

**Education And Occupational Mobility  
Among The Scheduled Tribes of  
Manipur**

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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG THE SCHEDULED TRIBES OF MANIPUR", submitted by Ms. Vanrammawi in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) degree of this University, has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University and this is her own work.

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

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(VANRAMAWI)

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Ever since India attained independence, education has been given greater emphasis in most of the welfare programmes for the Scheduled Tribes. This is because education is accepted as one of the key factors for the development, not only of the tribals but also of the other communities. To promote the educational development of the Scheduled Tribes, the Government of India provides constitutional safeguards in their favour. Article 46 of the Indian Constitution lays down, "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

According to the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, "The spread of education among the weaker sections of society is an essential prerequisite to the all-round development, and one of the most important media to assure them benefits of various safeguards, provided under the Constitution" (India, 1964-65:450).

Consequently, various schemes and programmes are implemented for the educational development of the Scheduled Tribes. These schemes include the reservation of seats for tribal students in educational institutions, as well as scholarships and other assistance from the primary level to the University stage.

The developmental programmes of the Government for tribal communities do not stop with education. Various safeguards are also provided for their employment benefit. To improve the representation of Scheduled Tribes in the service sector, the Constitution provides for reservation of posts in services under the Union as well as the State Government in favour of the Scheduled Tribes.

The reason why great emphasis has been placed on the representation of Scheduled Tribes in Government services is because "Government employment is not only a potent factor for economic uplift, but it also ensures certain status. A Scheduled Tribe candidate who enters government service, particularly in class III, II and I, not only benefits economically himself, but acquires certain status and sophistication; not only for his generation but for the succeeding generation as well" (India 1965-66:11).

The problem raised in this context is: How far has education increased for the tribals due to the special



safeguards provided for them, and to what extent education has enabled them to improve their socio-economic condition. Our present study is an attempt to examine the educational development of Scheduled Tribes in Manipur and to see as to what extent education influences occupational mobility among them.

As this study focusses on the tribal community, it would be appropriate to first clarify the meaning of the term "tribe" or "tribal society". In Oxford dictionary we find the meaning of tribe as a "group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor." Previously, anthropologists were not much concerned about the definition of a tribe, but they tacitly assumed that what they were studying in Australia, Melanesia and Africa were various forms of tribal society. The term tribe was, in general, "applied to people who were considered primitive, lived in backward areas, and did not know the use of writing" (Beteille 1977:7). According to Lewis, an ideal definition of tribal societies is that "they are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal, and political relation and possess a morality, a religion, and world view of corresponding dimensions. Characteristically too, tribal languages

are unwritten, and hence, the extent of communication both in time and space is inevitably narrow. At the same time, tribal societies exhibit a remarkable economy of design and have a compactness and self-sufficiency lacking in modern society" (Lewis 1968:147).

In India there is a great controversy regarding the definition of a tribe. Various anthropologists defined tribal society on the basis of certain characteristics which they think constitutes a tribe. In general, kinship ties, common territory, one language, joint ownership, one political organisation have all been referred to as the main characteristics of a tribe. The reason why there exists such diversity of opinion is because each anthropologist defines tribal society on the basis of data with which he is most familiar (Majumdar and Madan 1969:240).

Majumdar defined tribe "as a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialization of function, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obloquy attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of a homogeneity of ethnic

and territorial integration" (Majumdar and Madan 1967:241).

Naik also gives his own criteria for a tribe. According to him a tribe to be a "tribe" should have the least functional interdependence within the community. It should be economically backward, geographically isolated and have a common dialect which may be subject to regional variations. A tribe should also be politically organized and have customary laws (Naik 1968:85).

According to Dube, the chief characteristics which form the basic criteria of various definitions of a tribe are as follows:

- (1) Tribes are the oldest, if not the original inhabitants of the land;
- (2) They lived in the relative isolation of the hills and forests;
- (3) Their history is emerged in mythology;
- (4) They have a low level of techno-economic development;
- (5) They stand out from the rest of the other sections of the society in terms of their cultural ethos - language - institutions, beliefs and customs; and finally
- (6) They are non-hierarchical and undifferentiated if not egalitarian (Dube 1977:7).

The above definitions give us a broad view of tribal society in India. However, it is difficult, if not

impossible, to define all the Indian tribes in terms of universal characteristics. There are wide variations among the tribes from region to region and within a region from tribe to tribe. Therefore "the working definition of any tribe would depend on the actual tribe studied" (Nambissan 1978:6).

Tribal India can be territorially classified into three main divisions:

1. The tribes of North-Western Frontiers,
2. The interior tribes, and
3. Those of the North-Eastern Frontier (Majumdar 1958: 377).

The interior tribes as well as the tribes of North-Western frontier have always been living side by side with other communities and there exists a considerable amount of interaction between the tribals and non-tribal communities. AS a result of this continued interaction, tribal communities of this region are greatly influenced by the neighbouring Hindu culture. "Except in a few areas, it is very difficult to come across communities which retain all their prestine tribal character. In fact, most such tribal groups show in varying degrees element of continuity with the larger society of India" (Beteille 1977:8).

As regards the tribes of north-eastern region, the situation seems to be somewhat different. Due to their

geographical isolation and late appearance in the national mainstream they are not much influenced by the Hindu culture. To quote Mandelbaum, "they are too different and too distant from jati society to have been much affected by it" (Mandelbaum 1984:575).

The 'Inner Line Regulation' which was enforced in 1873 restricted entry of non-tribals into the hill areas of north-east India and thereby enhanced the already existing barriers between the hill tribes and the non-tribal plainsmen. At the same time it also protected the tribals from exploitation at the hands of outsiders and helped preserve tribal land and identity. As a result, many tribes of north-east region still retain their tribal cultures and they are, to a large extent, free from the clutches of land-lords and money-lenders.

Commenting on the tribal situation in NEFA in the nineteen fifties, Elwin writes that "in NEFA there are no landlords, no extortionate money lenders, no liquor-vendors, and there is none of the economic impoverishment, the anxiety and the corruption that such people have brought to other more accessible tribal areas. Here, tribal art and culture, social organisation and traditional institutions are still strong and vigorous" (Elwin 1957:7).

## II

The total population of the Scheduled Tribes, according to 1981 census, was 51,628,638, which comprises 7.76 per cent of the total population of India. In Manipur, the tribal communities constitute 27.30 per cent of the total state population. Altogether, there are twenty nine recognised Scheduled Tribes in Manipur. They are:

- |               |                               |                      |
|---------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Aimol      | 11. Koireng                   | 21. Purum            |
| 2. Anal       | 12. Kom                       | 22. Ralte            |
| 3. Angami     | 13. Langang                   | 23. Sema             |
| 4. Chiru      | 14. Any Mizo,<br>Lushai tribe | 24. Simte            |
| 5. Chothe     | 15. Maram                     | 25. Salhte           |
| 6. Gangte     | 16. Maring                    | 26. Tangkhul         |
| 7. Hmar       | 17. Mao                       | 27. Thadou           |
| 8. Kabui      | 18. Monsang                   | 28. Vaiphei          |
| 9. Kacha Naga | 19. Moyon                     | 29. Zou              |
| 10. Koirao    | 20. Paite                     | (Manipur 1985:16-9). |

These tribes can be broadly classified into two large groups - namely, the Nagas and the Kuki-Chin groups. Among the Nagas, the Tangkhul, Kabuis and Maos are some of the more prominent tribes. While the Thadous, the Paites and Hmars formed the larger tribes of the Kuki-Chin group.

The total area of Manipur is 22,356 sq. km. of which about 90 per cent consists of hills and only 10 per cent is

plain area. About 65 per cent of the total state population live in the plain area. The Meiteis, who are considered to be the more advanced community of the state, are numerically dominant in the valley. The Scheduled Tribe population in this area is only 2.59 per cent. But in the Hill areas, the tribal population constitutes as high as 70.84 per cent. This indicates that the bulk of tribals are concentrated in the hill areas of Manipur.

According to 1981 census, about 88 per cent of the tribal population of Manipur depends on agriculture for their living. Two types of cultivation prevails in the tribal inhabited Hill areas - namely, jhum or shifting cultivation and terrace cultivation. Majority of the tribals are engaged in shifting cultivation and only a few people practice terrace cultivation. The techniques employed in shifting cultivation are primitive and the products from it are barely enough for subsistence. As a result, the tribals are in a very low economic position (Manipur 1961). In such a situation, education is seen as an important factor for the improvement of the tribal economy.

Education was first introduced among the Manipur tribals in the late nineteenth century by a Christian missionary named Pettigrew. In 1896 Pettigrew opened a Mission school in Ukhrul village and started his educational

work side by side with evangelical activities among the Tangkhul Naga tribe of that village (Laldena 1983:209). Since then, education has gradually spread among the tribals along with Christianity. The post-independence government policies for tribal education further accelerates the growth of education among the Scheduled Tribes. As a result there has been a significant progress in the education of tribal during the past several decades. According to 1971 census, Manipur has the highest state-wise tribal literacy rate of 26.68 per cent. In 1981, the literacy rate for Manipur tribals was 39.75 per cent while the national literacy rate for Scheduled Tribes was only 16.35 per cent.

Along with the introduction of education, new avenues of employment have also opened up for the tribals. Many educated tribals have left their traditional occupations such as shifting cultivation, hunting, etc. and joined the Government services and other non-manual jobs which require a minimal degree of education. Hence, education becomes a gateway to occupational mobility and economic upliftment for the tribals.

In the present study we will try to relate the expansion of education with occupational mobility among the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur.



We will begin by tracing the growth and expansion of modern education among the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur. To understand the position of Manipur tribals within the state, we will make a comparison of the growth and expansion of education among the tribals with that of the non-SC/ST. We will also try to highlight the inequality between men and women in terms of education within the tribal society as well as the non-SC/ST. Then, we will look into the occupational mobility of the educated tribals in terms of a shift from the traditional agricultural occupations to new occupations in the organised sector.

For the analysis of education and occupational mobility, we will be using Boudon's concept of 'inequality of educational opportunity' and 'inequality of social opportunity' (Boudon 1973)\*. Inequality of educational opportunity will be measured in terms of the unequal spread of education among the tribals and the non-SC/ST. Inequality of social opportunity will also be measured in terms of the unequal employment opportunities of the tribals when compared to

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\* I am grateful to Dr. (Mrs.) Geetha B. Singh for giving me the permission to reproduce this model from her M.Phil. dissertation "Education and Occupational Mobility Among the Scheduled Tribes of Bihar", submitted to the Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1978, pp.16-17.

the non-SC/ST communities. By linking up both the educational opportunity and social opportunity we can draw the impact of education on occupational mobility. Our study will cover the period between 1961 and 1981.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY	Inequality of Educational opportunity (IEO)	Differential utilization of educational opportunity according to social class. In this case according to different communities; Scheduled Tribes v/s non-SC/ST
	Inequality of Social opportunity (ISO)	Differences in social status (employment opportunity) despite increasing levels of education related to social class. In our study related to different communities; Scheduled Tribes v/s non-SC/ST
IEO	Measured by the facilities availed of by the Scheduled Tribes when compared to the non-SC/ST	1. Literacy rate $t - t_1$ 2. Enrolment rate $t - t_1$
ISO		1. In terms of the number of Scheduled Tribes employed in modern occupations (government services) as compared to the non-SC/ST $t - t_1$

**OBJECTIVES:**

Our main objectives are:

1. To examine the growth and expansion of western education among the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur;
2. To compare and contrast the educational growth and expansion among the Scheduled Tribes with that of the non-SC/ST communities;
3. To make a men-women comparison on the basis of educational development within the tribal society as well as the non-SC/ST communities of Manipur;
4. To see as to what extent education has brought about occupational mobility among the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur.

**SOURCES OF DATA:**

Our study will be mainly based on secondary sources such as:

1. Reports of the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,
2. Reports of the Ministry of Education - Education in India,
3. Census Reports, and
4. Statistical Handbooks of Manipur.

**ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS:**

This study will be broadly divided into five chapters. Introduction forms the first chapter. The second chapter

will deal with the review of literature on tribal education.

In the third chapter we will examine inequality of educational opportunity between the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST communities.

The fourth chapter will focus on education and occupational mobility among the Scheduled Tribes, and the fifth chapter will present a summary and the conclusions.

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## CHAPTER II

### A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON TRIBAL EDUCATION

In the pre-independence period, the studies on scheduled Tribes in India had been largely oriented towards the distinctive features of their life - such as the institution of marriage, kinship formations, religion, magic, rituals, customs, etc. Therefore, while numerous books focussing on the tribal cultures have been published, the various problematic issues of the tribals often remained neglected (Singhi 1979). However, in the post-independence period, the Government's policy on tribal development seems to alter this situation to some extent. More and more studies are now directed towards the problems of the Scheduled Tribes. The Government's acceptance of education as the key factor for tribal development have attracted the interest of many social scientists. As a result, numerous studies have been carried out on the different aspects of tribal education.

In order to develop a national profile of education for the tribes of India, the Anthropological Survey of India undertook a study on the educational situation of 50 selected Scheduled Tribe communities from different parts of the country. The reports are compiled and edited by Das Gupta and Danda in 1984. It was found that inspite of the wide

range of socio-economic background that these tribes represent, there are certain common features regarding their educational problems. Some of the important common problems of these tribes are as follows:

- (1) Though primary education is within easy reach in many areas, secondary schools are not within easy reach of most of the villages under study.
- (2) There is an existence of communication gap between the teachers and the students on the one hand, and the text books and the students' mental preparation to receive anything from them on the other.
- (3) Majority of the literate population is within the age group of 8-15 which means that the spread of education is rather a recent phenomena.
- (4) The tribal people in the remote areas suffer from a sense of shyness to send their wards to educational institutions.
- (5) Lastly, there is a high frequency of drop-outs every year due to lack of awareness about the significance of formal education (Das Gupta and Danda 1984).

Srivastava (1970) studied the educational problems of the Saoras of Orissa under the five dimensions of

- (1) Educational Administration, (2) Medium of instruction and mother tongue, (3) wastage and failure, (4) social and economic problems affecting education, and (5) causes

of illiteracy. He found that inspite of the educational facilities provided by the tribal and rural welfare department of the Government of Orissa, the progress of education among the Saora is not satisfactory. The progress of primary education is hindered by Administrative problems such as lack of school buildings, trained teachers, teaching materials, proper school inspection, etc. Further, teaching through Oriya leads to inferior educational performance because most of the Saoras do not know Oriya. He also found wastage and stagnation as the major problems of the Saoras. There was a high drop-out rate because the Saora students had to help their parents in the economic and other walks of life. Economic hardship was found to be the main cause of the educational backwardness of the Saora tribe (Srivastava 1970).

The study by Agarwal highlights the problems of wastage and stagnation in the Mahendragarh Tribal Development Block of Madhya Pradesh. His findings show that the wastage rate was above 98 per cent in primary stage in the Government schools and the Tribal Welfare Department schools. Wastage rate was highest in class I and lowest in class V. The main reasons found to be responsible for the high rate of wastage were - the poor economic condition of the tribals, the apathetic attitude of the parents towards education, lack of interest in education on the



part of the students, the students have low level of intelligence, the students are needed at home to look after the youngsters, etc. (Agarwal 1972). A similar problem is also found among the tribal communities of Gujarat (Bihari 1967; Masavi 1981), and among the Kanni-kkars of Trivandrum district in Kerala (Joshi 1981).

Another important findings in the literature on tribal education is the unequal spread of education among the Scheduled Tribes. Shah and Patel found a considerable inter-tribal variation in the educational attainment of the Scheduled Tribes residing in the tribal sub-plan areas of Gujarat. For instance, tribes like the Dhodias and Chaudharis are far above the average level, while the Varlis, Rathwas, Dublas and the Katwalias are far below the average level of educational development of tribals in general. Shah and Patel also examined the social context of tribal education and found that various factors - such as, type of community of residence and the facilities for education in it, social class background, occupational status of the household head, the level of awareness of the household head regarding the available facilities and assistance for education and his perception of the importance of acquiring education - has greatly affected the educational attainments of the tribals (Shah and Patel 1985).

The study of Naik on the Bhils also revealed the unequal spread of education among the Bhil society. According to him, the economically well-off sections of the Bhil society gets the maximum educational benefits. The children of the upper crust of the Bhil society, that is, the Bhilala farmers, big patels and zamindars, have been able to go to school and take advantage of the scholarships or hostel facilities made available to them by the Government. Whereas, the poorer sections of the Bhil society find it difficult to spare a child for education as their service is required at home (Naik 1969). Similarly, in Rajasthan, education predominantly covers only one tribe, that is, the Meenas (Singhi 1979:143). Likewise, the Oraons, Mundas, Kharias and Hos have been monopolizing the education of tribals within the state of Bihar (Sachchidananda, 1970; Nambissan 1978).

Several studies on tribal education observed the unequal spread of education among men and women within the Scheduled Tribe community. As is the case in other non-tribal communities, the tribal <sup>women are far behind their</sup> ~~men~~ counterparts in terms of their educational development. Patel made a comparative study of the educational development of the tribal women with that of the Scheduled Caste women, non-Scheduled Caste/Tribe women and the tribal men in Gujarat and found that the tribal women have the lowest literacy

rate among these groups. In terms of enrolment too, the tribal women are in a much lower position than the tribal men. The coefficient of equality for tribal women starts declining as they move up towards higher level of education, which indicates a higher rate of drop-outs among tribal girls than among the tribal boys (Patel 1984). Singhi also pointed out the poor representation of tribal women in the educational institutions of Rajasthan. He describes the distribution of education in terms of men and women among the Rajasthan tribals as 'alarmingly disproportionate' (Singhi 1979).

According to Shah and Patel, the main factors hindering the education of tribal girls are that - the girls in tribal society are required to help their family in its occupational and household activities; the poor economic condition of the tribals could not afford the expenses of education; and the tradition of not sending girls to school (Shah and Patel 1985:111).

State-wise studies of the Scheduled Tribes school and college students by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) throw some light on the social background of Scheduled Tribes students, and on their educational and occupational aspirations. The studies indicate that the tribal students, and particularly college students, come from a fairly literate background when compared to the



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literacy rate of general population of the Scheduled Tribes. It is also found that a majority of students are from poor financial background. Another important finding is that there is a high concentration of students in Arts courses. The percentage of students in science and commerce is very small. The students have high educational aspirations. Majority of them wanted to obtain post-graduate degrees (Desai 1975; Sachchidananda 1975; Chitnis 1975; Dubey 1975).

Several studies have been undertaken to assess the impact of education on the Scheduled Tribe community. Naik made an attempt to examine the effect of education on the cultural life of the Bhils in Madhya Pradesh. He points out that education has a little influence as far as the social life of the Bhils is concerned. At the same time, he noted that "with the increase of education (though the process is very slow), a new leadership is emerging where the younger educated are gaining ground and becoming more popular" (Naik 1969:268).

Toppo's book on "Dynamics of Educational Development in Tribal India" analysed the various aspects of Oraon education from the primitive Dhumkuria stage to the modern stage of university. She discussed the effects of modern education on joint family, village community, kinship relations, on their dance and songs, on marriage and on

material culture. According to her, "education has certainly enabled the Oraons in changing their lives for the better; it has granted them better social status and opened flood-gates of aspirations for their children" (Toppo 1979:257).

In his book on "Tribal Education", Ambasht discussed the cultural setting of the Bihar tribes, their traditional system of education, agencies of modern education, the village schools and the impact of education on the life and culture of the tribals. He found that the introduction of modern education among the tribals has brought a number of changes in the ideational and material aspects of their culture. The use of modern amenities, knowledge and dress are some of the indicators of change in the tribal life (Ambasht 1970).

Phadke and Shukla (1982) examined the impact of higher education on the tribal students of Vyara college and found that education has affected the self-interest of the tribal students. The selection of subjects, adding more qualifications, and appearing at various competitive examinations were some instances not only of realizing self-interest but also of developing self-confidence. Due to interaction with the non-tribal students, the tribal students have developed a sense of responsibility

and a sense of consciousness of justice and propriety (Shukla and Phadke 1982).

According to Kamat, modern learning initiated two processes of change for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population in India. Firstly, education enable them to participate in the new pattern of economy, and secondly, it provides the necessary ideology to visualize the economic and social transformation. The spreading of modern education results in opportunities for occupational change and mobility for a few tribals, which leads to the formation of new tribal elites. Thus "education... and entry into new occupations hasten change, and also lead to the formation of a new social stratification" (Kamat 1985:286).

Kamat also discussed the mobility of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the context of the wider society. He sees the mobility of the SC/ST as that of a horizontal nature rather than a vertical one - that is, they are moving from a traditionally disadvantaged tribes and castes to a disadvantaged class in the modern society. He points out the low representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the government services, especially in the two higher categories of class I and II services which entails a higher socio-economic status. The bulk of Scheduled Castes and Tribes are to be found in the lower category of class III and IV services. This indicates that

inspite of the educational incentives, reservations and other privileges, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes tend to remain in the lowest rung of the social hierarchy (Kamat 1985:274).

In his article, "The Tribal Situation in Bihar", Sachchidananda briefly mentioned the educational and employment situation of the Scheduled Tribes in Bihar. According to him, most of the tribals who are at the secondary schools and at universities do not go back to work in their villages, but look for employment outside. Consequently, the number of tribals in Government services or in professions like teaching, medicine and law, has been rapidly increasing year after year. With the growth of education, unemployment among the educated tribals has been mounting fast. Again, the growth of education also leads to the emergence of middle class among the tribals of Bihar (Sachchidananda 1972).

Another point being highlighted by studies on tribal education is the role of Christian missionaries in the propagation of modern education among the Scheduled Tribes. It is through the initial efforts of Christian missionaries that education has made its first impact on many tribal societies of India. As a result, Christian tribals of today are found to be more educated than the non-Christian tribals (Dubey 1972; Nambissan 1978; Kamat 1985).

Toppo (1979) gives detailed account of the contributions made by Christian missionaries towards the development of education among the Oraons. She discussed the work of various Christian Missions such as the Gossener Evangelical Lutheran Church (G.E.L.C.), the S.P.C. Mission (The Society for the Propagation of Gospel), the Roman Catholic Church, etc., in the tribal areas of Ranchi (Toppo 1978). Sachchidananda also highlights the role of Christian missionaries towards tribal education in the Chotanagpur area of Bihar. In his book on "Culture Change in Tribal Bihar: Munda and Oraons", he points out that education has been one of the biggest achievements of the Christian missionaries even in the interior areas of Chotanagpur (Sachchidananda 1964).

Writings on the effects of the Christian Mission, Sahay commented as follows: "With conversion to Christianity people have been provided with every sort of educational facilities and now they take full advantage of them by sending their children to the schools opened by a Mission Church, in its absence, to Government schools. A significant change found among the converts is that the parents are keen to provide education to the boys and girls both without any distinction of sex, as is usually found among the non-Christians" (Sahay 1968:336).

The contributions of Christian missionaries towards the educational development of the north-east tribals



has been observed by several studies on tribal education. Downs, in his book on "Christianity in North East India" gives valuable information on the educational works of Christian missionaries among the tribals of North East India. He discussed the educational activities of various Missions, especially the Baptist Mission, since the early nineteenth century to the middle of the present century. He also brings to light the contribution of missionaries towards the development of tribal literatures (Downs 1985).

Kuzhipallil (1981) highlights the impact of the Catholic Mission on the education, literature and social life of North East India during 1890 to 1980. According to him, the Christian missionaries were the chief agents of exploration, establishment and expansion of education as far as the people of North-east India are concerned. The missionaries made a tangible literary contributions to Assamese, Garo, Manipuri, Mikir and different Naga languages. They encouraged education in regional languages and also provided facilities for English education as well. Through education, the Christian missions significantly contributed to the enhancement of civilization and cultures among the north east people (Kuzhipallil 1981).

Dubey (1972) found a positive relationship between Christianity and education among the Scheduled Tribes

of north east India. He said that Christianity has played an important role in motivating the tribals for higher and professional education, and particularly to the girls. As compared to the non-Christian tribals in the plain areas, the converted tribals of the hills are more 'urbanized' and 'westernized' in their ways of life (Dubey 1972).

Few studies have also been conducted to examine the impact of education on the Scheduled Tribe communities of north-east India. In his article, "Education, social change and political awareness among the tribes of the North East India", Dubey analysed the role of modern education in bringing about social change and political awareness among the tribals of north east region. According to him there is a direct relationship between high percentage of literacy, motivation for change, and a gradual break from the past traditions and customs. High percentage of literacy and growing education brings a change in the pattern of family and marriage, and in the economy and occupational structures of the tribal people. Moreover, the growth of education also influences the political participation and awareness of the tribal communities of north-east India (Dubey 1972).

Sarkar made a critical study on the impact of western education on the Ao tribe of Mokakchung district of Nagaland. His study revealed that education brings a

significant and positive change on the Ao Naga society. The growth of education results in progress and development in different fields, of life. A significant positive changes can be seen in their social life, dresses, social hierarchy, marriage, political role, occupations, trade and commerce, etc. (Sarkar 1979).

\* Regarding the education of Manipur tribals, several studies have attempted to highlight the specific problems of some individual tribes. Pudaite's book on "The Education of the Hmar People" deals with the educational problems of the Hmar tribes in the southern hills of Manipur. He discussed in detail the historical background of the Hmars, their socio-economic conditions, the development of modern education and its consequential impact on the life of the Hmar people. He also points out the various lapses in the educational administration and planning of the Hmars and gives useful recommendations for their future development (Pudaite 1963).

In his article on "Purum (Chothe)", Gupta observed the educational situation of the Purum communities in the southeastern part of Manipur. He discusses the available facilities for education in the Purum villages and the distribution of students in the village schools. He also briefly mentioned the educational attainment and the employment situation of the educated Purums (Gupta 1984).

Hungyo (1984) gives some information regarding the educational development of the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur East District. According to him, the coming of Christianity and the introduction of modern education bring a significant changes in the socio-economic life of the Tangkhuls. For instance, old tribal institutions such as the 'Longshim' (boys' dormitory) and 'Ngalalong' (girls' dormitory) were abandoned after the coming of Christianity. The Tangkhuls show keen interest in education and there is a tough competition among the Tangkhul villages for having Government school in their respective villages. With the rapid expansion of education, there is an increase in the number of Tangkhuls in the service sector. The problem of unemployment is also found among the educated Tangkhuls (Hungyo 1984).

Thus, from the literature reviewed above, we see that a number of studies have been carried out on the educational problem of the Scheduled Tribes in different parts of the country. We also found several studies concerning the education of the Manipur tribals. These studies give us some information regarding the educational situation of few individual tribal communities of Manipur. But they fail to provide any information on the overall situation of tribal education in the state level. Moreover,

no one has yet attempted to study the education of tribals within the context of the wider society. Therefore, there is need to study the educational development of the Scheduled Tribes in Manipur and to examine whether there exists equality of educational opportunity between the tribals and the non-tribal communities. Our present study attempts to highlight the existing situation of tribal education vis-a-vis the non-tribals and to see as to what extent education is related to the occupational mobility of the tribals.

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### CHAPTER III

#### INEQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

This chapter attempts to examine inequality of educational opportunity in terms of the unequal spread of education among the Scheduled Tribes and the non-tribal communities. Since literacy rate and enrolment are considered as the general indicators of education, we will use these two as measures to examine the educational progress of the tribals vis-a-vis the non-tribals. We will also examine the educational progress of the Scheduled Tribes in Manipur in relation to that of the Scheduled Tribes in the country as a whole. Besides discussing the inequality between tribals and non-tribals, we will also look into the inequality that exists between men and women within the tribal society as well as the non-tribal society. But, before we begin to examine inequality of educational opportunity, we will briefly discuss the growth and development of education among the tribals in Manipur.

#### GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Before the coming of Christian missionaries, education among the hill tribes of Manipur was both primitive and informal. There was no school. Educational activities

were conducted within the family and social circles. Knowledge was imparted through actual contact or practical demonstration and participation in the domestic, social and religious life of the people (Pudaite 1963:129).

Formal education was first introduced among the tribals in the late 1890s by a Christian missionary named William Pettigrew. On 6th February 1894, Pettigrew arrived in Imphal and began to work among the Hindu Meiteis. But his activities were soon curbed by the then political Agent, Major Maxwell, who was, perhaps, afraid of antagonizing the orthodox Hindu Manipuris. Pettigrew then turned his attention towards the tribal people in the surrounding hill areas. In February 1896, he established a Mission Centre at Ukhrul and began to work among the Tangkhul tribe (Downs 1971:76-79). It should be mentioned that when Pettigrew first came to Imphal in 1894, he was working under the Arthington Aboriginal Mission. But later on, i.e. in January 1896, he joined the American Baptist Foreign Mission. Therefore, the Mission Centre at Ukhrul came under the management of the American Baptist Mission (ABM).

After setting up a Mission Centre, the first thing Pettigrew did was to start a school and initiate the tribals in the art of reading and writing. "His chief objective in giving education to the tribesmen was to

propagate Christianity" (Luikham 1948:15). In spite of slow progress at the initial stage, education gradually began to spread among the tribal people. During the period 1896 and 1908 eight Lower Primary Schools were established in the Tangkhul area under the supervision of Pettigrew. Pettigrew, at that time, was both a missionary and an officiating 'State Officer in all matters affecting the day to day administration of the Hills' (Lolly 1985:32). Because of his status in the Government, all these Mission schools received aid from the State. These schools were managed by newly recruited tribal scholars from the earlier school, and they were paid by the State Government.

In 1919 the Mission Centre was shifted from Ukhrul to Kangpokpi in the Imphal-Dimapur road. Soon after the establishment of the new Centre, a Middle English School and a Leper Asylum was set up. Dr. Crozier, another missionary who arrived the previous year, looked after the dispensary while Pettigrew was in charge of all the Mission schools. From this new Mission Centre, education along with the Gospel had penetrated to many other hill tribes such as the Kukis, Marams, Thangals, Liangmeis, Rongmeis, Zemeis, Mao, etc. (Lolly 1985:54).

While the American Baptist Mission, under the leadership of Pettigrew worked in the North and Eastern

Hills of Manipur, another Mission also came up in the South Western Hills among the Kuki-Chin tribes. This Mission was found by W.R. Roberts, a Welsh missionary who worked in the neighbouring Lushai Hills. Roberts first came to Manipur Hills in 1910 in response to an invitation from the Chief of Senvon (a village inhabited by the Hmar tribe). After preaching for a few days, Roberts went back to Lushai Hills and sent three native missionaries - Savawma, Vanzika and Thangchhingpuia - to look after the new pioneer Mission (this mission was later on called the North East India General Mission). The three native missionaries reached Senvon village on May 7, 1910 and opened a school as part of their evangelical activities (Khawlkung 1985:52). This school was the first of its kind in the whole of Manipur South West. Later on, when the Mission expanded, other schools were also set up in the neighbouring villages. By 1927-28, the North East India General Mission (NEIGM) maintained 23 schools in the South West Hills areas (Henia 1981:132).

Along with the growth of Christian population there was an increase in the number of Mission schools. 'The Administration Report of the State of Manipur' shows that during 1931-32 there were 79 schools under the management of Christian Missions. Altogether 495 students (460 boys and 35 girls) were enrolled in these schools.

Before 1932, tribal education was imparted through English and tribal dialects. But "the Darbar of Manipur, in their resolution of May 20, 1931 have stated unequivocally that education in the Hills must be imparted through the medium of Manipuri" (Harvey 1931-32:18). As a result, from 1932 onwards, Manipuri was introduced in almost all the Mission schools.

During 1940-41, the American Baptist Mission in the north and eastern Hills managed two Middle English Schools - one at Kangpokpi and another at Ukhrul. Besides, they also maintained a number of primary schools in villages. During the same period, the North East India General Mission in the Southern Hills had one Middle English School and a Bible School at Churachandpur, as well as a number of village schools (Lydall 1940-41:18).

The Christian missionaries also made a significant contribution towards the development of tribal literature. Before the arrival of the missionaries, the tribals did not have written languages. The missionaries studied several tribal dialects and wrote them down with the help of Roman alphabets. For instance, Pettigrew first introduced the written language among the Tangkhul tribe, Dr. Crozier among the Kukis and Roberts among the Vaipheis (Vaiphei 1986:147). The missionaries also prepared grammar and elementary books in tribal languages to be taught in

the Mission Schools. Translation of the Gospel was a must since the basic motive behind literacy work was to "translate the Bible into the language of the people" (Luikham 1948:7).

The introduction of written language contributed significantly to the spreading of literacy among the tribals as well as to the development of tribal identity.

Thus, the Christian missionaries inspired by the zeal of spreading the Gospel became the most important agency in the spreading of education among the tribals. It was due to their perseverance and dedication that education made its first impact on the tribal society. Commenting on the work of missionaries, Roy stated that "by promoting modern education, the missionaries have not only brought these Hill men from darkness to light but also earned for them prestige and regard from others which they never had before" (Roy 1973:200).

#### POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

The Christian missionaries were the sole agency in spreading education among the tribal people in the pre-independence period. But with the dawn of independence, the Indian Government began to take a keen interest in the affairs of the Scheduled Tribes. Various schemes were planned and implemented for the educational development of the tribals. The state of Manipur, after its

integration with India in 1949, had also undertaken a number of schemes and measures for the educational development of her tribal population. These schemes include the award of Middle and Lower Primary scholarship to tribal students, monetary aid to students for the purchase of books, slates etc. reconstruction of school buildings, hostels and teachers' quarters, opening of community centres, encouragement for books on tribal dialects, and aid to voluntary agencies for educational purposes (Manipur 1970:20-38).

These various schemes of the Government for tribal communities have, no doubt, accelerated the growth of education among the tribals. As a result, the degree of educational progress of the Scheduled Tribes in post-independence period is higher than that of the previous years.

#### Literacy:

Literacy is a general, albeit rather crude, indicator of educational development. Therefore, we will examine the available data on literacy from census reports in this section. Keeping in mind the criterion of equality, we will examine the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes as compared to that of non-tribal population.

The literacy rates of Scheduled Tribes in Manipur and in India as a whole for 1961, 1971 and 1981 are given

in Table-3.1 below. For the purposes of comparison the literacy rates of general population are also given in this table.

Table-3.1: Literacy Percentage among Scheduled Tribes and General Population, India and Manipur

States/Union Territories	General Population			Scheduled Tribes		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
<b>INDIA:</b>						
1961	24.02	34.44	12.95	8.53	13.83	3.16
1971	29.45	39.45	18.70	11.30	17.63	4.85
1981	36.23	46.89	24.82	16.35	24.52	8.04
<b>MANIPUR:</b>						
1961	30.41	45.12	15.93	27.24	37.03	17.66
1971	32.91	46.91	19.52	28.70	38.63	18.86
1981	41.35	53.29	29.05	39.73	48.88	30.34

Sources: (1) Census of India, 1961, vol.I India, Part II-A (ii);  
 (2) Census of India, 1971, vol.I India, Part II-A (ii);  
 (3) Census of India, 1981, Series I, Part II-B (i).

It is evident from Table 3.1 that at the all India level the Scheduled Tribes are far behind the general population in terms of literacy. Throughout the given period, that is, from 1961 to 1981, the literacy rate for tribal population in India has been less than half of the literacy rate for the general population. During 1961, the literacy rate for general population in India was 24.02 per cent, while that of the Scheduled Tribes was only 8.53 per cent. This indicates a gap of 15.47 per cent between



the general population and the Scheduled Tribes. Both the tribal men and women have lagged behind their respective counterparts in the general population. For instance, in 1961, the literacy rate for tribal men and women was 13.83 and 3.16 per cent respectively. While that of the general population was 34.49 per cent for men and 12.95 per cent for women.

The pattern in 1971 was similar to that of 1961. The literacy rate for this year was 29.45 per cent for the general population and 11.30 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes. Between 1961 and 1971, the total women population exhibit the highest increase in literacy from 12.95 per cent to 18.70 per cent. On the contrary, the increase in literacy among tribal women, i.e. from 3.16 per cent in 1961 to 4.85 per cent in 1971, was the lowest among all sections of the population.

The literacy rate for general population increased from 29.45 per cent in 1971 to 36.23 per cent in 1981. There was a corresponding increase in tribal literacy from 11.30 per cent to 16.35 per cent. The tribal women made a significant progress during this period. For instance, their literacy rate in 1981 was 8.04 per cent, which is almost double to their literacy in 1971, i.e. 4.85 per cent.

In Manipur, the literacy rate for both the general population and the Scheduled Tribes is higher than that of the country as a whole. The tribal population of Manipur has a slightly lower literacy rate than the general population of the state. But when compared to the national literacy rates, the literacy rate among the Manipur tribals exceeds, not only that of the national literacy rates for the Scheduled Tribes, but also for the general population as well. For instance, in 1981, the literacy rate for Scheduled Tribes in Manipur was 39.73 per cent, which is slightly lower than the literacy rate of 41.38 per cent for the general population of the state. But it is comparatively higher than the national literacy rates of 36.23 per cent for general population and 16.35 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes.

The literacy rate for tribal men in Manipur continues to remain below the state literacy rate for men. But the literacy among tribal women was higher than that of the total women population in 1961 and 1981, while it was somewhat lower in 1971. The literacy rate for tribal women in 1961 was 17.66 per cent as against 15.93 per cent for the total women. In 1971, it was 18.85 per cent as against 19.52 per cent, and in 1981 it was 30.34 per cent as against 29.05 per cent. As compared to tribal women in the country as a whole, the Manipur tribal women has a much higher literacy rates. For instance, their literacy

rate in 1981 (i.e. 30.34 per cent) was almost four times the literacy rate for tribal women in the country as a whole.

Thus, the above table shows that although the Manipur tribals are in a more advantageous position when compared to the tribals in the country as a whole, they are somewhat behind the general population within the State.

Table 3.2 below gives us a clearer picture of tribal literacy as compared to that of other communities in Manipur. Apart from comparing the literacy rate of the general population with the tribal population, we have compared the literacy rate among non-SC/ST population. We wanted to remove the depressant effect of the lower literacy rate among the Scheduled Castes. Therefore, we compute the data for non-SC/ST population from the Census Reports by subtracting the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe population from the total state population.

It will be seen from Table-3.2 below that the Scheduled Tribes are in the middle of the literacy pyramid of the state. They are behind the non-SC/ST population (with the exception of tribal women), but are more advanced than the Scheduled Castes. In 1961, the literacy rate for the Scheduled Tribes was 27.24 per cent while that of the

Table-3.2: Literacy Percentage among Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Non-SC/ST Population Manipur

Communities	1961			1971			1981		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Scheduled Tribes	27.24	37.03	17.66	28.70	38.63	18.86	39.73	48.88	30.34
Scheduled Castes	22.36	31.96	12.18	26.44	36.02	15.95	33.63	41.93	24.94
Non-SC/ST	32.15	49.35	15.19	35.00	49.64	19.91	42.10	55.16	28.63
Total (General)	30.41	45.12	15.93	32.91	46.03	19.52	41.35	53.29	29.05

- Sources: (1) Census of India, 1961, vol.I, India, Part II-C(i);  
 (2) Census of India, 1971, vol.I, India, Part II-C(ii);  
 (3) Census of India, 1981, Series 13, Manipur, Part II-C.

non-SC/ST communities was 32.15 per cent. In 1971, the literacy rate for the Scheduled Tribes increased to 28.70 per cent, and that of the non-SC/ST to 35.00 per cent. This shows that the increase in literacy was higher among the non-SC/ST than the Scheduled Tribes. As a result, the disparity between the two communities was greater in 1971 than in 1961. However, between 1971 and 1981, the Scheduled Tribes made a significant progress. Their literacy rate for 1981 was 39.73 per cent, which is 11.03 per cent more than their literacy rate in 1971. The literacy rate for the non-SC/ST also increased from 35.00 per cent in 1971 to 42.10 per cent in 1981. The figures indicate that the proportional increase in literacy among the Scheduled Tribes between 1971 and 1981 is comparatively higher than that of the non-SC/ST.

The literacy rate for tribal men was 37.03 per cent in 1961, 38.63 per cent in 1971, and 48.88 per cent in 1981. The corresponding figures for non-SC/ST men was 49.35 per cent in 1961, 49.64 per cent in 1971 and 55.16 per cent in 1981. This shows that the tribal men are behind the non-SC/ST men throughout the consecutive years.

But when we look at the literacy rate among women, the situation seems to be somewhat different. Unlike their men counterparts, the tribal women have done fairly well when compared to women of other communities. For

instance, in 1961, the tribal women have a literacy rate of 17.66 per cent, which was the highest among women of all communities. The literacy rate for non-SC/ST women during this year was 15.19 per cent. During 1971, the tribal women have a slightly lower literacy rate (i.e. 18.86 per cent) than the non-SC/ST women (19.91 per cent). However, in 1981, their literacy rate of 30.34 per cent was again the highest among the women of all communities.

Thus, Table 3.2 shows that throughout the given period, the literacy rate for the total tribal population was lower than that of the non-SC/ST. The trend of literacy rate among the men also indicates that the tribal men continue to remain behind the non-SC/ST men. However, the trend among women shows that the tribal women have higher literacy rates than the non-SC/ST women, except in 1971.

Now we will look at the literacy rate of tribals living in the rural and urban areas. From Table 3.3 below, we see that the rural tribals are ~~way~~ behind the urban tribals in terms of literacy. During 1961, the literacy rate for rural tribals was 26.82 per cent, while that of the urban tribals was as high as 51.97 per cent. This shows that the literacy rate for urban tribals was almost double to that of the rural tribals.

The literacy rate for rural tribals shows a steady increase throughout the given period. It increased from 26.82 per cent in 1961 to 37.49 per cent in 1981. However, the trend for urban tribals fluctuates. For instance, it increased from 51.97 per cent in 1961 to 58.30 per cent in 1971, after which it again declined to 56.73 per cent in 1981.

Table-3.3: Rural and Urban Literacy Rates among the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur

Community		1961	1971	1981
<b>SCHEDULED TRIBES:</b>				
Rural	Total	26.82	27.32	37.49
	Male	36.42	37.18	46.71
	Female	17.48	17.58	28.04
Urban	Total	51.97	58.30	56.73
	Male	67.37	68.37	65.23
	Female	30.62	47.47	47.92
Total	Total	27.24	28.70	39.73
	Male	37.03	38.63	48.88
	Female	17.66	18.86	30.34

Source: Same as of Table 3.2 above.

The literacy rates for tribal men in 1961 was 36.42 per cent in rural areas and 67.37 per cent in urban areas. In 1971, the literacy for tribal men in both the rural and urban areas had a slight increase. It increases to 37.18 per cent in the rural areas and 68.37 per cent in the urban areas. During 1981, the literacy rate for tribal men in

the rural areas significantly increased to 46.71 per cent. But surprisingly, the literacy rate for urban men had declined to 65.23 per cent.

Among tribal women, the literacy rate for the year 1961 was 17.48 per cent in the rural areas and 30.62 per cent in the urban areas. This indicates a gap of 13.14 per cent between the tribal women living in the rural and urban areas. The literacy rate for tribal women in the rural areas marginally increased from 17.48 per cent in 1961 to 17.58 per cent in 1971. Whereas in the urban areas, there was a substantial increase from 30.62 per cent to 47.47 per cent during the same period. Contrarily in 1981, the increase in literacy among tribal women was higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas. The literacy rates for 1981 was 28.04 per cent in the rural areas and 47.92 per cent in the urban areas.

Hence, we see that there is a significant difference between tribals living in the rural and urban areas in terms of literacy. We also see that although both tribal men and women in rural areas have considerably lagged behind their respective counterparts in the urban areas, the disparity among the women is greater than that of the men.

#### Gender Inequality in Terms of Literacy:

As far as equality between the sexes is concerned, the women of all communities are behind their men



counterparts in terms of literacy. It is evident from Table 3.1 that a great disparity exists between the sexes among the tribal population as well as the general population in India. For instance, literacy rate for the total women in 1961 was 12.95 per cent as against 34.44 per cent for the total men. In 1971, it was 18.70 per cent as against 39.45 per cent, and in 1981 it was 24.82 per cent against 46.89 per cent. This shows that although women continue to remain behind the men, the disparity between the two has been gradually declining over the years.

Gender inequality is felt more intensely among the tribal population than the general population at the national level. For instance, in 1961, the literacy rate for tribal men was 13.83 per cent, which is more than four times the literacy rate for tribal women (3.16%). However, as is the case in the general population, sex disparity among the tribals also shows a declining trend in the following years.

In Manipur too, the women of all communities are behind their men counterparts in terms of literacy (Table 3.2). During 1961, the literacy rate for tribal men was 37.03 per cent, which is more than two times the literacy rate for tribal women, i.e. 17.66 per cent. Similarly, the literacy rate among the non-SC/ST men in 1961 (i.e.

49.35 per cent) was also much higher than the literacy rate for non-SC/ST women (i.e. 15.19 per cent). Disparity between the sexes exists persistently throughout the given period. Nevertheless, a gradual decline in the gap between men and women has been witnessed among the tribals as well as the non-SC/ST communities. For instance, in 1981, the literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes was 48.88 per cent for men and 30.34 per cent for women. This shows that the gap between tribal men and women has become remarkably small in 1981 as compared to the situation in 1961. The same trend is also seen among the non-SC/ST communities.

Table 3.2 also indicates that the disparity between men and women is comparatively lower among the tribals than among the non-SC/ST. This can be mainly attributed to the relative freedom of women in a tribal society. Various studies on tribal society show that tribal women enjoy a comparatively higher degree of freedom than the non-tribal women. For example, Horam (1977) highlights the freedom of women in a Tangkhul society. According to him, a Tangkhul woman enjoys considerable freedom all her life and "she is never made to feel that she belongs to the weaker sex" (Horam 1977:62). Haimendorf also said that women in the Naga Hills have a higher status, a freer and happier life than many women in the more civilized

parts of India (Haimendorf 1939).

Thus, from the above literacy data, we could roughly infer that as far as literacy is concerned, the tribal communities of Manipur are still behind the non-SC/ST population. However, when compared to the tribals in the country as a whole, the tribals of Manipur are in a more advantageous position. Again, a separate examination shows that tribal women are more advanced than the non-SC/ST women. The disparity between men and women is also greater in the case of non-SC/ST, though it is found in both the communities. Lastly, considerable variation is found among the Scheduled Tribes living in the rural and urban areas.

#### Enrolment:

So far we have examined inequality of educational opportunity in terms of literacy rates. But literacy alone is not an adequate indicator of educational development. Therefore, we will also examine the enrolment of tribals in various educational institutions as compared to the enrolment of other communities. A look into the extent of coverage will tell us whether there is equality between the tribals and non-tribals in terms of enrolment.

#### Extent of Coverage:

The extent of coverage of Scheduled Tribes is defined as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Percentage enrolment of Scheduled Tribes to total enrolment}}{\text{Percentage of Scheduled Tribes population to total population}} \times 100$$

If equal educational opportunities were provided to Scheduled Tribes and non-Scheduled Tribe communities, the extent of coverage would be hundred. In other words, the percentage enrolment of Scheduled Tribes to total enrolment would be equal to the percentage of Scheduled Tribe population to total population. If the extent of coverage is less than 100, it would mean that the Scheduled Tribes are lagging behind the general population in their educational development. An index greater than 100 indicates that the Scheduled Tribes are more advanced in education than the general population (India 1970-71 :4).

Tables 3.4 and 3.6 give a comparative picture regarding the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes at different stages of education in India and Manipur. The extent of coverage is given in Tables 3.5 and 3.7. From Table 3.4 we find that at the national level, the proportion of Scheduled Tribes enrolment at primary stage marginally increased from 5.0 per cent in 1960-61 to 6.3 per cent in 1980-81. During the same period, the increase at the middle stage was from 3.3 per cent to 3.4 per cent. While that of high/higher secondary stage was from 1.3 per cent to 2.9 per cent. It will be seen that the percentage enrolment of Scheduled Tribes to the total enrolment is not the same at all stages of school education. For instance, in 1980-81, the percentage of Scheduled Tribe

Table-3.4: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes by Stages of Education, India and Manipur

Type of Institutions	INDIA			MANIPUR		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
	-61	-71	-81	-61	-71	-81

PRIMARY STAGE:

Total	5.0	4.8	6.3	30.7	38.3	34.7
Boys	5.4	5.4	6.9	31.8	40.9	34.9
Girls	4.2	3.7	5.3	28.8	34.2	34.3

MIDDLE STAGE:

Total	3.3	2.8	3.4	27.5	34.6	31.3
Boys	3.7	3.0	3.7	28.1	35.1	34.9
Girls	2.5	2.3	2.8	25.9	33.5	25.8

HIGH/HIGHER  
SECONDARY STAGE:

Total	1.3	2.3	2.9	17.7	19.1	24.2
Boys	1.4	2.5	3.2	18.7	19.8	25.4
Girls	0.8	1.9	2.5	13.9	17.5	22.2

- Sources: (1) Education in India 1960-61, vol.I;  
 (2) Progress of Education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1964-65;  
 (3) Progress of Education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1970-71;  
 (4) Handbook of Educational and Allied Statistics, Ministry of Human Resources Development, New Delhi, 1987;  
 (5) Statewise information on the education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi, 1985.

enrolment to total enrolment at primary stage was 6.3 per cent. At middle stage, the percentage enrolment of Scheduled Tribes had gone down to 3.4 per cent, and at high/higher secondary stage, it had further gone down to 2.9 per cent only.

The general pattern is true for Manipur as well. The proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment at primary stage has increased from 30.76 per cent in 1960-61 to 34.71 per cent in 1980-81. During the same period, the proportional increase at the middle stage was from 27.58 per cent to 31.31 per cent, while at the high/higher secondary stage, it was from 17.79 per cent to 24.29 per cent. Similarly, the proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment in Manipur also varies according to the level of education. For instance, the proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment during 1980-81 was 34.71 per cent at primary, 31.33 per cent at middle stage and 24.29 per cent at the high/higher secondary stage, showing a tendency of decline towards higher education.

Thus, in India as well as in Manipur, we see that while the proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment at each stage increased over time, there was a tendency of decline in the enrolment rate as we proceed towards higher education.

The extent of coverage (Table 3.5 below) clearly indicates that, as far as school enrolment is concerned, the position of Manipur tribals is comparatively better than that of the tribals in the country as a whole. For instance, in 1980-81, at the national level, the extent of coverage at primary stage was 80.8 as against 127.1 in Manipur. Similarly, at the middle stage, it was 43.6 as against 114.7 and at the high/higher secondary it was 27.2 as against 88.9.

Table-3.5: Extent of Coverage for Scheduled Tribes at Different Stages of Education (India and Manipur)

Types of Institutions	India			Manipur		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
	-61	-71	-81	-61	-71	-81
Primary Stage	73.5	69.6	80.8	93.3	122.8	127.1
Middle Stage	48.5	40.6	43.6	86.3	110.9	114.7
High/Higher Secondary Stage	19.1	33.3	37.3	55.6	61.2	88.9

Source: Same as of Table-3.4.

Now we will look at the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in institutions meant for vocational/technical education, general higher education and professional and other higher education. Since the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in these institutions in Manipur during 1960-61 was negligible, we will take 1964-65 data as a starting point. Again, as the data for 1980-81 is not yet available,

we have reduced our study period to 1978-79. It should also be mentioned that we have used the 1961 and 1981 census population for computing the extent of coverage for 1964-65 and 1978-79 respectively.

Table-3.6 below shows that at the national level, the proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment in vocational/technical schools marginally increased from 5.3 per cent in 1964-65 to 6.5 per cent in 1978-79. But in the case of Manipur, there was a decline from 28.5 per cent to 18.9 per cent during the same period. It is interesting to note that the proportion of tribal girls' enrolment at the national level had more than doubled from 5.0 per cent in 1964-65 to 10.6 per cent in 1978-79. The corresponding figure in Manipur shows that the proportion had decreased from 38.5 per cent to 22.5 per cent.

In case of general higher education, the proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment at the national level as well as at the concerned state level shows an increasing trend. At the national level, it increased marginally from 1.0 per cent in 1964-65 to 1.3 per cent in 1978-79. The increase in Manipur, however, is much more significant; it has gone up from 11.4 per cent to 17.0 per cent during the same period. The same trend is reflected in the enrolment of tribal girls at both the national and state level.



Table-3.6: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in Vocational/Technical Schools, Professional and General Higher Education, India and Manipur

Types of Institutions	India			Manipur		
	1964	1970	1978	1964	1970	1978
	-6.5	-7.1	-7.9	-6.5	-7.1	-7.9
Vocational/Technical Schools:						
Total	5.3	2.9	6.5	28.5	22.7	18.9
Girls	5.0	1.9	10.6	38.5	25.8	22.5
General Higher Education:						
Total	1.0	1.1	1.3	11.4	13.1	17.0
Girls	0.7	0.8	1.4	4.7	6.0	12.8
Professional & Other Higher Education:						
Total	0.7	1.1	1.8	20.1	17.8	20.1
Girls	0.5	1.4	2.3	-	23.7	23.5

Source: Same as of Table-3.4.

Note: Separate data for boys not available.

So far as professional and other higher education is concerned, the national level shows a marginal increase from 0.7 per cent in 1964-65 to 1.8 per cent in 1978-79. But in Manipur, the proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment declined from 20.1 per cent in 1964-65 to 17.8 per cent in 1970-71. However, in 1978-79, the proportion has gone up again to 20.1 per cent. This shows a stagnant situation, while the proportion of tribal girls' enrolment at the national level experienced an increase from

0.5 per cent in 1964-65 to 2.3 per cent in 1978-79, there was a marginal decline in Manipur from 23.7 per cent in 1970-71 to 23.5 per cent in 1978-79.

The extent of coverage table (Table 3.7) shows that at the national level, there was an increasing tendency of coverage in all the three educational categories. Vocational and technical schools experienced an increase of coverage from 77.9 in 1964-65 to 83.3 in 1978-79 as against the declining tendency of Manipur from 89.3 to 69.4 during the same period.

The extent of coverage in case of general higher education and professional education at the national level were extremely low (although there was a tendency of increase). In general higher education, the extent of

Table-3.7: Extent of Coverage for Scheduled Tribes in Vocational/Technical schools, Professional and General Higher Education, India and Manipur

Types of Institutions	India			Manipur		
	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79
Vocational and Technical Schools	77.9	42.0	83.3	89.3	72.8	69.4
General Higher Education	14.7	15.9	16.7	35.9	42.0	62.41
Professional and other Higher Education	10.3	15.9	23.1	63.2	57.1	73.6

Source: Same as of Table 3.4.

coverage increased from 14.7 in 1964-65 to 16.7 in 1978-79. But the corresponding figure of Manipur shows a significant increase from 35.9 to 66.41 during the same period. In the case of professional and other higher education, the extent of coverage increased from 10.3 in 1964-65 to 23.1 in 1978-79; the corresponding figure of Manipur shows an increase from 63.2 to 73.6 during the same period.

Thus, from Tables-3.4 to 3.7, we can infer that as far as enrolment at the school level is concerned, the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur are in a more advantageous position than the Scheduled Tribes at the national level. In the case of enrolment in vocational/technical schools, the position of Manipur tribals is more or less the same as at the national level. But in professional and general higher education the position of Scheduled Tribes in Manipur is comparatively better than the Scheduled Tribes in the country as a whole.

So far we had examined the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in Manipur as compared to the national enrolment for Scheduled Tribes. Now we will make a comparative examination of the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and non-SC/ST communities within the state of Manipur.

Firstly, we will examine the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes vis-a-vis the enrolment of non-SC/ST at all stages

of education during 1960-61, 1970-71 and 1978-79. Table-3.8 shows that the enrolment rate for Scheduled Tribes as well as the non-SC/ST fluctuates during the given period. So far as Scheduled Tribes are concerned, the total enrolment in 1960-61 was 28.60 per cent. This has significantly gone up to 34.26 per cent in 1970-71. But in 1978-79 it has gone down again to 30.73 per cent. The same pattern is also seen among the tribal boys as well as the tribal girls. The proportion of tribal boys' enrolment increased from 29.17 per cent in 1960-61 to 35.72 per cent in 1970-71,

Table-3.8: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST at All Levels of Education, Manipur

Community	Percentage of Enrolment to Total Enrolment		
	1960-61	1970-71	1978-79
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	28.60	34.26	30.73
Boys	29.17	35.72	30.29
Girls	27.31	31.81	31.33
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	70.00	63.95	67.61
Boys	69.56	62.57	68.15
Girls	72.22	66.26	66.87

- Sources: (1) Education in the States: A Statistical Survey, 1960-61, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India;
- (2) Progress of Education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1964-65;
- (3) Progress of Education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1970-71;

contd...

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- (4) Provisional Statistics of Education in the States, 1970-71;
- (5) Statewise Information on Education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1985.

and again decreased to 30.29 per cent in 1978-79.

Similarly, the proportion of tribal girls' enrolment reached a maximum level of 31.81 per cent in 1970-71, after which it declined to 31.33 per cent in 1978-79.

In the case of the non-SC/ST, the total enrolment rate has declined tremendously from 70.00 per cent in 1960-61 to 63.95 per cent in 1970-71. However, in 1978-79, it again increased to 67.61 per cent. The break-up rates for both the sexes also exhibit a similar trend. The enrolment of non-SC/ST boys declined from 69.56 per cent in 1960-61 to 62.57 per cent in 1970-71, and again increased to 68.15 per cent in 1978-79. Similarly, the proportion of non-SC/ST girls' enrolment declined from 72.22 per cent in 1960-61 to 66.26 per cent in 1970-71, which again increased from 66.87 per cent in 1978-79.

Interestingly, the proportion of non-SC/ST girls' enrolment to the total number of girls' enrolment was higher than the proportional enrolment of non-SC/ST boys till 1970-71, after which it became lower than that of the boys. The opposite is the case with the Scheduled Tribes, wherein the proportion of tribal girls' enrolment has been lower than the proportion of tribal boys' enrolment till 1970-71.

Now if we look at the picture in terms of extent of coverage, we find that during 1960-61, the extent of coverage for Scheduled Tribes (89.57) was lower than that of the non-SC/ST, i.e. 105.48 (see Table-3.9 below). But from 1970-71 onwards, the extent of coverage for Scheduled Tribes has gradually increased while that of the non-SC/ST decreased. For instance, the extent of coverage for Scheduled Tribes increased from 109.87 in 1970-71 to 112.56 in 1978-79. Whereas that of the non-SC/ST decreased from 95.03 in 1970-71 to 94.68 in 1978-79. This indicates that till 1960-61, the non-SC/ST were more advanced than the Scheduled Tribes in terms of enrolment at all stages of education. But ever since 1970-71, they have lagged behind the Scheduled Tribes.

Table-3.9: Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST Population at All Levels of Education, Manipur

Communities	Extent of Coverage		
	1960-61	1970-71	1978-79
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	89.57	109.87	112.56
Boys	91.67	116.20	117.15
Girls	82.26	100.56	114.51
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	105.48	95.03	94.63
Boys	104.75	92.47	95.32
Girls	108.91	99.05	93.66

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

Further, the table also reveals that among the Scheduled Tribes, the extent of coverage for tribal boys was higher than that of the tribal girls till 1970-71. But interestingly, in 1978-79, the extent of coverage for tribal girls was higher than that of the tribal boys. For instance, in 1960-61 the extent of coverage for tribal boys was 91.67, which was higher than the extent of coverage of 82.26 for tribal girls. But in 1978-79, the extent of coverage for tribal boys was 111.15 as against 114.51 for tribal girls.

In the case of the non-SC/ST, the pattern is just the opposite. The extent of coverage for non-SC/ST girls was higher than that of the non-SC/ST boys till 1970-71, after which the situation was reversed.

Now we will separately examine the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes vis-a-vis the non-SC/ST at different levels of education. Table-3.10 and 3.11 give the enrolment rate and extent of coverage at the primary level respectively.

From Table-3.10 we see that the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes at the primary level increased significantly from 30.76 per cent in 1960-61 to 38.30 per cent in 1970-71. But in 1980-81, it decreased to 34.70 per cent.

Table-3.10: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Primary Schools, Manipur

Communities	% of Enrolment to Total Enrolment		
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	30.76	38.30	34.71
Boys	31.80	40.94	34.94
Girls	28.80	34.29	34.43
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	67.70	59.75	62.68
Boys	66.83	57.13	62.60
Girls	69.40	63.60	62.80

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

The tribal boys' enrolment, though it continues to remain above the total tribal enrolment rate, experienced fluctuation as well. For instance, it reached a maximum level of 40.94 per cent in 1970-71, after which, it has declined to 34.94 per cent in 1980-81. In the case of tribal girls, although the proportion continues to remain below that of the total population, it exhibits a tendency of gradual increase from 28.80 per cent in 1960-61 to 34.43 per cent in 1980-81.

So far as non-SC/ST are concerned the total enrolment has declined from 67.70 per cent in 1960-61 to 62.68 per cent in 1980-81. Further, the break-up rate for both



the sexes shows a declining trend. The non-SC/ST boys' enrolment has declined from 66.83 per cent in 1960-61 to 62.60 per cent in 1980-81. Similarly, the non-SC/ST girls' enrolment shows a steady decline from 69.40 per cent in 1960-61 to 62.80 per cent in 1980-81.

The extent of coverage shows that since 1970-71, the Scheduled Tribes enjoyed a better position when compared with the non-SC/ST (Table-3.11). The extent of coverage for Scheduled Tribes was 93.34 during 1960-61. In 1970-71, it increased to 122.80, which again increased to 127.14 in 1980-81. On the contrary, the extent of coverage for the non-SC/ST shows a sharp decline from 102.01 in 1960-61 to 87.73 in 1980-81.

Table-3.11: Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Primary Schools, Manipur

Communities	Extent of Coverage		
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	93.34	122.80	127.14
Boys	99.94	133.18	128.22
Girls	89.96	108.40	125.84
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	102.01	88.79	87.73
Boys	100.64	84.43	87.56
Girls	104.60	95.08	87.96

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

At the middle school level too, the Scheduled Tribes have made substantial progress during the given period. For example, the percentage of Scheduled Tribes enrolment increased from 27.58 per cent in 1960-61 to 31.31 per cent in 1980-81. The enrolment of tribal boys also increased from 28.19 per cent in 1960-61 to 34.94 per cent in 1980-81. However, the enrolment of tribal girls registered a significant increase from 25.99 per cent in 1960-61 to 33.53 per cent in 1970-71, after which it sharply declined to 25.89 per cent in 1980-81.

Table 3.12: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Middle Schools, Manipur

Communities	% of Enrolment to Total Enrolment		
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	27.58	34.60	31.33
Boys	28.19	35.16	34.94
Girls	25.99	33.53	25.89
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	71.40	64.01	66.53
Boys	70.78	63.63	63.44
Girls	73.26	64.74	71.38

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

In the case of the non-SC/ST, the enrolment declined from 71.40 per cent in 1960-61 to 66.53 per cent in 1980-81. The enrolment rate for both the non-SC/ST

boys and girls also exhibits a declining trend. For instance, it declined from 70.78 per cent in 1960-61 to 63.44 per cent in 1980-81 in the case of the boys and from 73.26 per cent to 71.38 for the girls.

The extent of coverage for the Scheduled Tribes in the middle school was 86.31 in 1960-61, 110.90 in 1970-71 and 114.76 in 1980-81 (Table 3.13). The extent of coverage for tribal boys exhibited a steady progress from 88.60 in 1960-61 to 128.22 in 1980-81. In the case of tribal girls, the extent of coverage substantially increased from 81.14 in 1960-61 to 106.00 in 1970-71. But surprisingly in 1980-81, it again sharply declined to 94.63.

Table-3.13: Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Middle School, Manipur

Communities	Extent of Coverage		
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	86.31	110.9	114.76
Boys	88.60	114.37	128.22
Girls	81.14	106.00	94.63
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	107.59	95.12	93.12
Boys	106.59	94.04	88.73
Girls	110.48	96.78	100.00

Source: same as Table-3.8.

The corresponding extent of coverage for the non-SC/ST was 107.59 in 1960-61, 95.12 in 1970-71 and 93.12 in 1980-81, showing a declining tendency over the years. The extent of coverage for non-SC/ST boys had also declined from 106.59 in 1960-61 to 88.73 in 1980-81. However, in the case of the non-SC/ST girls, the extent of coverage declined from 110.48 in 1960-61 to 96.78 in 1970-71. But in 1980-81, it again increased to 100.00.

From Table-3.14 below, it is evident that the proportion of Scheduled Tribes' enrolment is comparatively lower at the high/higher secondary level than at the primary and middle levels. Nevertheless the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes at the high/higher secondary level show a steady progress from 17.79 per cent in 1960-61 to 24.28 per cent in 1980-81. The proportion of tribal boys' enrolment also increased significantly from 18.71 per cent in 1960-61 to 25.46 per cent in 1980-81. The corresponding increase among tribal girls was from 13.93 per cent to 22.25 per cent during the same period.

Contrarily, the proportion of non-SC/ST enrolment is higher at the high/higher secondary level as compared to their enrolment at the primary and middle levels. But even in this case, the enrolment of non-SC/ST shows a steady decline from 81.01 per cent in 1960-61 to 74.41 per cent in 1980-81. A similar declining trend is seen

Table-3.14: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in High/Higher Secondary Schools, Manipur

Communities	% Enrolment to total Enrolment		
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81
Scheduled Tribes:			
Total	17.78	19.10	24.28
Boys	18.71	19.86	25.46
Girls	13.93	17.55	22.25
Non-SC/ST:			
Total	81.01	79.34	74.41
Boys	80.36	78.38	73.24
Girls	83.68	81.24	76.45

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

among the non-SC/ST boys as well as the non-SC/ST girls. The decrease in enrolment rate was from 80.36 per cent in 1960-61 to 73.24 per cent in 1980-81 for the non-SC/ST boys. While among the non-SC/ST girls, it was from 83.68 per cent to 76.45 per cent during the same period.

If we look at the picture in terms of extent of coverage we find that the position of non-SC/ST at the high/higher secondary level is comparatively better than that of the Scheduled Tribes. However, the extent of coverage for the non-SC/ST shows a declining trend while that of the Scheduled Tribes increases. In 1960-61 the extent of coverage for the Scheduled Tribes was barely

55.69. But in 1980-81, it had significantly gone up to 88.93. The extent of coverage for tribal boys also increased from 58.80 in 1960-61 to 93.43 in 1980-81. While that of the tribal girls increased from 43.50 to 81.32 during the same period. (Table-3.15),

Table-3.15: Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes and non-SC/ST in High/Higher Secondary Schools, Manipur

Communities	Extent of Coverage		
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81
Scheduled Tribes:			
Total	55.69	61.2	88.93
Boys	58.80	64.60	93.43
Girls	43.50	55.48	81.32
Non-SC/ST:			
Total	122.07	117.90	104.15
Boys	121.02	108.24	102.44
Girls	126.19	121.45	107.08

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

In the case of the non-SC/ST, the extent of coverage sharply declined from 122.07 in 1960-61 to 104.15 in 1980-81. Similarly, the extent of coverage for the non-SC/ST boys and girls declined from 121.02 to 102.49 and from 126.19 to 107.08 respectively. It is interesting to note that throughout the given period, the Scheduled Tribes continues to remain behind the non-SC/ST although there was a steady increase in their extent of coverage.

So far as enrolment in vocational/technical schools is concerned, the proportion of Scheduled Tribes exhibit a sharp decline from 28.58 per cent in 1964-65 to 18.95 per cent in 1978-79. The same trend is reflected in the enrolment of tribal boys and girls. In the case of the tribal boys the decrease in enrolment rate was from 23.73 per cent in 1964-65 to 16.26 per cent in 1978-79. Whereas among the tribal girls, it declined from 38.53 per cent in 1964-65 to 22.57 per cent in 1978-79. One interesting point to note here is that for the first time, the proportion of tribal girls' enrolment exceeds the proportion of tribal boys' enrolment throughout the given period. For instance, in 1978-79, the proportion of tribal girls' enrolment was 22.57 per cent as against 16.26 per cent for the boys.

Table-3.16: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Vocational/Technical School, Manipur

Communities	% of Enrolment to Total Enrolment		
	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79
scheduled Tribes:			
Total	28.53	22.70	18.95
Boys	23.73	20.66	16.26
Girls	38.53	25.88	22.57
Non-SC/ST:			
Total	70.95	75.35	81.50
Boys	75.49	78.32	88.03
Girls	61.46	70.71	72.87

The enrolment of non-SC/ST population in vocational/technical schools show a tendency of gradual increase from 70.95 per cent in 1964-65 to 81.50 per cent in 1978-79. The corresponding increase among the non-SC/ST boys was from 75.49 per cent to 88.03 per cent. While it was from 61.46 per cent to 72.87 per cent among the non-SC/ST girls. It should be noted here that contrary to the case among Scheduled Tribes, the proportion of non-SC/ST enrolment in vocational/technical schools has been lower than that of the non-SC/ST boys.

The extent of coverage table clearly indicates that the Scheduled Tribes have lagged behind the non-SC/ST in terms of enrolment in vocational/technical schools (Table-3.17). Moreover, the extent of coverage for Scheduled

Table-3.17: Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Vocational/Technical Schools, Manipur

Communities	Extent of Coverage		
	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	89.35	72.80	69.41
Boys	74.59	67.23	59.66
Girls	121.82	81.82	82.49
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	106.91	111.97	114.08
Boys	113.68	115.75	123.14
Girls	92.68	105.71	102.07

Source: Same as Table-3.8.



Tribes show a declining trend from 89.35 in 1964-65 to 69.41 in 1978-79. During the same period, the extent of coverage for tribal boys have sharply gone down from 74.59 to 59.66. In the case of tribal girls, the extent of coverage was 121.82 in 1964-65. But in 1970-71 it has a sharp decline to 81.82, and it again marginally increased to 82.49 in 1978-79.

So far as non-SC/ST are concerned, the extent of coverage exhibit a healthy tendency of gradual increase from 106.91 in 1964-65 to 114.08 in 1978-79. Similarly, the proportional increase for non-SC/ST boys was from 113.68 to 123.14, while for the non-SC/ST girls it was from 92.68 to 102.07 during the same period.

The proportion of Scheduled Tribes enrolment in the universities and colleges of general education is also considerably low, (Table-3.18). In 1964-65, the enrolment rate for Scheduled Tribes was 11.47 per cent. This had slightly increased to 13.10 per cent in 1970-71, after which it again significantly increased to 17.04 per cent in 1978-79. The enrolment rate for tribal boys also increased from 12.76 per cent in 1964-65 to 19.36 per cent in 1978-79; with a corresponding increase from 4.70 per cent to 12.85 per cent among the tribal girls. The figures indicate that the proportion of tribal girls enrolment in colleges and universities of general education is much lower than the proportion of tribal boys enrolment.

Table-3.18: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Universities/Colleges of General Education, Manipur

Communities	% of Enrolment to Total Enrolment		
	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	11.47	13.1	17.04
Boys	12.76	15.24	19.36
Girls	4.70	6.07	12.85
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	87.79	86.40	81.52
Boys	86.42	84.24	79.04
Girls	95.01	93.45	86.04

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

The enrolment rate for non-SC/ST in colleges and universities of general education decreased from 87.79 per cent in 1964-65 to 81.52 per cent in 1978-79. The same trend is reflected by the enrolment rate of non-SC/ST boys and girls. Interestingly, the proportion of non-SC/ST girls enrolment <sup>is</sup> higher than the proportion of non-SC/ST boys enrolment throughout the given period. For instance, the proportion of non-SC/ST girls enrolment was 95.01 per cent as against 86.42 per cent for the non-SC/ST in 1964-65. In 1970-71, it was 93.45 per cent as against 84.24 per cent, and in 1978-79, it was 86.01 per cent as against 79.04 per cent for the non-SC/ST boys.

Table-3.19: Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Universities/Colleges of General Education, Manipur

Communities	Extent of Coverage		
	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79
Scheduled Tribes:			
Total	35.93	42.00	62.41
Boys	40.11	49.59	71.04
Girls	14.67	19.22	46.96
Non-SC/ST:			
Total	132.29	121.14	120.94
Boys	130.15	116.81	117.83
Girls	143.28	128.58	130.90

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

The extent of coverage for Scheduled Tribes in colleges and universities of general education gradually increased from 35.93 in 1964-65 to 62.42 in 1978-79. For the tribal boys, the extent of coverage increased from 40.11 to 71.04 and for tribal girls it increased from 14.67 to 46.96. The corresponding extent of coverage for non-SC/ST was 132.29 in 1964-65, 121.14 in 1970-71 and 120.94 in 1978-79, showing a tendency of gradual decline. The extent of coverage for non-SC/ST boys declined from 130.15 in 1964-65 to 117.83 in 1978-79. Similarly, the extent of coverage for non-SC/ST girls also gradually decline from 143.28 to 130.90 during the same period. The overall picture in this table

indicates that the non-SC/ST are in a far more advantageous position than the Scheduled Tribes in terms of enrolment in colleges and universities of general education.

Table-3.20 below shows that the enrolment rate of Scheduled Tribes is slightly better in the field of professional education than in general higher education. But even in this case, the Scheduled Tribes are still far behind the non-SC/ST population. The proportion of scheduled Tribes enrolment in professional education was 20.19 per cent in 1964-65, 17.80 per cent in 1970-71 and 20.10 per cent in 1978-79. This shows a somewhat stagnate situation. The enrolment rate for tribal boys was 20.86 per cent in 1964-65, which marginally declined to 19.13 per cent in 1978-79. No tribal girls were

Table-3.20: Percentage Enrolment of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Professional Education, Manipur

Communities	% of Enrolment to Total Enrolment		
	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	20.19	17.8	20.10
Boys	20.86	19.40	19.13
Girls	-	23.75	23.52
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	79.80	78.50	76.49
Boys	79.13	79.01	77.52
Girls	100	71.25	72.86

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

enrolled for professional education in 1964-65. But in 1970-71, the enrolment percentage for tribal girls (i.e. 23.75 per cent) exceeds the enrolment percentage for tribal boys (19.40 per cent).

The enrolment percentage for the non-SC/ST shows a declining trend. For instance, it declined from 19.13 per cent in 1964-65 to 77.52 per cent in 1978-79 for the non-SC/ST boys, and from 100 to 72.86 per cent for the non-SC/ST girls.

The extent of coverage for the Scheduled Tribes was 63.23 in 1964-65, 57.10 in 1970-71 and 73.62 in 1978-79. In 1970-71 the extent of coverage for tribal girls was 75.08 as against 63.10 for the tribal boys, and in 1978-79, it was 85.96 as against 70.20.

The corresponding extent of coverage for the non-SC/ST was 120.25 in 1964-65, 116.65 in 1970-71 and 107.06 in 1978-79. The extent of coverage for non-SC/ST women in 1964-65 was 150.80, which was higher than the extent of coverage of 119.17 for the non-SC/ST boys. But from 1970-71 onwards, the extent of coverage for non-SC/ST girls has been lower than that of the non-SC/ST boys. For instance, in 1970-71 it was 106.51 as against 116.77 for the non-SC/ST boys, and in 1978-79, it was 102.06 as against 108.43.

Table-3.21: Extent of Coverage of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST in Professional Educational, Manipur

Communities	Extent of Coverage		
	1964-65	1970-71	1978-79
<b>Scheduled Tribes:</b>			
Total	63.23	57.10	73.62
Boys	65.57	63.10	70.20
Girls	-	75.08	85.96
<b>Non-SC/ST:</b>			
Total	120.25	116.65	107.06
Boys	119.17	116.77	108.43
Girls	150.80	106.51	102.06

Source: Same as Table-3.8.

Thus, our examination of the enrolment and extent of coverage of Scheduled Tribes and non-SC/ST communities shows that the tribals enjoy a comparatively better position than the non-SC/ST as far as primary and middle school education is concerned. But when it comes to higher education, the tribals have still lagged behind the non-SC/ST. The above data also shows that the percentage enrolment of tribal boys was higher than that of the tribal girls in most of the cases. This indicates that the tribal boys are in a better position than the tribal girls when compared to the non-SC/ST boys and girls respectively.

Hence, in the present chapter we observed that, in terms of literacy as well as enrolment, the tribals

of Manipur are in a far more advantageous position than the tribals in the country as a whole. Within Manipur, the situation of tribals in terms of literacy is fairly good, although they still lag behind the non-SC/ST communities. The tribal women of Manipur have a higher literacy rate than the non-SC/ST women; while the tribal men are behind the non-SC/ST men.

A great disparity by type of habitat is found within the tribal society. Tribals living in the urban areas enjoy a comparatively better position than those living in the rural areas.

Again, gender inequality in terms of literacy is found among the Scheduled Tribes as well as the non-SC/ST communities. But it is more intensely felt among the non-SC/ST than among the tribals.

So far as enrolment is concerned, the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur show a substantial progress during the past few decades. Till 1960-61, the non-SC/ST have a better enrolment position than the Scheduled Tribes in all levels of education. But from 1970-71, onwards, the Scheduled Tribes exceeds the non-SC/ST in primary and middle school enrolment.

The enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in higher education also exhibit a tendency of gradual progress, with the exception of vocational/technical education where the enrolment of tribals declines over time. However, in spite of the gradual progress, the Scheduled Tribes continues to remain behind the non-SC/ST in terms of enrolment at the higher levels of education.

A break-up by sex revealed that the proportion of tribal boys enrolment was higher than that of the tribal

girls in all types of education, except in vocational/technical education where the tribal girls enjoy a better position. The opposite is the case among the non-SC/ST wherein the proportion of girls enrolment is higher than the boys enrolment.

Lastly, the tribal women have considerably lagged behind the non-SC/ST women in terms of enrolment in higher education. This is quite interesting. Because, if we recalled their literacy rates, we should remember that the tribal women have higher literacy rate than the non-SC/ST women.

In the next chapter we will try to establish a link between education and occupational mobility.

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CHAPTER IV  
EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

The term 'Occupational Mobility' is derived from the broader concept of social mobility. Social mobility, according to Sorokin, is "the transition of an individual of social object or value from one social position to another" (Sorokin 1964:133). Social mobility can be of two types - horizontal and vertical. Horizontal mobility occurs within a particular social stratum and does not bring any change in the social position of an individual or social object in the social hierarchy. On the contrary, vertical mobility involves a movement of an individual or social object from one social stratum to another in the vertical dimension. This movement may be upward (social climbing) or downward (social sinking). Depending on the nature of stratification, vertical mobility may occur in the economic, political or occupational structure (Sorokin 1964:133-34).

In modern industrial society where work has been central, occupation is regarded as one of the most important criterion of social status. The correlation between occupa-

Occupations are rated in terms of differing socio-economic status, and a shift from an occupation of a lower socio-economic status to one of higher socio-economic status is seen as vertical upward mobility.

In our present study, occupational mobility of the Scheduled Tribes will be seen in terms of a shift from traditional occupations to new occupations in the organized sector. As education plays an important role in the modern economic sector, we will try to relate mobility of the tribals with the increasing educational opportunity available to them.

Before discussing occupational mobility, we will, first of all, look into the kind of occupations in which the tribals are traditionally engaged. As has been mentioned earlier, most of the tribal communities of <sup>with</sup> Manipur are cultivators. <sup>affirmational laborers, shifting cultivators</sup> (There are no separate artisan tribes. Tribal crafts such as weaving, basket making, etc. are practised mainly to meet the domestic requirement and are rarely meant for the market. Similarly, livestock is also kept for its prestige value and to meet the domestic requirement for meat (Manipur 1961:13).)

The tribal communities practise two methods of cultivation, namely, shifting cultivation or jhuming and terrace cultivation. Shifting cultivation is the

more popular one and is found in all the hill areas inhabited by the tribals. However, its impact is more in the southern <sup>and N.W part of Assam</sup> part where the tribes of The Kuki-Chin groups are numerically dominant. The Nagas in the north resort to jhuming mostly to supplement their income from settled cultivation (Manipur 1961:11).

The method used in shifting cultivation is primitive and unscientific. When a piece of land is selected for cultivation, trees are cut down and allowed to dry, and then set on fire. Seeds are either sown or broadcast in the cleared land. Next year a new site is selected, and the old cultivated land is allowed to remain fallow for a number of years. Previously, the rotation period was usually not less than ten years. But due to the scarcity of forest land, the same field is now being cultivated after a gap of three or four years. Shifting cultivation is considered as an uneconomic practice. It yields less produce when compared to settled cultivation. Moreover, it destroys forest and causes soil erosion (Roy 1973:192).

The second type of cultivation, i.e. terrace cultivation, is practised by a comparatively fewer number of tribes. It is mostly found <sup>among the Saoras and other tribes in the S.</sup> in the Mao and Tangkhul areas in the east and northern hills of Manipur. As compared to jhuming, terrace cultivation is more productive, and the lands once prepared are being cultivated every year.

Due to its definite advantage over jhum cultivation, and due to the various steps taken by the Government to curb jhumming, terrace cultivation is now becoming more popular in the hills of <sup>Orissa</sup> Manipur (Roy 1973:193).

Thus, from the above discussion we can get a rough idea regarding the occupational background of the traditional tribal society. Now we will look at occupational mobility of the educated tribals in terms of a shift from the above-mentioned traditional occupations to modern occupations which require a certain level of educational qualifications. In the first section, we will look at occupational mobility of tribals in the pre-independence period, and the second section will deal with the post-independence period.

#### EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD: ✓

With the coming of industrialization and urbanization, many tribal communities of India had undergone a tremendous change in their occupational structure. The greatest change had been witnessed among the tribals of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh in Central India. Many tribal communities of this region had left their traditional agricultural and allied occupations and work as unskilled labourers in railway and road construction, in factories, mines, industries, etc. This massive change of occupation is believed to be the result of

increasing pressure on land due to population growth, and the opening of different mines and industries within the tribal region (Vidyarthi and Rai 1985:135).

In Manipur, the massive absorption of tribals in factories and mines as unskilled labourers does not occur. The main reason being the industrial backwardness of the state and thereby the lack of opportunity for that kind of employment. As a result, the traditional agricultural economy of the tribals continued to be in tact for a longer time.

✓ The first opportunity for occupational mobility was opened with the coming of the British and the consequent introduction of education. As we had observed earlier, education was first introduced among the tribals by Christian missionaries in the late nineteenth century. Along with education, new avenues of employment other than cultivation had also opened up. The newly educated tribals were employed in the various Mission schools as teachers and school masters. ) With the growth of Christian population, employment opportunities for educated converted tribals increased. Many of them were appointed as pastors, evangelists and native missionaries to help in the Mission work (Lolly 1985:46). Rev. Rala's article on 'Administrative Heads of the Church' (1985), brought to light that several tribesmen who started their career as a modest school teacher had,

in later years, became the 'Field Superintendents', which is a top-most rank in the earlier Church Organization and entails higher socio-economic status. Some tribals also became qualified as medical doctors and nurses, and worked in the Mission Hospitals and Dispensaries (Rala 1985:35-44).

√ Thus, we see that the introduction of education opened new avenues of employment for the educated tribals which were not open to them earlier. For the first time, they had the opportunity to break away from their traditional agricultural occupations and take up other non-manual jobs. This, no doubt, resulted in the betterment of material condition and social position of the educated tribals.

However, it should be mentioned that in the pre-independence period, employment opportunities for educated tribals were limited and were largely confined within the Mission field. In spite of the rapid growth of education among the tribals, the entry of educated tribals in the Government services was a very rare case. Most of the early occupations of the educated tribals, such as pastors, evangelists, etc. were religious in nature. Even those qualified for secular jobs, for instance, medical doctors, nurses and teachers worked under the Mission and not under the Government. Due to the non-availability of data we



are unable to give the exact reason as to why educated tribals were not absorbed in the State Government services. Probably, it was the 'divide and rule' policy of the British that had prevented the intermixing of the Hill tribes with the non-tribal people of the plain areas. Or may be the erstwhile princely state of Manipur did not have much employment opportunities to offer. The great zeal for spreading Christianity could be yet another reason that bound the early educated tribals to the Mission field.

#### THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

The overall situation of Scheduled Tribes took a turn for the better in the post-independence period. The government of India formulated various policies for the educational and socio-economic development of the tribal communities. To promote the intake of tribals in the Government services, the Constitution provides for reservation of posts in services under the Union as well as State Government, in favour of the Scheduled Tribes. Other concessions such as age relaxation for 5 years and minimum qualifying standards are also provided to help the Scheduled Tribe candidates. Besides, the Government also opened Examination Training Centres, which provided special coaching facilities for tribal candidates preparing for the All India Services Examinations.

As a result of the special provisions, the number of tribals in the government services has been increasing from year to year. <sup>However</sup> (It will be seen from Table-4.1 below that) the actual representation of Scheduled Tribes in the various services under the Government of India is still far from satisfactory. In particular, their representation is very poor in class I, II and III services. Even in the lowest category of class IV, they are not adequately represented.

Table-4.1: Representation of Scheduled Tribes in Posts and Services under Various Ministries/Departments of the Government of India (All India Level)

Category	(in percentage)		
	Year Ending		
	1965	1970	1981
Group A	0.27	0.40	0.97
Group B	0.34	0.37	1.10
Group C	1.14	1.47	3.47
Group D	3.39	3.59	4.31

Source: Report of the Commission of Scheduled Castes/Tribes, 1980-81 (Third Report).

It is evident from the table that the representation of Scheduled Tribes in Group A services increased only marginally from 0.27 per cent in 1965 to 0.97 per cent in 1981. In Group B services, it increased from 0.34 per cent to 1.10 per cent during the same period. The representation of Scheduled Tribes is slightly better in

Group C and D services. In 1965, the proportion of Scheduled Tribes in Group C services was 1.14 per cent. After that, it increased significantly to 3.47 per cent in 1981. The representation of Scheduled Tribes in Group D also increased from 3.39 per cent in 1965 to 4.31 per cent in 1981. This shows that despite the gradual increase in the number of tribal employees, their representation in the various services under the Union Government of India is still very small relative to their actual strength in the nation's population. Moreover, the bulk of tribal employees are concentrated in the lower category of Group C services, and their representation is particularly low in Group A and B services, which entails higher socio-economic status.

Employment of Scheduled Tribes  
in Manipur State Services:

In accordance with the Union Government's policy, the Government of Manipur has also been reserving posts in the state services for the Scheduled Tribes. The percentage of reservation keeps changing from time to time. In 1960, a combined reservation of 20 per cent was made for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in Class III and IV services. There was no reservation in Class I and II services (India 1960-61:315). During 1971, the percentage of reservation for Scheduled

Tribes was 7.5 per cent in class I and II, and 32 per cent in class III and IV (India 1970-71:15). In 1981, a reservation of 31 per cent was prescribed in all categories of services from class I to IV (India 1980-81:109).

It should be remembered that a certain minimum of educational qualifications are required for the various categories of services. The prescribed minimum qualification varies according to the standard of the service. The highest level of educational qualification (at least graduation) is required for class I and II services. In class III, the required qualification is a little lower, i.e. matriculation as minimum and class IV services need the lowest level of education (Middle School Certificate is the usual prescribed qualification for Class IV services, but even this is not required in many cases). Hence, this means that despite reservation, a Scheduled Tribe candidate has to fulfil the required qualification to get employment in the various state services. It also means that a person's level of educational attainment will, to a great extent, determine the type of job he or she holds. We had observed in the previous chapter that the number of educated tribals had been increasing during the past few decades. We also observed that many tribal students were going for higher studies, i.e. graduation and above. Therefore, we can assume that many tribals

are qualified for employment in the state services, even in the higher categories of class I and II services.

If we are to believe that education increases occupational mobility, then the growth in tribal education should result in an increase in the employment of educated tribals. Moreover, if the Scheduled Tribes are given equal employment opportunities, the percentage of Scheduled Tribe employees should be proportionate to the percentage of their population in the state. The following statements will give us some information regarding the employment situation of Scheduled Tribes in the various services under the state government of Manipur.

Table-4.2 below gives the representation of Scheduled Tribe employees vis-a-vis total number of employees under the Manipur government. For purposes of comparison, the number of non-SC/ST employees is also given in this table.

From Table 4.2 we can see that the representation of Scheduled Tribes in all the categories is quite small compared to their actual strength in the state population, which according to the Census reports was 31.93 per cent in 1961, 31.18 per cent in 1971 and 27.30 per cent in 1981. The representation of Scheduled Tribes is particularly low in the two higher categories of class I and II services. The situation is somewhat better in class III and IV services, but even in this case it is still below the mark.

Table-4.2: Number of Scheduled Tribes and Non-SC/ST Employees under Manipur State Government

Category of Employment	Year	Total No. of Employees	No. of Scheduled Tribes Employees	Number of Non-SC/ST Employees
Class I	1960	35	4 (11.42)	31 (88.57)
	1971	104	4 (3.11)	99 (95.19)
	1981	2432	249 (10.24)	2170 (89.22)
Class II	1960	204	29 (14.21)	174 (85.29)
	1971	575	51 (6.14)	521 (90.60)
	1981	1149	159 (11.66)	982 (85.46)
Class III	1960	3145	479 (15.23)	2659 (84.54)
	1971	12869	3859 (29.98)	8861 (68.85)
	1981	23584	7696 (32.63)	15527 (65.83)
Class IV	1960	3173	949 (29.90)	2202 (69.39)
	1971	7280	1928 (26.48)	5288 (72.63)
	1981	12894	2732 (21.18)	10007 (77.60)

Note: The percentage of Scheduled Tribes & non-SC/ST employees to the total employees are given inside the brackets.

Source: Reports of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes/Tribes for the year 1960-61, 1970-71 and 1980-81.

In 1960, there were 4 Scheduled Tribe class I officers out of a total of 35, which is equivalent to 11.42 per cent. Interestingly, the number of tribal officers in class I cadre remained constant during the following ten years or so while the overall strength of class I officers had increased to 104 in 1971. This shows that not a single tribal was included out of the

total 69 appointments made between 1960 and 1971. However, after 1971, there had been a sizeable increase in the number of tribal officers and by 1981 their total strength was 249, or 10.24 per cent of the total class I officers. It should be noted here that although there was an increase in the number of tribal officers, their percentage to the total class I officers in 1981 (i.e. 10.24%) was still lower than their percentage in 1960, which was 11.42 per cent.

The representation of Scheduled Tribes in class II cadre is more or less the same with that of class I, except for a slight improvement. There were 29 tribals out of the total number of 204 class II officers in 1960. In other words, 14.21 per cent of class II officers in 1960 belong to Scheduled Tribe communities. In 1971, the number of tribals increased to 51, which again increased to 159 in 1981. But if we see in terms of percentage, the percentage of Scheduled Tribe employees to total employees in class II services had actually declined from 14.21 per cent in 1960 to 6.14 per cent in 1971, and again increased to 11.66 per cent in 1981.

As compared to class I and II services, the situation of Scheduled Tribes in class III services is much better. But even in this case, except for 1981, their representation is lower than their actual strength in the population.

The number of tribal employees in class III services had increased from 479 in 1960 to 3,859 in 1971, which shows a growth rate of more than 204 per cent. In 1981, the number of tribals reached 7.6%, or 32.63 per cent of the total class III employees.

In Table-4.1 we had observed the representation of Scheduled Tribes in services under the Union Government of India. We saw the trend taking a pyramidal shape. The highest concentration was in class IV and start declining as we proceed towards the higher categories, and reached its smallest point in class I services. The situation in Manipur also exhibits the same trend as far as class I and II services are concerned, but it starts changing when we come to class III and IV services. Here, we found the highest concentration of tribals in class III services rather than in class IV. Upto 1960, the representation of tribals in class IV cadre was the highest among all categories. But since that year onwards, the percentage of Scheduled Tribes in class IV services had taken a sharp decline. In 1981 it had reached as low as 21.18 per cent, whereas in 1960 it was more than 29 per cent.

So far as the non-SC/ST are concerned, the above table clearly indicates that the non-SC/ST are dominating in all categories of services under the state government,



particularly the higher categories of class I and II services. Throughout the given period, the percentage of non-SC/ST employees to the total employees in all categories of services was higher than their percentage of population, with the exception of class III services where it was slightly lower in 1981. For instance, in 1981, the proportion of non-SC/ST population was 71.44 per cent, while their representation in class I services was 89.22 per cent. The representation of non-SC/ST was 85.46 per cent in class II, 65.83 per cent in class III, and 77.60 per cent in class IV services during the same year.

Thus, from Table-4.2, we can infer that the Scheduled Tribes are adequately represented only in class III category of clerical and allied services. Even in class IV cadre, their representation is more or less satisfactory. But as far as the two higher category of class I and II services are concerned, the representation of Scheduled Tribes is far from satisfactory. Again, a comparative study of the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST revealed that the tribals are way behind the non-SC/ST in terms of employment in the state services.

We had mentioned before that a certain number of posts and services under the state government of Manipur had been reserved for Scheduled Tribe candidates. It

will be interesting to know the actual effect of this reservation policy on the employment of tribal candidates. Have all the reserved seats been filled by the tribes? Or, is the actual representation of Scheduled Tribes in the various services being proportionate to the percentage of reservation that has been fixed for them? Table-4.3 below gives us some information on this matter.

Table-4.3: Percentage of Reservation fixed for Scheduled Tribes in Manipur State Services and the Percentage Actually attained

Category	% of Reservation Fixed for Scheduled Tribes			Actual Representation of Scheduled Tribes		
	1960	1971	1981	1960	1971	1981
Class I	-	7.5	31.0	11.4	3.1	10.2
Class II	-	7.5	31.0	14.2	6.1	11.6
Class III	20.0*	32.0	31.0	15.2	29.9	32.6
Class IV	20.0*	32.0	31.0	29.9	26.4	21.1

\* Combined for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Source: Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes/Tribes for the year 1960-61, 1970-71 and 1980-81.

It will be seen from Table-4.3 that throughout the given period, i.e. from 1960 to 1981, the actual representation of Scheduled Tribes in all the categories of services had been lower than that of the percentage of reservation fixed for them (with the exception of two cases: Firstly, in 1960 regarding class IV services, and

secondly, in 1981 regarding class III services). If we examine the situation in class I and II services, we find that during 1960 the Scheduled Tribes constituted 11.4 per cent and 14.2 per cent in class I and II respectively, even though there was no reservation for them. But in 1971, in spite of the reservation of 7.5 per cent that had been fixed for them, the actual representation of Scheduled Tribes in class I cadre surprisingly dropped to a bare 3.1 per cent, which is nearly three times lower than their representation in 1960. The representation of Scheduled Tribes in class II services also declined from 14.2 per cent in 1960 to 6.1 per cent in 1971. In 1981, the percentage of reservation for Scheduled Tribes increased to 31.0 per cent, which is more than three times higher than that of 1971. The corresponding increase in the actual representation in class I was, however, only a little more than two times higher than that of 1971. In <sup>the</sup> case of class II services, the actual representation increased from 6.1 per cent in 1971 to 11.6 per cent in 1981. This shows that for some unknown reasons, the Scheduled Tribes are unable to fill the posts that have been reserved specially for them in class I and II services.

The percentage of reservation for Scheduled Tribes in class III and IV services, is more than that of class I

and II cadres during 1960 and 1971. Therefore, their representation in these two cadres is also naturally higher. In 1960, a reservation of 20 per cent was fixed for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The actual representation of tribals for this year was 15.2 per cent and 29.9 per cent in class III and IV respectively. The percentage of reservation had increased to 32 per cent in 1971, while their actual representation was 29.9 per cent in class III and 26.4 per cent in class IV. In 1981, the number of reserved posts was again decreased to 31 per cent for both class III and IV services. But during this year, the tribals consisted of 32.6 per cent in class III services, which actually exceeds their quota of reservation. Whereas in class IV services, the percentage of tribals declined from 26.4 per cent in 1971 to 21.1 in 1981.

The Employment Exchange also furnished some information regarding the recruitment and unemployment situation of Scheduled Tribe job-seekers (see Table 4.4 below). During 1960, there are 1,358 Scheduled Tribe applicants registered with the Employment Exchanges. Within the same year, 1,207 Scheduled Tribe applications are submitted to employers, and out of this, 84 are placed in employment. There was a slight increase in the number of registration during 1970, with a corresponding increase in the number

of placement. A total number of 178 seats had been notified to Employment as reserved for Scheduled Tribe applicants. But only 16 of these vacancies are filled by tribal candidates. The number of Scheduled Tribe applicants remaining on Live Register at the end of the year was 4,314. In 1980, there was a tremendous increase in the number of Scheduled Tribe job-seekers. Altogether 5,020 tribals had registered during the year, which is more than two times higher than that of 1970. However,

Table-4.4: Statement Showing Work Performed by the Employment Exchange in the State of Manipur in Respect of Scheduled Tribe Applicants during 1960, 1970 and 1980

	Year Ending		
	1960	1970	1980
1. No. of Scheduled Tribe Applicants Registered during	1358	1373	5020
2. No. of Scheduled Tribe Applications submitted to employers	1207	2490	-
3. No. of Scheduled Tribes applicants placed in employment	84	97	67
4. No. of vacancies notified as reserved for ST applicants	-	178	173
5. No. of reserved vacancies filled	-	16	8
6. No. of ST applicants remaining on Live Register at the end of the year	1594	4314	22144

Source: Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1960-61, 1970-71 and 1980-81.

the number of placements had decreased to 67. Out of the total number of 173 reserved vacancies notified, only 8 are filled by tribal candidates. At the end of the year, there are 22,144 Scheduled Tribe applicants on the Live Register.

Thus, an analysis of the above four tables brought to light that the total numerical strength of tribal employees in the various categories of services has been gradually increasing year after year. But as far as equality of employment opportunity is concerned, we see that the Scheduled Tribes are still inadequately represented in all the categories of services, except in class III cadre. Every year we see a large number of Scheduled Tribe job-seekers in the Live Register of the employment exchanges. But in spite of this, many of the reserved vacancies remain unfilled. What, then, could be the reason that prevent the tribal job-seekers from getting employment. Are they not qualified for the notified posts? Or, are there some factors other than education that determine the recruitment of Scheduled Tribes? Only an indepth study on the educated unemployed tribals could give us this answer.

The report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes/ Tribes from which we had taken the above data do not give a separate figure for men and women employees. Hence,

it is not possible to make a men-women comparison on the basis of the above data. However, we can get a broad view on the occupations of tribal men and women from the census reports. Here, the total workers are classified according to the type of work in which they are engaged with. That is, primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. The shift of workers from the primary to tertiary sector is generally taken as an indicator of educational progress. In other words, the growth in literacy rate generally results in a shift from primary sector to tertiary sector. Table-4.5 below gives us the classification of tribal workers during 1961, 1971 and 1981.

The figures in Table 4.5 indicates a gradual decline in the proportional share of primary sector to the total workforce. The same trend is evident in the case of secondary sector. On the contrary, there was a gradual increase in the tertiary sector. This shows that the shift was mainly from primary sector to tertiary sector.

In the case of tribal men workers, there was a gradual decline in the primary sector from 90.56 per cent in 1961 to 81.92 per cent in 1981. However, the trend was fluctuating in the case of secondary sector. The percentage of tribal men workers in secondary sector had gone up from 1.43 per cent in 1961 to 2.15 per cent in 1971, which again decreased to 0.37 per cent in 1981.

Table-4.5: Proportion of Scheduled Tribe Workers in Different Economic Sectors, Manipur (in percentage)

Category		1961	1971 <sup>1</sup>	1981
1. PRIMARY SECTOR (Cultivators & Agricultural Labourers)	Total	92.34	90.04	88.42
	Male	90.56	83.32	81.92
	Female	94.22	97.19	95.32
2. SECONDARY SECTOR (Manufacturing, Household and non-household industries)	Total	3.42	1.81	0.81
	Male	1.43	2.15	0.37
	Female	5.21	1.59	1.28
3. TERTIARY SECTOR (Other services/ other workers)	Total	4.24	8.15	10.77
	Male	8.31	14.53	17.71
	Female	0.56	1.22	3.40

Note: In 1961 and 1971 Census, secondary sector consist of fishing, forestry, mining, plantation, manufacturing (both household and non-household), construction, trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication. But in the case of 1981 census, because of the definitional change of secondary sector, only manufacturing (both household and non-household) is counted in secondary sector. The rest of the category which were then included in secondary sector such as mining, quarrying, etc. are included in 'Other Workers' category. 'Other services' in 1961 and 1971 census, constituted the Tertiary sector. 'Other workers' in 1981 census is also included in Tertiary Sector. According to 1981 census, all those who worked in any field of economic activity other than cultivation, agricultural labour or household/non-household industry were 'Other workers'. For example, those in trade and commerce, business, all government servants, priests, artists, etc. formed this category.

- Source: (1) Census of India 1961, District Census Handbook, Manipur.  
 (2) Census of India 1971, Series 12, Manipur, Part II-C(i) Social and Cultural Tables.  
 (3) Census of India 1981, Series I, Part II-B(ii) Primary Census Abstract, Scheduled Tribes.



This shows that the shift of tribal men workers from the primary sector was absorbed, both by secondary and tertiary sector in 1971. But in 1981, the shift was mainly absorbed by tertiary sector.

So far as tribal women workers are concerned, the percentage of workers in the primary sector is significantly high. In 1961, 94.22 per cent of the total women workers are in the primary sector. This has gone up to 97.19 per cent in 1971, and again decreased to 95.32 per cent in 1981. In the case of secondary sector, the proportional share of women workers significantly decreased from 5.21 per cent in 1961 to 1.28 per cent in 1981. Interestingly the proportion of women workers in secondary sector was higher than that of men in 1961 and 1981. This was mainly attributed to household industry such as weaving, handicrafts etc., which has been traditionally a women dominated work.

If we look at the trend of participation of women in the tertiary sector, it has increased significantly from 0.56 per cent in 1961 to 3.40 per cent in 1981. This shows that the tribal women workers are shifting from both primary and secondary sector to tertiary sector. The figures also indicate that the growth rate of women workers in the tertiary sector is faster than that of the men workers. Nevertheless, there has been a tremendous

disparity between men and women throughout the three decades.

The shift of tribal workers from primary and secondary sector to tertiary sector during the last three decades can be attributed to the growth of education among the tribals.

To sum up briefly, we had observed that the introduction of education has, for the first time, opened new avenues of employment for the tribal communities. Since the pre-independence period, educated tribals had been changing their occupations from the traditional agricultural occupations to new occupations in the organized sector. The tempo of occupational mobility was further accelerated by the government policy of reservation and other concessions in the post-independence period. As a result, there has been a gradual increase in the number of tribal employees in various services under the state government. However, in terms of equality between the tribals and non-tribals, we had observed that the representation of Scheduled Tribes is far from satisfactory in the two categories of class I and II services, which have a higher socio-economic status. In class III service, they have an adequate representation, while in class IV, they are still below the mark. This shows that the bulk of tribal employees are concentrated in the middle class of clerical and other similar jobs.

So far as reservation policy is concerned, the actual representation of Scheduled Tribes has been lower than the percentage of reservation fixed for them, except in class III services. Further, we find a large number of tribal job-seekers on the Live Register of the Employment Exchange every year. But in spite of this, many of the reserved vacancies remain to be unfilled. Again, a comparative study of the representation of the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST shows that the non-SC/ST are enjoying a relatively better position than the Scheduled Tribes in terms of employment.

The census reports also revealed the gradual mobility of tribal workers from the primary sector to tertiary sector. The participation of tribal women in tertiary sector has also gradually increased during the past few decades. But their proportion in the tertiary sector is still much lower than their men counterparts.

Lastly, linking education with occupational mobility, we can say that education has certainly increased occupational mobility among the educated tribals.

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## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the present study we have examined formal education\* and occupational mobility among the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur. A brief review on the historical development of tribal education in Manipur brings to light the important role of the Christian Missions in this field. It was through the activities of the Christian missionaries that the Hill tribes of Manipur first came in contact with formal education in the late nineteenth century. Two Missions, namely, the American Baptist Mission (ABM) and the North East India General Mission (NEIGM), played a prominent role in the propagation of education among the tribals. While the American Baptist Mission worked among the tribal communities in the north and eastern hills, the North East India General Mission was active in the southern hills. These two Missions remained the sole agency in the spreading of tribal education till the attainment of independence. It was through their initial efforts that education had reached even to the remote hill tribes.

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\* Although education can be defined broadly to include all kinds of education and learning experiences we have delimited its definition to formal education for purposes of analysis.

Nevertheless, we must remember that education was never the chief objective of the Christian missionaries. In fact, education had been only a part of their evangelical activities. The Mission schools were aimed primarily at religious instruction or intensification of the propagation of Christian teachings. The people were taught the three R's in preparation for Bible reading and understanding of writing for their daily religious exercise (Pudait 1963:73). As long as basic education was attained, the missionaries did not see any need for introducing higher education. As a result, tribal education in the pre-independence period was mostly limited to Primary level. We find from the 'Administrative Report of Manipur' that till 1940-41 there were only three Middle Schools and not a single High School in all the Hill areas inhabited by the tribals.

After independence, due to the various welfare schemes of the Government for the Scheduled Tribes, there has been a rapid expansion of tribal education, especially that of higher education.

Using literacy rate and enrolment as indicators of educational development, we make an attempt to examine the educational development of the Scheduled Tribes in Manipur during the past three decades. We wanted to know the position of the Manipur tribals at the national level

as well as the state level. Therefore, we compared the educational development of the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur with that of the Scheduled Tribes in the country on the one hand, and with the non-SC/ST communities of Manipur on the other.

We see that some of the general trends for the Scheduled Tribes at the national level are also being reflected in the case of the Manipur tribals. At the same time we find certain specific trends among the Manipur tribals which are different from the rest of the country.

First, in terms of literacy, we find that the Scheduled Tribes at the national level have a much lower literacy rate than the general population whereas the literacy rate for the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur exceeds that of the scheduled Tribes as well as the general population at the national level. But within the state, they have also lagged behind the non-SC/ST population. Nevertheless, the disparity between the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST in Manipur is only marginal, and not as prominent as the disparity between the Scheduled Tribes and the general population at the national level.

Further, a separate examination of men and women highlights the advantageous position of tribal women in Manipur. While the tribal women at the national level

have considerably lagged behind the total women population in terms of literacy, those at the state level are more advanced than the non-SC/ST women of the state. This shows that, so far as literacy is concerned, the tribal women of Manipur enjoy a better position than the non-SC/ST women of the state as well as the tribal women in the country as a whole.

There is considerable rural-urban variation in the literacy rates of the Scheduled Tribes in Manipur. Tribal living in the rural areas are far behind their counterparts in the urban areas in terms of literacy. This is a general trend found not only among the Scheduled Tribes at the national level, but also among the general population.

Gender inequality is another common trend found among all communities at the national level as well as at the state level. The women of all communities are found to be more backward than their men counterparts in terms of literacy. At the national level, gender inequality exists among both the Scheduled Tribes and the general population. However, the disparity between men and women is higher among the Scheduled Tribes than the general population.

In Manipur too, gender inequality is found among the Scheduled Tribes as well as the non-SC/ST population. But, contrary to the national trend, inequality between



men and women is felt more intensely among the non-SC/ST communities, rather than among the Scheduled Tribes. This we had attributed to the relative freedom of women in the tribal society of Manipur. The fact that tribal women enjoy a comparatively higher degree of freedom than the non-tribal women has been highlighted by several studies. For instance, the study of Horam (1977) highlights the freedom of women in a Tangkhul society. According to him, a Tangkhul woman enjoys considerable freedom throughout her life, and "she is never made to feel that she belongs to the weaker sex" (Horam 1977:62) Similarly, Haimendorf (1939) stated that women in the Naga Hills have a higher status, a freer and happier life than many women in the more civilized parts of India.

So far as enrolment is concerned, we find that there has been a gradual progress in the enrolment of Scheduled Tribes at all levels of education during the last three decades. The enrolment of Scheduled Tribes in Manipur and at the all India level exhibits a somewhat similar pattern. That is, in both the cases, the proportion of Scheduled Tribe enrolment is the highest at the Primary stage and starts declining at the higher level. But in spite of this general trend, the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur are in a more advantageous position than the

Scheduled Tribes in the country as a whole. Throughout the given period, the extent of <sup>achievement</sup> courage for the Manipur tribals at all levels of education has been higher than that of the Scheduled Tribes at the national level.

Regarding equality of enrolment among the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST of Manipur, we find that the tribals have made a significant progress at the starting point. In fact, from 1970-71 onwards, they have become more advanced than the non-SC/ST in terms of enrolment at the Primary and Middle level. But when it comes to higher education, the tribals have still lagged behind the non-SC/ST communities. The disparity between the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST is particularly high in the case of enrolment in colleges and universities for general education. While it is somewhat lower in the case of professional education and vocational/technical education.

The proportion of tribal boys' enrolment is continuously higher than the proportion of tribal girls' enrolment except in professional education and vocational/technical education where the proportion of girls is higher. In the case of the non-SC/ST, the situation is just the opposite: wherein the proportion of the girls' enrolment remains above the proportion of boys' enrolment. Again, it should be noted here that contrary to the literacy

trend, the non-SC/ST women enjoy a better position than the tribal women in terms of enrolment at higher level of education. It would be worthwhile to probe this further and find out as to why the tribal women lose their advantage (gained in terms of literacy) at the enrolment stages.

Thus, from our analysis of the literacy and enrolment data we can say that the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur enjoy a comparatively better position than the Scheduled Tribes in the country as a whole. But within the state, the tribals are still behind the non-SC/ST, particularly in terms of enrolment at higher education.

As education is considered to be one of the most important factors for the socio-economic development of a community, we have attempted to examine the role of education in the occupational mobility of the Scheduled Tribes. In chapter four, we see that education provides new avenues of occupational mobility by equipping the tribals with the skills and qualifications for salaried jobs in the organized sector.

The first instance of occupational mobility was witnessed among the Manipur tribals in the early part of the present century when the Christian Missions employed several tribals as teachers, school-masters, pastors, evangelists, etc. Along with the growth of population, the number of tribal employees also gradually

increased. However, in the pre-independence period, employment opportunities for the educated tribals were limited and were largely confined to jobs offered by the Christian Missions. The entry of educated tribals in the government service was negligible, if not altogether absent.

After independence, the Government policy of reservation promoted the recruitment of Scheduled Tribes in the Government services. As a result, there has been a substantial increase in the number of tribals in the service sector.

Our analysis of the employment data shows that the number of tribals in the government services has been increasing year after year. Nevertheless, we see that the actual representation of Scheduled Tribes in the various services under the Government of India is still far from satisfactory. Their representation is particularly poor in class I, II and III services. Even in the lowest category of class IV, they are not adequately represented.

The representation of Scheduled Tribes in services under the Union Government of India takes a pyramidal shape. The highest number of Scheduled Tribe employees are found in class IV services. The number of tribal

employees starts declining as we proceed towards higher categories, and is the lowest in class I services.

The representation of Scheduled Tribes under the Manipur state government also exhibits a similar trend as far as class I and II services are concerned. But it starts changing when we come to class III and IV services. Here, unlike the national trend, the highest concentration of tribal employees is in class III services rather than in class IV.

As compared to the situation at the all India level, the representation of Scheduled Tribes in the Manipur state services is much better. But so far as equal representation is concerned, we find that the proportion of tribal employees in Manipur continues to remain below the percentage of reservation prescribed for them. This is true for all categories of services, with the exception of class III services where the tribals are adequately represented. The representation of the Scheduled Tribes in class IV services is also quite high although it is still below the mark. But in case of the two higher categories of class I and II services, the representation of Scheduled Tribes is still far from satisfactory. This indicates that despite reservation the majority of tribal employees tend to concentrate in the lower level of services, and only very few of them manage to reach the higher categories of class I

and II services which have a higher socio-economic status.

Further, we found that there was a tremendous increase in the number of tribal job-seekers during the past few decades. Every year a large number of tribal job-seekers got registered with the Employment Exchanges. But in spite of this, many of the reserved vacancies remain unfilled. This raises a serious question as to why the tribal job-seekers are not recruited for the notified reserved posts. Are they not qualified for the notified posts? Or, are there some factors other than education that determine the recruitment of the Scheduled Tribes? Only an indepth study on the educated unemployed tribals could give us an answer.

Regarding equality of employment between the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST, we find that the non-SC/ST enjoy a comparatively better position in the higher categories of class I and II services. The representation of the non-SC/ST in class IV services is also better than that of the Scheduled Tribes. However, in the case of class III cadre of clerical and allied services, the Scheduled Tribes have a better representation than the non-SC/ST.

Hence, in terms of education as well as employment in the state services, the position of Scheduled Tribes

in the lower level is comparatively better than that of the non-SC/ST communities. But so far as higher education and employment in the higher categories of services is concerned, the Scheduled Tribes have yet to cover a long distance to attain parity with the non-SC/ST.

Finally, linking education with occupational mobility, we can say that education provides opportunities for occupational mobility to the Scheduled Tribes. Since the early part of the present century, education has been helping the tribals to improve their socio-economic condition by equipping them with the skills and qualifications for salaried jobs in the modern economic sector. Moreover, we observed that the pattern in the educational development of the Scheduled Tribes has been directly reflected in their employment pattern. If we remember the pattern of the educational development among the Scheduled Tribes, we should know that the proportion of Scheduled Tribes at the lower level was relatively high. But it starts declining as we proceed towards higher education. A similar pattern is reflected in the employment of the Scheduled Tribes, wherein the bulk of Scheduled Tribe employees are concentrated in the lower categories of services, and their number gradually decrease towards higher categories of services. Therefore, we can say that education has a direct bearing on the occupational structure of the educated tribals.

Thus, we have briefly highlighted the educational development and occupational mobility of the Scheduled Tribes in Manipur as a whole. A comparative analysis of the Scheduled Tribes and the non-SC/ST communities gives us a picture regarding the situation of Scheduled Tribes within the state. However, due to the non-availability of data, we are unable to make a separate examination of the educational and occupational aspirations/achievements of the different tribal communities.

It has been observed by several studies that the educational development of tribals is related to their socio-economic background. For instance, Shah and Patel found a positive and strong relationship between the social class and educational attainment of the tribals in Gujarat (Shah and Patel 1985:179). Similarly, the study of Naik on the Bhils of Madhya Pradesh indicates that only the children of the upper crust of the Bhil society have been able to go to school and take advantage of the scholarships or hostel facilities made available to them by the government (Naik 1969:269). Due to lack of sufficient data, a similar conclusion could not be arrived at in our present study. Nevertheless, the very existence of considerable rural-urban variations in the literacy of the tribals is an enough indicator of the unequal spread of education among the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur.



Again, our analysis of the occupational mobility is based wholly on the employment of the Scheduled Tribes in the government services. But we had observed that many educated tribals entered into the Mission services in the earlier period. Even today, there are several Missions which employ a large number of tribals. This may be one of the reasons for the low representation of Scheduled Tribes in the state services. However, in order to make a conclusive statement we need information on the following:

- (a) The total number of jobs generated every year in the state by the Missions, their nature and type, and the kind of qualifications required;
- (b) The percentage of jobs generated by the Mission out of the total number of jobs in the state;
- (c) The proportion of tribals who get jobs in the Missions;
- (d) What is the number of jobs generated for the tribals in the state as a whole every year and their division into those in the public sector and the government jobs, and those in the Missions.

This dimension can be explored further at the doctoral level of the above mentioned information can be acquired. In fact, first hand information and data are needed to establish a link between formal education

and occupational mobility which will unravel some of the imponderables associated with the interlinkages of these two variables. Further, the effect of education on women, i.e. the gender dimension deserves to be explored in depth. We hope to look at these at the doctoral level research.

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