHEDULED TRIBE

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	YEAR	
	1969-70	1970-71
Pre-Primary	3.7	3.6
Primary and Junior Basic	5.4	5.4
Middle or Senior Basic	3.6	3.6
High/Higher Secondary	1.9	1.9
University and College for general Education	1.3	1.2
College and School for Profession	1.6	2.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>4.1</b>

Source : Ministry of Education

6. 'Third All India Educational Survey', Bihar State Tables, Vol I, NCERT, New Delhi, 1976.

During 1978-79, educational achievement among Scheduled Tribes have been high at all educational level compared to the period during 1969-70, and 1970-71.

PERCENTAGE OF SCHEDULED TRIBE ENROLMENT  
IN BIHAR

TABLE III

% of ENROLMENT OF SCHEDULED TRIBE

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS	YEAR
	1978-79
Classes I-V	9.2
Classes VI-VII	5.6
Classes IX-XI/XI	5.6
Higher Education General	3.9
Higher Education Professional	5.0
Higher All types of Education	8.3

Source NIEPA, May 1984.

Since, the government launched special programme for the scheduled tribes, it would be our aim to see the educational progress among the Santals in particular while pursuing a comparative analysis of the Santals vis-a-vis Oraon and Mundas. It is our contention that inequality of educational progress is more among Santals when compared

with Oraon and Mundas due to a number of reasons which will be analysed in this chapter.

### RATE OF LITERACY

According to the 1961, 1971, 1981 census, the scheduled tribe literacy is low compared to the general literacy rate. The Santals are lagging behind the general scheduled tribe literacy rate and the literacy rate of the Oraon and Munda. This can be gauged from the following table.

#### LITERACY RATE AMONG GENERAL POPULATION AND TRIBALS IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

TABLE IV

COMMUNITY	YEAR					
	1961		1971		1981	
	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
GENERAL	16.07	43.0	17.17	44.92	22.50	52.18
GENERAL SC.TRIBE	8.07	28.2	11.7	32.3	15.56	38.53
SANTAL	6.00	14.00	7.00	18.0	N.A	N.A
ORAON	11.0	40.0	14.0	50.0	N.A	N.A.
MUNDA	13.0	33.0	15.0	38.0	N.A.	N.A.

### VARIATION IN LEVELS OF EDUCATION

Since the literacy rate of scheduled tribes, do not present inequality of educational achievement in terms of educational levels, we will analyse variations between the individual tribes in rural and urban areas at different levels.

The figure show that variation is perceptible in different levels of education in both urban and rural areas among the Santals, and the Oraons and Mundas. Further, the Santals are lagging behind the Oraon and Munda tribes at all levels of education. The low level of education among the Santals compared to the general scheduled tribe is likely because the benefit of education has reached the above mentioned tribes i.e. Oraon and Munda in a big way, the greatest beneficiency being the Oraon. The reason of educational progress among the Oraon and Munda will be evident from the tables on levels of education in the district of Ranchi and Santal Parganas (TABLE VI & VII).

In urban areas, the percentage at different levels of educational achievement are more among the tribes. The percentage of students in primary or junior basic and Matriculation levels high in all tribes. But as we move higher on the educational ladder, the percentage of students get reduced.

There are students found in the post graduate and technical education. In Urban areas such students can be calculated in numbers, however, they are non-existent in rural areas. While comparing the tribes, we find, the Santals are lagging behind all educational levels in comparison to the general scheduled tribes and the Oraon and Mundas tribes.

(Table contd.....next page)

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AT DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AMONG  
SCHEDULED TRIBES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN BIHAR-1971.

TABLE - V

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	PRIMARY OR SENIOR		MATRICULATION OR HIGHER SECONDARY		GRADUATE		UNIVERSITY OR POST GRADUATE		TECHNICAL DIPLOMA EQUAL TO DEGREE		NON-TECHNICAL DIPLOMA EQUAL TO DEGREE		TECHNICAL DEGREE EQUAL TO POST GRADU ATION	
	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
ALL SC.TRIBE	4.95	14.58	0.42	5.06	0.03	N.A	N.A	0.91	N.A	0.04	N.A	0.03	N.A	0.02
SANTAL	3.14	8.38	2.29	2.15	0.02	N.A	N.A	0.27	N.A	0.03	N.A	0.00	N.A	0.00
ORAON	7.37	21.23	0.71	9.38	0.07	N.A	N.A	1.83	N.A	0.04	N.A	0.06	N.A	0.04
MUNDA	7.63	11.69	0.51	6.74	0.05	N.A	N.A	1.27	N.A	0.09	N.A	0.04	N.A	0.05

SOURCE : CENSUS 1971

Notes:

Percentage in column is based on their respective total.

VARIATION IN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AMONG THE TRIBES IN SANTAL  
PARGANAS AND RANCHI

The data regarding levels of education in rural and urban areas in Ranchi and Santal Parganas show similar trends as seen in the previous figure. Educational development in rural areas are considerably low and in higher educational levels, the percentage of tribal is negligible. It is likely that the person who obtain higher educational qualifications move to urban areas to pursue further studies. So, there is negligible representation of all the tribes in higher education even in urban areas of Ranchi and Santal Parganas.

In rural areas as well as in urban areas the Santals are lagging behind the Oraon and Mundas. As far as the percentage of students among the Oraon and Mundas are concerned, they are significantly higher than the Santals. Further, there is not a single students in technical education among the Santals. Even in the post graduation level, they i.e. the Santals form less than half percent of the total post-graduate students whereas in Ranchi, the education, including technical and post graduation. On the whole, Mundas and Oraon are better represented than the Santals.

(Table contd.....next page)

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AT DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AMONG  
SCHEDULED TRIBES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN SANTAL PARGANAS  
1971

TABLE - VI

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	PRIMARY OR JUNIOR		MATRICULATION OR HIGHER SECONDARY		UNIVERSITY OR POST GRADUATE OR OTHER THAN		NON TECHNICAL DIPLOMA NOT EQUAL TO DEGREE		TECHNICAL DIPLOMA NOT EQUAL TO DEGREE		TECHNICAL DEGREE OR POST GRADUATE	
	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
ALL SCH. TRIBE	3.13	17.18	1.11	5.00	0.27	0.65	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL
SANTAL	0.68	18.31	0.08	5.17	N.A	0.47	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL
ORAON	3.38	32.39	0.49	7.04	N.A	11.22	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL
MUNDA	3.61	28.57	0.27	19.64	N.A	12.5	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL	N.A	NIL

SOURCE : CENSUS 1971

Notes :

Percentage in column is based on their respective totals.



PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AT DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN RANCHI - 1971.

TABLE - VII

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	PRIMARY OR JUNIOR		MATRICULATION OR HIGHER SECONDARY		UNIVERSITY OR POST GRADUATE OR OTHER THAN TECHNICAL DEGREE		NON-TECHNICAL DIPLOMA NOT EQUAL TO DEGREE		TECHNICAL DIPLOMA NOT EQUAL TO DEGREE		TECHNICAL DEGREE OR DIPLOMA OR POST GRADUATE	
	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
ALL SCH. TRIBE	7.92	22.97	0.67	9.76	N.A	1.98	N.A	0.06	N.A	0.04	N.A	0.00 (6)
SANTAL	2.21	20.78	1.59	13.26	N.A	9.31	N.A	6.45	N.A	-	N.A	0.35 (1)
ORAON	8.67	24.95	0.83	11.40	N.A	2.33	N.A	0.02	N.A	0.05	N.A	0.00 (3)
MUNDA	8.46	23.06	0.53	10.67	N.A	2.19	N.A	0.10	N.A	0.05	N.A	0.00 (1)

SOURCE : CENSUS 1971

Notes :

Percentage in column is based on their respective totals.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF DATA

Although inequality of educational progress is high among the said tribes at all the educational levels and it sharply increases when we move up the educational ladder, it is significant to note that educational achievement in urban areas is, somewhat uniform among these tribes. It is interesting to note that the Santals lack opportunity in comparison with the Oraon and Mundas leading to their poor educational performance. Besides, Ranchi is considered a developed region in comparison that of Santal Parganas where they constitute almost seventy five percent of their total population. Thus, it indicates that social background/economy and development of regions is closely related to education of these tribes. It may be assumed that higher the economic and social status, the greater the educational attainment of its members, which is what we will study under the following headings:

### GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

It has been shown that tribal movement in the Santal Parganas and Chotanagpur was due to under development of the region while Chotanagpur was characterized by industrialization and urbanization, the Santal Pargana was characterized by under development of both the industry and agriculture.<sup>7</sup>

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7. Himanshu Sekhar Choudhary, 'Under-development and Tribal Movement in Santal Pargana and Chotanagpur,' Unpublished dissertation, JNU New Delhi, 1982.

Yet, another study has attributed economic reason for the Santal revolt of 1855-56.<sup>8</sup> Historically, they have been impoverished which has led to the family disorganization among the Santals<sup>9</sup>. The average size of land holding is reported to be as small and uneconomic to sustain family.<sup>10</sup> However, in the discussion of development, it should be born in mind that it is a matter of degree between Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas. On the whole, the tribals have been lagging behind in comparison with the general population. Yet, it can not be denied that there are tribals who have benefited by such developments. Industrialization and urbanization has created <sup>educational</sup> infrastructure and employment opportunities. It has been observed that the number of economically moderate parents resides in Ranchi who were able to meet half of the students expense.<sup>11</sup>

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8. Jitendra Prasad, 'Origin of Present Agrarian Tension among the Santals of Santal Parganas', Unpublished Dissertation, JNU, New Delhi, 1980.
  9. Radha Kumar, 'Will Faminist Standard Survive in Tharkhand' in Nirmal Sen Gupta, 'Fourth World Dynamics, Tharkhand', Authors Guilds Publication, New Delhi, 1982, p.203-229.
  10. Raychoudhary, 'Gazettters of Santal Parganas', Hihar, 1965 p.388.
  11. Sachidananda, 'Education Among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in Bihar,' ICSSR sponsored study, Patna, 1975, vol. I & II.

It may be pointed out that inter tribal and intra-regional difference in regard to educational attainment in urban areas is of no significance. It is, however, <sup>noted that educated</sup> send their wards to school. They were also better off. Those unskilled worker in the industrial areas where the Santals, Mundas and Oraon were in majority, it is found, that among the children in these families 88 percent of school going age were out of school. In Jamshedpur about 52 percent and in Hatia 52 percent of children are not getting any schooling. The study concludes that a constellation of factors such as christionity, education and sound economic condition of families in urban areas encourages to send their wards for schooling.<sup>12</sup>

#### ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

In chotanagpur, industrial and urban civilization has created complex society where people are heterogenous in terms of language, age, religion and social ethox. It has provided an industrial style of life in which there are more facilities for education to meet the educational demands of the people. In general, it makes way for acculturation of

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12. Sachidananda & B.B.Mandal, 'Industrilization and Social disorganisation, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, p.8-11.

tribals due to blending of rural and urban style of life. The process of acculturation make the tribal to adjust to the norms and values of general society. That is why, under the impact of industrilization, it has been observed, the traditional social and cultural patterns have been losing much of its importance. In such situation, it is expected greater demand of education in terms of number, quality and types of educational institution to meet the demands of diversified employment opportunities.<sup>13</sup> The Santals living in industrial and urban areas, the young people, particularly educated section prefer factory or wage oriented service. The Santals are attracted to urban industrial centres which provides employment and educational opportunities.<sup>14</sup> This is the reason, why, the literacy and educational level attained by the Santals in urban areas is more than in rural areas. And economically better off tribals are able to exploit educational opportunities in both rural and urban areas. Although, industrilization and urbanization has fascinated the tribals, we find, the Santals living in such places is less compared to the Oraon aand Mundas - For example, the Oraon and Mundas

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13. L.P.Vidyardhi and B.K.Rai, op.cit.

14. Sukumar Banerjee, 'Impact of Industrialization on the Tribal population of Jhariya-Raniganj Coal Field,' Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1981.

constitute 54 percent and 23 percent respectively to the total scheduled tribe urban population in Ranchi.<sup>15</sup>

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES :

✓ The christian missionaries were active among the tribals for proslytization and educational work. The government had also taken interest in spreading education among the tribals with the help of christian missionaries. The educational institutions were opened for all the tribals irrespective of their religion and community affiliations. Moreover, the zamindars and local people had taken keen interest in spreading education among the Oraon and Mundas tribes. There were more numbers of schools and scholars in this region compared to the Santal Pargana of Bhagalpur division. It appears, therefore, the Oraon and Mundas had initial advantage of schooling. L.P. Vidyarthi observes, 'the Christianity has been an important factor in modifying the socialization and training process of child. A children personality is moulded under strict guidance of the christian village priest and under close association of the local and regional church, inculcate in himself the christian value and attitude system and his basic personality deviates

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15. Census of India, 1971.

considerably from that of their traditional regional world view<sup>16</sup>. The missionaries have been working among the Santals and the Oraon and Mundas but the percentage of christianity among later two tribes is more than the Santal. For example, among the christian Mundas literacy is cent percent and among the non-christian the number is rising fast.<sup>17</sup>

✓ PERCENTAGE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES

COMMUNITY	YEAR	
	1961	1971
SANTAL	1.7	3.02
ORAON	23.4	22.5
MUNDA	26.0	26.2

Thus it may be inferred that educated among the Oraon and Munda will be more obtainable.

16. L.P.Vidyarthi and B.K.Rai, op.cit, p.460

17. Sachidananda, 'The Changing Munda', Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, p.327.

TYPES OF SCHOOLS :

Sachidananda finds that a large number of tribal students are from schools run by the christian missionaries. The missionaries have been active in the district of Ranchi and Santal Parganas, the two main tribal centres. The christian missionaries have opened schools and colleges. These schools and colleges provide better facilities with regard to teaching and congenial atmosphere for study. This is the reason, why overwhelming majority of tribal students as well as their parents prefer education in christian mission school.<sup>18</sup> manifold efforts have been made for tribal education in different direction such as primary education, middle school education, Ashram type schools, single teacher schools, girls education, individual training with free tuition. A follow up programme has been introduced for tribal who wish to join the all India Administration Services.<sup>19</sup> But, there is complaint by the tribals that culturally dominant tribals of district of Ranchi take all the benefit extended by the government.<sup>20</sup>

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18. Sachidananda, 1975, op.cit., p.111-112 (vol.I), p.101-127 (Vol-II).

19. L.P.Vidyarthi and B.K.Rai, op.cit, p.443-445.

20. Nirmal Sen Gupta (ed.), 1982, op.cit, p.247.



### MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL

The government managed and the Adimjati Sevak-Mandal schools is not better because most of the teachers in such school come from non-tribal areas. It is said that they do not have sympathetic understanding of tribal ethos and culture and consider tribal children as low in intelligence and generally uneducable. However, there are a large number of tribal teachers in mission schools where an air of sympathy and friendness prevail.<sup>21</sup> Students point out that the retention in Ashram school is high than non Ashram schools, i.e. the school entirely managed by the government, the magnitude of drop out is high. Failure of the Ashram school has been mainly, said to be, in financial mismanagement, production of school not in true with the cost effective benefit, lack of sympathetic understanding of tribal culture. Yet, the schools have been able to meet a part of educational need of tribal children.<sup>22</sup>

As far as the Santals are concerned, the Ashram schools under the names of Santal Pahariya Seva Mandal has concentrated

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21. Sachidananda, 1975, op.cit,p.6 (Vol.1).

22. 'Educating Tribals', NIEFA, New Delhi, 1985, p.116 p.192-217, p.236-240.

their effort mainly on social welfare. The report of the Sangha reveal that the work started by it among the Oraon and Munda since 1948 has covered all the Chotanagpur region to spread education. There were 6 High schools, 13 Madhyamic schools, 20 Ashram schools, 1 teacher training institute, 7 Khadi and 1 printing press while in the Santal Panganas the number of such institutions have not been specified. However, we learn from the report that the Santal Pahana Mandal established in 1954 has started 2 High school, 4 Madhyamic schools, 24 printing schools, 8 Hostel and 3 Khadi gramdyog.<sup>23</sup>

#### SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND :

√ Studies reveal that the Santal students mainly come from average and lower incomes bracket and majority of their father were illiterate. However, there were good number of students from literate fathers. And students who offer science subject found to have an edge over their counter parts of the arts faculty with regard to educational background and economic condition. Among the wonds of literate fathers the middle school educated fathers followed by high school educated fathers<sup>24</sup>. The school students belonging to the district of

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23. Report of the Adimjati Sevak Sangha, New Delhi, 1945-55.

24. Sachidananda, 1975, op.cit,p.111.112(vol-I).

Santal Pargana aspired from lower level of education like secondary and intermediate school whereas the students belonging to the district of Ranchi aspired for graduation followed by post graduation or Ph.D and B<sup>o</sup> Tech. Nevertheless, there were ambitious students among Santals who aspired for M.B.B.S. followed by post-graduation and graduation<sup>25</sup>. Lower aspiration among the students of the Santal Parganas may be the realization on the part of the students of their fathers poor economic condition. While, higher aspiration like fathers education, economic condition and age of the students imply a bright future for those who attain required qualification for high status in society.

It appears that among the school going students, education is not exclusive of educated parents but illiterate fathers ward are also availing of educational opportunities. As far as the education of fathers were concerned, it was found most of Santal students, the Oraon and Munda tribes were from moderate economic condition. Among them both illiterate and literate fathers were equally represented. Then it appeared, that educational development among these tribes is not only the exclusive of the students whose fathers are

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25. Ibid, p.113-115 (Vol-I).

enjoying higher occupational status, but others are equally capable of sending their wards to college, provided they are moderate economically.<sup>26</sup>

It should, however, be noted in the context of moderate economic condition of the students that they are dependent for their education on the support provided by parent as well as the government. The study further points out that the percentage of students irrespective of tribes getting financial support for their education exclusively from their parents or from the government scheme was rather low. In other word, the students who pursue higher education because the parents can help their wards financially. It appears from the study regarding differential educational achievement of these tribes that the Oraon and Munda have an edge over the students belonging to the Santal Panganas as far as financial and educational background are concerned.<sup>27</sup>

Thus we find that socio-economic back-ground of the tribals is related to inequality of educational progress among them. The Santal who are economically better off or living

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26. Ibid, p.120-123 (Vol-I), p.139-141 (Vol-II).

27. Ibid, p.125-126 (Vol I), p.133-41 (Vol-II).

in urban areas are more educated. In the same way, the Oraon and Munda tribes who are economically sound, living in urban areas, converted to christianity have high level of educational achievement. It is however, significant to note that the Santals living in urban areas have attained somewhat similar educational level in compension with Oraon and Munda. Since there is small percentage of Santals living in urban areas or have better economic conditon or have converted to christianity in compension to the Oraon and Mundas, the inequality of educational opportunity is more among the Santals. Thus, it shows that the Santals lack educational opportunity in compension with the Oraon and Mundas. We have seen that there are educated Santals who aspire of higher education and occupational achievement in modern sectors of economy rather than agriculture.

In this context, it will be significant to find out as to what kinds of employment are available to the educated among the Santals and in what way is it linked to modern sector of economy. In a study of the Munda tribes, it is seen that education has paved the way for individual mobility. It has opened vast horizons for getting employment for the diversified occupations.<sup>28</sup> Further the study points out

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28. Sachidananda, 1979. op.cit., p.327-328.

that education and the statutory privilege given to the tribals has helped in the emergence of middle class families who are indistinguishable from others from the same class. Most of them are bilingual except in deep interior of tribal areas. Thus standard of living can be compared with others of their income level.<sup>29</sup> Thus, in the context of expanding educational opportunity, there is a need to link education with the kind of economy and occupational structure among the Santals in particular and the Oraon and Munda.

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29. Ibid, p.337.

## CHAPTER - IV

### EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE AND MOBILITY

Having discussed inequality of educational progress, we proceed to examine education, occupational change and mobility among the Santals. In this context, it would be imperative to throw light on the economic structure of santal society and the changes which have taken place, in order to see the role which education can play to bring about differentiation within a tribe and between tribal communities. The question would arise whether the shift from traditional to modern occupation contribute to social mobility among the santals. Since, there is paucity of data on any specific tribes' occupations linked to education. We have attempted to focus mainly on occupational structure among the santals and the aspiration of the educated tribals, and the kind of occupation available to them. We have presented a broad classification from the census data to draw inferences for our discussion.

#### THE CHANGING SANTAL ECONOMY:

Traditionally, the santals were cultivators. Hunting and food-gathering supplemented their economy. The changes began to emerge in a predominantly peasant society when they were brought under uniform administration during the British rule which facilitated in establishing contact with outside world.

Initially, the santals were employed as labourers in the construction of roads and communication net work. The railways came next which provided employment to quite a few as labourers. The santals were also employed as forest guards and rangers besides being employed for cutting trees and processing them. During, the two great wars, they were recruited as military personnel. In the meanwhile, contact with non-tribals had brought about adverse effect on the santals. Non-tribals were migrating to the tribal areas to settle down there. In this process, some of the santals were dispossessed of their lands. These santals consequently migrated to the North Bengal, Assam and even to the north Bihar and adjoining places of santal Parganas to work as labourer. It has been observed that the labourers employed outside used to come back to their village and were responsible for introducing higher standard of life.

Thus, we see that there was a change of occupation primarily self-employed cultivation to unskilled labourers in road and railway construction, military personnels, ranges forest guard and employment outside the region as labourers.

#### EDUCATION AND EARLY OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITY:

We have seen in the previous chapter, that christian missionaries and the government brought education to the santals. In the



beginning the aim of formal education was to civilize the aborigines as was understood by the missionaries and government officials. Later, the missionaries had started imparting education in vocational training such as bee-keeping, weaving, shellack making, gardening etc. The educated santals were employed in teaching, preaching religion and to some other related work. The missionaries also helped to get government services for them. But such employment opportunities were available to quite a few of the converted Santals and to those who had been in training schools and practised their crafts. However, the converted Santals practised to a large extent agriculture. It has, however, been observed that the improvement in material condition and social position of the educated christians Santals had opened the eyes of their non-converted bretheren to the advantage of education!

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1. Roychoudhari, 'District Gazetteers of Santal Parganas', Bihar, 1965.

also, L.S.S. O'Malley, 'Santal Parganas - Bengal District Gazetteers, 1910, Delhi, 1984.

also, Charulal Mukherjee, 'Santals', Calcutta, 1962.

also, J. Troisi, 'Education and Tribal Polity' in J. Troisi 'The Santals : Readings in Tribal Life, Vol. 5, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1979.

Thus the new employment opportunities brought to the Santals by the missionaries and the government for the educated should be seen as movement away from the traditional occupation. Although, such employment were limited to quite a few Santals, it has implication for inequality of educational opportunity and occupation among the Santals; as there were large number of new occupations for which education was not required.

Thus it appears that differential utilization of opportunities benefited some which has implication for the beginning of inequality of educational and employment opportunities among the Santals.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

In the post independence period, the government has taken special responsibility to uplift the tribals. The government has launched a number of measures particularly in the field of education and occupation; for instance, relaxation of qualifying marks and reservation. Studies have pointed out that with the growth of education among the tribals in Bihar, they are being drawn into the service and profession in large numbers. Development effort as well as the statutory privileges given to the tribals have helped in the emergence of a tribal middle class.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Sachidananda, 'The Changing Munda', Concept Publishing Company, Delhi, 1979, p.337.

Since, we have limitation on data regarding occupational pursuit of the tribals in modern sector of economy. Occupational shift among the tribals have been reflected in occupational distribution in rural and urban areas during the period from 1961 and 1971. For our purpose, instead of nine fold classification; a three fold classification have been made ie. Primary, secondary and tertiary sector.

(1) Primary sector include cultivators, agricultural labourer, mining, quarrying, stock forestry, fishing, plantation, orchards etc.

(2) Secondary sector consists of household industry, manufacturing, construction and fishing.

(3) Tertiary sector comprises of trade and commerce, transport and other services.

These three fold classifications of occupation do not directly throw light on relationship between education and occupation. We have, therefore, concentrated on change of economy of the tribals into these classified occupation during period from 1961 to 1971. Further comparison has been made between the tribals and particular mention has been made of the Santal tribes. The following data will present a broad occupational classification of the tribes.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN 1961:

Table show the distribution of workers engaged in primary sector is the highest among all the tribes, particularly in rural areas. About 94%, 3.8%, and 3.40% are engaged in primary secondary and tertiary sector respectively out of the total workers in rural areas. While in urban areas 37.93%, 26.18% and 36.08% are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors respectively. It shows a definite shift of tribal occupation from predominantly agricultural economy to non-agricultural economy.

Among the Santals 90.27%, 1.76%, and 3.15 percent respectively engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors in rural areas, whereas in urban areas 49.13%, 14.62%, 26.22% are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. While comparing with the Orans and Mundas, their representation in tertiary sector is more than the Santals. Among the Orans 94.45%, 1.56%, 3.97%, in rural areas and 29.13%, 21.66%, 49.17% in urban areas are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors respectively. Among the Mundas 95.66%, 1.41%, 2.90% in rural areas and 31.95%, 25.69% and 36.20% in urban areas are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. However, it is significant to note that there is considerable percentage i.e. 36.08% of the tribals in urban areas are engaged in tertiary sector. It can be infered that urban areas offer more opportunities for employment to the tribals in non-agricultural sector.

TABLE -

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENTAGE IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS  
AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBE IN BIHAR.

YEAR	1961							
	GENERAL TRIBE		SANTAL		ORAON		MUNDA	
OCCUPATIONS	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
TOTAL POPULATION			37.28	13.27	17.04	33.87	14.85	18.77
TOTAL WORKER	59.42	40.44	60.25	50.22	58.35	33.88	61.26	40.01
TOTAL CULTIVATORS	79.17	19.73	80.91	33.05	85.37	18.24	86.19	19.48
AGRICULTURE LABOUR	9.63	4.50	4.43	6.67	6.55	4.56	6.07	5.15
MINING, QUARRING-SLIVE-STOCK FORESTRY, FISHING, PLANTA- TION ORCHAR'DS AND ALLIED ACTIVITIES.	4.01	13.70	4.93	19.41	2.53	6.33	3.40	6.82
IN HOUSE HOLD INDUSTRY	2.40	2.11	1.14	0.64	0.58	1.96	0.61	2.34
IN MANUFACTURING	0.78	18.03	0.50	11.60	0.64	14.30	0.54	18.14
IN CONSTRUCTION	0.22	6.04	0.12	2.38	0.34	5.40	0.26	5.21
IN TRADE AND COMMERCE	0.24	1.90	0.08	1.09	0.07	2.74	0.14	1.44
IN TRANSPORT	0.24	5.16	0.15	4.17	0.34	8.08	0.19	4.92
OTHER SERVICES	3.27	29.02	2.92	20.96	3.53	38.35	2.57	29.84

Source : 1961 Census

Notes: (1) Percentage in population column is based on the total scheduled tribe population.

(2) Percentage in column is based on their respective tribals workers.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN 1971

The figures on occupational distribution in rural areas show that majority of the tribals (75.03%)<sup>are</sup> engaged in primary sector of economy and tertiary sector employ least percentage of tribals i.e. 0.74% and secondary sector employ 3.50% of the total scheduled tribe workers while in urban areas secondary sector has employed highest percentage (34.32%) and primary sector and tertiary sector employ 29.38% and 18.73% of the total scheduled tribe workers.

Among the Santals 53.94%, 2.14%, and 0.43% are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors respectively in rural areas while in urban areas 26.28%, 33.45% and 4.41% are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors respectively.

While among the Orans 93.31%, 2.97%, 1.25% are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors in rural areas and in urban areas 26.12%, 26.00% and 19.03%.

Among the Mundas 94.77%, 2.13%, 0.79% in rural areas are engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors whereas 20.17%, 22.00% and 29.39% are in urban areas.

TABLE -

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENTAGE IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS  
AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES IN BIHAR.

YEAR	1971							
	GENERAL TRIBE		SANTAL		ORAON		MUNDA	
OCCUPATIONS	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
TOTAL POPULATION			37.29	18.60	17.41	25.77	14.22	17.47
TOTAL WORKER	34.85	32.84	35.75	34.67	31.92	31.34	34.22	35.04
TOTAL CULTIVATORS	63.92	12.92	23.63	8.55	68.02	10.51	73.90	6.88
AGRICULTURE LABOUR	9.98	15.13	28.85	16.51	24.47	14.85	20.27	11.18
Mining, Quarrying, Slive-Stock, Forestry, Fishing, Plantation Orchar'ds and Allied Activities.	1.13	1.23	1.46	1.22	0.82	1.56	0.60	1.11
IN HOUSE HOLD INDUSTRY	0.99	13.51	1.76	15.42	0.76	7.12	0.91	16.65
IN MANUFACTURING	1.43	1.49	0.16	0.56	0.19	1.05	0.24	0.78
IN CONSTRUCTION	1.08	19.32	0.22	17.47	1.84	17.83	0.98	15.57
IN TRADE AND COMMERCE	0.12	8.32	0.08	8.24	0.22	5.83	0.16	15.52
IN TRANSPORT	0.11	2.80	0.05	0.93	0.12	3.58	0.04	3.01
OTHER SERVICES	0.51	8.61	0.30	4.41	0.91	9.62	0.50	10.86

Source : 1971 Census

Notes: (1) Percentage in population column is based on the total scheduled tribe population.

(2) Percentage in column is based on their respective tribals workers.

Thus, we see that overwhelming majority of the tribal workers are engaged in primary sector. However, it is significant to note that there has been considerable percentage of tribals engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors. The percentage of workers employed in urban areas among the tribes is more than the rural areas. Moreover, there is somewhat uniform pattern among the tribes engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors. It implies that urban areas offer more non-agricultural employment than the rural areas.

In this context of occupational shift among the tribes from agricultural employment to non-agricultural employment, we will focus on the aspiration of the educated and the employment opportunities available in rural areas and urban areas.

#### OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION AMONG THE TRIBES:

Among the educated it may be assumed that choice of occupation would depend to a large extent on their perceived advantage and disadvantage of occupation. A study conducted by Sachidananda<sup>3</sup> among college and school going students in

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3. Sachidananda, 'Education among SC & ST in Bihar' ICSSR sponsored study, Patna, 1975, p.6.



Bihar reveals that educated tribals want to enter into modern occupation than enter into traditional occupation. Further the study reveals that majority of the students prefer government service and the self-employment type of work is least preferred. As regards awareness of the reserved post meant for scheduled tribes, the majority of students are completely ignorant of such facilities.<sup>4</sup>

The following table on percentage distribution of students and their occupation aspiration by strata, encouragement and economic condition may give difference of occupational aspiration between the tribes.

Percentage Distribution of students and their occupational Aspiration by strata, Encouragement and Economic condition.

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4. Op. cit., p.16-17.

TABLE -  
OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION

STRATA	PROFESSIONAL WORK.	TEACHERS GRAMSEVAK NURSE CLERK TYPIST.	SOCIAL POLITICAL WORKER.	SOLDIER POLICE GOVT. OFFICER.	FARMERS	DRIVER MECHANIC ARTISAN
RANCHI	32.7	59.7	100.0	64.1	66.7	33.3
SANTAL PARGANAS	18.2	13.4	0.0	5.1	16.7	0.0
ENCOURAGEMENT	67.3	63.9	66.7	74.4	16.7	66.7
PARENTS	16.3	16.0	16.7	20.5	66.7	33.3
BROTHER/SISTER	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
UNCLE	10.2	18.5	0.0	5.1	16.7	0.0
OTHERS	2.0	0.8	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
NO RESPONSE	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
ECONOMIC CONDITION COMFORTABLE	18.4	5.0	0.0	5.1	33.3	33.3
SO - SO	38.8	30.3	0.0	33.3	16.7	66.7
DIFFICULT	42.9	64.7	100.0	61.5	50.0	33.3

Source:  
Sachidanada, 1975

The figure shows that government service is most preferred. Since government jobs ensure security, assured future etc. It is their preference and by their parents. Nonetheless, it is seen that the respondents who would enter into occupation like that of a teacher, etc or social/practical work or government services have illiterate fathers or have taken the division on their own accord or reveal low level of aspiration<sup>5</sup>. A study on the Santal tribes also show that even in a purely agricultural community the aspiration were high for education. The parents want their children to take up modern occupation rather than engage in agriculture.<sup>6</sup>

#### OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITY:

✓ The Chatanagpur region is characterised by industrialization which provide opportunities in non-agricultural occupation particularly to the educated. But the growth of industries have been confined to certain pockets mainly Ranchi, Jamshedpur and Dhanbad. The Samtal Parganas lacked industrialization and small

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5. Op. cit., p. 118

6. Srivastava, et al, 'Education and Economic Condition and Employment Position of Eighteen Tribes, NCERT, New Delhi, 1971, p.45-47.

industries are least developed.<sup>7</sup> It would, therefore, be important to analyse inter-tribe occupational opportunity in the context of industrialization and urbanization of the region.<sup>8</sup> It appears that industrialization and urbanization has benefited only a section of the tribals who could attain required educational qualification. For example, the following figure will give an idea of the opportunities available to the tribals in an industrial complex;

TOTAL PERMANENT EMPLOYEE AT TISCO AS ON 1.4.1981.

<u>CATEGORIES</u>	<u>TOTAL SCHEDULED TRIBE</u>
Managerial	16 (0.20)
Supervisors	60 (0.71)
Skilled	869 (11.10)
Semi-Skilled	1,050 (13.80)
Unskilled	5,568 (71.14)
Ministerial	64 (0.81)
Others	170 (2.17)
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 7,827 (21.41)

- Notes: 1. Percentage of total ST is based on total employee (36,554).  
 2. Percentage in column is based on their respective totals.  
 3. Figure in parenthesis indicate percentage.

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7. Himanshu Shekhar Choudhari, 'Underdevelopment and Tribal Movement in Santal Parganas and Chotanagpur, Unpublished dissertation, JNU, New Delhi, 1982, p.9.
8. Sachidananda & B.B. Mandal, 'Industrialization and Social Disorganization', Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p.12.

The above figure is based on the core areas with a radius of 5 km of the industrial set up covers beyond 10 km. have been considered. It shows that large numbers of tribals are employed as unskilled labour. There are quite a few of them who have been able to get employment in skilled, semi-skilled employment.<sup>9</sup> Numerous studies have pointed out that the tribals are strongly attached to agriculture, and their traditional mode of living. The Oraons with only 5 percent of their total population living in urban areas rank the highest of all the tribals in the degree of urbanization. Among the Santals the most numerous tribes 99 percent still live in villages.<sup>10</sup> On the whole, almost 92 percent of the tribals are in semi-skilled and unskilled job which in many cases on contract basis, thereby depriving them even of the status of a worker. Further in Jamshedpur 80 percent of unskilled labour force were from among the Santals. Similarly among the Orans and Mundas, the unskilled labour force were to the tune of 45 percent and 38 percent respectively in Hatiya industrial complex. Woman mostly engaged themselves in household and lower grade occupation. Out of the total tribal women in the industrial complex only 5 percent were in clerical post.<sup>11</sup>

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9. Op. cit., p.11-13.

10. Nirmal Sengupta (ed), 1982, Op. cit.

11. Sachidananda & B.B. Mandal, 1985, Op. cit., p. 7-9.

In Santal Parganas, whatever little opportunity are created, the appointment are made by the state government. It has been observed that the state government seldom notify the vacancies. To go a little further, very few of the unemployed go in for registration at the employment exchange. As early as in 1961, there were 79.5 percent of new entrants to employment exchange who wanted non-agricultural occupation. In fact, the district is too vast and people too poor to come to the district capital to get registered themselves. Even then we find that in 1962, there were 1,105 Matric, 258 I.A., and 121 graduates registered themselves in which 94 matric; 9 I.A.; and 9 graduates were employed women seldom get themselves registered for employment. It shows that even for the <sup>small</sup> number of educated, employment in the district is not available. The educated mostly prefer government services. While the state government seldom notify the vacancies to the employment exchange, the Central government could not provide permanent jobs, unemployment and underemployment is rampant in the district.<sup>12</sup>

In the context of tribals, Srivastava mention that the avenues of employment were in the tribals areas were limited mainly to the school, block office and the Panchayat. Thus avenues

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12. Roychoudhari, 'District Gazetteers of Santal Parganas', Bihar, 1965.

for educated persons are limited and they go to urban areas to seek employment.<sup>13</sup> Migration of the Santals, it has been observed, skill continuous as they seek employment outside the district. Sachidananda notes that even for the limited number of jobs in the tribal areas, the tribals are denied employment for some or other reason.<sup>14</sup> Not only this, in no category of services the post reserved for the scheduled tribes candidates have been completely filled. It is only in the class IV services that more than eighty percent of the scheduled tribes seats have been filled. Thus wide discrepancies exists between the posts announced and finally filled by the employing agencies.<sup>15</sup>

Having described the aspiration of educated and the employment opportunities and the constraints to get employment outside the traditional occupation seem to be linked to the kind of development in the region. Some pockets in the region are highly developed with all the modern amenities where thus are regions which have been left behind. Thus development process have benefited some tribals positively. It has been observed that

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13. Srivastava, et.al., 1971, Op. cit.

14. Sachidananda, 'The Tribal Situation in Bihar', in Sachidananda 'Tribal Situation in India, IIAS, Simla, 1972, p. 11.

15. India, Report of the Commissioner of SC & ST, Govt. of India, Manager Publication, New Delhi, 1974-75; 1979-80 & 1980-81.

education, industrialization and urbanization has paved the way to individual social mobility. It has opened vast horizon for getting employment and for the diversified employment. Those who receive education rise in the esteem of their fellow man and acquire social status. Vertical mobility unknown in tribal society came to be seen as an established norms.<sup>16</sup> Further, education among the tribals also led to the emergence of a tribal middle class. Its ranks were swelled by educated tribals from government services or from profession like teaching, medicines and law.<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, the importance of industrialization and urbanization has confined to the areas which are closer to industrial complex and life in the interior areas continued to be much as before. Thus the unskilled labour in urban areas or there who are employed in lower range of employment pyramid, have no doubt moved away from agricultural economy but such shift may not possibly turned as vertical mobility. Thus, there are educated tribals who are moving up the occupational hierarchy while a large number shifting to non-agricultural occupation as unskilled labourer.

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16. Sachidananda, 'The Changing Munda', Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1979, p.327-333.

17. Sachidananda and B.B. Mandal, 1985, Op. cit., p.14.

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A review of data in the previous chapters has offered us a profile of the scheduled tribes along the three dimensions of religion, socio-economic background and type of school attendant. It focusses on the institutional arrangements as they exist among the scheduled tribes specially Santals and tries to explain the reasons for their low educational achievement and consequently low occupational mobility.

Education in the past was imparted in an informal manner among the tribes and such an education was very closely linked to the socio-economic need of the community. Social life among the tribals was marked by 'mechanical solidarity'. By the middle of the nineteenth century certain stray initiatives were taken by Christian Missionaries to promote education among the scheduled tribes. This was supplemented by Governmental help and in many cases by local initiative.

Turning to the Santals one finds that it was governmental help and missionary backing which led to the spread of education but as seen earlier the agencies for the spread of education among the Oraons and Mundas were numerous. This was compounded by the

fact that even in terms of qualitative education it was the Mundas and Oraons who were doing well. The Christian Missionaries Zamindars and British Government showed a lot of interest in the spread of education. Consequently the number of schools and scholars gradually increased. This trend continues to be present in the post-independence era also.

In the case of Santals however, the progress was neither rapid nor very remarkable. As far as the percentage of students is concerned they are significantly higher among the Mundas and Oraons when compared with the Santals. In the field of technical education also the Santals lag behind. Even in post-graduation they form less than half percent of the total post graduate students unlike the former who are represented at all level of education. The Santals who made a late start when compared with the other two tribes continue to take the back seat in the post independence period. The present thus does not operate in isolation but has continuity in time and space.

A whole host of complex factors are responsible for the low level of educational attainment of the tribals in general and the Santals in particular.

when compared with the Mundas and Oraons.

Thus Chhotanagpur with its industrialisation produced conducive conditions for educational expansion when compared to Santal paraganas which was characterized by under-development and low level of acculturation.

Since the Christian Missionaries were more active among the Mundas and Oraons than the Santals they had better access to the tribal children of these two communities who were subjected to disciplined socialisation and training. This in turn had an effect on the educational achievement of Mundas and Oraons vis-a-vis the Santals.

The kind of school i.e. Ashram/non Ashram and their management has also produced different results, Ashram schools being more among the Mundas and Oraons the rate of retention and consequently educational attainment is also high when compared to the Santals.

The socio-economic background of the Mundas and Oraons is also better compared to the Santals. and this in turn led to inequalities in educational progress. This is not to say that the Santals in the urban areas have not fared well. Infact Santals residing in urban areas have attained educational standards comparable to Mundas and Oraons. One can thus derive

that it is inequality of educational opportunity which hinders the Santals from achieving in the educational arena.

While there is no doubt about the progress made by the Santals, Mundas and Oraons in the field of education, the proportionate literacy and education is far below the state average. Of course there has been an impressive increase in the enrolment rate of the Santals in primary schools and in both rural and urban areas but they still lag behind at all levels of education.

In view of the low level of literacy and education among these tribes especially among the Santals tribes we would like to summarise the following keeping in mind the review of the literatures, the literature on education with regard to Santal, Munda and Oraon tribes. :

I. Christian Missionaries have been more active among the Munda and Oraon in spreading education. The percentage of Christians among the Mundas and Oraons is considerable compared to the Santhal tribe. Therefore the percentage of literate and educated among these tribes is significantly high.

II. It is alleged that the culturally dominant tribes in Ranchi district derive all the benefits extended by the Government. Urbanization here seems to become important.

III. The teachers have no sympathetic understanding of tribal ethos and culture and consider the tribals low in intelligence and generally uneducable.

IV. The coverage of Ashram School is limited in the Santal paraganas whereas there are more such schools in Chhota nagpur. Thus the type of schools appears to be important in determining educational level. The retention rate in Ashram schools appear to be more in number than the non-Ashram school where the drop.out rate is nearly 45 percent as compared to the former whose drop out rate is only 32 percent.

But it is significant to note that in the subsequent stages of education, there was no drop out. The Santals students formed negligible percentage in the Ashram Schools of Santal Parganas.

V. The enrolment of these tribes at primary school is quite satisfactory but as we move to higher educational levels inequality of educational opportunity increases sharply.

VI. Educational Development among these tribes is not only exclusive of the parents enjoying high occupational

status but moderate income parents are equally sending their wards for schooling. Such moderate income students however, are equally dependent on parental and governmental assistance. Further, it appears from the differential achievement of these tribes, that the Oraons and Mundas have an edge over the students belonging to Santal Paraganas as far as financial and educational background is concerned.

VII. The students who offer Science subjects have an edge over their counter parts in arts subject with regard to educational and economic background.

VIII. Lower level of aspiration in education occupation are found to be related to educational background and sound economic conditions.

IX. Studies have revealed that the Santals are not sound economically. So, it appears to be one of the many reasons for their low level educational achievement.

X. A majority of Santals are living in relatively undeveloped regions while a majority of the Oraons and Mundas are living in developed regions. In such a situation, it is likely that the traditional pattern of living loses its importance. Hence the literacy and educational

development among these tribes is more in urban areas than in rural areas.

XI. Even in urban areas, factors such as educational background, Christianity and Sound economic conditions influenced educational achievement.

Thus inequality of educational opportunity is considerably influenced by economic factors (term based social class differences and value systems. ) Thus it would be a worthwhile exercise to undertake further studies so as to see in what way class composition (income variable) and value system (may be religious belief) contribute to differential educational attainment, irrespective of tribal communities. This will help in initiating measures which can reduce class differences.

We have examined earlier that there were considerable occupational changes from traditional agricultural occupations. But the percentage of tribals employed in such occupations requiring educational qualifications were limited to some sections of the tribals only. A large majority of them were unskilled employees. However, we have seen a trend in which the Santals were breaking away from traditional occupations- from a society based on undifferentiated economy to specialised division of labour.

In the post independent period, we find only a very small proportion of tribes in the service sector and their educational mobility is slow. It seems that educational and occupational mobility are related to each other. In the absence of data, we have used broad occupational categories to determine the status of tribes which have been further substantiated by studies on these tribes. As far as intertribe variation is concerned the Oraon and Mundas are more in service sectors than the Santals, in both urban and rural areas. Further the percentage of literacy and educational level in urban areas among the Santals is more than in rural areas. A similar trend is obtained among the Oraon and Munda tribes. This however, does not imply that tribals coming from illiterate and economically unsound families do not figure in modern occupations. But their numbers, as it appears, is very less.

The studies in Chapter 5 show that industrially influenced villaged and tribes who have migrated to urban areas are generally employed in unskilled occupations. However, there is a considerable amount of change in their occupational structures and other spheres of economic activity. Further, a majority of students prefer Government services and self employment is least preferred. As regards awareness of the reserved posts, a majority of the



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students are completely ignorant of such facilities. Yet there were students whose fathers were illiterate and from unsound economic backgrounds entering into modern occupations.

On the whole, the percentage engaged in service sectors is proportionately less than the population engaged in traditional sectors. It is significant to note that the percentage in agriculture work have increased since they do not require education while at the same time the proportion engaged in service sectors have reduced in both urban and rural areas.

We have seen that the process of land alienation of the tribals in the Bantals Paraganas and Chottanagpur area has been going on as early as the 19th century. It was during this time that the ownership of the land was a status symbol. With the onset of industrialisation, extensive mining and establishment of hydro electric projects there followed a process of acculturation of tribals and migration. These were unsuited to the tribal socio-economic life. Consequently, they were employed as unskilled labourers in the service sector.

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Nityanand Das, 1969, p.3, writes that a national policy to settle displaced tribals due to developmental projects is overdue. He further adds that an All India Study is necessary to fathom the dimension of this problem.

Even those sections of tribals who own land and migrate seasonally are poor and unskilled labourers. The missionaries brought education to the tribals which helped in the growth of a middle class among the tribes. After independence, some of the tribals have been able to take to modern occupations. Since the quantum of status mobility such as business, sanskritisation process etc. are blocked modern occupation remains the main avenue of status enhancement. This, it is expected will further equipped the tribals to locate their position and consciously contribute to the development of the whole society. Aspirations for employment among the educated tribals is high but employment opportunity especially in the tribal villages are limited. Where there are employment opportunities in the government they are denied employment due to some or the other reason. Moreover, the percentage of tribals in higher education is considerably low. Even among educated tribals unemployment is rampant.

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Sachidananda, 1972, P.178, According to Sachidanda industrialisation and organisation have not benefited the tribals to an appreciable extent, In the matter of employment their claims have been skipped over. Although they had to give up their home and hearth, an alternatively employment was not given.

It appears that the situation which has emerged in the tribal areas of Bihar has aggregated inequalities between tribals and non-tribals. Since it seems that the tribal groups have been experiencing similar conditions Sen Gupta writes - that the middle class that developed out of the tribal groups are not yet cut off from their primordial loyalties. Education has not brought about differentiation to a point of complete alienation from one stratum to another.

In the absence of data we would not like to generalise further. However, we can assume that class identity has been weakened by the fact that the basis for one's allocation to a given class appears to be one's ascribed tribe.

Moreover, this phenomena should be seen in a democratic, political and pluralistic perspective of the Indian sub continent. The tribals had to face land alienation and the phase of social discription in the course of breaking away from traditional occupations leading to unemployment and unfair competition with the other migrants in the labour market. This lead to politically

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S.C. Dubey 1969 , p.3 writes that the politicisation of tribals in a sense, is a natural and logical culmination of the democratic process.

conscious tribal communities which have taken up the challenge and have prepared themselves to provide leadership to their innocent tribal brethren.

Aravind N. Das writes that a third face of such leadership is emerging which is logically motivated and extremely sophisticated. Its cadres are not the archetypal simple forest dwellers but students and youth in urban and industrial areas. It is bringing different tribal groups on a single platform.

What we have attempted in the above study is merely to pinpoint the numerous variables which influence educational achievement and occupational aspirations. The present study is by no means exhaustive. It gives certain broad parameters of the Santal tribe while comparing them with the Mundas and Oraons. Taking education as the major point of departure we should attempt at microstudies of particular tribes which will then indicate the influence of education on their socio-economic status and vice-versa. Such insights may help develop an All India Perspective of tribal education and may thus help planners in policy-making.

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