

TRIBAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India



TRIBAL EDUCATION UNIT

DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

Council of Educational Research & Training

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**TRIBAL EDUCATION UNIT
DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION
National Council of Educational Research and Training
37, 38-A, Friends Colony**

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**Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education
in India, organized by the Tribal Education Unit
of the Department of Adult Education at Udaipur,
Rajasthan, from 13th to 18th September, 1965**

**NEW DELHI
1967**

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FOREWORD

Educational development is a fundamental requirement for social and economic development of any community. This is particularly true of communities like that of the tribals in India which are regarded as backward. It is in recognition of this basic need, that in the Constitution of India, in the directive principles of state policy, the promotion of educational interests of the scheduled tribes has been made a specific responsibility of the Governments at the Centre and in the States. To fulfil this objective, some effort has been made in this country since we have attained independence, but still much remains to be done.

In order to take stock of the situation, to discuss the problems relating to education of the scheduled tribes and to afford an opportunity to share the experiences of educationists and social workers in this field, the Tribal Education Unit of the Department of Adult Education, National Institute of Education, National Council of Educational Research and Training, organized a National Seminar, perhaps the first of its kind, on the topic of Tribal Education in India. In the Seminar, major problems relating to education of the tribal people, the steps that have been taken to solve these problems, the progress that has been made so far and the other related topics were considered and recommendations made for necessary action.

I have great pleasure in making the report of this Seminar available to the public, particularly to those interested in and working for the welfare and development of the tribal people, for their study and further action in order to promote education of the tribal people in India.

T. A. Koshy
Head of the Department
Department of Adult Education

New Delhi,
January 1966

I. INTRODUCTION

I INTRODUCTION

Till very recently tribal education^y was not such an important subject as to attract the attention of the educationists, anthropologists and welfare workers in India. But gradually its importance has begun to be realized and more attention is now being paid to this subject by the State governments and voluntary agencies engaged in this field. There is a general agreement that the tribal people are backward, underdeveloped and illiterate and that concerted effort is needed to bring them to the level of development and understanding achieved by their neighbouring non-tribal communities. But there has been no unanimity of approach to the solution of the educational problems of these people. Though devoted people with the best of intentions are trying their best to see that the tribal people get as much educational advantages as possible, the result achieved has not been very encouraging. There has been no uniformity in the programmes of their educational development. The various programmes launched by various agencies do not always cater to the needs of the tribal people. Then there are individual idiosyncrasies and ideologies which hinder an objective study of the problems and give an altogether different colour and vision to them. Success and failure of the institutions responsible for imparting education to the tribal people generally remain confined to them as there are no opportunities for others to know them and benefit by their experience.

Considering all these facts, the first ever National Seminar on Tribal Education in India was organized by the Tribal Education Unit of the Department of Adult Education, a constituent department of the National Council of Educational Research and

Training, in the premises of the Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Udaipur, Rajasthan from 13th to 18th-September, 1965. The purpose of the Seminar was to bring together on a common platform the administrators of tribal welfare, educationists, anthropologists, and voluntary workers in social and tribal welfare to discuss these problems of education of tribal people, to share experiences and to make recommendations for future action. 39 delegates and 32 observers representing State Governments, Tribal Research and Training Centres, University departments of Anthropology, Central Government and non-official organizations participated in the Seminar which was directed by Dr T. A. Koshy, Head of the Department of Adult Education.

While preparing the Working Paper of the Seminar I felt that it was difficult to select more important problems of tribal education for discussion in the Seminar as all the problems seemed equally important to me. Ultimately I selected five major problems which I thought must receive the attention of the seminarists. The draft Working Paper was circulated to the prospective delegates and their comments and suggestions were received for improvement, addition or omission of certain matters. There were many suggestions, criticisms and controversies over the two new words—'science-based' and 'culture-based' curriculum which I had used in the draft Working Paper. In the final Working Paper I tried to be more specific and I feel I have made the point clear.

After the Working Paper was finalized I devoted my attention to getting papers on the five topics of the Working Paper to be read and discussed in the Seminar. With some initial setback I was able to get all the five papers in time though due to last minute difficulties two of the five paper contributors could not attend the Seminar. Someone else had to read their papers and act as resource person.

To decide the venue of the Seminar was another problem. We had kept New Delhi as a tentative venue of the Seminar but

were not satisfied with it and were trying to have it either at a place in tribal area or at an institution connected in any way with tribal education. Fortunately in Udaipur we got a combination of the two.

While we were giving finishing touches to our preparations for the Seminar the Pakistani aggression on our borders began. Gradually the intensity of the aggression and our retaliatory measures increased and we were in two minds whether to go ahead with the Seminar or postpone it to a later date. At this moment of indecision Shri L. S. Chandrakant, Joint Director, and Shri P. N. Natu, Secretary of the Council came to our rescue and asked us to go ahead with the Seminar. This gave us strength and encouragement and we made further preparation with added zeal and vigour. But, in keeping with the mood of the country we decided to dispense with the formal inauguration and other ceremonies usually attached to Seminars. The enthusiasm of the delegates also did not show any marked sign of having flagged and as against 50 delegates expected we had the privilege of having as many as 39 out of them.

I confess, the sessions of the Seminar were rather crowded and, sometimes, delegates had to sit long. But it was not all work and no play. We tried to entertain our distinguished delegates with film shows, visits to cultural and educational institutions and a drive round the beautiful Fatch Sagar Lake. I do hope the delegates did enjoy their week-long stay in Udaipur. If there has been any inconvenience caused to them I alone am to be blamed, and I seek their forgiveness.

The Seminar has been a collective endeavour. Thought, initiative and hard labour of many have gone into it to make it a success. I am thankful to a number of people without whose help it would have been impossible to organize the Seminar and bring it to a successful conclusion. Shri L. S. Chandrakant and Shri P. N. Natu gave us all the encouragement and help and I am immensely thankful to them. I am grateful to Shri N. Sundaram, Director, Backward Classes Welfare, Depart-

ment of Social Welfare, Government of India who showed a keen interest in the Seminar and gave lot of suggestions and advice. Thanks are also due to the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation who kindly permitted us to hold the Seminar in the Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, and to Shri M. L. Kakkar, the principal of the Centre and his staff who always gave their helping hands. To thank Dr T. A. Koshy would be to thank myself. The Seminar was as much his affair as anybody else's. He sowed the seed, nurtured the plant and saw that a good harvest came home. Right from the day the decision to hold the Seminar was taken to the day when the report was published it has been a continuous effort on his part to see that everything went on well. He very kindly agreed to direct the Seminar. If the Seminar has been a success the entire credit goes to him. And it was in the fitness of things that he wrote the foreword to this report of the Seminar. Other members of the Staff of this Department who went to Udaipur in connection with the Seminar also deserve my special thanks. All of them burnt their midnight oil and shared a major burden of the day to day activities of the Seminar. Shri G. D. Pohani has typed the final copy for the press.

With a great sense of pleasure and satisfaction I am presenting this report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India to the wider public. It is hoped that those who are in any way concerned with the educational development of the tribal people in India would kindly try to see that the recommendations made by the Seminar are implemented. If thereby the tribal people are in any way benefited we will consider our efforts amply rewarded.

New Delhi
December 24, 1965

L. R. N. Srivastava
General Secretary

II. PROGRAMME OF THE SEMINAR AND EVENING ENGAGEMENTS

II

PROGRAMME OF THE SEMINAR

<i>Date</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Programme</i>
13-9-65 (Monday)	9.30 A.M.	Registration. Participants registered their names etc. and collected Seminar folder, badge and other papers between 9.30 A.M. and 10.30. A. M.
	11.00 A.M.	First Plenary Session Welcome. Election of office-bearers. Introduction of delegates. Finalization of Working Paper.
	11.30 A.M.	Inauguration of the Seminar.
	1.00 P.M.	Lunch Break.
	2.30 P.M.	Second Plenary Session General discussion on 'Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education' (Topic I of the Working Paper). Shri A. A. C. Lal read Shri S. K. Kaul's paper and Dr B. K. Roy Burman initiated discussion.
	3. 45 P. M.	Tea Break.
	4. 30 P. M.	Third Plenary Session Brief reports of the activities of the various departments and agencies by the Seminar delegates.

Evening Engagement

8. 45 P. M.

Film show on

(a) 'Call of the Flute' (11 minutes).

(b) 'Glimpses of Chotanagpur'
(11 minutes).(c) '*Watan ki Abru*' (3 minutes).14-9-65 9.30 A.M.
(Tuesday)

Group discussion on Topic I of the Working Paper.

11.00 A. M.

Coffee Break.

11.30 A.M.

Fourth Plenary Session

General discussion on 'Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education' (Topic II of the Working Paper). Shri L.R.N. Srivastava read his paper and initiated discussion.

1.00 P.M.

Lunch Break.

2.30 P.M.

Fifth Plenary Session

General discussion on Topic II of the Working Paper. General discussion on 'Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education' (Topic III of the Working Paper). Shri S.V. Gupta read Dr Sachchidananda's paper and Dr L.K. Mahapatra initiated discussion.

4.15 P.M.

Tea Break.

4.30 P.M.

Group discussion on Topic II of the Working Paper.

Evening Engagement

8.45 P.M.

Film show on

(a) 'Folk Dances of Madhya Pradesh'
(11 minutes).(b) 'Evolution of Man and Race'
(22 minutes).

(c) 'Timeless Temiar' (45 minutes).

15.9.65	9.30 A.M.	Sixth Plenary Session
(Wednesday)		Consideration of Group discussion reports on Topic I of the Working Paper.
	11.00 A.M.	Coffee Break.
	11.30 A.M.	Seventh Plenary Session
		Consideration of Group discussion reports on Topic II of the Working Paper.
	12.30 P.M.	Lunch Break.
Evening Engagement		
	3.00 P.M.	Visit to Bhartiya Lok Kala Mandal. Programme arranged by them.
16.9.65	9.30 A.M.	Group discussion on Topic III of the Working Paper.
(Thursday)		
	11.00 A.M.	Coffee Break.
	11.30 A.M.	Eighth Plenary Session
		General discussion on 'Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education' (Topic IV of the Working Paper). Dr L.K. Mahapatra read his paper and initiated discussion.
	1.00 P.M.	Lunch Break.
	2.30 P.M.	Ninth Plenary Session
		General discussion on 'Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in education of Tribal People' (Topic V of the Working Paper). Dr B. K. Roy Burman read his paper and initiated discussion.
	3.45 P.M.	Tea Break.
	4.00 P.M.	Group discussion on Topic IV of the Working Paper.

Evening Engagement

	8.45 P.M.	Film show on (a) 'A Backward Civilization' (22 minutes). (b) 'Hum Ek Hain' (3 minutes).
17.9.65 (Friday)	9.00 A.M.	Visit to Vidya Bhavan Institutions.
	11.45 A.M.	Group discussion on Topic V of the Working Paper.
	1.00 P.M.	Lunch Break.
	2.30 P.M.	Tenth Plenary Session Consideration of Group discussion reports on Topic III of the Working Paper.
	3.15 P.M.	Tea Break.
	3.30 P.M.	Eleventh Plenary session Consideration of Group discussion reports on Topic IV of the Working Paper.

Evening Engagement

	8.45 P.M.	Film show on (a) 'Pigmies of Africa' (20 minutes). (b) 'Madhya Bharat' (20 minutes).
18.9.65 (Saturday)	9.45 A.M.	Twelfth Plenary Session Consideration of Group discussion reports on Topic V of the Working Paper. Recommendations of the Seminar and finalization of Seminar Report.
	11.30 A.M.	Light refreshment and tea.
	11.50 A.M.	Valedictory function under the Chairmanship of Dr G. S. Mahajani, Vice-Chancellor, Udaipur University, Udaipur.

Welcome to the Chairman

—Dr T. A. Koshy

Seminar Director's Report and Recommendations of the Seminar

--Dr T.A. Koshy

Remarks by Seminar Delegates

—Dr L.K. Mahapatra

—Shri K.L. Bordia

—Shri M.L. Kakkar

Valedictory Address

—Dr G.S. Mahajani

Vote of thanks—Shri L.R.N. Srivastava

1.45 P.M. Lunch and departure of delegates.

III. WORKING PAPER

III

WORKING PAPER

—L R.N. Srivastava

I. Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education

1. *Existing Facilities and Coverage*

Under Article 46 of the Constitution promotion of educational interest of scheduled tribes is a special responsibility of the Central and the State governments. The governments are, therefore, extending facilities in various shapes for the promotion of tribal education. Generally, the facilities have been extended by providing school buildings, teachers, free studentship, free textbooks and, at selected places, free board and lodging facilities and midday meals. The Seminar may make a list of existing facilities given to tribal pupils and discuss whether these are enough to promote education and whether the tribal people need something more.

Some primary and secondary schools have been opened in the tribal areas but the number of school-going tribal children is also great. Many of them are denied education because either there is no school in their villages or they do not get any facility to attend them. The plans and programmes of education may have to be reached to every nook and corner of tribal areas to make a real impact on them. In order to have a greater coverage of the tribal areas it may be necessary to launch an increasingly expanding programme so that most of the villages are covered by at least a primary school. The Seminar may consider whether the existing programmes and facilities cover

the entire tribal area. It may also suggest measures to achieve a greater coverage.

2. *Wastage and Stagnation*

Wastage and stagnation are two of the many problems of primary education. Many of the reasons for the slow spread of primary education could be attributed to these two factors. The Seminar may have a working definition of the term 'wastage' and 'stagnation'. Wastage could be defined as the withdrawal or dropping out of student before completing a given course. Generally when a student takes more than one year to pass a class it is considered a case of stagnation.

The problem of wastage and stagnation could be studied from two angles : extent and causes. It is generally presumed that the wastage and stagnation of pupils in tribal areas is large but no authentic data are available. While it is necessary to measure the extent of wastage and stagnation it is much more important to find out their causes, which may be many. The pupils may not be attending schools due to economic burden, they may have been taught unsuitable books and through an unknown tongue, they may not be getting enough facilities, the subjects taught may be unfamiliar to them and unrelated to their culture, the timings of the schools may not have been suitable to them and so on and so forth. Unless the causes are known no effective measures could be taken to reduce their extent. The Seminar may discuss and point out the extent and causes of wastage and stagnation, and what steps could be taken to remove those causes and decrease the extent.

Keeping in mind the large percentage of wastage and stagnation it may be pointed out here that other things being equal, the percentage of wastage may increase with the increase of enrolment in primary schools. On the one hand more and more children will be admitted to the first class of the primary schools and on the other, less and less number of them will pass out at the final primary school examinations. The important

point to be considered here is whether we should go in for quality or quantity in education of tribal pupils. If we want the first we may have to consolidate all our efforts and concentrate on getting better quality of pupils but if we want to go in for a good number of pupils we possibly may have to neglect quality. The first step will also help in reducing the extent of wastage. If a [quantitative increase is desired, one may have to face the problem of wastage. The Seminar may, therefore, discuss and decide what should be our aim in this regard : to consolidate our efforts and increase the quality of education or to go for the increased number of pupils or, if possible, both. The relative importance of these two aspects may be determined. The steps to be taken to achieve the two aims may also be suggested.

3. *Utilization of Financial Assistance*

The problem of wastage and stagnation may also be related to the problem of financial assistance given to students. Many of the students may be leaving schools in mid-term because of financial difficulties either at home or in continuing their studies. Though the Central and the State governments are providing fairly adequate financial assistance, apparently there has not been enough incentives to retain the children for at least four years in schools. The main question to discuss here would be as to how the financial assistance given by the governments can be best utilized so that it may help the pupils to continue their studies uninterrupted for at least four years. The Seminar may discuss this question.

There also have been cases when the pupils have not utilized the financial assistance given to them or have misused them. Many a time it has been reported that the scholarships in shape of cash given to tribal students, specially at the higher secondary stage, have been used by them in buying luxurious commodities quite unsuited to the life of a tribal student, or by their parents as means of sustenance. The results have been that they have denied themselves the basic requirements to pro-

secute their studies which have led to undesirable consequences. The Seminar may discuss whether the financial assistance given to the tribal students are being properly utilized by them. If not, what steps could be taken to see that the funds are spent for the purpose for which they are given. At times it has been suggested that to check this evil the financial assistance should be given in kind instead of in cash. The Seminar may also discuss the possibility of giving assistance in kind and the result it is expected to produce one way or the other.

To sum up, the Seminar has before it the following questions to discuss :

1. What are the existing facilities afforded for the development and promotion of tribal education ? Are these enough to meet the need of the people ?
2. Do the programmes and plans of tribal education launched by governments and voluntary agencies cover the entire country ? What efforts are needed for their expansion ?
3. What are wastage and stagnation ? What are their causes and extent ? What steps could be taken to remove the causes and decrease the extent of wastage and stagnation ?
4. Should tribal education be developed qualitatively or quantitatively or both ? How these developments could be brought about ?
5. How best can the financial assistance given by the governments be utilized so that pupils continue their studies uninterrupted ?
6. Do the students properly utilize the financial assistance given to them ? If not, what steps are needed to see that they utilize it ? Could the financial assistance be given in kind instead of in cash ? What will be its consequences ?

II. Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education

1. *School*

Most of the schools in tribal areas are one-teacher schools. This is perhaps because the number of pupils is never so great as to require more than one teacher. The same teacher attends to all the classes in turn. He may not be able to devote enough attention to all the classes. When such a teacher is absent or has to proceed on leave the school has to be closed. The schools in tribal areas are scattered over large areas and due to difficult terrain it is not possible for children from far-off villages to attend school. Many of the school-going children at present may be denied education because of absence of school in the village or in its neighbourhood. Opening of large number of schools may increase the literacy and the general educational achievements of the people. Opening of new schools may be based on factors like absence of a school in the neighbourhood of a village, population of a village, communication, interest and initiative of the tribal people and the like. The importance of people's participation in the affairs of the school is gradually being realized. Participations may be in the construction of school building and its maintenance, in taking decisions for selection of site for the school and taking an active part in its management. The Seminar may discuss whether more schools should be opened, whether more than one teacher may be posted in the schools and whether it will be beneficial if the people participate in the affairs of the school.

2. *Teacher*

The type of teacher available for the tribal areas is, by and large, of a kind different from that required in such areas. Most of them come from the neighbouring non-tribal areas and do not hold requisite qualifications. Very few of them are matriculates and some of them have passed only middle school examination. As such they are hardly able to teach up to primary standard. They hardly have any awareness of the tribal way of life without which it is difficult for them to

succeed in a tribal area. The low qualification of teachers hardly help them in appreciating the tribal way of life. It may be considered, therefore, whether the teachers are suitably qualified and conversant with the tribal way of life. If not, what could be done to attract suitably qualified teachers and make them aware of the tribal way of life. In view of the low qualifications, should a qualification bar be prescribed ?

Most of the teachers are untrained. But considering the general unavailability of trained teachers it seems hard to get cent per cent trained teachers in the near future. Therefore, the importance of training such untrained teachers cannot be overlooked. The Seminar may discuss whether it will be possible at this stage to insist on appointing only trained teachers. The other alternative is to compulsorily send the untrained teachers as in-service trainees to the training schools run by the States. The question of organizing an in-service orientation training for the trained teachers may also be decided.

The problem of non-availability of teachers is linked with the teacher's emoluments and service conditions. These are not very encouraging. A teacher cannot put his heart into his job unless he is suitably paid and assured of his job. Though he is praised for his noble profession he is miserably paid. It may be considered, therefore, whether the existing terms and conditions of service and the emoluments of a teacher of a tribal school are satisfactory and adequate. If not, what ways and means could be adopted to improve them ?

Mother Tongue and Medium of Instruction

The problem of mother tongue and medium of instruction is one of the most important problems of tribal education. We have very little knowledge of the tribal languages and their grammar. There is hardly any written literature. With growing influence of the regional languages on the tribal people the tribal languages are being neglected and there is a danger of their becoming extinct if they are not protected and developed.

The Seminar may first discuss whether there is any need for preservation and development of the tribal languages. A language can survive only when it is constantly used. Other methods like writing textbooks and reading material and building up a tribal literature may be used. Research Institutions, Universities and Voluntary Agencies can help in the preservation and development of the languages. Other methods and agencies may be considered.

Except a few who have come in closer contact with the non-tribal population the tribal people, generally speaking, do not follow the regional language of the state in which they live. But most of the states impart education to tribal and non-tribal children alike through the medium of the regional language. A tribal child who has practically no knowledge of the regional language is thus placed at a great disadvantage. This factor alone may be greatly responsible for the low achievement of tribal pupils in the examinations. The Seminar may consider how far the present system of imparting education through the regional language is beneficial to the tribal children. It may be considered whether or not a tribal child is entitled to receive instructions in his own mother tongue, at least in the lower primary classes. The Seminar may then proceed to discuss as to how many years and up to what standard a tribal child should receive instruction in his mother tongue. It may also be discussed and decided what should be the medium of instruction in a composite school where both tribal and non-tribal children are reading. There may be some difficulties in the way of implementing a policy of teaching through the medium of mother tongue. Non-availability of teachers knowing tribal languages and lack of suitable text books are some of them. The tribal folklore and folktales could provide enough material for writing textbooks. Like any other child a tribal child should also be taught about his society and culture and for this teaching of tribal language as a subject is necessary. It may be considered whether and how it can be done.

4. Policy

For any educational programme to succeed it is necessary that there should be a policy behind the programme. There is an urgent need of a uniform policy with regard to tribal education. As education is the responsibility of the states, they are following their own educational policies but even in the states there is hardly any uniform policy. As the basic problems of all the tribal areas in India are almost the same, a uniform policy is needed to solve them. Such a policy should be with regard to the opening of schools, appointment and training of teachers, medium of instruction, preparation of textbooks, financial assistance to tribal children and so on. The Seminar may discuss as to what should be the policy with regard to tribal education which could be applied uniformly to all states of India, and, if tribal education system is going to be different how should it articulate with general education? Should all economic classes among them be given equal facilities beyond compulsory education period?

The following questions may be discussed :

1. Is the present number of schools in tribal areas enough? Do one-teacher schools cater to the needs of tribal children? What should be the principles of opening new schools? How far people should participate in the affairs of a school?
2. Are the teachers at present working in tribal areas suitably qualified and aware of the tribal way of life? If not, what steps could be taken to recruit more qualified teachers and make them conversant with the tribal way of life? Should a minimum qualification be laid down for appointment of a teacher?
3. Should only trained teachers be appointed? How the untrained teachers could be trained? Should an in-service orientation training be organized for the trained teachers?

4. Are the emoluments and service conditions of the teachers adequate and satisfactory? If not, what steps could be taken to improve the present position?
5. Is there any need for preservation and development of tribal dialects? What should be the methods and agencies for such development?
6. What is at present the medium of instruction through which tribal children are taught? Should they be taught through their own mother tongue? If so, for how many years and up to what standard? Should the tribal dialect be introduced as a subject?
7. Is there any need of a uniform policy with regard to tribal education? If so, what should that policy aim at?

III. Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education

Social and economic factors play important roles in the successful implementation of educational programmes for any society, more so for a tribal society. The importance of formal education has not been realized by the tribal people for a long time. They have had their own informal education through their own dormitories and other social institutions. But now, with the changed situations, formal education has got to be disseminated to them and ground has to be prepared to make them responsive to the educational programmes. The question to discuss, therefore, would be as to what steps should or could be taken to arouse the interest or the preparedness of the tribal people to receive education. It may be discussed whether they are psychologically prepared to receive the education taken to their doors.

There are also instances of barriers, taboos and prejudices against formal education in many tribal societies. It is feared that the boys will grow insolent and rebellious and the girls will go astray if they receive any education. There are also fears of the educated tribal boys and girls losing their moorings and

being cast adrift without any goal. Some tribal societies have shown a weakening of the traditional social institutions after some of their members have been educated and then have started flouting the authority of the village elders. These social barriers, fears and psychological complexes have to be overcome. The Seminar may discuss the probable measures that may be taken to break such barriers, remove the fear from the minds of the people and to ensure that there will be no disintegration of the traditional institutions.

Poor economic condition of the tribal societies may be a great hinderance to education. Almost all the tribes, whether food-gatherers or settled agriculturists, lack enough food to maintain the family for the whole year. Education, therefore, may be a luxury to them which they can hardly afford. Each school-going child in a tribal family is an economic unit and contributes to the family income. If the child is taken away from his normal economic work to attend school the family is deprived of the little income which he brings, and, over and above, the parents have to feed the child out of their own earnings which further reduces the economic stability of the family. The Seminar, may, therefore, discuss whether the tribal societies are prepared to transfer a certain section of their population from economic pursuit to educational pursuit. The Seminar may also decide whether the present poor economic condition of the tribes is in any way a hinderance to education. It may also be discussed whether it is necessary to improve economic condition of the tribes in order to introduce any successful educational programme.

The tribal people may generally have a materialistic outlook and there is a possibility of their analysing the economic aspect of education proposed to be given to them. According to the present system of education, any economic benefit a tribal child can bring to his family can only be after 10 to 15 years of schooling. And that also is not guaranteed. Can the parents wait for such a long period for their children to start earning something, in the meantime foregoing consistently all

the earnings they, in the usual course, would bring to the family during that period ? Can they sacrifice the certain present for the uncertain future ? Should the education for them be made productive right from the very beginning ? These are the questions which must be answered before embarking upon any ambitious educational programmes. The Seminar may devote its attention to these problems and try to find answers to them.

The following questions may be discussed :

1. What steps should or could be taken to arouse the interest of the people to receive education ? Are the people prepared for it ?
2. How far social barriers, taboos and prejudices prevalent in tribal societies act as retarding agencies for any educational programme ? What measures could be taken to break these social barriers in order to make educational programmes acceptable to the people ?
3. Are the tribes prepared for education at the cost of economic advantages ? Is their poor economic condition a barrier to education ? Is a stable economic condition necessary for spread of education ?
4. Should the education for the tribal people be made productive from the very beginning so that the pupils earn while learn ? If so, how can this be done ?

IV. Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education

A variety of curricula are followed by different state governments for imparting education in the primary and middle schools. Even within a state the curricula differ according to the type of school. But generally speaking, there are certain subjects which are uniformly included in the curricula prepared by all the states. These are: reading, writing, arithmetic, elementary science, social studies and literature. What subjects should be included in the curriculum largely depends on the aims and objectives of primary education. If the objective is to make

the people literate teaching of the three R's could perhaps be considered enough. But if we consider the objective as preparing the child for becoming a useful and responsible citizen of the country he has to be taught something beyond the three R's. While formulating a curriculum the pupil's mental capacity of absorbing the given knowledge has to be carefully considered. There may be emphasis on either 'science-based' or 'culture-based' curriculum. A science-based curriculum would normally give more emphasis on teaching of elementary science. Textbooks would include descriptions of smaller inventions of science which the pupil comes across in his everyday life. A culture-based curriculum, on the other hand, would lay emphasis on the cultural aspects of the pupil's life. He would be given information more about his social organization, his material culture, village and community life than about anything else. As there could hardly be separate water-tight compartments labelled 'science' and 'culture' there has to be only the question of emphasis. Both types of curricula would have their own importance. The usefulness of one against the other may have to be considered for a tribal society. Tribal people have a type of culture different from that of the non-tribal people. One type of curriculum may not be suitable for both. Could the curriculum for tribal pupils include agriculture and horticulture, arts and crafts, folklore and folktales, music and dance which are likely to enrich the tribal culture? The Seminar may, therefore, discuss the above points.

Teaching of tribal children in the Balwadis has not yet been very popular nor widespread. The importance of Balwadis with an attached Creche is particularly significant as the tribal parents invariably go out to earn their livelihood and school-going children have to take charge of the babies. If the babies could be looked after in the Creche the school-going children could conveniently attend schools. The state governments generally do not provide such facilities to non-tribal children. But considering the special problem of the tribal children Balwadis may be useful for them. Whether the Balwadis should be a

composite one or exclusively for the tribal pupils may also be decided.

The methods of teaching in Ashram schools in various states are a little different. Ashram schools are essentially residential schools with free board and lodging available to the pupils. Attached craft sections like weaving, tailoring, smithy, cane and bamboo work and a kitchen garden make the pupils self-sufficient and self-respecting. They attract more number of pupils, offer a good climate for study and are said to produce better results. On similar lines are the inter-village primary schools run by the NEFA administration. The Seminar may discuss whether Balwadis and Ashram schools are useful institutions for imparting education, and whether more and more such schools could be opened in states having less of them and whether these can be introduced in those states which have none.

The Seminar may also then consider the possibility of introducing what is known as the shift school in tribal areas. By this method children are taught in two shifts. While in the first shift one batch receives instructions in the classroom, the other batch engages itself in games, arts and crafts and other outdoor activities; in the other shift the two batches change position. One of the age-old methods of teaching in schools by making the pupil learn his subjects by rote, is still followed. This method may sharpen his memory but not his intelligence. The educational achievements of pupils may depend to a large extent on the methods of teaching. A well thought-out plan of education may not produce any result if the methods employed are faulty. It may be considered, therefore, whether the present methods of teaching are suitable to the need of the pupils. If not, what other methods could be adopted? The Seminar may also determine if there is a need of some sort of experiments in the contents and methods of tribal education. *

In many of the States of India tribal children are taught such books which are in general use for the non-tribal children of the State as a whole. The contents of these books deal with subjects unknown to the tribal children. A tribal child who

lives in an isolated and far-off place untouched with the currents of modern civilization can hardly assimilate information given in such type of textbooks. Books should be intended primarily to project the cultural image of the pupil and not to contain a monotonous description of things and events quite unrelated to the pupil's culture. The Seminar may decide as to what type of books should be introduced for the tribal pupils and what should be the contents of such books.

It may not be an easy task to prepare suitable textbooks for tribal children. The tribal literature is not much developed and there is hardly anything substantial available in black and white. Most of the tribal oral literature is rich in folk-songs and folktales and these could be fruitfully used for writing textbooks. At this stage it may not be possible to write textbooks in tribal dialects beyond the primary level but to have books up to primary level may be enough for the time being. Writing of these books need special skill, aptitude and a keen insight into the tribal way of life. Suitable persons will have to be picked up for writing these books. It may be discussed whether textbooks in tribal dialects could be written and who should write them.

The Seminar has before it the following questions to discuss :

1. What subjects should be included in the curriculum of primary schools in tribal areas ? Should there be a separate curriculum for the tribal pupils ? Should the curriculum be science-based or culture-based ?
2. Are Balwadis and Ashram schools useful institutions for imparting education ? Should these be introduced in a large scale in tribal areas ? Should Balwadis be composite ones or exclusively for tribal pupils ?
3. Are the present methods of teaching suitable to the need of the tribal people ? If not, what other methods could be adopted ?
4. What type of textbooks should be introduced in the tribal areas ? What should these books contain ?

5. Could textbooks in tribal dialects be prepared for introduction in tribal areas? Could these textbooks draw material from folklore and folktales of the respective tribal culture? Who should write these books?

V. Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal People

In order to discuss the relative roles of both Central and State governments and Voluntary Agencies, the term 'voluntary agency' needs to be defined. Generally a voluntary agency is one which is formed, created or instituted by a section of the people and run by a selected group of them to organize, promote and administer certain types of activities. The Seminar may have a working definition of the term.

Besides governments, voluntary agencies have also done a considerable work in educating the tribal people. But they have their own limitations, mainly with regard to finance. Their main role in the organization of educational activities for the tribal people may be first to assess the need and importance of such activities. As they are in closer contact with the people they would be in a better position to know their need and formulate plans. The Government can then step in and try to execute the plans put forward by the voluntary agencies through the voluntary agencies themselves. If the idea of formulating the plans at the lowest level to be executed by the people at the higher level is accepted the voluntary agencies may find themselves in an immensely important role as on their planning everything will depend. The government, apart from giving financial assistance, may provide suitable technical personnel to organize the educational activities and leave their execution to the voluntary agencies. Problem of administration of educational activities is more touchy and tricky than that of their organization. Since the governments would be providing financial assistance they would like to keep a measure of control over the activities while the

voluntary agencies who would consider themselves expert of the situation may be reluctant to let go their administration from their hands. The Seminar may discuss the respective roles of governments and voluntary agencies in the organization and administration of educational activities for the tribal people. It may also discuss and decide whether the role of the governments should be promotional or operational with regard to tribal education.

The question of co-operation and co-ordination between the governments and the voluntary agencies cannot be lost sight of. To make any programme successful it is absolutely necessary that the governments and the voluntary agencies consider each other partner in the common cause. The Seminar may discuss the areas in which the two can co-operate with each other without jeopardizing their interests, and the areas where there could be a possibility of clash of interest.

The Seminar may at the end make a survey of the existing nature and quantum of co-operation and co-ordination between the governments and the voluntary agencies and suggest measures for their improvement.

The following questions may be discussed :

1. What is the definition of 'voluntary agency' ?
2. What are the respective roles of Central and State governments and voluntary agencies in the organization and administration of educational activities for the tribal people ? Should the role of the governments be promotional or operational ?
3. What are the areas of co-operation and conflict between the governments and the voluntary agencies ?
4. What is the present position with regard to co-operation and co-ordination between the governments and the voluntary agencies ? What could be done to improve it ?

IV. BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON TRIBAL EDUCATION

BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON TRIBAL EDUCATION

A. Tribal Education in Different States and Union Territories

Prior to 1944, the Government of India had no direct programme for the education of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward communities. In that year, a scheme of post-matriculation scholarships was instituted for the scheduled castes for a period of five years in the first instance and a sum of rupees three lakhs a year was assigned for the purpose. In 1948-49, the scheme was expanded to include the scheduled tribes.

The Government of India also approved an overseas scholarship scheme for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes with effect from 1954-55 when six scholarships were awarded. From 1955-56, the number of awards has been raised to 12 every year, four for each class.

The main handicaps of the tribal people are their poverty, their habitation in forest or inaccessible areas and the large number of dialects they speak (which do not have a script or a literature except the Khamptis who use their traditional Tai-script). The assistance given to them for the development of education is broadly on the same pattern as that given to scheduled castes. But there are two main points of difference : (1) A programme of preparing textbooks in the tribal languages or of teaching the tribal languages to the teachers working in tribal areas has been taken up ; and (2) a new type of institution called Ashram school has been organized for tribal children. It is a residential school which tries to develop and

impart a type of education which is more suited to tribal life than that given in the ordinary schools.

A brief description regarding the existing position of tribal education in different States and Union Territories follows. This relates to the period 1947-61, unless otherwise stated.

(i) States

Andhra Pradesh

An amount of rupees one lakh on scheduled tribes is being spent annually in giving aid to about 500 scheduled tribe students. All eligible students from these communities are given scholarships. A special incentive to pupils belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, denotified tribes, and other backward classes, in the shape of board and lodging facilities are offered to them in private subsidized hostels. The value of the government subsidy is Rs. 15 per month per boarder for 10 months. There are 445 subsidized hostels in Andhra Pradesh including 64 in previous Telangana area. Three hostels meant exclusively for tribes were opened during the Second Plan.

In the agency area of Andhra region (East Godavari, West Godavari, Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts) there is an Agency Educational Officer to look after the education of the tribes. The tribal children are given free books and clothing. The administration runs six midday meal centres. A grant of Rs. 50,000/- was sanctioned to the Cultural Research Institute, Andhra University, for doing research into tribal dialects and ways of life. The expansion of education in the tribal areas, particularly in the Andhra area, has, all things considered, been remarkable.

Andhra Pradesh Adimjati Sevak Sangh has contributed towards the tribal education. The Sangh is running four Balwadi centres for tribal boys and girls, three ashram schools, two hostels for tribal boys and girls and three adult night schools for the tribes. All the above institutions are in tribal areas. All the teachers in ashram schools run by the Sangh are non-matriculantes but trained.

Assam

Primary education in each hill district is in the charge of the respective District Council, a body representative of the tribes concerned.

The Christian missionaries during the closing decades of the last century, first took the initiative in spreading education among the hill tribes. Government followed suit. The measures adopted by the government included establishment of special schools, grant of special facilities to the tribal children for attending the ordinary schools, exemption from fees, award of scholarships and grants to private agencies.

There are a number of other educational schemes for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under Article 275 of the Constitution which have been implemented in the first and second plans. The main items of expenditure under the scheme relate to the construction of college, school and hostel buildings, quarters for teachers and grant of scholarships to scheduled caste or tribe students.

The scheduled tribe pupils of the Assam hills receive free education and are also given stipends and other financial concessions. Nearly 97% of the pupils benefit from these provisions. From Government of India fund also scholarships are given for post-matric education.

Bihar

Till recently the scheduled tribe students at the secondary stage (including those studying in middle, senior basic and post-basic schools) were required to pay about half of the prescribed rate of tuition fees. From the financial year 1960-61, however, they have been given full exemption. At the post-matriculation stage, all scheduled tribe students are eligible for stipends. They are also paid tuition fees and other compulsory charges levied by the colleges. No additional fee is charged to college students and they are exempted from the payment of examination fees at the university and secondary school certificate examinations.

There is a special scheme for the education of the Tharus in the district of Champaran under which primary and middle schools are opened and maintained in the Tharu areas. Government have also sanctioned the upgrading of two of the existing Tharu middle schools to high schools.

Large number of hostels have been provided by the government all over the state for the benefit of the students belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward communities. Although hostels are primarily meant for backward classes, students belonging to other communities are also allowed, even encouraged to join them.

Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi is engaged in conducting researches with regard to social, psychological, linguistic and demographic aspects of various tribes. In its future programme of work is included evaluation of welfare schemes and a study of comparative analysis of the major dialects of Bihar.

Gujarat

The following table shows the number of scheduled tribe pupils who were in receipt of scholarships, stipends and other financial concessions in primary and secondary schools in 1958-59.

	No. of Pupils		Total value (in Rs.) per annum for	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Primary schools	31,965	9,219	80,685	27,519
Secondary schools	2,983	463	2,03,840	2,07,660
Total	34,948	9,682	2,84,525	2,35,179

In order to spread education among these classes, ashram schools (a kind of residential basic school) have been opened for scheduled tribes in scheduled areas and 'Ashram schools-cum-Sanskar Kendras' for *vimochit jatis* in both urban and rural areas. The number of ashram schools in the State is 42. Of these 39 are managed by voluntary bodies receiving grant-in-aid on 100% basis for nonrecurring expenditure. A few government ashram schools are likely to be started shortly.

A research project on 'Preparation of Dictionaries of words and usages of tribal dialects in Gujarat State' financed by the Tribal Education Unit of the Department of Adult Education, New Delhi, has been taken up by the Tribal Research and Training Centre started by the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmadabad which is engaged in research and training in the state of Gujarat.

Kerala

All students belonging to scheduled tribes are exempted from the payment of fees at all levels of education. Besides, lump sum grants for the purchase of books and clothing are paid to students belonging to scheduled tribes. Board and lodging expenses of the students living in approved hostels are also met and, in addition, each student is paid Rs. 5/- per month as pocket money. Those who do not get admission in approved college hostels are granted monthly stipends of Rs. 45. Pupils studying in high schools are given lump sum grants at the rate of Rs. 90 and those studying in upper primary classes at the rate of Rs. 25. Students studying in standard V are given lump sum grants at the rate of Rs. 15, those in standard IV at the rate of Rs. 4, and those in classes I to III at the rate of Rs. 3.

There are 186 welfare schools which are intended exclusively for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe children and 83 schools maintained exclusively for the tribal children. The children attending these schools are provided with clothes, books and midday meals, free of cost.

Madhya Pradesh

Economically and socially, the tribal communities are very backward and special efforts are needed to spread education among them and to raise their standard of living. The Government of Madhya Pradesh has created a Tribal Welfare Department to look after the education and welfare of the scheduled tribes. As is well known, a narrow educational approach to the problem is not likely to succeed ; if good results are to accrue,

education must go hand in hand with general ameliorative measures for their social and economic betterment. This comprehensive approach is now being made by the Tribal Welfare Department. As a result of the measures adopted during the last fifteen years, some improvement in the condition of these people has become distinctly noticeable.

Education up to the secondary stage is free for scheduled tribe children. There are also a number of ashram schools which form an interesting experiment in their education,

Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara has undertaken various research projects. It is also engaged in preparation of primers and books on tribal mythology. A bulletin is published quarterly by the Institute.

The Tribal Workers Training Institute attached to the Tribal Research Institute is engaged in imparting training to Block Development Officers, Extension Officers and District Organizers.

Madras

A separate department of Government has been specially set up under the name of Harijan Welfare Department to look after the welfare of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes. The main functions of this Department are the maintenance of schools, provision of scholarships and grants for boarding, provision of books and clothing and maintenance of free hostels for the benefit of children of these classes.

There are 48 elementary schools meant specially for scheduled tribe children, with an enrolment of 1848 boys and 758 girls. Scheduled tribe children too have free access to all other schools, the total number of pupils of the scheduled tribes reading in all types of institutions being 9,249 boys and 4,497 girls (1958-59).

Maharashtra

In the scheduled areas, schools are started even in comparatively smaller habitations and grants are given for construc-

tion of school buildings and hostels. Teachers willing to work in such areas are granted several concessions.

In 1959-60, 1,89,516 children (of whom, 44,099 were girls) of the scheduled tribes were under instruction.

A useful study of scholarships awarded to scheduled tribe students for post-matric studies in 1962-63 was undertaken by the State Government. The main findings were as follows :

- (i) 297 scheduled tribe students were awarded scholarships. Percentage of student belonging to the scheduled tribes comes to 0.012 to their total population in the state.
- (ii) Progress of post-matric education amongst certain categories of the scheduled tribes is very low even though their population is quite large. For example while 17.7 per cent of the scholarships awarded to the scheduled tribes in the States went to students belonging to the Gond tribe which forms 11.37% of the total scheduled tribe population of the State, not a single scholarship was awarded to any student belonging to the Varli tribe, which form 10.17 per cent of the scheduled tribe population of the State.
- (iii) Nearly 75 per cent of the scheduled tribe student took arts, science and commerce courses. The percentages of students taking up professional or technical courses was comparatively very low.

There is a Vikaswadi Project under the auspices of the Gram Bal Shiksha Kendra, Kosbad Hill in Thana district. During the first five years, studies were made regarding life-pattern of the tribes and difficulties in attending schools were analyzed.

Financial assistance to Adiwasi Orientation Training Programme for tribal areas by Gram Bal Shiksha Kendra, Vikaswadi, Kosbad was given by the Tribal Education Unit, Department of Adult Education, New Delhi.

Mysore

Ever since the State's reorganization in 1956, the administration has been doing its best for the educational advancement of scheduled castes and tribes. Free distribution of clothes, books, slates and pencils to poor and deserving children is a special feature of the drive. To attract students to middle and high schools, hostels are being opened by the State at Taluk headquarters and other important places.

It may be mentioned here that the basic approach of the Government is against the establishment of separate schools and hostels for children belonging to these classes. As far as possible, the Government would prefer them to study along with the children of other communities in the general schools and hostels. They have also decided to encourage the admission of non-Harijan students to the hostels meant for scheduled castes and tribes by meeting half the cost of the boarding charges in Harijan hostels.

During 1958-59, there were 106 government hostels (37 for girls) and 73 aided hostels with a total strength of 836 boarders in ex-Mysore area. In the other areas, there were 72 aided hostels with a strength of 2,067 boarders and 10 government hostels with a strength of 608 boarders.

At present there are 33 ashram schools started for the education of scheduled tribes children in the State under the control of the Directorate of Social Welfare and a few managed by the Education Department. Multi-teacher schools are felt more useful than the single-teacher schools and hence it is proposed to have the strength in the ashram schools raised to 100 children and each school will have four teachers and one full-time warden. The expenditures for an ashram school with 100 children works out at Rs. 38,400/- per year. The persons who have an aptitude to work in tribal areas and who possess the required qualifications are directly recruited by the Department. Four hostels have been started exclusively for the scheduled tribes children in the State. In addition to this, the

hostels which admit scheduled tribe children are given grants by the Department towards boarding charges.

Apart from these, scholarships are awarded to middle and high school children at the rate of Rs 5/- and Rs. 10/- respectively to facilitate the scheduled tribe children to equip them with necessary articles to prosecute their education.

The Women Welfare Centres established in the State have nurseries attached to them where children below the age of 5 years are given pre-primary education. 18 such institutions are in the State at present.

Radio is also felt to be a useful equipment for educating the children in tribal areas and a beginning has been made to provide radio sets to ashram schools and Community-cum-Women Welfare Centres.

Nagaland

The Nagas are very keen on having education for their children. Usually they construct primary school buildings themselves, make their own furniture, and even contribute the pay of teachers and then approach the Government to take over the school. The universal demand in Nagaland is that each of its 718 villages should have a primary school, that the primary schools in bigger villages should be upgraded to middle schools, and that each tribe should have atleast one high school of its own.

The Three Year Plan has been effective to a great extent and the statistics of schools and enrolment at the close of the Second Five Year Plan are as follows :

Category of Schools	Classes	Total No.	Total Enrolment
1. Primary	A, B, I, II	428	17,991
2. Upper Primary	A, B, I to IV	19	2,522
3. Middle English	A, B, I to VI	56	10,100
4. High English	A, B, I to X	7	4,072
5. Intermediate Arts College (aided)	1st year Arts	1	44
	2nd year Arts		
Total		511	34,729

At the primary stage, there are no basic schools as such. But an attempt is being made to impart a basic bias to all schools by introducing agriculture, cane and bamboo craft, community life, recreational activities including local songs and dances and compulsory social services. At the secondary stage also, an attempt is being made to introduce, wherever possible, agriculture and carpentry as vocational activities. There is adequate provision for the teaching of science in all the high schools of Nagaland. There is a Junior Technical Institute at Kohima where training in different occupations and trades is imparted. Some night schools are run in the block areas for propagation of adult education under the supervision of the Block Development Officers. All the schools in Nagaland are co-educational. The enrolment of girls in educationally advanced Ao and Angami areas is quite encouraging; but in the other areas, the girls have not yet been enrolled in large numbers. There is a fair provision for award of scholarships at all stages of education. Hindi is a compulsory subject in all middle and high schools from class IV onwards.

The Third Five Year plan for Nagaland has provided Rs. 100 lakhs for education.

Orissa

While tribal students are free to join ordinary schools, the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department maintains special schools for them, known as 'Sevashrams' and 'Ashrams'. The former teach up to the primary standard and the latter up to the middle standard. The ashram schools have now been rechristened as middle standard schools of Tribal and Rural Welfare Department. No separate schools are maintained for the scheduled caste and other backward class pupils.

Free distribution of clothes, slates and books, award of stipends and scholarships to deserving candidates, exemption from payment of fees in schools and colleges, maintenance of orphanages and boarding houses, starting of vocational classes

and opening of hostels are some of the measures taken to popularise education among the tribal people. A monthly stipend of Rs. 18/- per student is sanctioned in the ashram schools. These facilities will not only be continued but expanded during the third plan. The programmes of compulsory primary education will also be of great value in bringing more tribal children to school.

The State Government is not in favour of teaching the tribal students at the primary stage through the medium of tribal dialects. Apart from the difficulty of using these dialects as media of instruction, such a policy would handicap the students seriously at the secondary and university stages where the medium is Oriya and English respectively.

A Tribal Research Bureau was set up by the State Government in 1952. The main work of the Bureau is to conduct research work on psychological, social, cultural, economic, linguistic and other problems of the tribes. Organization of orientation training for Village Level Workers working in tribal areas and evaluation of training and rural welfare schemes are its other functions. Four institutions are training teachers employed by the Tribal Welfare Department in their ashram schools and sevashrams, in Orissa.

Punjab

As in other spheres, the scheduled tribes population in this State has been backward in the field of education. Programmes for spreading education, therefore, occupy a conspicuous place in the plans for their development. The fact that the areas inhabited by the scheduled tribes in Punjab happen to be border areas also gives the development of the areas and its people greater importance.

The allocation earmarked for educational schemes during the Third Plan period is Rs. 18.13 lakhs and ranked next only to the provision for communications. The expenditure during the period 1961-65 has amounted to Rs. 12.39 lakhs and another

year of the Third Plan which means that about 93% of the Plan allocation will be utilized.

Facilities include the provisions of opening of primary schools, upgrading of primary schools to middle standard, grant of stipends, supply of free midday meals, supply of free books and stationery, provision of free education, buildings for schools and hostels, adult education centres and education of girls etc. It is felt that drawbacks like wastage and stagnation do not exist in the Punjab State in any alarming proportions.

Quality of education has been maintained all along.

Rajasthan

The present State policy is to discourage separate schools for backward classes. However, as these people live in isolated groups, most of the schools where they receive education are not attended by children of other communities.

Nothing has been done so far to develop the tribal dialects and the present policy is to educate the tribal children through the medium of Hindi.

Tribal Research Institute in Udaipur is engaged in conducting researches in the field of tribal welfare.

West Bengal

A separate department called the Tribal Welfare Department was set up by the Government after Independence to look after the welfare of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes. Only 36.90% of the scheduled tribe students of the age group 6-10 attended primary schools in 1957-58 which is less than half of the percentage for the general population.

Arrangement is made to teach the tribal pupils in their own mother tongue at the primary stage provided at least 40 such pupils in a school or 10 in a class are available for the purpose. Steps have been taken to appoint, wherever necessary, qualified tribal teachers or non-tribal teachers with knowledge of tribal languages. Arrangements have also been made for the training of tribal teachers. Admission qualifications for training and

minimum qualifications for appointment as primary teachers have been relaxed for tribal candidates.

A Cultural Research Institute has been established by the State Government to study different aspects of tribal life with a view to preserving the good features of tribal culture. The Institute also advises the Government on various problems concerning the scheduled tribes.

Subject to the availability of resources, every encouragement is being given to the scheduled tribes and other backward classes to send their children in large number to schools and colleges. Progress is slow, but steady.

(ii) Union Territories and Centrally administered areas.

Andaman and Nicobar Islands

Among the scheduled tribes only the Nicobarese have shown some interest in education so far. There are 12 primary and one senior basic school in the Nicobar group of islands. The senior basic school has recently been upgraded to a higher secondary school. In order to encourage education amongst these tribes, several facilities such as supply of books and stationery, award of merit scholarships, provision for hostels etc. are offered. Seats have been reserved for them in the trade school. Nicobarese and Hindi are the media of instruction in the schools of Nicobar. Much difficulty is experienced in getting qualified Nicobarese teachers mainly because Nicobarese is not a developed language and has no script of its own.

Himachal Pradesh

A Tribal Advisory Committee has been constituted at the State level for the welfare of the tribal people. The administration does not think it advisable to have schools and hostels exclusively for scheduled castes as these are likely to encourage unhealthy segregation and social stratification.

Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands

The population is almost entirely Muslim although there is no 'purdah'. In the Laccadive and Amindivi Islands, the people

speaking Malayalam with local variations. In Minicoy island the language spoken is Mahl which is said to be allied to primitive Sinhalese. For purposes of development programmes, the entire population of the islands has been declared as scheduled tribe.

In 1956-57, when the Union Territory was first formed, there were nine elementary schools with 1,521 pupils and 28 teachers. Progress during the last four years has been very rapid, enrolment having increased to 3,222 by 1959-60. The number of schools increased to 15 (which includes four girls schools and five primary schools) and the number of teachers to 92.

The schools follow the curriculum and textbooks followed in Kerala. Provision has also been made for teaching coir-twisting, brush making, weaving chain mats etc., by appointing a coir instructor in each school.

While Mahl, the mother tongue of the people of Maldives, spoken by the Minicoites, is taught as a subject in the primary school at Minicoy the medium of instruction is Malayalam, mainly because of the absence of trained personnel and literature in Mahl.

The scheme of free midday meals for pupils has been introduced. The entire expenditure is met from the State funds.

The first ever high school which is a residential institution was established by the Government at Ameni in June, 1960. One more high school is proposed to be opened during the third plan.

Scholarships are liberally granted to student who have no facilities for secondary and higher education in the islands. At the university stage, the Government of Madras had exempted the students of these islands from the payment of tuition fee and in addition had awarded them a monthly stipend of Rs. 40 each to cover other expenses. The rate of scholarship has since been enhanced to Rs. 60 per month. So far, 19 students have availed themselves of these facilities and there are two graduates at present.

For the first time in the history of the islands, a student hailing from Minicoy joined an engineering college in 1958-59; two more

have joined since. The first ever student to join the pre-medical course was in 1959-60. Two more joined in 1960-61. They all get a scholarship of Rs. 60 per month each.

There were nine adult literacy centres in 1959-60. About 400 adults have been made literate so far. A number of youth welfare and sports clubs have also been organized.

The islanders were originally opposed to girls' education, but this opposition is dying out fast. To attract more girls to school and to retain them on rolls, women are given preference for employment as teachers. There are 16 women teachers to-day. As an incentive a special supply of clothing has been arranged for girls attending primary schools.

Teachers are given pay scales at the central rates. An additional allowance of 40% of the basic pay is offered to serve as an incentive. It is also proposed to provide residential facilities for teachers.

The provision for education in the third plan is substantially large.

Some of the schemes proposed in the third plan are (1) provision for the enrolment of 2,000 additional children in primary schools, (2) special measures for stepping up the enrolment of girls, (3) scholarships to be awarded at the University stage and for technical and professional education, (4) the development of the existing high school at Androth, (5) organization of labour and social service camps and educational tours of students and teachers to the mainland; and (6) construction of school buildings and teachers' quarters.

Manipur

A statement of schools, enrolment, scholarships and hostels for the scheduled tribes over the last ten years is given below.

Year	No. of Schools	Enrolment	Scholarships	Hostels
1947-48	125	7,064
1958-59	784	39,072	316	61
1960-61 estimated	900	42,000	440	70

During the second plan 72 tribal writers were given subsidies for the production of literature in tribal dialects.

North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA)

It is inhabited by diverse tribal people speaking different dialects. Some tribes like the Khamptis and the Adis have already made good progress educationally while others like the Idus and the Taraons (Digarus) have been slow in appreciating the need of education. By and large a definite educational consciousness has grown of late in the people of the Agency.

The mother tongue of the tribal pupils has been made the medium of instruction and, textbooks have been prepared in various tribal languages. Assamese, which is introduced in class I of the primary stage, is the medium of instruction from class IV onwards.

At present there are five full-fledged high schools inclusive of one at Pasighat. Each high school is equipped with a science laboratory, a good library and sports equipments. There is also the Jawaharlal Nehru College at Pasighat. A hostel is attached to each high school with separate arrangements for boys and girls. Students staying in the hostels are given free board and lodging. Textbooks are also free for students. The standards of instruction and examination in the high schools are satisfactory.

Social service is a subject in the school curriculum which includes social activities such as cleaning of the school, repair of school buildings, cleaning of jungle around the school and maintenance of the school field. Besides, annual social service camps are organized in every division, in which a number of schools participate.

There are no separate girls' institutions in NEFA. However, separate hostels for girls have been attached to high schools and each placed under a woman Assistant Superintendent. Looking at the increasing enrolment of girls in schools every year and the fact that some are even continuing their studies at the highest stages, the educational future of the people of NEFA looks bright.

Poor and deserving students used to be granted scholarships in primary and secondary schools before 1956-57. However, with the provision of free education, free hostel facilities, free clothing, free books and slates etc., the practice of awarding scholarships has since been discontinued. There is a provision, however, for 25 primary scholarships of Rs. 5 per month each and 10 middle scholarships of Rs.7 per month each.

Despite the stress on quality, education in NEFA has undergone considerable expansion. At present there are 129 primary schools, 14 middle schools, 5 high schools and a college. In the Third Plan, a provision of Rs. 80 lakhs has been recommended for further educational development.

Tripura

An important activity for tribal welfare is the provision of hostels. In 1950-51, there were 220 boys in hostels of whom 114 studied in primary schools. With the recent expansion of primary education, the need for hostels has shifted from the primary stage to the secondary. In 1958-59, there were 407 students residing in free hostels and a great majority of them were in receipt of stipends.

Steps are also being taken to foster the revival of culture of different tribes inhabiting Tripura. Grants are given to cultural organizations for the revival of folk arts. A number of cultural centres have been opened at places where tribal people live in large numbers.

Cash rewards for teachers and others for acquiring proficiency in the tribal dialects have been instituted and a Tripuri-Bengali-English dictionary has been published. Attempts are also being made to bring out suitable primers in Tripuri so that some of the tribal students, at least, may have primary education through their mother tongue. Teachers in the basic training colleges of Tripura have to undergo courses in the Tripuri dialect so that their work with the tribal students may be more effective.

Annexure I

The number of schools, ashram schools (residential) and hostels established under the welfare programme for scheduled tribes during the second plan period, under both the States and Central Sectors is given in the following table on the basis of the information supplied by the Planning Commission.

State/Union Territory	No. of schools	No. of ashram schools (residential)	No. of hostels	Remarks
Andhra Pradesh	20	2	40	
Assam	NA	...	23	
Bihar	223	...	99	
Kerala	201	1	...	
Madhya Pradesh	430	2	91	
Madras	38	...	5	
Maharashtra*	51	54	10	
Mysore	24	...	20	
Orissa	...	151	123	
Punjab	17	12	2	
Rajasthan	47	21	31	
West Bengal	29	...	27	
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	4	
Himachal Pradesh	22**	5	...	
Manipur	152	...	52	
Nagaland	
Tripura	85	

NA : Not available.

* : Including Gujarat.

** : Including four mobile schools.

Annexure 2

Table showing the assistance rendered to tribal students by way of scholarships in the middle school and high school stages as well as free grant of books during the period 1956-61.

State/Union Territory	No. of scholarships granted	No. of freeships, bookgrants etc.
Andhra Pradesh	12,835	17,733
Assam	8,740	2,444
Bihar	15,000	2,500
Kerala	22,426	...
Madhya Pradesh	1,34,189	...
Madras	330	...
Maharashtra*	26,129	NA
Mysore	2,519	10,195
Orissa	NA	NA
Punjab	6,704	...
Rajasthan	68,852	2,139
West Bengal	1,639	53,937
Himachal Pradesh	922	399
Manipur	440	58
Tripura	...	4,608

* : Including Gujarat.

NA : Information not available.

Annexure 3

Table showing the number of post-matric scholarships awarded yearly and expenditure incurred thereon.

Year	No. of scholarships awarded	Expenditure incurred (in Rupees)
1948-49	84	45,986
1949-50	186	94,965
1950-51	348	1,85,301
1951-52	675	2,81,780
1952-53	1,093	5,82,452
1953-54	1,587	8,18,538
1954-55	2,356	12,37,733
1955-56	2,883	13,05,238
1956-57	3,482	15,77,850
1957-58	4,300	18,97,538
1958-59	4,821	20,76,206
1959-60	6,112	23,88,691
Total	27,827	1,24,92,278

Annexure 4

Statement showing year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of Education since the inception of the Blocks till 30th September, 1959.

State	Revised Sche- matic Budget	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60 till 30-9-59	Total	Percentage of expendi- ture to re- vised Sche- matic Budget
1. Andhra Pradesh	3,03,000	3,844	39,522	93,582	33,295	1,70,243	56.19
2. Assam	5,63,000	8,400	68,044	1,04,663	38,360	2,19,467	38.98
3. Bihar	6,00,000	64,739	27,370	1,09,085	15,934	2,28,695**	38.12
4. Bombay	21,73,880	7,096	2,15,966	3,29,330	1,59,910	7,12,302	32.77
5. Madhya Pradesh	7,90,000	6,500	1,64,383	1,55,208	42,373	3,68,464	46.64
6. Orissa	3,47,200	17,464	67,794	71,929	24,692	1,92,356***	55.40
7. Rajasthan	75,000	8,000	8,750	11,577	898	29,225	38.97
8. Manipur	80,000	...	12,897	6,480	...	19,377	24.22
9. Tripura	75,000	...	22,500	10,000	10,300	42,800	57.07
Total	50,07,080	1,16,043	6,27,226	8,91,854	3,25,762	19,82,929*	39.60

*Includes Rs. 22,044 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

**Includes Rs. 11,567 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

***Includes Rs. 10,477 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

Annexure 5
Statement showing year-wise expenditure incurred in respect of Social Education since the inception of the Blocks till 30th September, 1959.

State	Revised Sche- matic Budget	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	Total	Percentage of expendi- ture to re- vised Sche- matic Budget
1. Andhra Pradesh	3,00,000	13,105	63,495	48,074	16,856	1,41,530	47.18
2. Assam	4,76,742	6,816	72,390	83,875	31,845	1,94,926	40.89
3. Bihar	6,65,630	56,034	78,388	1,28,499	19,237	2,97,689**	44.72
4. Bombay	7,57,662	813	64,798	2,08,717	49,687	3,34,015	44.08
5. Madhya Pradesh	7,50,000	7,777	1,07,284	2,02,261	33,576	3,50,898	46.79
6. Orissa	3,47,636	40,985	69,785	76,398	29,296	2,38,500***	68.61
7. Rajasthan	75,000	268	19,127	16,850	2,314	38,559	51.41
8. Manipur	61,000	...	12,098	12,820	4,77	25,395	41.63
9. Tripura	75,000	...	27,345	39,047	21,029	87,421	116.56
Total	35,08,670	1,25,798	5,14,710	8,16,541	2,14,317	17,08,933*	48.71

*Includes Rs. 37,567 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

**Includes Rs. 15,531 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

***Includes Rs. 22,036 spent before the Multipurpose Blocks were started.

B. A Brief Information on Different Topics of the Working Paper.

I. Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education

1. There are two types of schools functioning in the tribal areas : residential schools like ashram schools and non-residential schools. Facilities of scholarship, free education, free clothing, midday meals etc. are provided which are not considered adequate. It has been found by different committees and commissions that the school buildings are in most cases situated far from the villages, are in dilapidated condition and need repair. They should be made in the local style. It is also recommended that ashram schools and basic schools should be encouraged and more facilities should be provided to develop craft, art, music etc.

2. It is experienced that the programmes of tribal education do not cover the entire country. The voluntary agencies have done some work and they should be encouraged. It is suggested that a Co-ordinating Council should be set up at district, state and national levels.

3. Because of the fact that the teachers are not regularly attending the schools, the students are also irregular and not punctual. Right type of teachers should be appointed and disciplinary action against the recalcitrant should be taken. As the boys and girls help their parents in every sphere, they do not want to send their children to schools at the cost of economic benefit they get. Midday meal, clothing, free books and stationery to all the tribal children where education has not made sufficient headway should be given. Because the children at certain places are forced to attend the school against their will, they and their parents do not co-operate and they leave the school whenever they get an excuse. All this leads to a

large percentage of wastage and stagnation in tribal schools (E.C.)¹

4. It would be ideal to strike a balance between quality and quantity. It is considered practical to stress on quantity at lower educational levels and quality at higher levels.

5. The number of scholarships is required to be increased. The irregularity in paying the amount of scholarship should be checked and the amount should reach the student every month in time. They may be sent with the salary of teachers. The scholarships are generally paid late. They should be paid a fortnight before the student joins the school or college. Amount of scholarship should be increased to cover all expenses.

II. Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education

1. It is agreed that the existing number of schools in tribal areas is not sufficient and the pupils have to come from a long distance to attend the school. It is suggested that if opening of school in small hamlets is not possible a school may be opened wherever 30 children of school-going age are available. The school should not be more than one mile away from the village and in no case a child should walk more than two miles (D. C.) In the villages covering large areas, more than one school may be opened and rigid norms should not be applied. The teacher-pupil ratio in tribal schools should not be more than 1:25 and in no case it should be more than 1:40. There should be one high school in an area equivalent to a

¹ In the pages that follow the abbreviations used represent as follows:

E.C. — Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, New Delhi, 1960

D.C. — Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, New Delhi, 1962

R.R.C. — Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes, Delhi, 1959

S.C.&S.T. — Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1962-63, Delhi, 1964

Abbreviation given in parenthesis after a paragraph means that that paragraph has been taken from the report for which the abbreviation stands.

Tribal Development Block. More residential schools may be opened (S.C.&S.T.)

2. It has been emphasized that teachers working in the tribal areas must have a thorough knowledge of tribal life and culture and know the local language. Teachers from tribal communities may be appointed even if they have passed class VII or VIII. The interested non-tribal teachers may also be appointed and posted after training (D.C.) More women should be appointed so that there will be one woman teacher in every primary school by the end of Third Plan (R.R.C.)

3. It has been stressed that the teachers in tribal areas must be trained. The tribal boys and girls should be trained and posted in the tribal areas. In Andhra Pradesh boys and girls from the villages who have studied up to standard IV only have been trained for one year and given Rs. 20/- per month and posted in tribal areas. The teachers training schools should be situated in the tribal areas.

4. It is suggested that there should be a special cadre for the teachers of tribal areas for a period of 20 years unless communication of that area develops (D.C.) It has been agreed that the pay scales of the teachers are generally low. It has been impressed upon the state governments to raise the pay scales of teachers. Government of India is giving grant-in-aid for this.

5. It is experienced that the tribal children pick up lessons easily when they are taught through tribal dialect. It is felt that the tribal dialects should be developed and preserved. Only the major tribal dialects should be developed.

6. In most of the states the medium of instruction at present is the regional language which is not suited to the needs of the tribal areas. In the primary schools the tribal dialects should be introduced as medium of instruction (R.R.C. and E.C.) The tribal dialect should be the medium of instruction up to class II (D.C.) The Devanagari script should, as far as possible, be introduced except in areas where the prevailing script of the regional language is more easily adoptable and acceptable.

7. It is suggested that there should be a uniform policy for tribal education. It should be the responsibility of the education department which should maintain a liaison with tribal welfare department. The tribal education is attended by many agencies but the pattern of all these should be the same. Ashram schools should be encouraged and one system of education should be evolved.

III. Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education

1. A number of suggestions have been made to create interest in education among the tribal children. The surrounding of the schools should be suited to the tribal culture and traditions. The holidays and timings should be adopted suiting to the local festivals and agricultural seasons. The content of the textbooks should be related to local history and local events and written in tribal dialects. Pictures of local history, vegetation, animals etc. should be displayed and dancing, hunting and recreational programmes should also be introduced (D.C.)

2. It is found that the social barriers also come in the way of tribal education. It is the impression among the tribal people that the boys and girls become sophisticated when they go to schools and then look down upon other people. They form new habits and demand new things which the parents can ill afford. They often come in conflict with the boys of the traditional youth dormitories and hence the parents are reluctant to send their children to schools. It is suggested that simple equipments should be supplied and simplicity should be maintained. The local institutions should be encouraged (E.C.)

3. It is pointed out that the tribal people are not ready to send their children to the school at the cost of economic benefit they derive from the children. The tribal boys work in the field and jungle and graze cattle and follow many other economic pursuits, and girls help their mothers. There is a strict division of labour among the members of the family. And so they cannot afford to send their children to school. It is suggested that mid-day meal, clothing, free books and stationery should be supplied

in tribal areas where education has not made sufficient headway (D.C. & E.C.)

4. Emphasis has been laid on imparting technical training to the tribal children. The educational system should help the traditional system of agriculture, forestry, cattle rearing and cottage industries. It should be craft-oriented and only those crafts should be included in the ashram schools which the boys and girls are likely to carry on in their later life and which will be of real economic value to them (E.C.)

IV. Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education

1. It has been emphasized that the curricula of primary schools in tribal areas should be based on agriculture and forestry, practical training in agriculture should be given for which half an acre of land should be attached to every school. The secondary school should also aim at agriculture and fifteen to twenty years may be spent for this (E.C.) Dance, drama, songs, archery, art and hunting etc. should be included in the curriculum. There is an aptitude among the tribal students for technical education and there is a need for technical personnel (D.C.)

2. It is agreed that ashram schools are functioning well and producing better result. These should be encouraged. Though there are a few dangers as pointed out by the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, even then this system is suitable for the tribal areas and the number of ashram schools should be increased. Attention should also be paid to encourage basic education.

3. Besides the existing methods of education the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission has suggested for the introduction of audio-visual aids in tribal education which could not be started up till now due to lack of finance and communication facilities. The demonstration in tribal dialect may create interest among them.

4. It is agreed that the textbooks are not suitable. They may have to be based on and related to tribal life and culture without substantially deviating from the general outline of the

syllabus for primary schools. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission and Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have also pointed out that material for this may be drawn from tribal areas. In secondary stage the common books may be prescribed.

5. It has been emphasized that like NEFA administration tribal dialects may be introduced in the primary schools in tribal areas. Folklores, folktales, local history, songs, biographies of important personalities in social, religious and political fields may be included in the textbooks. Some of the tribal people have started writing articles in magazines in their mother tongue which should be encouraged. Textbooks may be prepared in major tribal dialects.

V. Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal People

1. A distinction has been made between a voluntary agency and a non-official agency in that the former is spontaneous in its origin whereas the latter is sponsored. Voluntary agencies have their roots in the soil and they have a record of service to their credit. They have personal approach and mobilize community support on the basis of the service they render, as such people are more willing to contribute (R.R.C.)

2. The Ministry of Home Affairs gives grants to non-official agencies of an all-India character directly, while they subscribe 50% of expenditure on grants given to agencies of a local character, the remaining amount being made up by state government or the agency itself. Some of the local agencies get even cent per cent grant on certain terms and conditions, others are required to contribute certain percentage which varies from 10 to 20. The Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks feels that too great a dependence on government will tend to weaken the initiative of the voluntary agencies. The rates of grant-in-aid given to the institutions varies. This should be same for all institutions in one state. Since they are under the control of State governments and Union territory administration they should be properly inspected (S.C. & S.T.)

3—4. With the sharing of responsibilities of proper utilization of funds and execution of work both the governments and the voluntary agencies have to co-operate with each other. The functioning of these agencies also requires the proper support of the governments. It has been suggested that Co-ordination Councils should be set up at the district, state and national levels. Initially the proposed Councils may be convened at the state level by State governments in consultation with the State Social Welfare Boards. The Councils once established should organize themselves and function under rules of procedure evolved by them (R.R.C.) 'The more voluntary activity there is, the more real democracy and true democracy there is' (H. Laski in E.C.) The non-official agencies which are implementing certain programmes like ashram schools or Forest Labour Co-operative Societies as agencies of government should receive the total cost of the schemes for non-recurring items, their own contribution taking the form of supervision and providing trained workers who have knowledge and enthusiasm. Government should also ensure that the various non-official agencies should avoid duplication of activities not only as amongst themselves but also those undertaken by government in the same area. Without disturbing the continuity of the programmes, non-official agencies should be assured well in advance of the funds that will be made available so that they can assess the scope of the work that they can undertake.

SOURCES

The information given in this section on 'Background Material on Tribal Education' has been almost entirely drawn from the following sources. In order to maintain consistency and to represent the reports in their original form as originally printed they have not been given within quotes.

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|--|--|
| 1. National Council of Educational Research and Training (Ministry of Education) | <i>A Review of Education in India, 1947-61</i> |
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2. Government of India (Ministry of Home Affairs) *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1962-63*, Delhi, The Manager of Publications, 1964
3. Government of India (Ministry of Home Affairs) *Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks*, New Delhi, 1960
4. Government of India (Ministry of Home Affairs) *Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission 1960-61*, Delhi, The Manager of Publications, 1962
5. Material collected from the different States by the Tribal Education Unit of the Department of Adult Education

V. PAPERS PRESENTED

PAPERS PRESENTED

EXISTING FACILITIES, COVERAGE, WASTAGE, STAGNATION AND UTILIZATION OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN RESPECT OF TRIBAL EDUCATION

—S. K. Kaul

The spread of education among the weaker sections of society is an essential pre-requisite to their all-round development, and one of the most important media to assure to them benefits of various safeguards provided under the Constitution. Apparently, with this aim in view, the makers of our august Constitution made it one of the Directive Principles of State Policy to promote with special care, *inter alia*, the educational interests of the weaker sections of the people, particularly of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It is encouraging that of all the welfare schemes undertaken during the first two Five Year Plans for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the most successful had been the scheme for their educational development. Even in the Third Five Year Plan, this scheme is found to be equally popular and successful. This view is also supported by the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan, made by the Planning Commission, which reveals that during the first two years of the Plan, the expenditure on educational schemes had been more than what was envisaged. The Government of India have further decided that with effect from 1962-63, the State governments will be allowed 75 per cent grant (100 per cent for programmes in Hill Districts of Assam only) for their educational schemes, financed under State Sector Programmes of the

Backward Classes. This has obviously been done for educational advancement of these people, and is a welcome step.

The above assessment of the progress made in the field of education, is based on financial achievements only. It is regretted that it is not possible to ascertain the extent of benefits accruing under this scheme, to the scheduled tribes, in terms of physical achievements. This is so, because it has not been possible for the Ministry of Education, so far, to make the required statistical data available for such a study. The matter was taken up very recently, again with that Ministry and they have now kindly agreed to collect necessary data, but from the year 1964-65 only. It is after the receipt of this information only that it will be possible for this organization (Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) to study whether progress made in the advancement of education amongst these people is on the right lines.

The percentage of literacy among the scheduled tribes is very low. It is only 8.54 per cent as against the general literacy rate of 24 per cent. Similarly in case of tribal girls it is as poor as 3.2 per cent. Keeping these figures in view the following suggestions may be considered.

- (i) Due to their extreme poverty, it is not possible for the scheduled tribe children to attend educational institutions, whether for pre-matric or post-matric studies. It is, therefore, necessary that education at all stages should be provided free to them. It is understood that it is so except that in some states income of the parent or the guardian is taken into consideration before exempting the scheduled tribes students from payment of tuition fees. In Madras and Pondicherry, exemption is given to the scheduled tribe students from payment of tuition fees provided the income of their parent or guardian does not exceed Rs. 1,500 per annum. In Gujarat, free studentship is allowed to those students belonging to these communities whose parent's or guardian's total income from all sources does not

exceed Rs. 3,000, and half free studentship is awarded if their parent's or guardian's income exceeds Rs. 3,000 but does not exceed Rs. 4,800. In the Mahakoshal region of Madhya Pradesh exemption is given to students reading in institutions run by non-official agencies, but in Madhya Bharat region the institutions are re-imbursed the loss provided there are no government institutions at the place or the student belonging to these communities are refused admission in government institutions. In the Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal regions, however, no such exemption is given. In West Bengal, no exemption is given from payment of tuition fees to the scheduled tribe students studying in aided institutions. It is, therefore, strongly felt that such of the State governments and Union Territory administrations as do not exempt students belonging to these communities, studying in aided schools, from payment of tuition fees, should afford this facility to them also.

- (ii) In some of the states there is a practice of offering cash incentives to the families of the scheduled tribes, in order to persuade them to send their children to schools. This step has been considered necessary apparently because the children of the scheduled tribes help their parents in their earnings and, therefore, when they are sent to the schools, the earning power of the family is adversely affected. Whatever be the reason for such a step, it would be desirable to discourage this practice. Instead, appropriate propaganda should be made amongst the scheduled tribes as regards the utility of education for their children, so that parents may realize the importance of sending their children to schools, not for the sake of money but for the sake of benefits accruing from education. In order, however, to ensure that admission of their children to schools does not become a

financial burden on the parents, it is necessary to give to these children all possible educational facilities and concessions, supplemented with clothing, midday meals etc.

- (iii) Since students belonging to scheduled tribes have at times to attend schools situated far away from their homes, it is necessary that hostel facilities should be provided to them, as far as possible.
- (iv) Instances have come to notice which indicate that stipends given to scheduled tribe students living in hostels, are not sufficient to meet the cost of board, lodging, uniforms, books, educational equipments etc. It is, therefore, desirable that adequate attention is paid to this question and value of the stipend increased, wherever necessary.
- (v) It has been noticed that in some of the states, the scheduled tribe students are required to pay special fees to the educational institutions. Such instances have come to notice particularly in Andhra Pradesh where such special fees are being charged in some of the high schools. Clear instructions should be issued on the subject and the scheduled tribe students saved from this financial burden.
- (vi) It has been noticed that a large number of scheduled tribe students go in for non-technical studies. Education should necessarily relate to the public service requirements and for that purpose, adequate guidance should be available to the scheduled tribe children, at different stages of education, in the matter of selecting courses suitable to their aptitudes and to the available employment opportunities. Since there are more opportunities for employment in vocational and technical trades, it is desirable to attract more of these students to go in for technical education. For that purpose, suitable incentives, by way of higher

stipends and other facilities, should be provided in technical and vocational courses. It is necessary, and rather urgent, to take suitable steps for diversification of education among the scheduled tribes, which is already long over due, so that sufficient number of candidates belonging to these communities could be available for technical and professional posts.

Primary Education.

A primary school should be located within the village and as some of the tribal villages extend over a wide area, it may often be necessary to open more than one school in a village; the norms of the Education Department should not be rigidly enforced for opening of schools in the tribal areas. The vacations should be so arranged as to coincide with the sowing and harvesting times, when tribal parents require aid of as many hands as possible.

Primary education is the base on which the pyramid of higher education has to be built. A study of failures in the post-matric scholarship scheme, made by the Union Ministry of Education, has revealed the urgent need of improving the educational standard among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the lower stages. At many places, particularly in the tribal areas, the standard is very poor. It is primarily due to the fact that there are too many pupils in a class to be controlled by a teacher. It is, therefore, important that teacher-pupil ratio in primary schools located in the tribal areas, should not be more than 1 : 40. Some of the primary schools started for the scheduled tribes are run by the Tribal Welfare Departments in many states. This task is also entrusted to non-official agencies, some of whom have, no doubt, done admirable work in this field. In some of the states, the Education Departments are running these schools. A decision was taken at the meeting of the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare (of the Ministry of Home Affairs), held in December, 1959 that all schools opened in the tribal areas should be taken over by the Education Department. This is necessary for maintenance of common standards in all such schools. It appears that this

decision has not been implemented, so far, by the various states concerned. It is hoped that early action in that respect will be taken. Non-official agencies may be permitted to run schools in tribal areas, if they conform to the standards prescribed by the Education Department of the State.

In some states stipends, book-grants etc. are given in cash to the students. It would be desirable, instead, to supply books, midday meals, uniforms and other equipments to the students. The State governments should give the highest priority to the provision of midday meals in tribal areas, as most tribal children suffer from malnutrition. Teachers should also take particular care about the hygienic and sanitary habits of the pupils in their charge. Periodical medical examination of tribal children is also very important.

Secondary Education

In the tribal areas, generally speaking, secondary schools are not sufficient in number, and the standard of education imparted is comparatively lower, making it difficult for the more promising children to go in for higher education. It is desirable that there should be at least one high school for an area equivalent to the coverage of a Tribal Development Block. Such an area should also have at least five middle schools.

Post-matric Education

The scheme of awarding post-matric scholarships to the scheduled castes or tribes was decentralized from the year 1959-60 ; and although the Ministries of Education and Home Affairs (Now Department of Social Welfare) have since then continued to bear major financial burden of the scheme, the State governments and Union Territory administrations are administering it according to the rules and regulations framed by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education, which had a substantial provision for the scheme in their normal budget, did not provide any money for the expansion of the scheme after 1958-59, apparently, on the plea that a separate provision exists in the Ministry of Home Affairs for the sche-

cheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It is for the Government of India to examine how far this action of the Ministry of Education is in line with the general policy decision that the general programme should also cater, adequately, for the backward classes.

In Maharashtra, a useful study of scholarships awarded to the scheduled caste and the scheduled tribe students, for post-matric studies, in 1962-63, was undertaken by the State government. The main findings of this study are given below :

- (i) 297 scheduled tribe students were awarded scholarships. Percentage of students belonging to the scheduled tribes who were awarded stipends comes to 0.012 to their total population in the State.
- (ii) Progress of post-matric education amongst certain categories of the scheduled tribes is very low, even though their population is quite large. For example, while 17.17 per cent of the scholarships awarded to the scheduled tribes in the State, went to students belonging to the Gond tribe, which forms 11.37 per cent of the total scheduled tribe population of the State, not a single scholarship was awarded to any student belonging to the Varli tribe, which forms 10.17 per cent of scheduled tribe population of that State.
- (iii) Nearly 75 per cent of the scheduled tribe students took arts, science and commerce courses. The percentage of students taking up professional or technical courses was comparatively very low.

It will be seen from the above account that certain educationally backward communities among the scheduled tribes are not taking full advantage of the facilities offered, and need special guidance and more encouragement to go in for higher education.

In order to ensure early disbursement of scholarships to students, it is suggested that the State governments and Union Territory administrations should evolve suitable methods of dis-

tribution of scholarships for the purpose. It is also desirable to issue instructions to all Principals of government and private colleges to the effect that they should not charge admission, tuition and other fees from such of the students belonging to these communities, as are *prima facie* eligible for freeship. An assurance should be given to these institutions that fees would be reimbursed to them later. To avoid financial hardships to students in the beginning of the academic session, it would be helpful if the State governments and Union Territory administrations place sufficient amounts at the disposal of the Principals of the government and private educational institutions, on the basis of scholarships awarded to students during the previous year, with instructions that students fulfilling the prescribed conditions should be immediately given scholarships and their applications sent to the officer concerned for further scrutiny and formal sanction.

Instances have come to notice, which indicate that occasionally the scheduled tribe students are faced with the danger of having their names removed from the rolls of educational institutions due to non-payment of fees, pending the award of scholarships. Such a situation can be saved if the scheme of freeship, at post-matric stage, is separated from that of granting post-matric scholarships.

Under the rules for the award of post-matric scholarships, students pursuing courses other than medical and engineering, are deprived of scholarship facilities if they fail in an examination even for the first time. This rule deprives the scheduled tribe students of an opportunity to continue their studies, and also results in wastage of scholarship amounts already drawn by them. To avoid this wastage, and also to ensure continuity of education, it is felt that this rule should be suitably modified in order to allow condonation of one failure in the case of students pursuing general and academic courses and two failures in the case of those pursuing technical and professional courses.

The value of scholarships, under the scheme, was fixed a number of years back. On account of general rise in cost of

living, it is necessary that the Government of India should consider the desirability of increasing the amount of scholarships for post-matric studies. It is also felt that value of scholarship need not be uniform throughout the country, but should relate to cost of living in different states and Union territories. It is also desirable that, wherever necessary, medical aid should be made available to the post-matric students belonging to the scheduled tribes and the amounts, thus spent, should be paid out of a special grant that should be placed at the disposal of the principals of various colleges.

Reservation of seats in Technical and Educational Institutions, Lowering of Admission Criteria and Relaxation of Age Limits for entry into these Institutions

The Ministry of Education have requested all the Ministries of the Government of India, the State governments and the Union Territory administrations and also the Vice-Chancellors of all Universities, to give following concessions to the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students, in the matter of their admission to educational institutions controlled by them :

- (i) A distinct reservation of 15 per cent for the scheduled castes and 5 per cent for the scheduled tribes. The reservation can be inter-changeable, that is to say, if a sufficient number of candidates is not available to fill up the seats reserved for the scheduled tribes, they may be filled up by suitable candidates from the scheduled castes and *vice versa* ;
- (ii) where admissions are restricted to candidates who obtain a certain minimum percentage of marks, and not merely the passing of certain examination there may be a 5 per cent reduction for them, provided that the lower percentage prescribed does not fall below the minimum required to pass the qualifying examination ; and,
- (iii) the minimum age limit for admission of students belonging to these communities should be raised by three years.

In so far as admission to technical institutions is concerned the Ministry of Education have suggested that the above mentioned three fold concessions should be given for the admission of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students and also a minimum qualifying standard should be prescribed for admission to any technical institutions. Students belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should be eligible for admission to the reserved seats if they attain this minimum standard without any reference to the gap between their marks and the marks of the last person admitted to the open seats.

It is observed that many Ministries of the Government of India, State governments, and Universities are not following the above mentioned suggestions. It is, therefore, necessary that the Ministry of Education should make earnest efforts to ensure that the suggestions made by them for giving educational concessions for the admission of the scheduled tribes are accepted and implemented by the various Ministries of the Government of India, State governments, Union Territory administrations and Universities. Technical institutions should also consider the starting of special tutorial classes for the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students to enable them to come up to the standards of other students. The cost of such classes should be met by the government. The State governments should also consider the desirability of appointing a liaison officer, who should be entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that reservations in technical and educational institutions are allowed to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, and he should also make suitable suggestions for filling reserved seats, so that the policy laid down by the Ministry of Education is fully implemented.

SOME BASIC PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL EDUCATION

—L.R.N. Srivastava

Education for the tribal people has today become a matter of great importance. Ever since India gained Independence a considerable amount of money has been spent so that the tribal people, who are undeveloped and neglected, could get a fair deal. It has been generally recognized that India being a Welfare State cannot afford to leave a particular section of its population behind in the field of education. This would be against the principles of democratic development of the country. There is hardly any necessity, therefore, to emphasize the need and importance of education for the tribal people in India. These are felt by everyone everywhere. Taking into account the considerable amount of money and manpower being utilized for the purpose, one could naturally expect that the tribal people would be able to shorten the gap in the educational levels which exists between them and their neighbouring communities within a very short period. But the reality of the situation tells a different tale. Tribal societies have made some but not enough progress. There is some snag somewhere. There are many and varied problems which need urgent attention from those concerned in any way with the betterment of the tribal people. Let us discuss them one by one.

1. School

I

Whenever we start discussing a problem of tribal education we are confronted with the lack of relevant data, in absence of which it cannot be more than a surmise to say whether the number of schools in tribal areas is enough. Even

statewise figures of schools in tribal and non-tribal areas are not available. But let us consider such figures as are available. Nagaland and NEFA are the only two state and Union territory where the indigenous population is almost cent per cent tribal. Though these figures may not prove anything conclusively, yet they may give a rough idea of the number of schools in these areas compared to that in the country as a whole. Position in other tribal areas could hardly be expected to be better.

Table 1: Number of primary schools etc. during the year 1960-61.¹

	No. of primary schools	No. of pupils in primary schools	Average enrolment in a primary school	Average popula- tion ser- ved by a primary school	Average area served by a primary school (sq. miles)
India	3,31,674	2,66,49,380	80	1,322	3.8
Nagaland	474	40,033	84	779	13.4
NEFA	127	4,595	36	2,654	247.5

We have to consider the adequacy of schools in tribal areas in relation to those in the entire country. In case of Nagaland, for every 779 people there is one primary school and in each primary school there are 84 pupils on an average, while the corresponding figures for the country is 1,322 and 80 respectively. Thus if the number of primary school in India is enough that in Nagaland is more than enough. But we cannot consider these figures in isolation. These are closely related to the political situations there. During the last ten years of strife and hostility, there has been, contrary to what one would expect, a great demand by the people for opening of schools, and now primary schools are scattered all over Nagaland. Commenting on this situation Verrier Elwin reports that, 'For the Nagas perhaps the most important aspect of progress is in the field of education, for which there is a great demand. During the disturbances of 1955-56, however, education came

¹ National Council of Educational Research and Training, *The India Yearbook of Education, 1964* (New Delhi, 1964), pp. 640-41, 652-53.

almost to a standstill. The rebels insisted that schools should be closed and school masters were asked to stop teaching. Many schools were burnt, in Tuensang District alone fifteen being destroyed by the rebels, though a few struggled on ... So strong is the desire for education that in many villages people have opened schools at their own expense and the Rengma and Chakhesang Nagas have even started High schools for themselves. In Mokokchung the people have collected money to start a college which they named after the Late Mr S. Fazl Ali, a former Governor of Assam.¹ For a mountainous state having less communication facilities than the rest of India, to have a primary school for every 13.4 sq. miles is in itself an achievement. But when we turn to NEFA, we find that the figures are not very encouraging. There are only 127 primary schools with an enrolment of 4,595, that is to say, 36 pupil for every school. This is only 45% of the average enrolment in a school in the country as a whole. The coverage of population is lesser and area covered by a primary school is too big(—)each school catering for a population of 2,654, almost double of the national figure, and an area of 247.5 sq. miles, that is, 65 times the area covered by a primary school in India. Except from these two tribal state and territory figures of schools, enrolment, coverage etc. are not available separately for tribal and non-tribal areas of other states. It is difficult, therefore, to say precisely whether the number of schools in the tribal areas are adequate or not. But, by and large, the tribal areas, particularly those in far off and isolated corners of states are not adequately covered by schools.

II

Most of the schools in tribal areas with the exception of a few are one-teacher schools. The main consideration before the state governments for posting teacher in a school is perhaps the enrolment. The average enrolment in a tribal school being 20-30, it will not be financially a sound proposition to post more than one teacher there. One of the serious drawbacks in this system is the inadequate attention paid by the

Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland* (Shillong, 1961), pp. 93-94.

teacher to the pupils. Though there may be a limited number of pupils in each of the classes the fact remains that the one teacher has to attend to all the classes, which he manages by teaching the relevant subjects to one or two of them and by giving writing or reading assignments to others. The effect of this divided attention cannot be but detrimental. As most of the schools in tribal areas are in far off and isolated places there is no check on whether the teacher attends the school or not. During a recent tour to a tribal area I visited about a dozen schools and more than half of them were closed because the teacher did not attend the school. There was nobody to keep a check on this. A teacher is given leave according to the rules of the vacation departments. But he may also have to go on leave on various other occasions which may not coincide with the school vacations. When he goes during such occasions the school remains closed. As there is hardly any practice of home study among the tribal pupils and as there cannot be any effort made by the illiterate parents to see that their children read at home, the pupils immediately lose touch with their books and generally forget what they were taught in the previous few months. Thus their progress is greatly retarded. If there are two teachers in every primary school each can keep a check on the presence of the other and when one of them goes out on leave the school does not have to be closed down. In the initial stage school children need a little personal care and attention from the teacher. They are not in a position to read themselves without constant assistance from him which is not possible in one-teacher schools.

III

Whenever a new school is to be opened in a tribal area certain considerations have to be taken into account. The difficulty of communication is often very great in tribal areas. Tribal villages are often intersected with small streams and rivulets which are almost always unbridged and cannot be crossed during rains. The school, therefore, has to be very close to the village. The Dhebar Commission recommended

that, 'Where about 30 children of school going age are available in one locality, the primary school should not be located at a distance of more than one mile from the tribal dwellings. In no case should a child be required to walk for more than two miles to go to a school. The needs of widely scattered hamlets should be met by providing schools with hostel attached.'¹ As the situation is at present, willing students have to go quite a distance to attend school. Opening of a new school in a tribal area may also largely depend upon the population of the village. The state governments may say that it is difficult to open a primary school with less than 30 pupils. Now let us find out the total population a village must have to be able to send 30 children to school. As only 31.3% of the total population of school-going children in the age group 6—11 (primary standard) attend school in tribal areas, there have to be 96 school-going children in the village. As these children in the age-group 6-11 form 15.3% of the total population, the total population of the village should be 635 so as to send 30 children to school. And it is needless to say that there are not many tribal villages with a population of 635. But does it mean that such villages can never have primary schools? As we have got to give them schools we can solve the problem in three ways : either we do not impose any restriction on the minimum number of children that must be available to open a school ; or we intensify our drive for getting more and more children enrolled in the schools, or we open a common school for two or three villages within a radius of a mile or two with hostel facilities. The example of inter-village schools in NEFA where hostel facilities for students exist is a case to consider. There is a conspicuous lack of secondary schools in tribal areas. The Backward Classes Commission reported the lack of such schools as early as 1956. It said that, 'The great handicap under which students from the backward classes labour is the lack of an adequate number of Secondary Schools in rural areas. They find it extremely difficult to prosecute their studies in

¹ Government of India, *Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission* (New Delhi, 1962), Vol. I, 1960-61, p.224

school located far away from their homes. They have no means to pay for their stay in such places nor are there any board and lodging facilities for them.¹ The situation is hardly better today, ten years after the report was published.

IV

Generally speaking tribal parents do not show any enthusiasm or interest for opening schools in their villages. They take the situation stoically and it does not matter to them one way or the other. But there have been cases where the parents have shown marked disinclination and have disfavoured opening of schools because they fear that the children will be taken away from the economic pursuit and will be spoilt after getting education. Though such cases are few the parents' co-operation is necessary for opening schools. It would be a good thing to take them into confidence and consult them regarding the selection of site, construction of school building, its management and so on. Their interest will be greatly increased in the school building and teacher's residential quarters if they are given the contract for erecting and maintaining the buildings. The teacher who has to remain alone in the village has to depend upon the villagers for more than one thing. School should be regarded as a part and parcel of the village community and as good a village institution as a youth dormitory. To create the interest of the people in the school the latter should organize cultural activities every now and then and villagers should be invited to participate, offer constructive criticism and suggestions for improvement. At one place in a tribal area I know intimately, the village council set aside a part of the fine collected by it from the culprits towards the development of the school. In another village a land was under dispute for a considerably long period and it defied all solutions.

¹ Government of India, *Report of the Backward Classes Commission* (Delhi, 1956), Vol. I, p. 119

Ultimately it was resolved in one of the most remarkable manners. Both the contestants were deprived of the ownership of the land, and it was donated to the school. The pupils with the help of the villagers cultivated the land and the produce was enough for them to last the whole year. They had not to depend upon their families nor on the government assistance. In a certain tribal village the school had to be closed down because the local people were not consulted before erecting the school building. The site of the school building happened to be the abode of evil spirits and nobody dared go there. In past two men had gone there to cut wood and had contracted an unknown disease and died. People refused to send their children to school. The isolation of the place and the prevalent and concocted stories about the depredations of evil spirits generated such fear in the teacher's mind that ultimately he resigned and went home. Thus if the people are associated with the affairs of the school and if they take interest in it the school has every reason to flourish and show better results.

2. Teacher

I

Another important problem with regard to tribal education is that of teacher. As only eight out of every hundred tribal people are literate the number of tribal young men who have passed matriculation examination and who can take up teaching jobs can easily be imagined. Thus perforce the teachers have to be recruited from outside the tribal areas. I think there would be a general agreement with the view that these teachers are not suitably qualified and are quite unaware of the tribal way of life. As we do not have figures relating to qualifications of teachers in the tribal areas of other states except Nagaland and NEFA we will again consider figures relating to these State and Union Territory as representing the general situation in other tribal areas also.

Table 2 : Figures showing the qualifications etc. of teachers in primary schools during the year 1960-61.¹

	Graduate	Matriculates and above	Non- Matriculates	Total
India	4,625 (6.62)	2,64,587 (35.70)	4,72,483 (63.68)	7,41,695 (100.00)
Nagaland	NIL	21 (2.11)	973 (97.89)	994 (100.00)
NEFA	NIL	177 (69.97)	76 (30.03)	253 (100.00)

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentages)

It is significant to note that there is not a single graduate teacher in the primary schools either in Nagaland or in NEFA while the percentage of graduate teachers in the primary schools in India is 0.62. The figures given above indicate that the qualifications of primary school teacher in India as a whole is generally low; almost two thirds of the total number of teachers are non-matriculates. But in Nagaland and perhaps in other tribal areas too, the number of non-matriculate teachers is alarmingly high. In Nagaland almost 98% of the primary school teachers are non-matriculates. NEFA compares favourably with Nagaland and rest of the country. While there are as low as 35.70% matriculate teachers in India only 2.11% in Nagaland, there are as high as 69.97% in NEFA. The reasons, perhaps, are the better emoluments and amenities given to school teachers there.

Whatever may be the qualifications of these teachers most of them are unaware of the tribal way of life. They approach the tribal people with a sense of superiority and treat them as savage and uncivilized, a downtrodden people for

¹ National Council of Educational Research and Training, *The Indian Yearbook of Education, 1964* (New Delhi, 1964), pp. 678-79.

whose uplift they have condescended to work in their villages. Many of them even do not hesitate to treat them as belonging to sub-human stratum and feel it below their dignity to talk to them, mix with them and understand them and their cultural pattern.

II

The importance of selecting a right type of teacher cannot be overemphasized. Someone who once said that war was too important a business to be left to the soldiers might also have said that education was too important a business to be left to the teachers. It may be partly true, but, nevertheless, the teacher is the pivot of educational structure. However bright or imaginative a programme of education one may chalk out, great amount of money one may spend, nothing is likely to succeed unless the teacher is suitable to carry out the programmes. In tribal areas apart from general educational qualifications, special qualifications are required of a teacher. Most of the tribal areas are situated in isolated places without any facility of communication. A teacher, as indeed, any body else, may have to march many miles before he can reach a railway or bus station ; there may not be a medical man within a radius of twenty or more miles ; food available may be poor and inadequate ; he may have to remain cut off from his family and friends ; he may not have anybody to talk to. He may have to face all these difficulties. The greatest difficulty of all is the isolation in which he has to pass his days ; and isolation takes a heavy toll of your mental peace and health. But a good teacher has to overcome all these difficulties. Before anything else he has to have an understanding of and regard for the tribal values. He has to meet his people among whom he lives with a spirit of humility and respect. If he regards them as savage, barbarous and something belonging to the sub-human species he can never deliver the goods. If such is his attitude he will always be too reluctant to meet them at his own plane, will remain aloof and, consequently, will not get any co-operation from them without which it would be difficult for him to live in their territory.

A good teacher has to accept this challenge of nature and environment and try to fight it out and adjust himself to the surroundings rather than go on brooding over the matter. He should consider it a privilege and not a punishment to serve the tribal people who do need our attention. But such teachers are scarce to get. The type of teacher we are having is generally not suitable for such areas. He is always grumbling over his lot, cursing his superiors who posted him there and envying his colleagues who are posted in better areas. He takes it as a cruel punishment inflicted on him. Even the authorities consider a teacher suitably punished if he is transferred to a remote tribal area. He makes use of the slightest opportunity to put up his 'case' before his superior officers who may visit his school. But at the same time, there are a handful of teachers who take their job seriously and pull on fairly well with the tribal people. Their number is required to be increased.

Though the problem of finding suitable teacher is there its solution can be found in the tribal areas themselves. It would be ideal to have local tribal youngmen as teachers. But we are handicapped in this direction by the very low percentage of educated tribal youngmen who could take up teaching jobs. The tribal schools will have many advantages in having such a teacher who will teach the pupils in their mother tongue ; will be well-versed and conversant with the tribal culture and will be able to enthuse in his pupils a sense of pride in their own culture. But the problem is how to achieve all these ideals ? Unless there is a substantial increase in the levels of educational achievements of the tribal people a sufficient number of tribal teachers will not be forthcoming. A system of special stipends to students who have a knack for teaching and who would agree to take up teaching jobs after completion of their studies may be instituted.

III

We have already seen that most of the teachers in tribal areas are under-matriculates. No figures are available to show

the lowest qualification held by a teacher serving in a tribal area. But there would be many who have passed only the middle standard. The low qualification of a teacher naturally affects the standard of education. A teacher who himself had his education up to middle standard can hardly be considered efficient for teaching in primary schools. There is no dearth of non-tribal matriculates and given a proper incentive a large number of them would be available to serve in tribal areas. Matriculation should, therefore, be prescribed as the minimum qualification required for appointment of a non-tribal as a teacher. As we have not enough matriculate tribal youngmen we may bring down the minimum qualification in their case to class VIII or class IX. The tribal teachers will make up their deficiency in educational qualification by other qualities in them. It is essential to prescribe some sort of a qualification bar for the teachers as it is no use having unqualified and unsuitable teachers overwhelm the tribal areas.

IV

There is a general dearth of trained teachers in the country. The following table will show the position of trained teachers in India and Nagaland and NEFA.

Table 3 : Number of trained and untrained teachers in primary schools during the year 1960-61.¹

	No. of trained teachers	No. of untrained teachers	Total No. of teachers
India	4,75,124 (64.1)	2,66,571 (35.9)	* 7,41,695 (100.0)
Nagaland	171 (17.2)	823 (82.8)	994 (100.0)
NEFA	172 (68.0)	81 (32.0)	253 (100.0)

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentages)

In India a little over one-third of the total number of teachers in primary schools are untrained. The position in NEFA is slightly better. Except Manipur which also has a

predominant tribal population having only 10.4% trained teachers, Nagaland has the lowest percentage (17.2) of trained teachers in its primary schools. The position in other tribal areas of other states could not be expected to be better.

V

Considering the low percentages of trained teachers it is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of recruiting more and more trained teachers. As the problem of getting teachers for tribal areas is itself acute the situation will further deteriorate if there is any insistence on appointment of only trained teachers. The situation can be improved instead, by training the untrained teachers. This brings us to the inadequate number of training schools in states. Apparently attention has not been paid to the opening of adequate number of training schools commensurate with the increase in number of teacher-students receiving training at the training schools run by the states. As the number of training schools in tribal areas are not available separately the figures from four states having a large tribal population are given below.

Table 4 : Figures showing number of training schools with teacher-students in those schools during 1950-51, 55-56 and 58-59.¹

Year States	1950-51	1955-56	1958-59		
1	2	3	4	5	
Assam	Students 43	230 (434.88)	202 (-12.7)	(369.7)	
	Schools 30	34 (13.3)	34 (0.0)	(13.3)	
Bihar	Students 130	527 (345.3)	652 (23.7)	(402.5)	
	Schools 84	82 (-2.7)	87 (6.09)	(3.57)	
M.P.	Students N.A.	639	1,393 (117.9)	—	
	Schools N.A.	39	58 (48.7)	—	
Orissa	Students 63	128 (103.1)	710 (454.6)	(1,026.9)	
	Schools 28	37 (32.1)	58 (56.7)	(107.1)	

(The above figures include both basic and non-basic training schools. Figures in the brackets indicate increase in percentage of teacher-

¹ National Council of Educational Research and Training (Ministry of Education), *Review of Education in India, 1947-61* (New Delhi, 1961), pp. 216, 218; 250, 252; 383, 385; 535, 537.

students and training schools during the three corresponding years. Figures in column 3 indicate increase over the figures in column 2; column 4 over column 3; and column 5 over column 2 with respect to column 4.)

Figures in the table given above show that while there has been a substantial increase in the number of teacher-students during the eight years between 1950-51 and 1958-59 there has been very little increase in the number of training schools. In some cases there has been even reduction in the number of training schools. With such a dearth of trained teachers the existing training facilities could hardly be considered adequate.

Apart from the general training in the methods of teaching, the teacher also needs an orientation training every now and then. Long stay in tribal areas without any facility of reading and of other agencies for the dissemination of knowledge makes a man stale and out-of-date. A teacher there, like any other official, gets into the rut of routine jobs. He goes on working like a machine without ever stopping to think whether the tools he is using to run the machine are productive and useful or not. He does not keep himself abreast of the changing situations. He neither has the agency nor the interest to do so. To refresh his memory and to keep him posted with the current explosion of knowledge he must be given an orientation training.

VI

By and large, the emoluments given to teachers are very low not only in India but elsewhere too. A nineteenth century Lord in England once boastfully remarked that he paid more salary to his coachman than to the tutor of his children. I do not think it was because he cared more for his horses than for his children but because teachers are generally not considered worth getting a handsome salary. Though they get sky-high praise for their 'noble profession', the salary they get touches rock-bottom. The Government of India recognized as early as 1947 that the pay scale of the teachers was generally low as it says, 'One of the important problems that had to be faced in 1947 was the generally low salary scales of teachers. During

the last fourteen years efforts have been made continually to improve them. The State Governments and Union Territories have been revising the scales of pay to teachers from time to time ...Towards the end of the first Plan, the problem was again comprehensively reviewed and it was found that the pay scales of primary and secondary teachers were still very low. A special scheme was, therefore, introduced in the second Plan under which assistance was offered to State Governments on a 50% basis for upgrading the pay scales of primary and secondary teachers.¹ The situation as existing in 1965 is yet not satisfactory. For the teachers in tribal areas it is far worse. Due to difficult communication the cost of living in a hilly and isolated area is higher than in the plains. And with the same emoluments as a teacher in the plains and in towns a teacher in tribal area finds it increasingly difficult to make two ends meet. The need of increased emoluments to such teachers cannot be over emphasized.

VII

Unless a teacher is properly compensated for the hard life it will be difficult to sustain his interest in his work. He needs a little incentive the best form of which can be an extra allowance, which he should be able to draw so long he is posted in the tribal areas. It will act as an anchorage and keep his moorings tied there. But this allowance should be quite adequate to attract talented teachers. Nagaland and NEFA give one-third of the basic pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 50/- to their teachers and other non-gazetted staff. Introduction of such special pay may be considered by other states also.

Tribal areas are singularly devoid of any amenity which leads to the monotony and drudgery of life. A low paid teacher cannot afford to have radio, books, magazines, newspapers and playthings. Supply of these articles will increase the efficiency of teacher and thereby quality of the pupils. These could also be used as teaching aids.

¹ National Council of Educational Research and Training (Ministry of Education), *Review of Education in India, 1947-61* (New Delhi, 1961), pp. 61-62

As the tribal areas are generally inaccessible to modern means of transport a teacher cannot attend to his urgent business at home. In most of the tribal areas it takes more days to reach a rail or bus station than the total casual leave admissible to the teacher. He hardly enjoys this privilege. The annual leave also is so small that a big chunk of it is wasted in going home and coming back. In NEFA, 50% extra leave is admissible to all who are working in the interior tribal area. One of the leave rules which says, 'Leave is a privilege not a right' should not be applicable to a teacher in tribal areas. Leave should be a must for him. Part of his expenses incurred during his travel to avail leave should be borne by the state governments, as presently done by the Government of India.

Much of the teacher's interest and incentive to teach in a better way is killed by the relatively insecure nature of his appointment. Most of the teachers are appointed on purely temporary basis and continue to remain so for a long time, in some cases even up to their retirement. Someone argued that if a teacher was appointed on a temporary basis he would work harder to show better results to claim permanency. Many who have lived in tribal areas for a long time would consider such thinking perverse. A teacher who is a man of low income, low social status and official standing will never subscribe to such a thinking because for him punishment would be frequent ; reward rare. If tribal education has a permanent place in our development programmes we must have permanent teachers. We should make a teacher free from all worries of financial bankruptcy, family troubles and insecurity of service. We must give him the best according to our resources to get the best out of him

3. Mother Tongue and Medium of Instruction

I

There are 212 tribes in India speaking an equal, if not more, number of dialects, most of which are in the rudimentary stage. Not much has been done to build up a written tribal literature and preserve the dialects. It is generally known that

the tribal life is rich in folklore, folksongs, mythology etc. and these could provide enough material to build up a substantial tribal literature. Some myths and folksongs have been collected by research workers but these remain confined to the intelligentsia and hitherto have been used for academic and research purposes only. It is necessary to popularize them by publishing them in tribal and regional languages and make them available to the common man. The regional languages of the states are making greater headway compared to the tribal languages which at many places are being neglected. At some places in Madhya Pradesh the present generation has even forgotten the Gondi language and it is on the verge of extinction there. This situation may obtain in other states also if enough attention is not paid to preserve and develop the tribal languages. It is generally suggested that the tribal languages are not well-developed, that any undue importance need not be given them, and that in due course they will all disappear. It is hardly sympathetic and practical to suggest that 30 million tribal people of India should be made to forget their mother tongue and speak a tongue unknown to them through which they cannot express themselves. Tribal languages also represent the cultural heritage of India and we cannot afford to have a wanton destruction of its so many and so varied languages. Such a step is hardly conducive to the idea of integration which is so dear to us. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to preserve and develop the tribal dialects and popularize them.

II

Efforts are needed to use the tribal languages as much as possible. 'An important reason', says Verrier Elwin, 'why the schools do not fulfil their real function in tribal society is the astonishing indifference on the part of educationalist to the local languages.'¹ Textbooks and reading material for the primary schools should, as far as possible, be written in tribal languages. Alphabet charts and posters could also be prepared in them. Some work has been done in this respect. A few Gondi textbooks were prepared in Adilabad long ago; the NEFA

¹ Government of India (Ministry of Home Affairs), *Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks* (New Delhi, 1961), p. 90

administration has produced about one hundred textbooks in major agency languages ; all the autonomous hill districts of Assam have textbooks written in the local dialect which is the medium of instruction there ; in Madhya Pradesh some conversational guides, primers and books on mythology and folklore have been prepared ; in Gujarat, the Gujarat Vidyapith is preparing dictionaries of words and usages of tribal dialects, the scheme having been financed by the Tribal Education Unit of the Department of Adult Education. This is not all. 'A growing number of educated tribals are beginning to write books, pamphlets and articles in magazines. Abor boys are now producing stories and even books of poems in their own languages. Several Nagas are interested in writing on their own history and folklore. The Khasis have written long books and articles in their own language on their own customs and ideas. Elsewhere, tribals have been writing on their own system of medicine and other things. The Chin Culture, Literature and Education Board of Manipur is enthusiastically going ahead in the building up of their own literature. One feature of this movement is that the new literature is nearly always in the people's own mother tongue, another argument in favour of emphasizing the tribal languages at the schools level.'¹ Similar work are needed by other states. Universities, voluntary agencies and social workers can extend enough help in this field. Research scholars may also take up research projects for a scientific study of tribal languages.

III

The problem of mother tongue is closely connected with that of script. Except the Khamptis who use their traditional Tai script none of the tribal languages have a script. And to build up a tribal literature it is necessary to give the language a script. It is dangerous to give any sweeping suggestion regarding adoption of the Devanagari or the regional script for the tribal languages without a systematic and detailed study of the tribal dialects. Only after we have determined their similarity

¹ Government of India, *Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commissior* (New Delhi, 1962), Vol. I, 1960-61, pp. 233-34

or otherwise with any particular language having a script, we can think of adopting a policy in this sphere. The intonations, presence or absence of various sounds, availability of alphabets to represent those sounds and many other related aspects of a script have to be investigated. Sometimes the tribal and the regional languages may belong to two different families of languages and there may not be any similarity between them.

There appears to be a general agreement on the policy of teaching the tribal children in the primary school through the medium of their mother tongue. But with the exception of perhaps the NEFA administration and the autonomous hill districts of Assam none of the states and the Union territories are imparting education through the medium of mother tongue. The state governments, as per report of the Dhebar Commission, have expressed their inability to pursue this policy mainly on the grounds of the tribal dialects being too many and the time lag in the preparation of textbooks and training of teachers. But such difficulties need not necessarily stand in the way of implementation of the policy. Nobody is going to suggest that state governments should adopt all the tribal languages as media of instruction. But surely the important languages with a large number of speakers could be picked up. In NEFA there are well over 60 tribal languages but only about a dozen have been selected as media of instruction. It has also been recommended by the Renuka Ray Committee that, 'Wherever there are minor variations in the local dialects of different tribal communities residing in contiguous tribal areas, the main tribal language should be chosen as the medium of instruction at the primary level.'¹ No doubt it will take some time to prepare textbooks in tribal languages thus selected but the ultimate benefit that will accrue to the tribal pupils will far outweigh the temporary disadvantages due to lack of textbooks.

IV

Generally speaking tribal children have little knowledge of the regional languages and since the instructions in schools are

¹ Government of India. Committee on Plan Projects, *Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes* (New Delhi, 1959), Vol. 1, p. 148

imparted through the regional languages they are placed at a great disadvantage. At many a place in tribal areas I have seen that tribal children can read—though not fluently—books but most of them cannot express in their own words what they have read about. This naturally affects their general proficiency and achievement in the examinations. This may also be one of the reasons of the large percentage of wastage and stagnation among them. It is too much for a tribal child knowing nothing except his house and village to receive education in an unknown tongue right from the day he enters school. This must be a great mental strain on him. It is usual for small children to refrain from school if the lessons are difficult. Tribal children who reluctantly come to school find greater temptations to run away when period after period they are taught in an unknown tongue by an uninterested and dissatisfied teacher. We can vastly improve situation if we simply teach the children in a tongue they speak for all the twentyfour hours. It is not only the question of convenience and result to be achieved by teaching through the tribal languages but also a question of fulfilling the desires of the tribal people themselves. From many tribal parents have come the protests that by not teaching their children through their own mother tongue it is intended to keep them in the same state of backwardness in which they are living. We can hardly ignore such protests.

V

Since, at the present moment, the tribal literature is not well-developed tribal children cannot be taught through their mother tongue for more than three years. But there would be enough material at hand, even at present, to teach them for the first three years. Books in tribal languages on simple arithmetic, social studies, short stories, tribal history and geography could easily be written. Educated tribal youngmen could be of immense help in preparing such books.

VI

From the fourth year onwards teaching through mother tongue should be replaced by teaching through the regional

language. The national language should be taught as a subject. Some of the tribal languages, especially those of Assam are fairly well-developed and they could be taught as a subject from class IV onwards. In fact, some of the tribal languages of Assam, Nagaland and NEFA have been recognized by the Gauhati University for examination purposes.

4. Policy

I

As education is the states' responsibility it is mainly for them to look after the educational interest of the tribal people. At present educational programmes are carried out by the governments, voluntary agencies, missionaries, and sometimes by village councils. Each of them sometimes adopt a policy of their own and at times such policies are so conflicting that the simple tribal people are bewildered by different aims and ideas, pressures and persuasions. They find it extremely difficult to decide what course of action they should adopt. There is a need of an integrated system of education. The state governments should frame their own policies in keeping with the ultimate goal and see to it that the various agencies in the state adhere to the educational policies laid down by them. The people should be presented with an integrated picture of educational plans and programmes so that they actually know what is being done for them and what is in their best interest.

II

Then there is the question whether tribal education should be the concern of the education department or the tribal welfare department. While tribal education cannot be considered as a subject altogether independent and different from the general education, the importance of the expertise and the experience of the tribal welfare department gained by dealing with the people and their problems will have to be realized. Tribal welfare department may act as a cell or a unit of the education department and frame policies and programmes for

tribal education and leave their execution to the education department.

It is also necessary that the states should, as far as possible, frame a uniform and stable policy with regard to various aspects of tribal education. Policies once framed should be translated into practice. Many a time and by many authorities the policy regarding the medium of instruction has been made but it is not yet being implemented. The Estimates Committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs reported in 1958-59 that, 'The policy of the Government of India is to encourage the tribal dialects as it is desirable that instruction in the primary schools should be imparted to the Adivasis in their own mother tongue as far as possible.' But this policy has not been implemented in all the states. A firmer policy on the principles of opening schools is needed. Grant of financial assistance and related facilities and preparation of books are other allied fields where a clear-cut policy has to be made. The programmes of tribal education will have greater chances of achieving the desired measure of success if there is a uniform, stable and sympathetic policy behind them.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TRIBAL EDUCATION

—*Sachchidananda*

I

In modern society the major link of education to social structure is through economy and this is a linkage of both stimulus and response. The economy of a community guides to a large extent the quality of education it should have. Had there been no Industrial Revolution in the West universal compulsory education could never have been possible there. The amount of money to be spent on education depends upon the economic resources of the country. The expanse and the quality of education of the mass of the people would determine the total production of goods and services in the society. Education seeks to increase human efficiency which in turn leads to maximization of production. An educated productive force would also see to it that maximum satisfaction is derived by the judicious allocation of scarce resources in purposeful channels.

The close link between education and economy can also be seen in the traditional pattern of tribal education. Among some tribes, notably among the Oraon we have the institution of the youth dormitory which according to S.C. Roy was 'an effective economic organization for purpose of food quest, a useful seminary for the training of youngmen in their other social and other duties and an institution for magico-religious observances calculated to secure success in hunting and to augment the procreative power of youngmen so as to increase the number of hunters in the tribe.' Among the most impor-

tant functions of the Oraon youth dormitory was the *pacha* service, a device by which the services of the *dhumkuria* could be requisitioned by any villager who wanted labour for thatching his house or working on the agricultural field for a small token payment to the institutions. Thus the economic role of this traditional medium of education was geared to the well-being of tribal society as a whole. It also trained people in healthy living under the aegis of a common organization. Living and working together for a common end fostered feelings of good-will and co-operation between boys who later on became heads of households in their own right. The institution of the *bhayari* or inter-village fraternization of village youth must have gone a long way in promoting peace and cordiality between villages in a neighbourhood. Thus the cementing of social ties not only between people of one village but among a number of villages was one of the primary functions of this only tribal educational institution. The practice of song and dance by the members of the youth dormitory every evening together with the recitation of folklore made it a repository of the social legacy of tribal society which was passed from one generation to the next by word of mouth.

II

After Independence the urgent need for bettering the conditions of life of the tribes was realized by our leaders, Constitution makers and planners. As the socio-economic condition of the tribes was backward as compared to that of the bulk of the population in the country, it was considered desirable to allocate large sums of money for development in tribal areas. At that time the question of priorities cropped up. For some time a controversy raged between social workers regarding the relative importance of education and economic development. It was urged by some that to improve the condition of the tribes the only way was to educate them. Once they became educated they would themselves devise ways and means to improve their lot with such government assistance as was available to other communities. Those who held the contrary

opinion believed that it was no use educating hungry masses and education would take care of itself when people's standard of living improved. Fortunately this controversy did not grip the planners and adequate funds were made available for both educational and economic development. In fact both these programmes had to be pushed through vigorously by workers to achieve the maximum results in the shortest possible time.

It is well known that in most tribal areas the struggle for life is very hard and people lead a hand to mouth existence. Even the tribes practising agriculture do not produce enough to have two square meals a day. The entire family is busy with the food quest. Among the non-agricultural tribes, all the members of the family go every day to the forest to dig for roots, to collect fruits and to hunt game. Even in families of settled agriculturists like Munda, Oraon and Santal, children, both male and female, make substantial contribution to the economic activities of the household. Boys graze cattle and help with agricultural operations while girls collect firewood, edible leaves and look after younger siblings. Thus each child is an economic asset. It is argued that if the child is taken away to school, the family is deprived of the little income he brings and the parents have to feed him out of their meagre income which puts severe strain to the family economy.

This difficulty explains the apathy of the tribal people towards education. It is also attributed as a cause for absenteeism and stagnation at schools. But this point seems to have been overdone. The number of tribes who are hunters and food gatherers in India is very small: We have to make a special study of their educational problems. But with the majority of the agricultural, artisan or industrial tribes, the lack of interest in education may be traced to other causes. Tribal parents have not yet been made conscious of the need for education and the change it will bring to them for their material well-being. Wherever this has been done, there is enthusiasm for education and demand for more schools. This can easily be illustrated by reference to Christian tribesmen. In Bihar,

Christian and non-Christian tribesmen live side by side in villages. Sometimes one brother is a Christian and the other is not. They may have the same resources to fall back upon. Their economy is at par but one brother sends his children to school and the other does not. This is because the Christian brother realizes the value of education and is prepared to make some sacrifices to see that his children, both male and female, get some education. The non-Christian brother has no such consciousness and is satisfied with his traditional way of life. Had the urge been created by our social workers among the latter, one child at least from each family could have been spared for the school.

This hurdle can also be overcome by adjusting the school hours for the primary school to the time needed for the dominant occupation. If necessary, the school hours may be reduced to three only everyday. A large percentage of tribal children would drop off after the primary stage and thus without affecting the food quest they can receive elementary education. At the middle and the secondary school, the school hours need not be changed as there only such students will come whose parents have realized the necessity of education and are prepared to make some inconvenience. But in all schools due consideration should be made in the matter of holidays for local festivals, sowing or harvesting and for the weekly market. In short, educational authorities should be prepared to make such adjustment so that the pursuit of education may not interfere seriously with the economic pursuit of the household. To attract children to primary school breakfast or meals may be provided to them.

Educational programmes cannot wait till economic development has been completed. Economic development is a never-ending process. Both educational and economic development should go hand in hand. There can, however, be no two opinions on the fact that it is easier to push through educational efforts in a society with affluent economy. In all tribal as well as in other areas in the country numerous programmes

for economic development have been taken up under the Community Development programme. It is also well known that in tribal areas the programmes are not making much headway due to a number of factors. Even to take advantage of the various development schemes, a certain degree of progress is necessary. Numerous examples can be given of schemes which came to grief simply because the beneficiaries did not know how to use them to their best possible advantage. An illiterate tribal secretary of a co-operative society had to part with his ancestral land to pay back the advance received from the Central Bank. The proceeds from a bumper crop of paddy, produced by the Japanese method of paddy cultivation were wasted away on drinks and trifles. The extra income was not used as revolving capital for the next season. At the next season the cultivators were as indigent as ever. In another area rainy season potato cultivation was introduced. The crop came up very well but the cultivators were cheated of the fruits of their labour by crooks or middlemen. In most areas tribal people do not come forward to take up schemes as they are afraid of and have no faith in government agencies. This apathy is born out of ignorance. Recent investigations have shown that the bulk of the schemes in mixed tribal areas go to the non-tribal people. Thus due to lack of education, the tribal people are deprived of their legitimate share in the development. Even if economic development has put more money in their hands, their standard of living has not shown considerable improvement.

To make the different schemes successful there should be a vigorous programme of social development. This would come through a rational system of social education for the tribal people. It would be more than a mere literacy movement. It would include the entire canvas of tribal life in an area. It would create in the tribal mind a consciousness of their own surroundings, problems and needs together with a new sense of national sentiment. Until now efforts in the field of social education have been stereotyped and lifeless. It should be reoriented to help economic development in the different fields.

III

There are no social barriers, taboos and prejudices prevalent in tribal societies regarding the acceptance of education. There are however some fairly strong disincentives. It is feared that a boy who goes to school is lost to the family. The school environment, the attitude of the teachers, the curriculum and the content of education have no bearing on tribal life in the village. The teachers more often than not are non-tribal and look down upon the tribal way of life. The school going boy becomes a misfit in his own home, detests his parents and their ways and is anxious to leave the village as soon as possible for a job in the town. Thus education forces him out of his traditional occupation. It also detribalizes him to a large extent. It helps the drain of talent from the village to the town leaving the former as much a sink of ignorance as it was before. Thus a proud and robust son of the soil goes away to seek a low paid job and lead a miserable existence in the dirt and dust of a small town. This is clearly brought out by the following case study :

‘A family of village Belangi, P. S. Mandar is a noted Kurukh family in Chotanagpur. From this family came the first Adivasi graduate. The family has a large landed property. But there is no one at Belangi to look after the farm. There are three sons of the old Panra. These brothers live in Ranchi. For sometime past they are known to have been quarrelling over paternal property at Belangi and Ranchi. Education has shifted them from agriculture base to money economy in urban environment, practically no one is left to look after agriculture in this family.’¹

This is not an isolated case but is found in village after village. About this aspect of education a conscious parent complained:

¹ N. Minz, ‘Social Implications of changing Oraon Economy’, *Bulletin of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi*, Vol. IV, No.2, p.4

Education to-day is not solving our economic problem. Formerly every youth used to participate in economic pursuits. Now only a part of them get good employment. The rest are unemployed or under-employed. To engage in agriculture is out of question for they have long ceased to be agriculturists mentally as their education had no such bias.

IV

People tend to respond more easily to stimuli which has some continuity or analogy with their traditional values and forms of organization. Continuity of cultural patterns is the main reason for the relative ease of culture transfer. The system of education in tribal areas should have a tribal bias and the departure from their traditional values and attitudes should be minimum. Education makes a person fit to face the problems of life with courage. Tribal education, therefore, to be accepted by the people without much misgiving should have direct relevance to their basic needs and aspirations. The personality of the educator and that of the first few acceptors of the idea is important. A beginning should be made with the families of village headmen who are natural leaders of the public opinion on their area. There is no doubt that education has a prestige value as educated persons soon begin to make their influence felt in village affairs as purveyors of government policies and measures of development. Education has become as important as possession of wealth in the matter of elections to the statutory panchayats and other non-official bodies.

To make education more attractive, it should hold a promise for conferment of economic benefit. It is urged that most of the tribal people would be reluctant to sacrifice the meagre income which they derive from utilizing the services of their children for the uncertain future when the children will bring additional income to the family by getting employed outside. The value of education is now being realized, even though slowly, by the tribal people and it is not merely a question of economic gain that will prevent parents from sending children

to school. Still if we can make education remunerative from the very beginning it will be a help to parents and an encouragement to children. This can be done by giving education a craft bias. The income the students may get from sale of their handicrafts or the produce from the school plot of land may meet the cost of their maintenance at school. Thus the student would not be a burden on his family and would at the same time get skilled in one or more trade. But there care should be taken that the craft which he learns is not tabooed in his own society. Among some tribes there is an existing tradition for some crafts, e.g., rope making among the Birhor, bamboo craft among the Birjia, basketry among the Mahli etc. This existing knowledge can be fruitfully employed by school authorities.

V

The influence of tradition on education is marked in all societies. This tradition is derived from some economic cause which operated in the past may not operate in the present. Therefore the pattern and content of education in a society varies from age to age. Among the Oraon for instance, the youth dormitory, their traditional seminary for education aimed at augmenting hunting and agricultural resources by magical and other devices. Hunting is no longer a major occupation of the tribe and developed method of agriculture are being now introduced in Oraon areas. The bias in those schools has to be agricultural as most of the students have got to fall back upon their traditional occupation. Of late, in many tribal areas many industrial undertakings have started work. It is highly desirable that they should employ large number of tribal youths. Unfortunately this is not the case as tribal youths with requisite qualifications are not available. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to open science classes in all the high schools in the nearby tribal areas. Round about the industrial undertakings industrial training institutes and engineering schools should be opened to give training to the tribal youths. After the primary level arrangement must be made to give vocational guidance to student :

Schools in tribal areas can directly become instruments for promoting economic development. In this connection the role of the teacher is significant. It is common experience that instruction at school has a deeper impress on the minds of children than those received at home. Learning process is far more effective within the four walls of the school. The school field can be used for demonstration of better methods of agriculture, compost making, poultry farming, bee-keeping, horticulture, growing vegetables and fruit trees etc. Children have more receptive mind than their parents and if they are convinced that a particular thing is good they will have their way at home. Thus the work of the extension officer can be done to some extent by the school teacher who would thus become a friend, philosopher and guide not only of the children but also of their parents. Close touch with parents would also help in reducing absenteeism at school.

VI

'Education is a crucial type of investment for the exploitation of modern technology. This fact underlies recent educational development in all the major industrial societies. Despite idiosyncrasies of national history, political structure and social tradition, in every case the development of education bears the stamp of a dominant pattern imposed by the new and often conflicting pressures of technological and economic change.' In tribal areas in the country this technological and economic change is occurring at great speed. The sleepy hamlets in deep forests are now humming with activity. Educational development has to keep pace with this change. There is need for more faster growth of schools.

The democratic process assumes equal educational opportunities for all sections of the population. Unequal life chances are both cause and effect of unequal educational opportunities. In some sections of the tribal population the growth of education has been rapid. The Christian tribesmen are forging ahead with great speed and the level of education among them is far above that of their non-tribal neighbours not only in their own

area but in other parts of India. The non-Christian tribal people have, therefore, to be carefully brought within the pale of education. This will need concerted effort for long years. Among the tribes too there are some who are more backward than others. Naturally they have greater claim to the attention of educators.

As the educated class among the tribes is very small, it forms a privileged section. This is an elite group from which officers and leaders are drawn. Most of them try to identify themselves with the non-tribal middle class than with their own poorer brethren. In some cases they also look down upon the latter and tend to behave with them with arrogance. They would not hesitate to fleece the latter or to exploit them. This can only cease when large number of them receive education.

Education would further tend to increase social mobility from one class to another. In fact, class would depend upon the educational level and the income of the family concerned. Education would also reduce social distance between tribal and non-tribal people and thereby further the cause of emotional integration between the two sections of the population.

Thus education, economy and society are closely linked. A change in any one is apt to affect the other two. The educational problems of the tribes are therefore to be viewed against the background of their economy and society. Only then can our educational efforts bear the maximum fruit in the minimum possible time. Of all the items in the development programme for the tribes, education is the most important as it is both the means and the end of real progress.

CURRICULA, METHODS AND TEXTBOOKS IN TRIBAL EDUCATION

—L.K. Mahapatra

Even after 18 years of Independence we are still groping in the dark for a suitable pattern of tribal education. The difficulty may partly lie in the complex nature of the problem itself, or in the political considerations that weigh heavy on the minds of policy makers, or in the extreme variations of practice from State to State, region to region and tribe to tribe. What is more, all the aspects of this field are so closely interrelated that we cannot take a definite stand on one without affecting our view of the others. Curricula, methods and textbooks for example, are intimately related to and dependent upon, consideration of and decisions regarding the medium of instruction, the type of schools and teacher and, above all, the over-all policy on tribal education.

Shri Srivastava in his Working Paper on my topic has already raised some important problems to tackle.

Broadly, the questions are of the following categories :

- (a) Desirability of a different system of schools for tribal students—separate curriculum or routine of work may be involved, as also separate types of schools viz , ashram schools or creches.
- (b) The basis of curricula—the choice falling between the traditional culture of the people concerned, or the scientific approach towards life.
- (c) Suitable methods of teaching.

- (d) Textbooks for primary education in tribal education. Feasibility of their preparation in tribal language and drawing from the tribal environment.
- (e) Writers of textbooks. A few other fundamental questions also come to the mind.
- (f) How will a separate system of primary education carried through tribal mother tongue, prepare the tribal children for higher studies in Universities or technical fields ?
- (g) Whether there should be an all-India pattern of tribal education ? If not, how flexible it should be in order to be grafted on to the general pattern of secondary education in several States or territories.
- (h) As most of the tribal people live in composite villages or in areas where the same schools may be visited by both the tribal and non-tribal children, how is it at all possible for us to render two categories of students (tribal and non-tribal) different educational services ? Will this not smack of segregation and run counter to the process of national integration and promote invidious inequalities ?
- (i) Whether we are justified in imposing an educational structure which the tribal people themselves or their accredited spokesmen may not like, be it under missionary influence or political persuasion or under conditions of cultural emulation ?

I am afraid, we may not be able to discuss, not to speak of answering, all these questions. As several matters of policy are yet to be decided upon, the best thing we can do is to start with some basic assumptions as to the scope of this paper.

1. Education of tribal people or sections of them, who are assimilated, hinduized or christianized to the extent of almost merging into the local non-tribal peasantry having adopted the regional language as their mother tongue, there should be no special curriculum, medium, method or textbooks. But there may be special schools like ashram schools

or creches catering to their needs, if they are economically backward.

2. For education of those sections of tribal people who are largely following their traditional culture in isolated, interior or hilly areas, without anything more than a smattering knowledge of the regional language among the men or women folk, special types of schools may be necessary, but at any rate, special curricula, method and textbooks in tribal language should have to be devised.

3. Those sections of tribal people who had the benefit of education through missionary efforts in the medium of their own language or any other adopted language (regional or English) may be allowed to retain their schools, curricula, methods and textbooks to the extent they do not conflict with the broad objectives of education in tribal India, to be given below. It will, however, be the height of folly to impose, on them, without their prior consent, any changes in their education pattern.

4. There are still other sections of tribal people in the plains in close association with their non-tribal neighbours, from whom they nonetheless differentiate themselves in language and some other customs, though they are well-conversant with the regional language. The Santal in various States is a case in point. In their case, special curricula, textbooks etc. should be restricted to at best two years of primary education, as they are likely to gain more by earlier assimilation into the main stream of education.

5. The objective of education in tribal areas should be clearly visualized and firmly formulated. It is not always wise to agree with John Dewey who said, 'The educational process has no end beyond itself; it is its own end.' It is specially necessary to spell out our objectives just because we have assembled here to dilate upon education for a special category of our people. These objectives will be especially valid for the category 2 people in isolated wilderness.

(i) To equip the young students so that they may take up the future leadership or initiative for development of their people or area.

(ii) To equip students for a fuller and more efficient adult life with a scientific attitude towards life's problem than is the case with their parents and fellowmen at present.

(iii) To help retain in the students a sense of responsible and intelligent participation in their own culture and society, without condescension, self-pity or inferiority—complex, rather in a spirit of synthesis of basic humanistic values of traditional culture and modern scientific attitude and *modus operandi*.

(iv) To encourage students for progressive participation in the life of their neighbours of the country and of the world at large by fostering a sense of integration with the nation in particular and the mankind in general.

(v) To emphasize the strong community feeling that generally binds the villagers in tribal areas, in spite of difference in wealth, education, religion, or political status.

That these objectives are not independent of one another, rather they hang together, goes without saying. Doubts may be raised as to whether the short span of primary education is a period long enough for all these developments to take root properly. We may consider this by pointing out that early childhood experiences are crucially formative for the personality and value-orientation of the child—tribal or non-tribal. If we can properly plan the curriculum, methods, teachers and the total impact of learning experience, there is little reason why healthy tendencies should not thrive further in the post-primary phase, especially when special middle schools and ashram schools are provided for the more backward tribes.

6. Though we may give particular emphasis on primary education through tribal mother tongue where necessary, we should consider the desirability of residential schools of ashram school type in the interior areas to take care of post-primary students and to prepare them for studying in secondary schools.

(high schools from 8th or 7th class onward) through the regional language medium. Such residential middle standard schools are absolutely necessary for the tribal children of the second category above for two reasons. *Firstly, this will help them acquire knowledge in the regional language without being ridiculed by others for their relative ignorance of the language. Secondly, the delicate moulding of the personality and attitudes towards a more scientific outlook on life may be disturbed too soon and forces for deprecating their own culture may be let in too unreservedly, if there is no such protecting value.*

7. Furthermore, tribal education should not be conceived as merely concerning the children. We want rapid development of all the tribal areas, for which active understanding and participation by adults are obstacles to progress. Redfield in his book on a changed Chan Kom in Yucatan and Margaret Mead in her's on Manus island have shown how the adults can take drastic steps to change their culture out of spontaneous efforts. Therefore, social education for the adults—not merely adult literacy or even without adult literacy—should be a main plank of tribal education.

With these preliminary considerations we may turn our thoughts to some details.

Type of schools

I have tried to justify the opening of ashram schools or residential schools up to middle school standard. In the primary phase of four years the medium of instruction is to be tribal mother tongue with the regional language introduced as a secondary language after two years. In the middle school phase the medium should be the regional language, while Hindi and English could be introduced at the level used for the State or region concerned.

The creches for keeping the babies while the children are at school are well-intentioned. Before starting the creches for the tribal children only, a survey of the incidence of baby-sitting by children should be undertaken among the tribal people as also their attitude towards creches under the care of

other women. The fear of getting one's child bewitched when unattended is real not merely common among tribal people.

Ashram schools have been tried in Orissa, Gujarat, Bombay and elsewhere. In Bihar, a type of residential schools managed by a voluntary agency insisted on vegetarian, unbalanced diet, much worse than their diet at home. Studies on Ashram Schools in Orissa by Mahapatra (1953), Patnaik (1957), N. Das (1963-64), Ambalal Vyas (1958-59) and G. N. Das (1963) and elsewhere have focussed on several shortcomings and have prescribed some remedial measures. In Orissa, due to political agitation the craft-bias of the ashram schools has been modified and the school is, since 1957, little distinguished from other middle school in the State. One of the main criticisms against ashram schools in Orissa was that it was more geared to production in the field and in craft sheds than to instruction.

Curricula or the Contents of Education

The tribal people did have their own pattern of education, as in the broadest sense education was the means of persistence and development of their culture. But in their system, 'Children get training in almost all aspects of adult life and behaviour from their very early age. From that tender age they are conscious of their membership of the community in virtue of their growing contribution.' 'Hence there is no abrupt break with the child life, when they enter into adulthood. But today, as we are planning for a new sort of adult life, new not only to the adults of their own people, but even to many of the more advanced neighbours,' they should be fully equipped with all the cultural values, knowledge, skills and interests to make that new adult life efficient and even covetable. The foundation for such adult life will have to be laid in the primary and middle school stages.

Shri Srivastava says in his working paper, 'There may be emphasis on either "science-based" or "culture-based" curriculum' In view of the set aims of tribal education, we have to

devise a way in which the curriculum could be based on science and culture. We do not want drastic changes in their culture except when there is conflict with scientific attitude in day-to-day problems of living comfortably. That inevitably science-based education will corrode the frame-work of the indigenous culture may not be doubted. Similar things are also happening in Hindu and Muslim societies. That is why we should have a *science-oriented education though the curricula may be culture-based*. How this can be done may not be difficult to visualize.

For example, we may take cultivation without plough and horticulture as practised in the traditional culture as the basis of the curricula for nature-study, geography, history (including the history of technological development) and economics etc., but orient this towards fostering a scientific outlook for greater efficiency in production. By experimentally growing crops in the traditional methods and in the modern more scientific methods, it could be clearly demonstrated how scientific approach pays. But that again need not run counter to their cultural and social values. Some portion of the crops may be offered as first fruits to the various deities of the locality and the major part shared in an equitable manner as prevalent among co-operative groups of youngmen and young women. Hunting or food-gathering can also be made focus of study. Similarly, tribal folklore including proverbs, myths, tales and poetry may supply the literature base and source of motivation for action on approved lines. Where necessary the maxims or morals may be re-interpreted to be brought more in line with scientific thinking in that field. Folklore will prove to be a rich source of values which may not always conflict with scientific attitudes with which they can be wisely synthesized. I admit, this calls for a superior type of planning—co-ordination and actual teaching. But this is not impossible of achievement.

The tribal children could be introduced to the history of science and slow development of mankind in technology and

economy and social living by a graduated course of instruction on the lines proposed by the late professor K. P. Chattopadhyay (1953). He has given an outline of a syllabus up to class IV showing how agricultural mode of life may be linked with school teaching in tribal and rural areas. For primary schools catering to the needs of those who require the use of a tribal language medium only to help them to catch up with the regional language at an easy pace, the curriculum for the first two years in ordinary school may slightly be modified. The child may develop familiarity with the regional script in the first one and half years and the regional language may be introduced as the medium from the third year, as the child naturally imbibes a vocabulary in regional language living as he does in a bilingual composite area.

II

Methods of Teaching

It is well-known that in tribal society education is carried on rather in an informal manner. There learning by observation, emulation of the adults or age-mates and by trial and error in spontaneous play-activities are overwhelmingly important. Some formal learning by direct instruction is, however, undertaken in some secret societies or youth dormitories or magico-religious practices. Rote-learning and drill are quite foreign to them. Even sitting for a few hours at a stretch as in a class-room or in a workshop are also irksome, even for the adults (Mahapatra, 1965) when learning a useful new craft. They are used to learning in the natural process of living and working for life.

Educationists have also deprecated attempts at memory drill through the usual textbooks. In the primary stage with restless mind of children, engagement in activities is more absorbing than spelling or arithmetic drill. In order to counteract this monotony and arouse interest in what is learnt, Professor Chattopadhyay had compiled a primer for Bengalee students in 1933 based on a collection of vocabularies current

at the age of three or four. In this primer he also used another method of script and word-learning. First a couple of letters, then a syllable and then a whole word accompanied with a picture were used, he claims, with success in combination with vocabulary of children supplying the words. This cut down the period of learning to read and write by half, as he asserts. The syllabic and whole word method has been found to be useful in tribal areas in Africa (Chattopadhyay, 1953, p. 8). We may note that children's vocabulary could easily be collected and be made a source of writing primers in tribal areas. Craft-centred or agriculture-centred instruction as carried out in basic schools has undergone re-thinking. Now, self-sufficiency of the school community is no longer emphasized as a goal, rather the instructional nexus is sought in a craft or productive occupation. The benefits and advantages of this method are widely recognized, though scarcely convincing to the non-tribal section of our population. Hence its unpopularity. Besides, we may point out that there is no easy transition from this vocation-linked instruction to the type of general instruction where subjects and classes supply the framework for secondary and higher education. But we may note that all subjects cannot be taught as linked to agriculture or a craft and when it is done, it is only as an instructional aid. Therefore, after primary phase, there may not be any justification to continue this vocation-linked education.

Method of teaching should not be equated with merely the instructional techniques or gadgets. For, the total atmosphere of the school has an educative effect. The relation between teachers and students, between students and their guardians and not the least of all, between the tribal and non-tribal students, are also crucial and should be properly controlled and guided if we are going to realize the objective of tribal education. It has been known that teachers often look down upon the customs and institutions of the tribal people, and in various ways show eagerness to wean them away from what they consider as noxious habits. This situation has arisen

mainly because teachers were drafted from other areas without having been properly trained to cultivate a healthy attitude of intelligent appreciation of the tribal cultural milieu. This should be immediately remedied through proper training or refresher courses.

In the field of social education for adults, conscious motivation should play an important part, as it does in their active life. Motivation for receiving education is a case in point. Even this may have a different pattern in respect of the same tribe in two levels of cultural development. This author had studied the shifting cultivator Hill Bhuiyan on a hill-top in 1953-54. The youngmen requested him to teach them writing so that they could take down songs from the visiting parties of dancers from other villages or guests. When the Hill Bhuiyan villagers in the valley below requested me for a school, their need for accounting skills and knowledge of the bonds executed with their exploiting money-lenders was uppermost in their mind. Similarly organizing opera parties to dramatize legends for gaining social status in the area was a passion among the hinduized Sahara near Bhubaneswar, which could be exploited by social education organizers (Mahapatra, 1955).

III

Textbooks

Preparation of suitable textbooks for primary school children has been recently taken up in a few States by the government. This may be a helpful step in the right direction. But, usually, the governments have not produced differentiated textbooks for various categories of the population, nor have they produced textbooks in tribal language except in N.E.F.A. It is not at all purposeful to have one uniform textbook for the whole State, when there is so much social and ethnic differentiation in States like Assam, Orissa, Bihar or Madhya Pradesh. The missionaries had produced some textbooks in Roman script and tribal languages, especially in Assam and West Bengal.

Apart from the problem of selecting a particular dialect as the standard language, the Roman script is not always popular with all sections of our people. What is more objectionable is that in these missionary books subtle attempts are frequently met with to disparage the local culture and even of Indian religions and institutions. This is not in conformity with our objective in education.

If we are going to have special schools for the primary phases catering to the special needs of the tribal children, there will have to be specially prepared textbooks. Pioneer work in this direction was made by an anthropologist, Professor C. von Furer-Haimendorf in 1940's in Hyderabad by getting books in Gondi prepared. We could learn from the experience of Hyderabad and N.E.F.A. administrations about the use of such textbooks. But we must be aware that N.E.F.A. has special problems of national integration and there integration with Assam has been given secondary importance. In this endeavour, we should not also neglect the lessons to be learnt from the missionary efforts. The script, for example, has to be adapted to correspond to the common phonemes of tribal languages. It is high time that a prompt survey of the available textbooks is undertaken by a band of scholars in the fields of anthropology, linguistics and education, so that they may spell out guidelines for writers of textbooks for the tribal people.

Apart from the textbooks for tribal students in primary schools in tribal areas, there should be other texts on tribal culture and institutions for reading by local non-tribal students to create healthy appreciation of tribal brethren. As the schools in most areas will have to be composite, with both tribal and non-tribal students, suitable textbooks for non-tribal students are to be taken up simultaneously. The question then arises, whether it is practicable to have two sets of students in the same school and same class, one following a particular textbook and the other, a different one. In fact this is a central problem also in the matter of having a tribal language as the

medium of instruction. But, in the interior, inaccessible areas, the number of non-tribal children will be very small. And if these non-tribal children are born of the parents long resident in tribal areas, usually they are bi-lingual as in Orissa. In case the strength of non-tribal students is appreciably high, there might be more than one section for teaching in the same class.

While actually preparing the textbooks the help of anthropologists and linguists may be taken to supply the contents of educational materials compiled from their vocabulary and folklore, material culture or institutions. But, before this step is taken, we must make sure whether the materials are ready.

Concluding Remarks

This article is to be taken as an exploratory thinking aloud, not at all as a definitive statement. Perhaps I have raised more questions, more doubts, than have solved. But, if our colleagues here discuss some of the problems touched by me, more substantial conclusions may emerge and to that extent, I shall consider my efforts worthwhile.

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RELATIVE ROLES OF GOVERNMENTS AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES IN EDUCATION OF TRIBAL PEOPLE

—B. K. Roy Burman

Whatever little progress was made in the education of the tribal people before Independence, was mainly due to the efforts of the voluntary agencies. In this connection special mention is to be made of the Christian missionary organizations. Since the later part of the last century they started setting up schools in the most outlying tribal areas. Among some tribes, for instance, the Nagas, Lushais etc., they succeeded in generating social pressure for the children of the converted families to go to schools. Later on, some indigenous organization also got interested in the education of the tribes. One important aspect of the activities of the missionary and other organizations in that period is that the activities in the educational field were not generally taken in isolation. These were undertaken along with activities covering other aspects of the lives of the tribal people. This is a great contrast with the activities of some of the non-official organizations of today.

Though main credit for spreading education among the tribal people in pre-Independence period goes to the Christian missionaries and other voluntary agencies it would be wrong to consider that the then government was completely indifferent

about their education. Though at a much smaller scale compared to the present, special allocations were made for setting up schools in tribal areas and for giving stipends, book grants etc. to tribal students. It is not infrequently that financial support was rendered by the government, mainly to the Christian missionary organizations for carrying on educational activities among the tribal people.

In the post-Independence period, education among the tribal people has progressed with rapid stride. For this, both official and non-official agencies are responsible. But compared to the pre-Independence period, at present, proportionately much larger role is being played by the official agencies. Though the non-official agencies continue to play important role, they seem to have lost the initiative in this matter. Before probing into the reason for this, it would be useful to classify the non-official agencies.

I

It should be appreciated that a non-official agency is not identical with a voluntary agency. Whereas generally all the voluntary agencies are non-official, all non-official agencies are not necessarily voluntary. Voluntary agencies function by mobilizing the interest and the resources of some section of the people about certain matters, but non-official agencies which are not voluntary, may remain indifferent to mobilization of popular interest and resources and may simply function like any bureaucratic agencies with the financial assistance rendered by the government. The only difference between such non-official agencies and government agencies is that the former are subjected to less rigid control in financial and other procedural matters. As against non-voluntary character of some non-official agencies, sometimes government agencies may function voluntarily. An interesting example of this is furnished here. In 1954, a Police party was posted at Totopara of North Bengal for several months and two members of the party took great interest in the education of the Totos. They spent their leisure time in teach-

ing the Toto boys and girls. This was a voluntary action on their part.

The non-official agencies may be classified with reference to several characteristics. These are indicated below.

A. Social base

1. Organized and run mainly by persons belonging to the served community.
2. Organized and run mainly by persons not belonging to the served community.
3. Originally organized mainly by persons not belonging to the served community but subsequently taken over and run mainly by persons belonging to the served community.
4. Others.

B. Linkage with the traditional institutions of the community

1. Makes use of the traditional institutions of the served community in operational strategy and also strengthens the traditional institutions of the community.
2. Makes use of the traditional institutions of the served community in operational strategy, but tries to transform the traditional institutions to serve the modern needs.
3. Does not make use of the traditional institutions of the served community in operational strategy and is indifferent to the position of the traditional institutions as social goal.
4. Does not make use of the traditional institutions of the served community in operational strategy and tries to destroy the traditional institutions.
5. Others.

C. Organizational structure

1. Unitary body with or without branches.

2. Federal body with constituent units, each of which functions as a separate organization having separate constitution and operational strategy of its own, and combines with other units in the federal body, only for the purpose of co-ordination.
3. Federal body having separate constituent units as well as core unit of its own which undertakes operations directly in the same manner as the constituent units.
4. Others.

D. Policy of recruitment of members

1. Membership is limited to those who originally sponsored the organization and new recruitment is either virtually stopped or done by method of nomination after rigid screening.
2. Any body subscribing to the objectives of the organization can become member and there is scope for people of the served community to become members and influence the activities of the organization.
3. Others.

E. Nature of membership

1. All members are of the same category and office-bearers are freely elected from among the members.
2. There are different categories of members and only members of certain categories can become office-bearers.
3. Others.

F. Basic orientation of those who have sponsored the organization

1. Political
2. Religious
3. Philanthropical
4. Social reform
5. Social engineering
6. Others

G. Source of finance

1. Fund is raised entirely or mainly from the people outside the served community.
2. Fund is raised entirely or mainly from the people belonging to the served community.
3. Fund is obtained entirely or mainly from the Government.
4. Fund is obtained entirely or mainly from some other organization or organizations.
5. Others.

H. Nature of workers

1. Entirely or mainly voluntary workers who have right to participate in the decision making processes of the organization.
2. Entirely or mainly paid employees.
3. Others.

I. Field of work

1. Mainly or primarily educational.
2. Mainly or primarily economic.
3. Mainly or primarily medical.
4. Mainly or primarily social reform.
5. Various fields simultaneously.

J. Procedure for determination of programme and strategy of work

1. Decision making is the prerogative of certain persons who constitute the closed bureaucracy and others have no effective voice.
2. Decisions are arrived at by free discussion among the members according to democratic procedures.
3. Others.

It is to be noted that in the above classification, the term community has been used in a wide sense to cover any social constellation.

II

The pattern of association of the different characteristics described above can perhaps be logically constructed. For instance it seems probable that there would be association between an agency being organized and run mainly by persons not belonging to the served community and its not making use of the traditional institutions in operational strategy. It is not proposed to logically construct the pattern of association of all the characteristics in this paper. It seems more important to empirically determine the pattern of association of the different characteristics by analyzing the structures and functions of a number of non-official agencies. Unfortunately the empirical data for such analysis are lacking at present. It is hoped that some of the institutes engaged in applied social research will take up this problem for study on a priority basis.

It can be visualized that, with reference to their cumulative characteristics, the non-official agencies can be placed at various positions in a polar model. At one end of the pole, the agency may be shelled in its own bureaucratic complacency and may remain alien to the served community; at the other end of the pole, the agency may be initiator of self-propelling actions and may remain deeply rooted in the community. Undoubtedly the agencies at the latter pole constitute the ideal type, worthy of being called voluntary agencies. But it should be appreciated that it may not always be possible for an agency to start as the ideal type at the very beginning. The ideal conditions may be obtained through a process of growth. In case of a very primitive community, there may not be any alternative to the non-official agency being organized and run mainly by persons not belonging to the served community and to the fund being raised entirely or mainly from the people outside the served community. But with the progress of the work and advancement of the community, the character of the agency serving it, should also progressively change. There should be a phased programme not only about the nature of the services

to be rendered to a community, but also about the nature of transformation of the servicing agency.

It seems that one of the reasons why the non-official agencies are losing their initiative in the field of education of the tribal people or for the matter of that, in almost all fields relating to tribal welfare, is that the task of progressive transformation of the agencies to conform to the objective conditions obtaining among the different communities, has been ignored.

There are also other reasons why the non-official agencies are losing ground. Some of these are indicated below.

Very frequently the non-official agencies run the educational institutions at sub-standard level. In a hostel run by a well known organization in Manipur, it was found that the students were cramped in small rooms in very undesirable manner. It was also found that the Superintendent in-charge not only did not know the languages of the tribes concerned, he did not even know to which tribes the students belonged. No wonder, the students coming out of this institution would not feel any attachment for it or for the agency running it; rather it is more probable that they would cherish bitter memory of their experience here. It is also obvious that by running this hostel the non-official agency concerned will not be able to establish any rapport with the tribal communities and expand the scope of work among them.

Sometimes, the rigidity of ideological committment stands in the way of effective functioning of the non-official agencies. Near Mokokchung in Nagaland, a Welfare Centre has been set up by Adimjati Sevak Sangh. The worker in charge of the centre is working under extremely difficult conditions and his selfless service deserves highest commendation. This centre has a craft training unit attached to it. In this unit there is no arrangement to impart training in weaving. though weaving is one of the most important crafts of the Nagas. It is understood that it has not been possible to include weaving in the training programme as the Nagas use mill made yarn for weaving and as on the other hand the Khadi and Village Industries Commission,

which finances the training unit, insists that only home spun yarn should be used. It is felt that when the Khadi and Village Industries Commission refused to provide fund for training in weaving on the above ground, fund should have been obtained for that purpose from other sources. When the Nagas find that their most important craft is neglected in this centre, because of certain values which they do not subscribe to, they naturally feel that the centre is an extraneous body which is not their own. A flexible approach could have been made to draw the Nagas to the centre.

Another example of ideological rigidity is provided by the practice in many residential schools, run by non-official agencies to give only vegetarian diet to the tribal students. Some of the persons running these institutions consider it a matter of principle not to give non-vegetarian diet. Vegetarianism may be a matter of principle for them but certainly it is not a matter of principle for the tribes concerned. Refusal to allow non-vegetarian diet in the institutions meant for the tribes is nothing but manifestation of veiled contempt for their way of life. In the institutions run with government assistance, such a practice is highly reprehensible.

Some non-official agencies do not even conceal their contempt for the way of life of the tribal people. In West Bengal, one non-official agency was found to discourage the tribal children residing in the hostel run by it from going to their homes during long vacations, because they wanted to make them "man" as they say it, and did not want their "man making process" to be spoilt by contact of the students with their homes. I believe that every genuine educationist would shudder at what this agency was doing. It was teaching the tribal children to despise their parents, their own people. One need not be surprised if the agency succeeds in producing demons.

Sometimes again non-official agencies function in un-national if not anti-national manner. In a textbook written

by the Christian missionaries in Santali language, there is not a single biography of any Indian. On the other hand there is a biography of king George VI. The book was published after Independence.

The above list of the shortcomings of the non-official agencies should not however make us forget the commendable services rendered by many non-official agencies in different parts of the country. Many years ago, I saw at Kosbad in Mahashtra, that experiments were being made to adopt the Montessori system to the ecological settings of the tribal and other backward people. I was highly impressed by the spirit behind this experiment. I would also like to make a mention of the excellent work being done by Navjivan Mandal in Orissa in the field of education of the tribal children. There are innumerable other non-official agencies who are doing really good work and who deserve the gratitude of the nation.

We are to take note of the shortcomings of the non-official agencies, not to damage their reputations, but to find out ways and means for removing the shortcomings. In fairness it should be mentioned here that equally if not more damaging shortcomings are sometimes found in the institutions run by the official agencies directly. In the ashram schools run by the Government of Orissa, there was a rule until recently, that at least Rs.3,000/- should be deposited annually to the treasury out of the sale proceeds of the agricultural and industrial goods produced by the students. As a result, the students were made to work hard for producing agricultural and industrial goods, to the neglect of their academic studies. One may argue that it is desirable that they should acquire skill in agriculture and industry in the school. The argument would have been valid had they been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labour. As the system prevailed, the students were practically turned into mere labourers in lieu of the free food and other facilities that they got in the school. Besides, as the emphasis was on sale and not on training, the students

generally did the unskilled part of the work in case of the crafts, the skilled part being done by the teacher himself. Thus the students could acquire very little real skill in the crafts. I understand that the position has changed now, but I have not yet studied to what extent that change is real and to what extent it is apparent.

From what has been stated above, it is obvious that there is need for thorough evaluation of the activities of both the official and non-official agencies.

Personally I feel that neither it will not be possible, nor will it be desirable to dispense with the services of the non-official agencies in the field of tribal education. But there is much scope for sophistication of approach in this matter. The government and the people must be much more discriminating, taking into consideration the type of the agency with reference to its organizational and functional characteristics as well as the setting of the served community. Where suitable type of non-official agency is available it should be entrusted with operational responsibility and the role of the official agencies should be promotional ; where suitable non-official agencies do not exist the operational responsibility will have to be taken up by the official agencies. There is another possibility which also should be visualized. It is a combination of operational and promotional roles. In many areas it has been found that simply by providing various facilities, the tribal people cannot be attracted to schools, unless a climate of opinion in favour of education is created within the community. In such areas, while the educational institutions can be run by the Government or other statutory bodies, educational leaders should be selected from among the non-official agencies to create climate of opinion among the tribes concerned by propaganda and other means. In other words, this suggestion implies that in case of very backward tribal communities, collaboration with non-official agencies would be indispensable, even when the official agencies take up the operational role.

As already stated, in some areas, taking into consideration the objective condition, the non-official agencies can be assigned operational role and the official agencies can perform the promotional role. But if the non-official agencies are to function effectively, certain legislative provisions will have to be made, for instance, in the areas where Compulsory Primary Education Act has been enforced, the institutions run by the approved non-official agencies will have to be recognized for the purpose of the Act. Again, to enable the approved non-official agencies raise funds more easily, the amount donated to such agencies by any individual or organization may be exempted from income tax under the Income Tax Act.

III

The non-official agencies on their part will have to accept certain limitations in their operations. They should be prepared to accept technical advice from the staff provided by the government or various statutory bodies. Imparting education is a highly technical matter—simple good-will is not enough for it. The field of tribal education is more complicated because enough research has not been done about methodological and other problems relating to this field. Both official and non-official agencies should be ready for constant revision in the method, technique and content of tribal education, as a result of the researches that may be conducted in this field. Empirical data are lacking at present to show whether non-official agencies are more conservative or less, in the matter of accepting innovation in the field of education. As a logical construct it seems likely that they would be more conservative because of their ideological commitments and because of the cost involved in introducing change. If the presumption is correct, it is obvious that conflict is bound to take place between non-progressive non-official agencies and the advocates of change. But it would be inappropriate to describe such conflict as conflict between official and non-official agencies. If there are a number of non-progressive non-official agencies, I am sure there are many more

progressive non-official agencies. On the other hand, conservatism is to be found in many of the institutions run by the official agencies as well. The conflict therefore is conflict between conservatism and progress, and, persons of foresight and imagination, whether belonging to official agencies or non-official agencies, will undoubtedly throw in their weight in favour of progress.

VI. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMINAR

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMINAR

13th September, 1965

Chairman — Shri L. M. Shrikant,
Chairman,
Working Group on
Education of Backward Classes,
Education Commission

1. First Plenary Session

The first plenary session began at 11.00 a.m. While welcoming the delegates, the Head of the Department of Adult Education gave an account of the various institutes under the National Council of Educational Research and Training and emphasized the importance and necessity of the Seminar. Dr T. A. Koshy, his name having been proposed by Shri L. R. N. Srivastava, and seconded by Dr P. R. Sirsalkar was duly elected as the Director of the Seminar. Dr Koshy while expressing his thanks to the delegates requested them to elect a Chairman for each day's session. The Director, he said, would be mainly responsible for the administrative work of the Seminar while the Chairman will guide the discussions and preside over the day's proceedings. For 13th September, 1965, Shri L. M. Shrikant, Chairman, Working Group on Education of Backward Classes, Education Commission whose name was proposed by Shri C. P. Patel and seconded by Dr B. K. Roy Burman, was elected Chairman. Delegates to the Seminar then introduced themselves and described their designation, present job, activities, interest and experience in working in the tribal areas. The

Director remarked that he was happy to see that the delegates with different background and experience of working with the tribal people were participating in the Seminar.

Shri L. R. N. Srivastava then presented the Working Paper of the Seminar. He mentioned the importance of the topics included for discussion in the Working Paper and pointed out that the most important problems of tribal education were included in it. The draft Working Paper was circulated to the various departments, universities and institutes and after receiving their suggestions for inclusion of additional material and clarification on some points it was finalized. The presentation of the Working Paper was followed by a lively discussion and delegates requested that some more points may be included in the Working Paper for discussion and then the Working Paper was accepted.

In view of the situation created by Pakistani aggression it was decided to dispense with the formal inauguration ceremony of the Seminar and after the acceptance of the Working Paper, the Seminar proceeded to other items on the agenda.

2. Election of Office bearers of the Seminar

The following were elected as the office bearers of the Seminar :

<i>Director</i>	Dr T. A. Koshy, Head, Department of Adult Education, New Delhi
<i>General Secretary</i>	Shri L. R. N. Srivastava, Field Adviser, Tribal Education Unit, Department of Adult Education, New Delhi
<i>Associate General Secretary</i>	Shri M. L. Kakkar, Principal, Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Udaipur

<i>Editor-in-Chief, Seminar Bulletin</i>	Shri L. R. N. Srivastava, Field Adviser, Tribal Education Unit, Department of Adult Education, New Delhi
<i>Editor</i>	Shri A. A. C. Lal, Research Officer, Tribal Education Unit, Department of Adult Education, New Delhi
<i>Chief Rapporteur</i>	Dr B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General, New Delhi

3. Second Plenary Session

The second plenary session began at 2.30 p.m. under the chairmanship of Shri L. M. Shrikant. As Shri S. K. Kaul, the paper contributor on Topic I of the Working Paper could not attend the Seminar, Shri A. A. C. Lal read on his behalf the paper on 'Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education' (Topic I of the Working Paper). The discussion on this paper was initiated by Dr B. K. Roy Burman and followed by the delegates. Misutilization of scholarships given to the tribal children, effect of industrialization, problems of unemployment and education, educational facilities, working of ashram schools, low attendance of tribal children in schools, various practices of giving scholarships to the tribal children in different States and Union territories etc. were briefly discussed.

4. Third Plenary Session

It began at 4.30 p.m. It was suggested by the Chairman that the delegates should give a brief account of the activities and other information about the institutions they represent. Thereupon, the delegates gave a brief account which enabled the Seminar delegates to know about the activities of

the various departments and institutions engaged in the field of tribal education. •

5. Shri S. L. Soni, Director of Education, North-East Frontier Agency, was elected Chairman for 14th September, 1965. His name was proposed by Shri L. R. N. Srivastava and seconded by Dr L. K. Mahapatra.

14th September, 1965

Chairman

— Shri S. L. Soni,
Director of Education,
North-East Frontier Agency

1. Group discussion on Topic I

The Seminar divided itself into four groups in order to thoroughly discuss the subjects. The Group discussions began at 9.30 a.m. The delegates met in their respective Groups and discussed Topic I of the Working Paper (Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education).

2. Fourth Plenary Session

The fourth plenary session began at 11.45 a.m. under the chairmanship of Shri S. L. Soni, Director of Education, North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong who suggested that tribal education should be considered in the light of local condition and from the perspective of tribal children.

Shri L. R. N. Srivastava presented his paper on Topic II of the Working Paper (Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education). At the Chairman's request discussion was conducted on the problems posed by Shri Srivastava one by one. It was suggested by the participants that some research projects may be taken up in the field of tribal education; emphasis should be given not only on multiplicity of schools but on the proper maintenance and standard of schools; there should be supervisory committees at block and district levels for effective supervision of the schools and there must be co-ordination among the school, co-operative and Panchayat Samities. If

was further suggested that since the conditions and norms of primary schools vary from place to place and the youth dormitories are gradually vanishing, the Seminar should also discuss the basis for the opening of schools in tribal areas; funds should be allocated according to the population of the tribal people, more hostel facilities should be provided and more schools for eight-year course having two or three teachers may be opened. The delegates voiced their opinion that since Shri Srivastava's paper had posed many problems it was not possible to discuss them thoroughly within the limited time. It was decided, therefore, to continue discussion on his paper in the fifth plenary session also.

3. Fifth Plenary Session

The fifth plenary session began at 2.30 p.m. The discussion on Shri Srivastava's paper was continued and some more suggestions were made by the delegates. It was suggested that training in tribal life and culture should be given to the teachers working in the tribal areas, a separate cadre cannot be formed for these teachers but some incentive should be given and there should be provision for promotion of the teachers. Social structure and social organization of the tribe concerned should be considered while opening a school. The problem of medium of instruction was discussed at great length and the general consensus of opinion was that tribal children should be taught through the medium of their mother tongue, at least, for a period of two to three years.

As Dr Sachchidananda, the paper contributor on Topic II of the Working Paper could not attend the Seminar, Shri S. V. Gupta on his behalf read the paper on 'Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education'. The discussion on this paper was initiated by Dr L. K. Mahapatra with the suggestion that the parents and the adults should be told about the changes which education is bringing. Education of children and the adults should be separated in nature, we are trying to channelize the traditions in new institutions and a suitable kind of education should be

evolved. It was further pointed out by the delegates that the tribal education should be life-centred and not curriculum-centered ; the tribal people have a love for dance, drama and song etc. which should be included in tribal education. Industrialization has brought some bad qualities among the tribal people. Tribal education should be craft-oriented; if crafts taught are not better than their own they should not be taught ; the technical education will be soon popular among the tribal people ; pressure on land must be reduced.

4. Group discussion on Topic II

At 4.30 p.m. all the four Groups under their respective Group Leaders met and discussed Topic II of the Working Paper.

5. Shri L. R. N. Srivastava proposed the name of Shri C. P. Patel, Director Backward Class Welfare, Gujarat, to be the Chairman for 15th September, 1965. His proposal was seconded by Shri S. P. Acharya and accepted by the delegates.

15th September 1965

<i>Chief Guest</i>	—	Shri R. N. Mirdha, Speaker, Rajya Vidhan Sabha, Rajasthan
<i>Chairman</i>	—	Shri C. P. Patel, Director, Backward Class Welfare, Gujarat

1. Sixth Plenary Session

The sixth plenary session began at 9.30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Shri R. N. Mirdha, Speaker of Rajya Vidhan Sabha, Rajasthan, Jaipur, who was the Chief Guest of the session. He expressed his happiness over the fact that a National Seminar on Tribal Education was being held at Udaipur and apart from other delegates, the person of the city interested in tribal education were also participating.

With the permission of the Chair, rapporteurs of the four different groups presented their respective group reports on Topic I of the Working Paper (Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education). The Director of the Seminar thanked the rapporteurs for preparation and presentation of valuable reports and invited discussion on those reports. At the outset it was pointed out that scholarships should be given in cash but after a lively discussion it was agreed that in lower classes, the financial assistance should be in kind and in upper classes it may be in cash though it was doubted by some of the participants whether the administrative machinery would be able to cope up with the work if the assistance were given in kind. It was pointed out that the missionaries do not impart only education but they try to change the whole way of life. In Madras, 40% to 50% contribution is given by the government and rest of the expenditure is met by people's contribution for the construction of school buildings. The educated tribal people do not want to be teachers but they want higher posts. Hence, we will have to depend upon the outsiders whom positive inducement should be given and they should be enthused with the missionary spirit to work in tribal areas. Some of the delegates strongly felt that the administrative control of the teacher should be vested in the Zila Parishads and not in the Panchayat Samities, as due to local politics, teachers are treated like shuttle-cocks. In composite tribal and non-tribal areas, non-tribal people dominate over the tribal people, hence for the protection of the latter this should be in the hands of the Zila Parishads. Some doubts were raised with regard to the medium of instruction in tribal dialect for two years but ultimately it was agreed that the instruction in primary schools should be through the mother tongue. As regards the Balwadis it was pointed out that these will form habit among the tribal children for the schooling. It was also suggested by the Chief Guest that we should also consider the question of adult education

for educating the tribal adults so that they realize the importance of teaching their children.

2. Seventh Plenary Session

The seventh plenary session began at 11.30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Shri C. P. Patel, Director, Backward Class Welfare, Gujarat, Ahmedabad. The rapporteurs of the four different groups presented their respective group reports on Topic II of the Working Paper (Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education). In course of discussion it was emphasized that there should be strong supervisory machinery, and strict inspection of the schools is essential. There was a lively discussion on the question of co-ordinating the working of school with the Village Panchayat, Village Co-operative and Youth Club. Some of the participants advocated for reserve teachers to fill in the gap when the teacher of the single-teacher school went out on leave. While realizing the necessity of having leave reserves it was pointed out that for shorter duration it may be a practical solution to associate the other suitable functionaries of the village so that the school does not have to be closed down. It was further pointed out that the qualification of non-tribal teachers must be matriculation; but since matriculates do not come forward to work as teachers in tribal areas there is no harm in appointing non-tribal teachers knowing the tribal dialect sufficiently well. The minimum qualification for such and other tribal teachers should be class VIII or IX.

3. Shri H. G. Mehra, Director, Social Welfare, Rajasthan was duly elected as Chairman for 16th September, 1965, his name having been proposed by Shri L. R. N. Srivastava and seconded by Shri C. P. Patel.

4. Visit to Bhartiya Lok Kala Mandal

The delegates visited the Bhartiya Lok Kala Mandal at 3.00 p.m. They were taken round the museum and two films on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan were shown to them.

16th September, 1965

Chairman

— Shri H. G. Mehra,
Director,
Social Welfare,
Rajasthan.

1. Group discussion on Topic III

The Group discussion began at 9.30 a.m. The delegates met in four different groups and discussed Topic III of Working Paper (Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education).

2. Eighth Plenary Session

The eighth plenary session began at 11.30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Shri H. G. Mehra, Director, Social Welfare, Rajasthan.

Dr. L. K. Mahapatra presented his paper on Topic IV of the Working Paper (Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education). At the request of the Chairman, discussion was carried on on the problems posed by Dr Mahapatra in his paper. It was pointed out by one of the participants that though the medium of instruction should be the tribal dialect, it is a costly affair to prepare textbooks. Inter-village schools are costly and may have to be opened at limited scale. It was pointed out that the tribes of all areas should not be put in one category, the classification given by Dr Roy Burman was not agreeable to some of the participants. Some of the participants advocated that medium of instruction should be mother tongue in primary standard ; economic development is necessary for tribal education ; the local history etc. should be included in textbooks as tribal people are proud of their culture. Question was raised as to what should be the medium of instruction when tribal and non-tribal children are studying together. It was pointed out that methods and curricula for tribal education vary from region to region, and hence a question was raised whether there should not be a uniform method and curriculum adopted for all the tribal areas.

3. Ninth Plenary Session

The ninth plenary session began at 2.30 p.m. in which the discussion on Topic IV of the Working Paper (Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education) was continued. The participants pointed out that tribal children can understand their lessons better only through their mother tongue. Other topics of the paper were also thoroughly discussed.

With the permission of the Chairman Dr Roy Burman presented his paper on Topic V of the Working Paper (Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal people) which was followed by a lively discussion. A few participants pointed out that the workers do not come forward to work in the voluntary organizations because of low salary and insecurity of service. It was stressed that exploitation must be checked and security of service should be provided, and voluntary organizations should be encouraged to take up more extensive work of tribal education.

4. Group discussion on Topic IV

The Group discussion began at 4.00 p.m. Delegates met in four groups and discussed the paper on Topic IV of the Working Paper (Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education).

5. Dr. L. K. Mahapatra, Reader in Social Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar was duly elected Chairman for 17th September, 1965. His name was proposed by Shri L. R. N. Srivastava and seconded by Dr B. K. Roy Burman.

17th September, 1965

Chairman—Dr. L.K. Mahapatra,
Reader in Social Anthropology,
Utkal University

1. Visit to Vidya Bhavan Institutions

The delegates visited the Vidya Bhavan Institutions at 9.00 a.m. and were taken round the High School, Training College, Social Education Officers Training Centre and the Rural Institute.

2. Group discussion on Topic V

The Group discussion began at 11.45 a.m. The delegates met in four different groups and discussed Topic V of the Working Paper (Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal People).

3. Tenth Plenary Session

The tenth plenary session began at 2.30 p.m. under the chairmanship of Dr L. K. Mahapatra. All the four rapporteurs presented their respective Group reports on Topic III of the Working Paper (Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education). A lively discussion followed on the type of education to be imparted to the tribal children and it was pointed out by the participants that the crafts to be taught in ashram and residential schools should be of practical nature and related to local conditions ; the school environment should be home-like. Economic and educational potentialities should be considered before introducing a new craft ; the craft should have economic and educative value. There appeared to be a great deal of uniformity in the opinions expressed by delegates in the various groups.

4. Eleventh Plenary Session

The eleventh plenary session began at 3.30 p.m. in which the delegates discussed the Group reports on Topic IV of the Working Paper (Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education). There was a discussion on the method of education as to whether alphabets or words should be given first to the tribal children and it was agreed that this problem may be left to the educationists and linguists. It was also discussed as to whether the tribal education should be 'culture-based' or 'science-based'. It was generally agreed that it should be culture-based but science-oriented. There is a general pattern of education in which we have to fit in the culture and tradition of the tribal people ; more than one textbook may be given to the tribal children during one year. It was sugges-

ted that the Tribal Education Unit should conduct some researches on alphabets and different methods of teaching in the tribal areas.

5. Dr B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General of India, New Delhi was duly elected Chairman for 18th September, 1965, his name having been proposed by Shri L. R. N. Srivastava and seconded by Shri R. S. Uppal.

18th September, 1965

Chief Guest—Dr G.S. Mahajani,
Vice-Chancellor,
Udaipur University

Chairman —Dr B.K. Roy Burman,
Officer on Special Duty,
Office of the Registrar General of India

1. Twelfth Plenary Session

The twelfth plenary session began at 9.45 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr B. K. Roy Burman. With the permission of the Chair, rapporteurs of the four different groups presented their respective group reports on Topic V of the Working Paper (Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal People). The Chairman thanked the rapporteurs for preparation and presentation of valuable reports and invited discussion on those reports. A lively discussion on formation of a 'High Power Committee' for looking after the performance and working of the voluntary organizations was followed. Some of the participants opposed the idea of forming a 'High Power Committee' whereas some of the delegates suggested that only the name of this committee should be changed. It was felt that there was an urgent need for considering the service conditions and pay scales of the workers under voluntary agencies. It was suggested that a minimum ceiling on wage as well as qualification of workers may be fixed. The voluntary organizations should be free to appoint

the workers of their choice and there should not be any imposition on them. So far the method of working in the field of tribal education is concerned, it was pointed out that both modern technology and traditional culture should be encouraged. It was also emphasized that the imposition of any ideals and methods on the tribal people should be avoided.

2. Dr T. A Koshy, Director of the Seminar then presented before the delegates the recommendations of the Seminar which were the general consolidated recommendations made by all the four groups. A lively discussion on different recommendations was followed and with slight modification the recommendations were approved by the Seminar.

3. In order to finalize the recommendations of the Seminar a sub-committee consisting of Dr T. A. Koshy, Shri L. R. N. Srivastava and Dr B. K. Roy Burman was formed.

VALEDICTORY FUNCTION

The valedictory function began at 11.50 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr G. S. Mahajani, Vice-Chancellor, Udaipur University, Rajasthan. Dr T. A. Koshy, Director of the Seminar welcomed and thanked the Chief Guest, Dr Mahajani, for the trouble he took to spare his time to come and preside over the valedictory function. He also extended his hearty welcome to the friends and guests who had responded to the invitation to attend the valedictory function. Though they had their own work to attend to they had attached more importance to this function which showed their interest in tribal education. With the permission of the Chair, Dr Koshy presented the Director's report.

2. Director's Report—Dr T. A. Koshy

A Unit for the study of the educational problems of the tribal people in India was established at the Department of Adult Education over a year ago by the National Council of Educational Research and Training with a grant from the Ministry of Home Affairs, now the Department of Social

Welfare of the Government of India. The objectives of this Unit are: to take up investigation and research into the problems of tribal education, to co-ordinate research in tribal life developed in other institutions and universities in the country, and to take special studies and evaluation into special problems of tribal education.

This National Seminar on Tribal Education in India organized by the Tribal Education Unit is one of the important activities undertaken by the Unit this year. It may be mentioned that this is the first Seminar of its kind organized in India.

When we were planning this Seminar, we thought that Delhi could be the venue but later we felt that it would be better if the Seminar is held in a State where there is a substantial tribal population and preferably at a Centre conducting studies and training in tribal work. As a result of this decision, I wrote to the Principal, Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, here at Udaipur requesting him whether he could give us the necessary facilities for holding the Seminar. I received a prompt reply from Shri Kakkar welcoming the idea of our holding this National Seminar. I am sure that the delegates and observers would agree with me that we could not have chosen a more ideal place for holding the Seminar. Udaipur is famous for its natural beauty and this particular spot where the Centre is situated, is one of the finest in Udaipur, especially because of the beautiful lake and the low green hills around it. As one comes to the Centre, one is impressed by the well-planned architecture of the Centre's building and the landsyaping. It is an attempt to harmonize the man-made beauty with the natural beauty all around. I have a feeling that this beautiful setting in which we have been holding our meetings and discussions, has contributed to the high level of the discussions and the good reports which have emerged from our deliberations. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Shri Kakkar and his colleagues for the excellent arrangements they have made for lodging and boarding of the delegates and for providing all other facilities for the Seminar.

The purpose of this Seminar was to bring together on a common platform the administrators of tribal welfare, educationists, anthropologists, social and tribal welfare workers and others interested in the education of the tribal people to discuss the problems, share experiences and make recommendations for future action. In response to our invitation four State Governments, two Tribal Research and Training Centres, two University's departments of Anthropology, five Central Government Institutions and 11 non-official organizations have sent delegates representing their institutions and organizations. In all 39 delegates and 32 observers have participated in the Seminar.

For convenience of discussion, the subjects relating to the problem of education of tribal people to be considered in the Seminar were divided into five topics and the Working Paper was prepared accordingly. These are: Topic I—'Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education'; Topic II—'Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education'; Topic III—'Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education'; Topic IV—'Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education'; and Topic V—'Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal people'. The draft Working Paper was sent out to a number of prospective participants and their comments were obtained. On the basis of these comments the final Working Paper of the Seminar was prepared. In order to present these topics in the Seminar, and to initiate discussion we approached experienced persons working in the field of Tribal Welfare or Tribal Research to contribute papers on each topic and to act as resource persons in the Seminar. I am glad to state that we have been able to get very high quality papers. Shri S. K. Kaul, Deputy Commissioner, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, prepared the paper on Topic I in which he has given an account of the existing facilities and schemes for education of tribal people. He has also made an assessment of the progress made in the field of tribal

education during the three Five Year Plans. He has brought out the fact that the percentage of literacy among the scheduled tribes is very low, namely, 8.5% as against the general literacy rate of 24% in the whole country. He particularly stressed the fact that literacy among the tribal women and girls is as poor as 3.2%. He has also surveyed the progress in primary, secondary and post-matric education. In his paper Shri Kaul has given valuable information and raised the issues to be considered by the Seminar.

On the second Topic, Shri L. R. N. Srivastava, Field Adviser, Tribal Education Unit, Department of Adult Education, presented a very good paper on some basic problems of tribal education which he read in the plenary session of the Seminar. Shri Srivastava in his paper has focussed the attention of the Seminar on problems relating to tribal schools in general, single-teacher schools in particular, location of schools, inadequacy of teachers, their training facilities, their emoluments, the hardships which they have to face and other related problems. In this paper the issues concerning mother-tongue and medium of instruction were also raised which have helped the participants to discuss the problems objectively. Lack of a general policy regarding the objectives of tribal education was also brought out forcefully by Shri Srivastava in his paper.

On the third Topic, namely, socio-economic aspects of tribal education, Dr Sachchidananda, Professor of Sociology, A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna, contributed a valuable paper. He was expected to participate in the Seminar and present his paper personally but due to some last minute difficulties, it was not possible for him to be present. Dr Sachchidananda in his paper has brought out the relation between education and economic and social development. In the context of tribal education, he emphasized the close link between education as seen in the traditional pattern of tribal life and their economy. He has brought out the need for a new approach to tribal education so that the help which the

children normally give to the family may not be lost by their attending schools. He has suggested the possibility of adjusting the school hours for the primary schools in such a way that the occupation of the tribal people in which children also participate, may not be dislocated. He also emphasized the fact that educational programmes cannot wait till economic development has been achieved. According to him, both education and economic development should go hand in hand. He has given a number of suggestions for making the schools in tribal areas suitable instruments for promoting economic development. He concludes: 'thus education, economy and society are closely linked. A change in any one is apt to affect the other two. Of all the items in the development programme for the tribal people, education is the most important as it is both the means and the end of real progress.'

In any education programme curricula, methods and textbooks figure prominently but more so in tribal education. A scholarly paper on this subject was presented at the Seminar by Dr L. K. Mahapatra, Reader in Social Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar and he has initiated the discussion on his paper and acted as a Resource Person on this very important subject. In relation to the contents of education of the tribal children, Dr Mahapatra has stated that we have to devise a way in which the curriculum could be based on science and culture but at the same time without making drastic changes in the culture of the tribal people except when there is a conflict between that culture and a scientific attitude towards the solution of everyday problems. He has analyzed the syllabi being used up to Class IV and has brought out how the cultural mode of life may be linked with school teaching in urban and rural areas. He has also made some valuable observations on methods of teaching, the need for social education for adults, creative motivation among parents for taking advantage of the educational facilities for their children and the need for a new approach to the method of teaching in tribal schools. The problems connected with the

production of textbooks in tribal dialects, difficult problems indeed, were also thoroughly discussed in the paper.

Dr B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General of India presented his paper on 'Relative Roles of Governments and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal People'. He has discussed the various categories of voluntary organizations and the relative roles which government and voluntary organizations can and ought to play in education of tribal people.

In the first plenary session, the Seminar accepted the Working Paper and it elected Dr T. A. Koshy as the Director of the Seminar. At his suggestion, the Seminar agreed to have a separate Chairman for each day for the plenary sessions and the following were elected Chairmen : Shri L. M. Shrikant for Monday, Shri S. L. Soni for Tuesday, Shri C. P. Patel for Wednesday, Shri H. G. Mehra for Thursday, Dr L. K. Mahapatra for Friday and Dr B. K. Roy Burman for Saturday. I am most grateful to these friends who have conducted the meetings efficiently and guided the discussions. The Director of the Seminar announced the names of the office bearers of the Seminar.

After the presentation of the paper on each topic in the plenary sessions, there was general discussion on that topic. The Seminar then divided into four groups and each group discussed the same topic and the group reports were read out in a subsequent plenary session. On the basis of these group reports and the suggestions made by the authors in their respective papers, the major recommendations of the Seminar were drawn up and considered in the last plenary session held early today (Recommendations of the Seminar were at this stage read out by the Director).

On Wednesday Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, Speaker of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly visited the Seminar and presided over one session. His presence and participation in the Seminar

was a great encouragement to the delegates and to me personally.

During our stay here this week, the delegates visited Bhartiya Lok Kala Mandal and Vidyapith and have greatly appreciated the very good work being done in these institutions.

One notable feature of this Seminar was the issue of daily bulletins briefly summarizing the previous day's proceedings, announcing the day's programme and giving other information to the delegates. Shri L. R. N. Srivastava and Shri A.A.C. Lal have worked very hard as Editor-in-Chief and Editor respectively. They had to sit late at night to get the bulletin out in time the next day along with group reports etc. They deserve our grateful thanks for their valuable contribution in making the Seminar a success. Much of the planning, preparation of the Working Paper, getting paper contributors and all the correspondence regarding this Seminar was done by my colleague, Shri L. R. N. Srivastava who is the Field Adviser of the Tribal Education Unit of the Department of Adult Education. On behalf of the delegates and on my behalf I congratulate him for the fine work he has done. His two assistants, Shri A. A. C. Lal and Shri S. V. Gupta have also worked very hard and they deserve our thanks.

This report will be incomplete if I do not make any reference to the valuable help given by the Principal of this Centre, Shri M. L. Kakkar without which we could not have held this Seminar here. Besides that, he also actively participated in the Seminar, made extremely useful observations and comments. I wish to acknowledge publicly his contribution to the success of the Seminar and offer my sincere thanks to him.

The problems of tribal education and tribal welfare are numerous and not easy to solve. In attempting to solve them, the first thing is to assess the magnitude of the problem and to see what others have done to solve at least some of the problems. This Seminar has just done that and there is considerable follow-up work that needs to be done if we are to make pro-

gress towards achieving the goal of integration of the tribal people with the community around them. I am sure we have made a good beginning towards that.

At this time when we are fighting to defend our soil and when another country is threatening our eastern borders, the question of tribal education and tribal welfare assumes a special significance as the inhabitants of our eastern borders are largely tribal people. Therefore, it was fitting that in spite of the national emergency, we held this Seminar and if our recommendations would also help in strengthening the ties of friendship with the tribal people in our borders we have every reason to feel gratified.

3. Remarks by Seminar Delegates

(i) *Dr L. K. Mahapatra*

Mr Chairman, Delegates to the Seminar and Friends,

It is my privilege to speak on behalf of the delegates to the Seminar. As you know, we have come with the sole objective of discussing and finding out ways of helping our tribal brethren in adjusting to a new pattern of life in the national system of India and in this endeavour the Tribal Education Unit of the National Council of Educational Research and Training has taken a very bold step, I should say, a very pioneering step, because even though there have been so many national organizations, institutions, universities, still to date they have not bothered to organize such a national seminar on tribal education. They have been doing, experimenting on the trial and error method or doing in their own ways, but then they did not want or somehow or other they failed to think constructively in the direction of concentrating all our efforts at such a seminar so as to arrive at something like very fundamental and basic. And from that point of view our effort here has been particularly constructive, I hope, just because not only the Tribal Education Unit of the National Council has come forward but also because all the different institutions and organizations of the country have been cooperative and I would also say that the different organizations, universities and insti-

tutes who have sent their delegates, have been highly benefited not merely in the capacity of persons or individuals who have participated in the Seminar but as organizations ; as bodies they have been highly benefited and I would perhaps represent the same hope from all of our delegates that we have also been individually benefited to a large extent. It has been a process of self-education, a process of self-examination, and a process of self-evaluation, and from these points of view we have achieved a great deal, and I hope the Tribal Education Unit of the National Council by organizing such Seminars or such other discussion forums will be able to guide the nation not only in the field of tribal education but also in the field of other aspects of education. And, last of all, I should also mention that I am speaking on behalf of not only delegates as such but also on behalf of delegates from outside Rajasthan. And in this capacity it is my pleasant duty to mention that had it not been for the pleasant cooperation and understanding help extended to us by the staff, by Mr. Kakkar personally, and others associated with this Seminar organization, we would not have lived a pleasant week here. And from all these points of view I express my hearty thanks to the organizers of the Seminar, to the staff and colleagues at this institute who have made our stay pleasant and also to the people of Rajasthan because I personally am grateful to some individuals in Rajasthan. Just after landing at the station here I was slightly helpless but then I contacted one official of the Education Department and he was immediately helpful and he extended his cordial welcome to me, and with all these remarks I would say again that we are very heartily grateful for all the opportunities placed at our disposal by the Tribal Education Unit of the National Council of Educational Research and Training.

Thank you.

(ii) *Shri K. L. Bordia*

Mr Chairman and Friends,

It was a great pleasure for me to have got the opportunity

of participating in this Seminar and listening to some of the very well prepared papers and reading some other, and also listening to the discussions which took place here. I might tell you that my main field of work is not tribal education and therefore I am speaking as a layman and my impression is that the standard of the papers and the discussions was very high. At this forum, at this Seminar, were gathered representatives of University Departments of Anthropology, workers in the tribal research institutes, workers in the field of welfare of Backward Classes and Tribes, and educationists who were dealing with the practical problems of the education of the tribes. Problems of theory, principle, philosophy of education, philosophy of tribal education, all came up for discussion. What will be, or how far can we preserve the tribal culture and impart at the same time an education suited to modern needs? How, then, with regard to the medium of education? Can we successfully introduce the medium of their mother tongue, and if so, for how many years? Then there were other questions dealing with educational theory. Then there were practical problems like how to locate schools, the problems of single-teacher schools in tribal areas and the problems of having textbooks written in the mother tongue of the tribal people. All these problems came up and were handled by light being focussed from different angles. This cross-fertilization of theory with experience was very important. There were theorists, anthropologists and research workers in the field of tribal education on the one hand, and on the other hand there were seasoned educationists in tribal education like Shri Soni who gave us a detailed account of the situation in NEFA. Then there were other educationists and social workers, Directors of Social Welfare, directors who deal with the problems of social welfare in tribal areas. Thus we had an approach, a sort of multi-lateral approach on problems from different angles of theory and research, from the angle of practical problems and so on. Though I come up occasionally

against this problems of tribal education in my own work, I must say I have been deeply impressed by the earnestness of the workers, by the high standard of papers, and the close understanding amongst the workers who tried to tackle the problems. Now I hope that when they will go back with the discussions fresh in their minds they will start working on those problems and trying to evolve solutions, because in a Seminar like this, workers who are working in the field, come with their particular experience, with their particular problems, with their particular knowledge and then they discuss and go back and continue their work, enriched and refreshed by the experience of this cross-fertilization which I have just mentioned. And I hope that this Seminar will serve as a kind of catalyst, as a kind of spark, to awaken new ideas and new lines of thinking. I, as a resident of Udaipur, should express my gratification for the kindness which so many guests have done in coming to this place. Our material resources are very limited. The natural beauty of the place is, of course, none of our doing, but the natural beauty of this place is also not transient and in spite of our efforts if you have suffered some inconveniences, I hope you will forgive us. And I hope you have enjoyed your stay here.

Thank you.

(iii) *Shri M. L. Kakkar*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

When Dr Koshy mooted the proposal to organize this great Seminar at this Centre I must confess, Sir, it was largely my colleagues who influenced me to catch up the challenge and respond favourably. I told them it will mean a little dislocation of our regular routine as also heavy work on our part. They all readily accepted. I want to pay publicly a tribute to all members of my teaching staff and colleagues including my Class III and Class IV staff who have been working ceaselessly and hard for the last one month to make this Seminar a great success. But for their unstinted cooperation and support this Seminar could not have been successful. I am

very grateful indeed to all of them and Dr Koshy for having given us the chance to play host for this Seminar. As regards the Seminar I must admit that such a good opportunity could not have come to us so handy as it did when we had the assemblage of distinguished experts both from the universities and the field. The high level of papers read have actually been a sort of education for all of us. I was very keen that all my trainee officers who come from four or five participating States like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Nagar Haveli, should get an opportunity to come nearer the distinguished experts in the field of anthropology and hear them ventilate their ideas and views on the burning problems of tribal education. It was indeed, Sir, a very rewarding experience for us, and for those who are slightly away from this field it was, I would not be wrong if I say, a sort of refresher course. For me particularly it has been an education in itself and we are very grateful indeed to the distinguished guests who have come here from various parts of the country to participate in the Seminar and they made our task very easy by their wholehearted cooperation in making this Seminar a going concern. It was indeed very appropriate on the part of Dr Koshy to have had this Seminar here. Friends, I must again remind you that the real inspiration to the freedom fighters came from the Bhils of this area. It was the Bhils who were the backbone of Maharana Pratap's resistance movements. It was on their mettle, it was on their support that he fought out the Mughals. And therefore in that particular setting, the holding of a Seminar in a place like this was very appropriate and we are very grateful to you, Sir. The problems of tribal people are varied and many. You have covered a wide range of difficulties and problems that confront tribal education. It was a great mental exercise that we have been doing and I am sure we did not leave anything untouched so far as problems of tribal education are concerned but the greatest question today—the greatest problem today—is that we deliberate, we do a lot of mental exercise but how far do we go to translate them into action? The crying need of the

hour is the translation of these ideas into action. At this occasion our country makes a call on us that wherever we are, whatever we are doing, and in whatever situation we are placed, we should develop the cult of the action. The cult of mind we are very competent in developing, but the cult of the action has not been developed to the extent it was expected.

Thank you.

4. Valedictory Address — Dr G. S. Mahajani,
Vice-Chancellor,
Udaipur University

Dr Koshy, Mr Srivastava, Mr Kakkar and Friends,

Dr Koshy told you half the truth about my attending the Seminar here. When I first heard from him his letter came from Delhi. I must confess, I flatly refused at first to be the Chairman at any session of this Seminar. But when he caught me here while I was having my walk around this lake, I told him that I would come and attend but not preside. My reluctance to preside comes from the fact that this is a technical matter. Only the expert can say something useful and my occupying the Chair in the capacity of a multipurpose person in a university would be of no use to you or to myself. However, there are certain things which are thrust on you and I have accepted that in that spirit. In his report Dr Koshy was kind enough to pay compliments to Udaipur because it is blessed by nature with a number of lakes, and Mr Kakkar supplemented it by adding another qualification of Udaipur, namely, that the Bhils of Rajasthan really helped the Maharana of this place in putting up a very tough resistance which we now really require. Udaipur was the one State—one Rajput State—which did not yield to the Mughal rulers at Delhi. And we hear now in history the spirit of unparalleled resistance by De Gaulle. France fell in the Second World War but he did not admit it. He raised the standard of resistance and ultimately saw that France became free. The same thing is with regard to Churchill when he said, 'Let the battle of Britain be

lost and U.K. may be over-run by Hitler's force but we shall fight from the seas, from the colonies, if need be ; we fight alone but not for ourselves alone.' This spirit of resistance is required now. Dr Koshy referred to the fact of Chinese threat and tribal people inhabiting that part of our country which really is to face the Chinese threat but this Chinese threat requires the spirit of resistance which can be given by the State.

Now, with regard to the Seminar itself, I noted down a few points—only four—because, long sets of papers were placed in my hands and it is very difficult to digest all this material. These are very learned papers on which people have worked for months, I presume, and I did feel educated after reading these papers. I cannot say I have read them all but glanced through them all and therefore I could make out four points to which I shall give expression.

Now, what is our overall objective of tribal education ? Mr Srivastava has said about the general policy and lack of it. Well, as a layman, I can only say this: Our ancestors—ancestors of all of us—were at one time cavemen. There is no doubt about that. Then they were hunters; then they must have become at one stage tribal people ; then they became agriculturist and now we have reached this stage when we call ourselves civilized. All right, let us accept that we are civilized and we have reached the stage of civilization now. But we have all come from the stage of caveman.

At the present stage we have science, public morality and human rights. We recognize scientific outlook in every sphere. We recognize that certain things must not be done which offend public morality and we have recognized human rights. I shall give you instances. Science. If there are any customs among the tribal people which militate against scientific findings, they do not deserve to be kept up. Resistance against inoculation of cholera has got to be overcome and you have got to inoculate them compulsorily. Public morality. Head hunting, witchcraft, child marriages, human sacrifices, ritual murders—

they all offend against public morality. Therefore, whatever may be said on behalf of the tribal people these cannot be tolerated and do not deserve to be kept up. Human rights. We have all now come up to recognize that every individual has his human rights. There are basic rights, fundamental rights, economic rights and political rights. Basic rights. You know, we need food, shelter, health and education. Fundamental rights. Of course we have got these in our Constitution—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of association and so on and everybody is entitled to them. Economic right is the right to work ; I must be given employment by the State to maintain myself. Right to vote, freedom of vote are political rights. Now, these rights therefore we now enjoy. Well, in some degree there might be some lacuna somewhere but we are supposed to enjoy all these rights. We are supposed to have everything which does not offend public morality. We have to see, therefore, that the tribal people are brought on to this stage today, tomorrow or the day after. Now how is that to be done ? You have to give them doses, of course. These doses of modern education are to be given in a way that these will be digested by them and assimilated by them. For instance, if all these five or six papers had been given to me at a fortnight's interval each, I could have digested them all but all of them were placed in my hands at the same time and I could not digest them all. The same thing happens to tribal people including improving their outlook. You have to give them in such doses as they will be able to digest and will be able to assimilate it.

My second point is this : who is to spend on tribal education ? Now, tribal people must be regarded in my view as a matter of social insurance. It must be regarded as a national problem and the general tax payer has to pay for them. We have to accept that as an ideal to be worked for. So the whole community meaning thereby the Government which collects money from the tax payer has to accept this as if it is a refugee problem. What did you do when the refugee people, about

10 lakhs in number, came from Pakistan ? You spent crores of rupees in settling them. On the same line this is to be regarded as a problem of social insurance and our attitude to their education and economic uplift must be based on that. I recognize that economic uplift cannot precede education. There is a reference in one of the papers that education cannot precede economic uplift. We cannot expect that they will be economically better off to such a stage that they will pay for their education. Therefore, we have to accept the responsibility on their behalf.

Now, with regard to schools, there is a special paper. My views with regard to schools is this. Schools should not function in isolation. If there is a school it should have a dispensary also attached to it and also a post office attached to it. In the same building these three must be concentrated because it must be a multi-purpose affair. I tell you the reason why. You have got a single-teacher school and if a teacher is absent then all activity ceases. But if you have three activities, that is, the post office and dispensary and a school—you have atleast three men there.

My second suggestion in this connection will be that school should be dispersed and located in such a manner that no child should have to walk for more than two miles from his home to reach the school. Two teachers must be appointed in each school. It is expensive but it has got to be done as an essential of good education. And wherever possible, by all means, employ a couple—husband and wife. That will go a long way in promoting social education. If the husband works among men, the wife can work among women. If the husband falls ill, the wife can take care of the children ; instead of two teachers at least one will be there. Therefore, wherever possible employ husband and wife. Teacher should be bilingual, knowing Hindi and tribal dialect. Every teacher must know two languages. He must be trained in the dialect of the school children and he must know Hindi.

My own reaction to the proposal of regional language has been—I may be completely wrong, but I have a feeling—that the regional language might be neglected but Hindi should be introduced. It is an all-India problem. I should suggest that for the first two years teaching has got to be in the dialect of the child ; that is quite true but even in those two years in the primary stage you can start conversation in Hindi. It is our experience that children of two to three years of age can pick up multiple languages—two to three languages simultaneously by conversation. They do not write but they can certainly speak. Therefore, even during the first two to three years while teaching is being done in the tribal dialect for the benefit of these children you should talk to them in Hindi. So, after the second year stage you can switch on to Hindi as the medium of instruction and the Devanagari script should be introduced. Here I speak with diffidence because I am not an expert. That is my view of the situation.

Regional language is not necessary because I have a feeling that in every State, whether it is a Hindi State or a non-Hindi State, there should be certain number of schools where Hindi is the medium of instruction and as soon as these children go to the secondary stage they should be transferred to those schools where Hindi is the medium of instruction. Next, right from the beginning, conversation in both is to be resorted to. Hindi and English should suffice in later stage, even in colleges. Regional language—another language—need not be thrust on them.

Further, the school, the dispensary and the post office should, as already suggested, be in one building and should also function as a community centre where the adults in the neighbouring villages can come in the evening and can have adult education or social education, that is, an education by which they get information regarding hygiene etc. so that it may be a place of entertainment where musical performances or dances can be given. No attempt should be made to impose

any religion, but, the catholic principles of Hinduism and a sense of proper values should also be properly inculcated. Well, we have been dependent too much on missionary societies which have done very fine work with regard to education of the tribal people but we must encourage our own institutions, say, Ramakrishna Mission and others to do this sort of work and we must not be dependent on others in this regard any longer, and, of course, the conversion does not exist now. But if there is any conversion, it should be when the child becomes adult. Well, there is no legislation in this country but if I had my way I would say—any one can change his religion at any time but only after he becomes a major because he is then in a position to see which is right and which is wrong. Any conversion below this age of majority is not valid. Therefore, it is open to anyone to become a Christian, Muslim or Hindu, but only when he is major because then it is of his free will and till then whatever is the religion of his parents that religion in principle should be explained to him.

There were some questions regarding textbooks. I suggest that textbooks should be composite—composite in the sense that there should be lessons which pertain to the culture of the tribal people and there should be lessons which pertain to that of the non-tribal people, because non-tribal people also must know the customs and institutions of the tribal people and the latter also must know the institutions of the non-tribal people. And very often this community of children that come to the school will be a composite community; they will be drawn from tribal and non-tribal families and, therefore, the textbooks should also be written from this point of view. Even at present in a textbook you have different sorts of lessons and these lessons can take a wide coverage, namely, the non-tribal institutions and tribal institutions.

Then there was a question raised—quality versus quantity. My suggestion is that in the beginning we should emphasize quality, that is because, by emphasizing quality you will be able

to get people from the served community to do this work—voluntary work of educating tribal people which is now being carried out by the non-tribal people; and the tribal workers from the tribes will inspire confidence among them which we are not able to do. Therefore, in the first place, have emphasis on quality and as you get men from the served community, that is, the tribal community, you can certainly go in for quantity and with the help of these people, not only quality but quantity also will be improved.

Then I come to the fourth point. Whatever the organization, whether they are government organizations or private organizations, there must be a unity of approach on the part of them. Workers should be mixed, that is to say, there should be a fair proportion of tribal people among the workers. There was a reference here about the use of tribal institutions in the operational strategy and to try to improve them. I fully support that view. The process of earlier assimilation should be encouraged and we should not say that we want to keep the tribal culture and everything like that. The sooner they come into the main stream of human history, the better. Well, that is of course my view. Now you see, when the missionaries convert these people to Christianity, they get into the main stream very quickly. Before the U.P.S.C., many tribesmen from Nagaland and from NEFA came and they scored quite heavily when they came from Christian missionary schools. So to hasten the process of bringing them into the main stream it is not difficult, only you must have that ideal. But if you simply think that India is a representative of 5,000 years, that there are cultures right from the beginning and that they should be preserved—then that is not my idea. I would like these tribal people to come into our main stream as early as possible. There is a reference in one of the papers that the Santals had become assimilated in our main stream very quickly. If it is possible in their case, it is possible in the case of others, only we must have that mind to do it. Therefore, composite schools and their progressive participation in the

life of the neighbouring community, should be encouraged to the fullest extent.

Now, the last point I want to say is that workers, whether they are in governmental or non-governmental agencies should have imagination and commonsense. Now, what is this commonsense? I am speaking because one or two instances are quoted here. In all our public life, you cannot get the first best and when you see that you cannot get the first best, you must be prepared to accept the second best and go on but not halt; if you see that you cannot get the second best, get at least the third best but go on—that is what is meant by commonsense. Now, there was a reference here that at a welfare centre in Nagaland there was no arrangement to impart training in weaving, one of the most important crafts of the Nagas. Now, what happened? What was the reason? These Nagas will use only mill-made yarn, they will not use home-spun yarn. Now, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, which possibly, I think finances the supply of home-spun yarn has a rule that home-spun yarn must be used, but the Nagas do not use home-spun yarn and they insist only on mill-made yarn. Thus the whole activity stops, and no alternative arrangement exists. Now, I would say to the workers in the Khadi and Village Industries Commission that if you cannot get the first best here, that is, the home-spun yarn for weaving, get the second best, at least. If the Nagas are willing to weave, give them the mill yarn. It does not matter but this is what I mean by commonsense. Workers must have imagination and, of course, sympathy is granted otherwise they would not join it. Sympathy, imagination and commonsense are needed and then we can make considerable progress in our education.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, these are my views and whether right or wrong, it makes no difference. I am grateful to you for calling me here and educating me to some extent through these papers on these vital problems and I do express the views given expression to by Mr Bordia that whatever our

shortcomings here, you will please overlook them and when you return, you have some pleasant memories of this Seminar, here.

Thank you.

5. Vote of Thanks—L. R. N. Srivastava.

Honourable Chairman, Director of the Seminar, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a matter of great pleasure—indeed great honour—to me to propose a vote of thanks to all of you who have assembled here. Every seminar, conference, or meeting has a ceremony attached to it. So, while organizing this Seminar we thought of having an inauguration ceremony and a valedictory function. We approached some distinguished persons in the field of tribal education and requested them to come here to inaugurate the seminar and address the valedictory function. But in the meantime the situation on our borders with Pakistan developed for the worse and we decided to dispense with the inauguration ceremony. But we thought that we must have the valedictory function because that would be of great use to us and will add to our knowledge. The Honourable Chairman has just told you that he refused our request when we first sent it from Delhi, but we also refused to accept his refusal and we clung on tenaciously to our request and I personally requested Dr Koshy time and again to keep on the track of Dr Mahajani and must persuade him to come here and address the valedictory function. Our efforts bore fruit and I am very happy that he has very kindly agreed to come and we are all very thankful to him. Many, many thanks to you, Sir, for coming.

I would also like to thank Shri R. N. Mirdha, the Speaker of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, who is not here but who also came here on Monday and presided over the morning session. I would request Shri Kakkar to convey to him our thanks. I would like to thank at this stage our distinguished delegates who have come all the way from different corners of India, for about a week, some of them leaving

behind their families in the towns which are being bombarded by the enemy. I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude and thanks to them as they have shown a great sense of dedication to the tribal people by coming here and expressing their views.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not thank Shri Kakkar, the Principal of this Training Centre and his staff. As the Director has already told you, it would have been impossible for us to have organized this Seminar here had Shri Kakkar not helped us. While thanking Shri Kakkar I will make a special mention of Sharvashri Swarup, Jain, Virk and Bhardwaj who have taken special pains to see that we live here comfortably. For the last six or seven days they have all been working hard, working late at night and seeing to it that we are comfortable and get whatever we require. This has caused a great inconvenience to them. But we will beg apologies for that and I hope you will join with me in extending our thanks to all of them. I also thank the officers and staff of the Bhartiya Lok Kala Mandal who organized a visit of the delegates to their centre. We were greatly impressed to see the arrangements there, especially the puppets. Unfortunately, we could not see their puppet shows, so famous internationally, but we hope that when we come next time to Udaipur we will surely make it a point to go and see those shows. I also take this opportunity to thank Shri K.L. Bordia and Shri K.N. Srivastava, the Director and the Deputy Director respectively of Vidya Bhawan Rural Institute. They have been very very kind to us not only in giving their help here in the deliberations of the Seminar, but also when the delegates went to their Institute. They took us round their various Institutes, School, the Training College, Rural Institute, Social Education Organizers Training Centre, and enlightened us on the activities and the programmes they are carrying on. I am very thankful to them for the pains they have taken.

I would also like to thank the Chairmen, the Chief Rapporteur, the Rapporteurs, the Group Leaders, the Paper

Contributors, and the Resource Persons who were the pivots of the Seminar. The Chairmen have very brilliantly and with great talent channelized the discussions in the right way and have seen to it that much useful material came from discussions by the delegates. The Group Leaders have been of much help in guiding the deliberations of their groups and arriving at useful decisions; the Chief Rapporteur Dr Roy Burman has taken lot of pains in preparing some of the reports of the Seminar and the Rapporteurs have from day to day prepared the reports and presented to the Seminar in a very able manner. Our thanks to all of them.

I owe a special sense of gratitude to the Paper Contributors. Initially we requested them, about two months ago, to contribute papers and act as resource persons, come personally to the Seminar, read the papers and guide the discussions. Out of the five paper contributors only three came here, read the papers, and led the discussions. Unfortunately, due to some last minute difficulties Dr Sachchidananda and Shri Kaul, the other two paper contributors could not come. But we would like to thank them and I would request some of you who may happen to meet them to express thanks on my behalf and on behalf of my Department.

I must also thank the staff members of my Department who have laboured a great deal in making this Seminar a success. I would also like to thank all of them who are not here but who have participated concretely in the organization and deliberations of the Seminar. Once again, I thank you all, thank you very much indeed.

VII. CONSOLIDATED GROUP REPORTS

CONSOLIDATED GROUP REPORTS

1. Consolidated Group Report on Topic I of the Working Paper

The groups considered the problems of 'Existing Facilities, Coverage, Wastage, Stagnation and Utilization of Financial Assistance in respect of Tribal Education'. In tribal areas the number of primary schools are not adequate and tribal children have to walk a long distance for attending schools. It was observed that there was a need of having at least 100 primary schools, five middle schools, one ashram school and at least one high school for a tribal population of 25,000 which is equivalent to that in a Tribal Development Block. It was also recommended that there should be at least one primary school wherever 35 tribal children of school-going age are available.

The girls' education is also lagging behind which is to be improved. For this, some incentive has to be given to the parents. There should be co-education in the primary stage and lady teachers may be preferred. They may be transferred as far as possible to single-teacher schools. The school buildings in tribal areas are generally in dilapidated condition and not properly looked after. The teachers working in tribal areas are not very happy. It was, therefore, felt that some incentive should be given to them and provision for their accommodation and medical aid should be made.

There is an urgent need for appointing a committee consisting of the Block Development Officer, Chairman of the

Panchayat Samiti and Education Extension Officer. This Committee may also consider the transfer of teachers. Ashram schools should be encouraged.

The groups also felt that the qualification for appointment as a teacher may be relaxed in case of a tribal candidate because teachers knowing tribal language, life and culture are not available in sufficient number ; but at the same time there is a need to maintain the standard too. The non-tribal teachers serving in the tribal areas should be given proper orientation training in tribal life and culture and should have a knowledge of local tribal dialect.

In most of the States, tuition fees are given to the tribal students, on merit-cum-means basis. It is recommended that the Government of India scholarships should be granted to all students including secondary, graduate and even post-graduate standards. Considering the rise in cost of living the amount of scholarship may have to be increased. The amount and policy in regard to scholarship etc. within a State sometimes vary which should be made uniform.

The tribal people are economically backward and poor. They do not want to send their children to school at the cost of economic benefit they derive from them. This is one of the main factors for wastage and stagnation in the schools in tribal areas. Midday meals in the schools are the main attraction for them. It is observed that when due to any cause midday meals are not supplied, the tribal people hesitate to send their children to the school and the percentage of attendance goes down. Supply of midday meals is an urgent need. Supply of books and clothes to the tribal students are not very adequate. For the smaller children it is essential to encourage Balwadis and some games prevailing among the tribal societies.

It is observed that when the teacher goes on leave, there is none to run the school. If the co-ordination among the school, village panchayat, co-operative and other village institu-

tions is encouraged and maintained, this will help smooth running of the school, and a good attendance of the pupils.

The location of the school in tribal areas is not very satisfactory, and they should be closer to the villages so that tribal children are not to walk more than two miles. The Seminar was of the opinion that statistics on tribal education in various States are not maintained properly and efforts should be made to maintain them.

2. Consolidated Group Report on Topic II of the Working Paper

Under this topic, the groups considered 'Some Basic Problems of Tribal Education In India'. To ensure efficient functioning of a school there is greater need than ever before for increased supervision. The supervisory staff should be active and their number should be increased. It is observed that in most of the tribal areas the Sub-Inspectors of Schools do not visit the schools frequently and due to which the function of schools is not very satisfactory. Sometimes one Sub-Inspector of Schools has to cover a number of schools and it is not possible for him to cover all of them in a limited time.

There is a greater need for increasing the number of residential schools and hostels. With the transference of primary education to Panchayati Raj Institutions, funds which have been made available for equipment, furniture, teaching aid, library, game materials etc. for primary schools are inadequate. The result is that more often than not schools give the pictures of a mere structure than the institution meant for imparting education to the tribal children. It was also considered that the teacher-student ratio should be minimized and one teacher should take two classes only. The local contribution is not coming forth up to the expectations and hence the amount allotted for school building does not seem to be adequate.

As regards the medium of instruction and mother tongue, the groups felt that the tribal people living in the inaccessible areas are cut off from the outside world for so many months. They are unable to understand the regional language. It is difficult for their children to understand the contents of books. There is a greater need for considering the medium of instruction. The major tribal dialect which is spoken by a large number of tribal people in any State should be recognized as the medium of instruction in the primary stage in that area and textbooks should be written in these languages. This practice is prevailing in NEFA and some other States too, and this has proved useful. So far as the question of script is concerned there is no harm in adopting the script of the regional language and wherever possible Devanagari may be introduced. It was recommended that at least in the primary stage tribal children should be taught through their mother tongue and then they should switch over to the regional language. It is very easy for the tribal children to learn a thing through their mother tongue. At the same time textbooks should reflect the various cultural aspects of tribal communities as well as non-tribal societies. Such books will create an interest among them and help in gradual development of their thinking. There is a need to include the tribal songs, stories, games and other practices in their textbooks.

The policy of educating the tribal children varies from State to State ; sometimes in the same State different policies are followed. There is an urgent need for a well thought-out uniform policy for the whole of India with regard to education in tribal areas. This policy should be followed by all the States, but, at the same time, it should not be very rigid because, the local conditions differ from area to area and from tribe to tribe. There is a clear-cut distinction between the cultures of the tribal and the non-tribal people, and tribal children are deprived of the facilities of guidance and persuasions by their parents. More attention should be paid to educating the tribal parents.

As the tribal children do not get opportunity to come to the school because, they have to work in their field and do not feel the importance of education, the education system in the tribal areas should be craft-oriented. For primary education, it is essential that social education should be given wide coverage especially in educationally backward tribal areas or communities for inducing the tribal children. It is essential that their parents should be persuaded to send them regularly to schools.

3. Consolidated Group Report on Topic III of the Working Paper

The groups discussed the 'Socio-economic Aspect of Tribal Education'. The traditional tribal youth dormitories are existing in most of the tribal areas and functioning as youth clubs, recreation centres etc. The tribal youths assemble there at night and sing and dance. They also co-operate with the villagers in different economic activities. These institutions may be encouraged. In some of the States like Gujarat and Maharashtra Balwadis are run by the voluntary agencies and are functioning satisfactorily. It is said that wherever these Balwadis are functioning, the attendance of tribal children in primary schools has gone up. The present educational system in the tribal areas needs modification keeping in view their economic condition. The crafts that are taught in ordinary or special schools should be such that they can practise them in their later life. If there is a prejudice against any craft it need not be taught. Schools should emphasize local culture and tradition. The cultural value of tribal people should be recognized. Crafts in schools should be taught by demonstration, and the present educational system should be 'craft-oriented'.

The tribal people are very poor and get much help from their children in all spheres of life. Every child is an economic unit of the tribal family. The parents do not want to send their children to school at the cost of the economic benefit they derive from their children. It is, therefore, desirable that

economic development, social advancement and educational progress should go hand in hand. During the day children are busy in assisting their parents in economic activities, hence the grown-up children may be admitted in the night schools started for the adults. The teacher should be paid extra allowances for taking up this work. For making education popular in the tribal villages care should be taken to see that the children of the upper strata of the tribal people in the village should be included among those who are admitted first. For the primary stage of education there is a need of making arrangements for vocational training so as to link up employment with education. This is one of the reasons for the successes of the missionaries in attracting tribal children to schools. Some machinery may be set up for this purpose so that the tribal parents are persuaded to send their boys and girls to schools. The tribal areas where industrial projects are undertaken and where the people have been displaced, technical training centres may be started for tribal youths and children.

It was felt by the groups that the income of the handicraft and agricultural production of the residential or ashram schools should be handed over to the parents of the hostellers. Education should be made productive by introducing crafts or agriculture or forestry even in primary schools. If we can make education remunerative from the very beginning, it will be a good incentive and an encouragement both to the pupils and parents. Of course, the child may not get a sizeable remuneration but whatever he will get it will be an encouragement not only to him but to other children of the village also.

Living and working together are the main traits of tribal community life with common objective and mutual help in agricultural operations and celebration of social functions. It is true not only among the people of the same village but also among the people of the neighbouring villages. There is a need to adjust the school hours and vacation period of the school according to the local agricultural operations and local social

functions. It is also essential that extension and social education in tribal areas may be emphasized.

4. Consolidated Group Report on Topic IV of the Working Paper

The groups discussed the subject of 'Curricula, Methods and Textbooks in Tribal Education'. Curricula of the schools functioning in tribal areas may not essentially differ much from the curricula in other schools, otherwise it will be difficult for the tribal students to take to higher education. But the teaching method, class room conditions, play and other activities of the schools should be organized in such a way as to give full scope for development of personality of tribal children and for fostering other social attitudes in the right direction. It is not advisable to impose an instruction or subject in the curricula in tribal schools which is not in consonance with the national policy of education. While discussing the curricula and methods of teaching, we should keep in mind the tribal way of life, cultural traits, folklore, folktales and other activities.

The groups expressed agreement over the view that the curricula of primary schools in tribal areas should be based both on science and culture. There are so many traits of culture and social life of the tribes which have scientific base, but they do not know that these traits are scientific. Both cultural and scientific illustrations can definitely come in the textbooks without any contradiction to tribal life and culture. Proper care should be taken so that, while giving illustrations of science-based curriculum, there should be no contradiction in the textbooks with the tribal customs, traditions and culture.

The tribal education should also try to create a right type of leadership for national integration and safeguarding the tribal culture at the same time. It is observed that wherever Balwadis and ashram schools are functioning, they are very useful but, before these are organized useful study should be made on the child-rearing practices among all the tribal societies. Without knowledge in these matters it is difficult to organize Balwadis.

with creches attached to them. These institutions need encouragement and they may be composite in character. There is a need to think over the way of approach to the tribal people. Different approaches should be made to different types of tribes who are on different levels of advancement and culture. The objective of approach may be integration of the tribal people with the general section of society. The method of teaching is also to be modified and this should be such that the teacher must learn the local tribal dialect so that he can successfully make the tribal children understand the regional language to which ultimately the medium of instruction may be switched over. The audio-visual aids in the tribal areas are not sufficiently used. There should be a maximum use of such aids in the primary education of the tribal children. While preparing the material for audio-visual aids, attention should be paid to the traditional forms and designs prevailing among the tribal societies.

As regards preparation of textbooks the groups felt that there is a need of research to be undertaken on the study of vocabulary in a systematic manner. Changes taking place in the language of the tribal people as a result of contact with other languages should be studied. The problem of textbooks in tribal dialects deserve special and careful consideration. The script for writing textbooks for the tribal children should be the script of the regional language or Devanagari. The present methods of teaching are not scientific because the teachers mostly teach through alphabetic method, which should be changed to the method whereby there is equal emphasis on word recognition and on word comprehension. Teachers in the tribal areas are generally less qualified than those in the non-tribal areas. As they have less opportunity to keep their knowledge up to date the extension work of teachers training institutions for primary school teachers in tribal areas should be given preference. For a favourable and effective educational atmosphere in the tribal schools the relation between the teacher on the one

hand and the tribal students, their parents and non-tribal section of the village on the other should be intimate and cordial.

5. Consolidated Group Report on Topic V of the Working Paper

The groups discussed the 'Relative Roles of Government and Voluntary Agencies in Education of Tribal People'. There cannot be a clear-cut demarcation between the activities of government and voluntary agencies. In the areas where the voluntary agencies come forward to shoulder the responsibilities of tribal education, there the voluntary and non-official agencies will have operational roles to perform and the government agencies will have to perform the promotional roles. But it should be kept in mind that the overall ultimate responsibility for the promotional and operational activities of the tribal people and particularly of the tribal education rests with the governments, and it is necessary that the governments should interfere even in operational roles so assigned to voluntary agencies if the agencies do not satisfy both the government and the people. It was also pointed out that the number of voluntary institutions working in the field of tribal education was not adequate and the Tribal Education Unit of the National Council of Educational Research and Training may find out the number and opportunities of such institutions and a comprehensive survey may be undertaken. Sometimes there is a duplication in the functions of the government institutions and voluntary organizations in a particular area which should be avoided and, instead, there should be co-operation between these two types of institutions. A voluntary agency should fulfil three conditions : it should be a registered agency under the Societies Registration Act ; it does not totally rely on government funds required for carrying out the activities for which the agency stands ; and it should be an association of persons with common objectives to organize, promote and administer certain types of activities for the cause of either a section of people or for the people at large. In the field of tribal education, the voluntary

organizations are mostly working on the primary and secondary stages of education and in the field of social education. Schools run by recognized non-official agencies should be recognized for the purpose of Compulsory Primary Education Act.

With a view to recruiting right type of workers in the voluntary agencies and holding them on, it was felt that a high powered body should be constituted at State level which should review periodically the performance of the workers and offer incentives to those who come up to an agreed level of performance while weed out such as are not up to the mark. It was also suggested that so far as the organizational structure is concerned, it will be ideal to have a federal body having separate constituent units of its own which may undertake operations directly in the same manner as constituent units. The role of governments has to be operational in those areas where suitable voluntary organizations are not existing or active.

It was felt that there should be co-operation and cordial relationship among the voluntary organizations, non-government and government agencies. It is also essential that for smooth and effective working of these institutions in tribal areas, they must co-ordinate with the traditional tribal institutions. It was also emphasized that these agencies should make use of the traditional institutions of the served community in operational strategy, but should try to transform the traditional institutions to serve the modern needs.

As regards the grant to the voluntary agencies, it was felt by the groups that late disbursement of grants and their inadequacy at times create hardship and difficulties for voluntary agencies in operating the activities as per rules and regulations laid down by government, and this, in turn, creates tendencies of making improper adjustments in the accounts which are ultimately objected to by inspecting authorities.

The percentage of official financial help to the voluntary agencies varies from State to State which should be made uni-

form in all States so as to avoid prevailing confusion and in some of the items like food, books, clothing etc. cent per cent aid should be given. The voluntary agencies should confine their work to socio-economic advancement and education of the tribal people. Sometimes the voluntary organizations impose their ideology upon the tribal people which should be discouraged.

The workers of the voluntary agencies should be given tribal orientation training, and service conditions of the workers must be revised and steps for security of their service may be taken.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEMINAR

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEMINAR

I. Aims, Objectives and Policy

1. There is very much a need for a well thought-out uniform policy for the whole of India with regard to education in tribal areas. But this policy need not be interpreted or applied too rigidly, as local conditions may differ from area to area and tribe to tribe.

2. The pattern of education for the tribal people should not essentially differ from that of non-tribal people in the interest of maintaining common standard of education, but the contents may be different at the primary stage only.

3. The aims of education in tribal areas should be to equip the children with skills, knowledge and values which will enable them to take initiative in development of their areas, to face the problems of life with a scientific outlook and to participate in the national affairs as responsible citizens. The educational institutions and processes should strengthen forces of national integration.

4. Both primary education and social education should be given wide coverage, especially in educationally backward tribal areas or communities.

5. From the point of view of maintaining academic standards, the Departments of Education in the States should inspect and control the schools in tribal areas, as recommended by the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare. But it is

felt that the need for close supervision and delicate handling of the human problems arising out of the residential schools and other schools with hostels attached in tribal areas cannot be adequately met by the rather busy supervisory officials of the Education Departments. Therefore, the management of residential schools and inter-village schools with hostels attached should be the responsibility of the Departments of Tribal Welfare. The teachers will, however, be appointed and controlled by the Education Department.

II. Facilities and Coverage

1. In tribal areas primary schools should be opened in adequate number so that no tribal child is required to walk more than two miles for going to school. In sparsely populated tribal areas inter-village schools with hostel facilities should be provided.

2. In the primary stage the following facilities should be provided to all tribal children :

- i. Textbooks and hostel facilities and stationeries,
- ii. Uniform (two sets in a year).
- iii. Midday meals.

3. i. In the secondary stage free tuition should be provided to all tribal students reading in recognized institutions. The fee should be reimbursed to the school. In case of high fee charging schools, the reimbursement should be at the rate obtaining in the government schools.

ii. Free supply of books should be made to a large number of tribal children.

iii. Adequate number of scholarship should be provided to tribal students on merit.

iv. Stipends should be given to all tribal students but the students, whose parents' income is above income tax paying level, should get stipends at reduced and graduated rates.

v. The students, whose parent's income is below the income tax paying level should get the stipends at full rates.

4. i. In the post-secondary stage scholarship should be given to all tribal students at adequate rates the size of which should be determined after taking into consideration the course of study and the actual expense.

ii. Free tuition should be separate from the amount given as scholarship at the post-secondary stage for tribal students and the tuition should be reimbursed to the institutions concerned.

5. The amount of scholarship given to the children of those who are liable to pay income tax should be added to their income for the purpose of computing income-tax. There should be no other means test.

6. In the areas where industrial projects are undertaken resulting in large scale displacement of tribal families, technical training centres should be started for the tribal youths and provision should be made for giving stipends to the tribal trainees in the financial estimates of the projects.

III. School

1. Balwadis, creches and play centres should be opened in large number in tribal areas but to make them more successful a thorough study should be made of child rearing practices and of the games prevailing among the tribal children.

2. i. In sparsely populated tribal areas ashram schools should be established for the benefits of more backward tribal children. In these schools the tribal children should be prepared for the common examination but the schools should be run in such a manner so as to reflect the culture and social tradition of the tribal communities.

ii. The ashram schools should cover both primary and secondary stages of education.

3. There is a great disparity in the educational facilities available in different tribal areas and hence the norms laid down by the Education Departments for opening of primary schools should not be rigidly applied in tribal areas.

4. While there may be one teacher in a primary school having two classes, the number of teachers should go up in schools having more than two classes even though the number of students may be less than 40. To ensure the maintenance of continuity of programme when the teacher is out in a single-teacher school, an attempt should be made to co-ordinate the working of the school with the village panchayat and youth club.

5. i. While deciding the site for the school due consideration should be given to the topography of the area, the communication in the village, the distance from the main habitation of the tribal people and also of the prevalence of belief (e.g. association of evil spirit) connected with the site.

ii. Local contribution should be scaled down, and, where necessary, completely waived for construction of school buildings in tribal areas.

6. To ensure efficient functioning of primary schools, there is a great need for increased supervision. The State governments should increase the number of the supervisory personnel in the tribal areas.

IV. Teacher

1. The teachers who work in inaccessible tribal areas should be given special allowances, free residential quarters, medical facilities and facilities for the higher education of their children outside the areas of their posting.

2. i. The attention should be given to the training of the teachers meant to serve in the tribal areas. Knowledge about the language and the culture of the tribes concerned should be considered indispensable. Orientation training in this field may be arranged by the Tribal Research Institutes in the various States. The teachers should also be given training about the method of implementing instruction in tribal language, where the textbooks are in the regional language or in other language.

ii. Steps should be taken to ensure that the teachers who have received training for working in tribal areas actually work in tribal areas for a reasonable period of time.

3. Generally a teacher has no scope for getting promotion, as a result sometimes there is a lack of enthusiasm and interest specially among those working in backward areas. A channel of promotion for them in the following posts can be provided :

Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector or equivalent post in the Education Department, Social Education Organizer, Extension Officer or Panchayat Extension Officer.

4. The minimum qualification of a teacher in the primary school should be matriculation. But this may be relaxed in case of tribal candidates who have read up to class VIII. In case of such candidates as well as non-tribal candidates who have not passed matriculation but who have been appointed on the consideration that they have knowledge of tribal language, arrangement should be made to impart training in arithmetic, vernacular and social studies so as to bring their knowledge in above subjects up to the matriculation standard.

V. Medium of Instruction

1. Mother tongue of the tribal communities having one lakh or more population in any State should be recognized as the medium of instruction in the primary stage and textbooks should be written in these languages. Regional language should be taught to them as language subject from class III onwards.

2. Mother tongue of the tribal communities having 2,000 or more population should be recognized as bridge languages during the first two years of the primary stage to be ultimately switched over to the regional languages concerned. In case of communities with less than 2,000 population while it may not be possible to have textbooks in their mother tongue the lessons in the textbooks in the regional language should be imparted to them through their mother tongue provided that 40 or more children read in a class.

3. While deciding the medium of instruction the nature of contact of the various tribal communities with the non-tribal communities should also be taken into consideration. In case of communities who live mixed up with the non-tribal population and who are well acquainted with the regional language, graded primers may be used to begin with and the switch over to the regional language may take place even earlier than the second year.

VI. Socio-economic Factors of Education

1. The tribal people in backward areas think that education in schools may disrupt their family life by bringing in conflicting values. Therefore, stimulation of the elders by motivating them consciously in favour of education should be carried out extensively, if necessary, in mass literacy campaigns as tried in Maharashtra.

2. The existing institutions of the tribal people should be utilized for the expansion of education as far as possible, by giving them new shape, structure or function. This has been successfully done in Nagaland with reference to bachelors' dormitories.

3. The school and community should be drawn together by making the parents and tribal leaders participate in some programmes or activities of the school.

VII. Curriculum

1. Curriculum of the tribal school should not differ from the curriculum of other schools, otherwise it will be difficult for the tribal children who take to higher education, but the teaching method, class room practices, playground practices and other activities of the school should be organized in such a way as to give full scope for the development of personality of the tribal children and for fostering their social attitude in the right direction.

2. As in case of education in the primary stage for the tribal students it should be craft-oriented ; as far as possible the craft should be suitable to the local conditions.

VIII. Methods

1. Maximum use should be made of audio-visual aids in the primary education of the tribal children. While preparing the materials for audio-visual aids, attention should be given to the traditional forms and designs obtaining among the tribal people.

2. In respect of methods of teaching the suitability of analytical, synthetic and/or eclectic method should be determined with reference to the configuration of culture of each tribe separately.

IX. Textbooks

1. But for the purpose of preparing textbooks and other literature it will be necessary to standardize the languages concerned. In this connection the following factors are to be taken into consideration :

Which dialect is spoken by the majority of the population belonging to the tribe concerned ; which dialect is recognized to be more chaste or refined by the people of the tribe concerned ; whether a process of emergence of new elites is taking place in the tribe concerned.

2. It will also be necessary to undertake vocabulary research in a systematic manner. The changes taking place in languages of the tribe as a result of contact with other languages should also be studied.

3. i. In case of tribal communities who have the regional language as mother tongue textbooks should be written in regional language even if they had in the past ancestral language of their own, which they have given up ; but the textbooks should include materials which would reflect the culture and tradition of the communities concerned.

ii. In case of tribal languages which do not have scripts, the regional script should, as far as possible, be introduced for preparation of textbooks and other literature in those languages.

4. The textbooks for the tribal children in the primary stage should contain in a balanced manner, modern scientific information which the child comes across in his daily life as well as information about the different aspects of the tribal and national culture.

X. Voluntary Agencies

1. A voluntary agency must be registered, need not totally rely on government assistance and it should be an association of peoples with common objectives.
2. If voluntary agencies do not come up to the expectations government may exercise normal administrative control.
3. Grants to them should be disbursed in time to facilitate their working.
4. Voluntary agencies operating in the field of tribal education should adhere to the overall policy of the State and the Central governments.
5. Steps should be taken to improve the service condition of the social workers working under the voluntary agencies.

XI. Research and Statistics

1. Research and investigations on the lines of recommendations made earlier should be carried out in important fields of tribal education like the tribal languages, wastage and stagnation, textbooks etc. A comprehensive survey of the objectives, scope of work and financial conditions of voluntary agencies working in the field of tribal education should be made.
2. Statistics on number and type of schools, number, qualification, training and emoluments of teachers, wastage and stagnation, number of tribal languages

and other related aspects may be collected. All these may be taken up by the Tribal Education Unit of the Department of Adult Education, National Council of Educational Research and Training.

IX. APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX—1

OFFICE BEARERS OF THE SEMINAR

A. Seminar officers

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Director | Dr T. A. Koshy |
| 2. General Secretary | Shri L.R.N. Srivastava |
| 3. Associate General Secretary | Shri M.L. Kakkar |

B. Chairmen

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. 13.9.65 (Monday) | Shri L.M. Shrikant |
| 2. 14.9.65 (Tuesday) | Shri S.L. Soni |
| 3. 15.9.65 (Wednesday) | Shri C.P. Patel |
| 4. 16.9.65 (Thursday) | Shri H.G. Mehra |
| 5. 17.9.65 (Friday) | Dr L.K. Mahapatra |
| 6. 18.9.65 (Saturday) | Dr B.K. Roy Burman |

C. Group Leaders

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| 1. Group 1 | Shri L.M. Shrikant |
| 2. Group 2 | Shri C.P. Patel |
| 3. Group 3 | Dr B.K. Roy Burman |
| 4. Group 4 | Dr L.K. Mahapatra |

D. Rapporteurs

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| 1. Chief Rapporteur | Dr B.K. Roy Burman |
| 2. Rapporteur Group 1 | Shri S.P. Acharya |
| 3. Rapporteur Group 2 | Dr P.R. Sirsalkar |
| 4. Rapporteur Group 3 | Shri B.N. Pandey |
| 5. Rapporteur Group 4 | Shri R.S. Uppal |

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| 2. Editor | Shri A.A.C. Lal |

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11. Shri B.P. Gandhi
12. Shri K.L. Gupta
13. Shri K.N. Joshi
14. Kumari Nirmala Kamat
15. Shri Heera Lal
16. Shri Sitaram Murab
17. Shri D.S. Patel
18. Shri G.M. Patel
19. Shri K.D. Patel
20. Shri V.M. Patel
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24. Shri Y.P. Sharma

- 25. Shri Shyam Singh
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- 28. Shri Raman Lal Dwivedi
- 29. Shri Tej Singh Khamesra
- 30. Shri Jai Singh Mehta
- 31. Shri Ravindra Nath
- 32. Shri Raghav Singh

APPENDIX—3

SEMINAR GROUPS

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5. Shri B.L. Gaur
6. Shri M. Channaiah
7. Shri C.D. Bharadwaj
8. Shri S.V. Gupta
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10. Shri S.P. Acharya
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3. Shri L.P. Kadam
4. Dr. T.A. Koshy
5. Shri R.L. Bhatia
6. Shri R.S. Mann
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—Resource Person
10. Dr P.R. Sirsalkar
—Rapporteur

GROUP 3

1. Dr B.K. Roy Burman
—Group Leader
2. Dr. R.N. Srivastava
3. Shri S L. Soni
4. Shri N.N. Vyas
5. Shri Musafir Singh
6. Shri A.N. Singh
7. Shri K.M. Jain
8. Shri M.S. Bedi
9. Shri Satyanji
—Resource Person
10. Shri B.N. Pandey
—Rapporteur

GROUP 4

1. Dr. L.K. Mahapatra
—Group Leader
2. Shri Y.S. Paul
3. Shri S. Jha 'Utpal'
4. Shri K. Sarup
5. Shri K.S. Virk
6. Shri R.C. Trivedi
7. Dr R.S. Vashisht
8. Shri L.R.N. Srivastava
—Resource Person
9. Shri R.S. Uppal
—Rapporteur

APPENDIX—4
SEMINAR SUB-COMMITTEES

A. Reception

1. Dr T.A. Koshy
—Chairman
2. Shri L.R.N. Srivastava
3. Shri A.A.C. Lal
4. Shri S V. Gupta

**C. Excursion & Visit to
Local Institutions**

1. Shri M.L. Kakkar
—Chairman
2. Shri L.R.N. Srivastava
3. Shri A.A.C. Lal
4. Shri Bhuvaneshwar Prasad

**E. Valedictory
Function**

1. Shri M.L. Kakkar
—Chairman
2. Dr T.A. Koshy
3. Shri L.R.N. Srivastava
4. Shri A.A.C. Lal
5. Shri S.V. Gupta
6. Shri Bhuvaneshwar Prasad

B. Board and Lodging

1. Shri M.L. Kakkar
—Chairman
2. Shri L.R.N. Srivastava
3. Shri A.A.C. Lal
4. Shri S.V. Gupta
5. Shri Bhuvaneshwar Prasad

D. Finance

1. Dr T.A. Koshy
—Chairman
2. Shri L.R.N. Srivastava
3. Shri Sat Pal

F. Drafting of Report

1. Dr T.A. Koshy
—Chairman
2. Shri L.R.N. Srivastava
3. Dr B.K. Roy Burman

APPENDIX—5

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