

65-2-2

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON TRIBAL  
ASHRAM SCHOOLS AMONG THE  
CHENCHUS & SUGALIS (LAMBADIS) OF A.P.

DR.G.ANANDA

cat no: 14585

Rack-65

self-2

6528/1



**A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON TRIBAL ASHRAM SCHOOLS  
AMONG THE CHENCHUS AND SUGALIS (LAMBADIS) OF  
ANDHRA PRADESH**



**Dr. G. ANANDA**, M.A., M.Ed., Ph.D.  
POST DOCTORAL FELLOW

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING  
NEW DELHI**

**(SEPTEMBER 1995)**

# **A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON TRIBAL ASHRAM SCHOOLS AMONG THE CHENCHUS AND SUGALIS (LAMBADIS) OF ANDHRA PRADESH**



**Dr. G. ANANDA**, M.A., M.Ed., Ph.D.  
POST DOCTORAL FELLOW

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING  
NEW DELHI**

**(SEPTEMBER 1995)**





## CONTENTS

### Acknowledgements

Chapter: I	INTRODUCTION	1-20
Chapter: II	THE ETHNOGRAPHY FOR THE <sup>H</sup> CENCHUS AND SUGALIS (LAMBADIS) <sub>L</sub>	1-31
Chapter: III	ASHRAM SCHOOLS FOR TRIBALS	1-24
Chapter: IV	PERCEPTIONS & ATTITUDES OF PARENT-STUDENT -TEACHERS' TOWARDS ASHRAM SCHOOLS	1-36
Chapter: V	CONSTRAINTS OF ASHRAM SCHOOLS EDUCATION	1-27
Chapter: VI	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	1-15

### BIBLIOGRAPHY



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am thankful to Dr. P. SUDHAKARA REDDY Dept. of Anthropology, S.V.University, Tirupati and Prof. N.K.AMBASHT Member Secretary, Educational Research Innovation Committee (ERIC) NCERT, Sri Aurobindo Marg New Delhi for thier academic guidance and support to the completion of study.

I also thankful to Ministry of Tribal Welfare Govt. of India, New Delhi for their financial assitance and valuable suggestions. I thank Dr. K. MOHAN RAO, Director, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad and their staff for helping in the completion of study. I thank Mr. Shankar for final typing in Computer in the completion of report.

My thanks are due in the library Department of NCERT and NIEPA and their staff. I like to appreciate the cooperation of all the Ashram School Teachers respondents who gladly provided the data for my Post-Doctoral work.

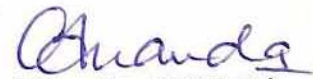
  
(DR. G. ANANDA)

## DECLARATION

I declare that the Post-Doctoral entitled "A <sup>COMPARATIVE</sup> STUDY ON ASHRAM SCHOOLS AMONG THE CHENCHUS AND SUGALIS (Lambadis) IN ANDHRA PRADESH" submitted by me for the Post-Doctoral Fellowship.

New Delhi

Date : 18.9.95

  
(Dr. G. ANANDA)



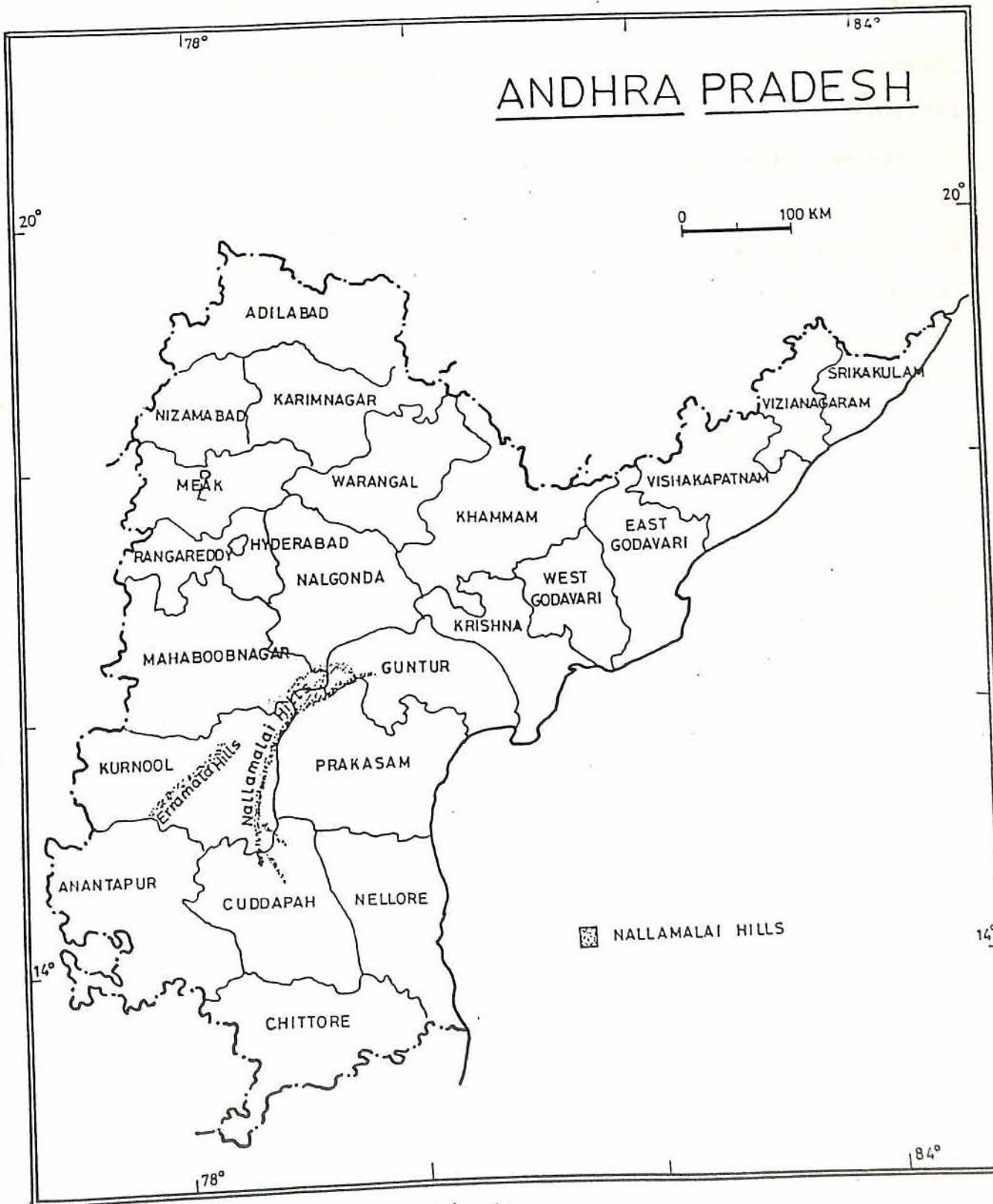


Fig.1.1

## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

Education includes every process, except the solely genetic, that helps to term a person's mind, character or physical capacity. It is life-long process, for we must learn new ways of thought and action with every major change in our lives (Bronis law Malinowski, 1947). More narrowly education is the inculcation in each generation of certain knowledge, skills, and attitudes by means of institution such as schools, deliberately created for this end, the term education also stands for the academic discipline (including psychology, sociology, history and philosophy of education) whole subject is education in the second sense.

Anthropologists have evinced a keen interest in recording the socialisation and enculturation practices among primitive societies. These studies have made significant contributions in understanding the educational practices in the cultural perspective.

Whether it is enculturation or schooling, both are inter-related to culture. Kneller states that "education reacts to events in other parts of culture and may on occasion effect these events itself" (Kneller, 1956: 13).

The recurrent themes of the later studies on Education have been that of how the newly introduced formal educational institutions and the value imparted through them fit into the

organised schemes of things in the individual cultures; how they can be adopted to the changing needs of the cultures concerned, how the social, economic, political and cultural factors play a crucial role in the acceptance or rejection of the formal education in developing societies; and the flows in the educational systems in the developed societies, especially in the context of minority group education.

In India too, substantial work has been done on the Tribal Education a few articles have come out from Anthropologists like the Haimendorf (1944).

The Indian Council of Social Sciences research and the National Council of Educational Research and Training initiates surveys on tribal education. But it needs no emphasis that the national surveys should be supplemented by intensive studies on individual tribal groups, so as to gain a clear and comprehensive understanding of the problems and perspectives on tribal education in different region. The Education Commission (1964-66) also stated that 'different tribal people are at varying stages of economic development. A uniform approach between different tribal areas as applied in a mechanical manner will not secure the purpose in view. Aspects of tribal education which might call for special attention will vary from area to area and no plans should be prepared in understanding the problems which arise in different contexts' (Govt. of India, 1976, pp. 1542-54).

The Backward Classes Commission (Govt. of India, 1956), the Scheduled Areas and the Scheduled Tribes Commission (Govt. of



India, 1962), Srivastava, L.R.N., (1962) and others have pointed out that the slow progress of education among the tribals in India is due to inadequate provision of schools for these communities. The tribals generally live in inaccessible areas in small and scattered villages and therefore, schools are not available for all of them. Almost all the studies on tribal education in India pointed that 'poverty' and 'neglect' happened to be the root causes for the slow progress of their education, (Renuka Ray Committee, Govt. of India, 1959).

Elwin Committee (1960), the Dhebar Commission (1962) made some observations on education. The education provided in mechanical manner without much planned efforts, resulted in high wastage, stagnation and non-participation. The findings of the committees mentioned above generally found support from the studies of Sachchidananda (1967), Ambasht, N.K. (1970), Dasgupta, N.K. (1963) and several others. They pointed out that retardation in education among tribal communities is due to apathetic and indifferent attitudes and lack of motivation for education which arose due to two main reasons. Firstly, the formal education system is alien and not adjusted to their socio-economic and cultural needs. Secondly, the tribals have certain prejudices and suspicions towards the sincerity of non-tribals. Ambasht, N.K., showed that these caused social distance between the teachers and the pupils in the tribal areas. Some other surveys conducted by the Tribal-cultural Research and training Institutes in some Indian states (Andhra Pradesh 1971 and Maharashtra 1971) showed that absenteeism, wastage and stagnation

were very high in the schools situated in tribal areas and these contribute to a large extent to slow progress of their education.

In "From child to Adult: studies in Anthropology of Education", edited by Middleton (1970) the common focus is on the generational transmission of culture to the social functions of schooling in a modernising peasant-based nation.

In his book, 'Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education', Sachchidananda (1967) discusses that education accelerates the process of economic development. He concludes that "education, economic and society are closely inter-related - of all the items in the development programme for the tribals, education is the most important as it is both the means and the ends of real progress" (Sachchidananda, 1967, p. 108).

Reddy, G.P. (1970) has said that the causes for wastage in tribal education in Andhra Pradesh are due to poor economic conditions of the Tribals and indifference of tribal parents towards education. Srivastava, L.R.N. (1970-71) and Sachchidananda (1967) have done a considerable work in this direction. Rathnaiah, E.V. (1977) has made studies on the structural constraints in tribal education with special reference to the Gonds of Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh. He shows that how tribal education is being affected by ecological and Socio-economic constraints labelled under external constraints, and the constraints in the school system itself labelled as internal constraints, Kumar, R.Y. (1981) has studied the Residential and Non-residential Schools of Bhadrachalam block of

Vizianagaram district, Andhra Pradesh. He has examined causative factors for non-enrolment, absenteeism and wastage. He has also analysed the impact of school system on the students and parents.

There are a few studies particularly on tribal Ashram Schools in different tribal regions Dave, P.c. (1954, 1959); Patnaik, N. (1957); Shaw, B.N. (1958, 1959); Vinyaijati July, (1958); Vyas Ambalal October, (1958); Apte, J.S. (1960) and Das Nityananda (1963-64). Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Andhra Pradesh (1971) has conducted a study on Ashram Schools.

Useful work on tribal education has been done by Aiyappan (1948) who, in a report submitted to the Government of Madras Province, discussed the major problems of education of the Madras tribes and made many suggestions concerning schools, vocationally-based education, prizes and literary programmes for youth, etc.

Khurana, G.K. (1978) in his article entitled, 'Approach to Education of Scheduled Tribes' pointed out that inspite of all the efforts to reduce the illiteracy among the Scheduled Tribes, the gap exists because of their poverty and backwardness coupled with ignorance and lack of education facilities. He argued for need-based education for adult tribals and alternative education methods for school age children. He also exhorted the Government to provide more educational facilities among the tribal people.



Revellow, M. (1978) in her article, 'The school drop outs' contended that one of the principal reasons for the high drop-out rate in the tribal areas at the primary stage is the curriculum. She suggested that the curricula should be built around local situations though it is essential to have a core of basic subjects at the same time.

Sita Toppo (1979) studied the growth of education among the Oraon tribe. Their most primitive Dhumjuria as an educational institution is fast dying out and she discussed the Christian missionaries and Adimajati Seva Mandal which played great role for their educational development. She analysed the monthly variation of attendance and extent of wastage and stagnation among five selected schools. Attitudes of Oraon students, their teachers, parents and guardians have been studied.

A study conducted on tribal sub-plan area of Gujarat (Shah Vimal, P. and Tara Patel, 1985) shows that there is a considerable social class and inter-tribe difference in their educational attainment. This study shows that the educational development of tribes living with high caste Hindus is impressive. It is found that a large number of tribals are still unaware of the facilities and programmes for their education.

Even as several welfare programmes have been at work to ameliorate the socio-economic as well as educational facilities of Tribal, the anthropological approach towards the study of such problems is scanty. Hence the present study 'A study of Tribal

Ashram Schools among the Chenchus and Sugalis in Nallamalai Hills of Andhra Pradesh' has been carried out to fill in the gap.

Murray and Russalie Wax (1964) in their study of Formal Education in Indian community have shown that isolation, lack of communication and social distance are the important factors in the problems of education in primitive communities. They pointed out that isolation affects in many contexts the community as a whole, the school within the community, the people within the classroom and the teacher within the educational system.

Thomson (1962) has shown that educational gaps in various communities in a country arise owing to differentials in the provision of educational facilities, socio-economic status of parents and lack of motivation for education. The effects of these factors are inter-connected. The inequalities of educational reward acts as a negative feedback on educational attainments.

Verrier Elwin Committee Report (1960) contains information and findings about the fundamental problems of education in tribal areas. The Committee was of the view that a great deal of caution was necessary for starting compulsory education for the tribes. The report dealt in detail with schools and schools with, agriculture and forestry in their curriculum. The committee suggested the making of orchards of fruit trees in the compounds of all schools. The problem of ashram schools were discussed and suggestions were given for their solution. besides, the Dhebar commission (1962) made some observations on

education. The education provided in a mechanical manner without much planned efforts, according to the commission, resulted in high wastage, stagnation and non-participation. The sectorial approach could not allow education to progress in acceleration. This is more so in case of those tribal areas which were not covered by Tribal Development block schemes. The Dhebar Commission has also suggested a comprehensive educational model for tribes whose problems are unique.

Dhebar Commission on tribes (1962) highlighted the problems of primary education for tribals in the areas of medium of instruction, stagnation, wastage and getting right type of teachers. The commission worked out the policy and suggested a specific curriculum. They also made recommendations regarding secondary the technical education. The findings of the committees mentioned above generally found support from the studies of Sachchidananda (1967), Ambasht, N.K. (1970), Dasgupta, N.K. (1963) and several others. They pointed out retardation in education among tribal communities is due to apathetic and indifferent attitude and lack of motivation for education which arises due to two main reasons. Firstly, the formal education system is alien and not adjusted to their socio-economic and cultural needs. Secondly the tribals have certain prejudices and suspicions towards the sincerity of non-tribals. Ambasht, N.K. showed that there existed social distance between the teachers and the pupils in the tribal areas. He pointed out that the tribal student liked the tribal teachers more than non-tribal teachers.



The other surveys conducted by the Tribal Cultural Research Institute in some Indian states (Andhra Pradesh, 1971, Maharashtra 1971) showed that absenteeism, wastage and stagnation were very high in the schools situated in tribal areas and they contribute to a large extent to the slow progress of their education. Elwin Committee (1960) and Ambasht, N.K. (1970) pointed out that there was a strong motivation for education wherever missionary activity was evident and where other voluntary organisations tried to spread education among the tribals.

Report of the study team on Tribal Development Programmes all Indian committee on plan projects, Planning Commission (1969) revealed that education at the primary level should be preceded by pre-primary education of one to three years duration.

Bose, A.B. (1970) showed that the states with higher literacy in general population also have higher literacy in tribal population. He suggested that there were variations in the literacy levels among different tribes in a region. Sachchidananda (1962) said that irregularity in attendance and extent of drop out were much lower in the case of better acculturated tribes. Naik, T.b. (1969) stated that the children of the upper caste of Bhil society have been able to go to school and take advantage of the scholarships and hostel facilities made available to the tribals. Further, he pointed that more children from large size families were in schools than from small size families.

Srivastava's, L.R.N. (1967a) unpublished doctoral thesis on modernization and tribal education is an anthropologist's approach to the problems of modernization. He discussed, with reference to the tribes of Bihar, such problems as education and mobility, rationality and acceptance of innovation, participation, achievement, motivation, media of mass communication and attitudes on indices of modernization. He also made (1969) another study of education and economic conditions and employment positions of 18 tribes in India.

In "The Sociology of Education in India" (Gore, M.S. et. al., 1967), some papers are useful from an applied anthropological angle. For instance, Rao, M.S.A. writes on Education, Social Stratification and Mobility and, with insight, observes: "At present the caste criterion operates in giving concessions mainly to scheduled castes scheduled tribes. But it is desirable to evolve objective criteria with respect to these sections as well. While the granting of concessions - is necessary, reservation of teaching jobs along with other jobs for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are injurious not only to national interests, but also in the interest of these backward groups" (1967:143).

Most of the literature incorporated in the annotated bibliography on tribal education in India compiled by Srivastava, L.R.N. (1967) were descriptive in nature. The authors mentioned the problems and variables involved in the extension of tribal education in India such as the poverty of the tribals, inadequacy

of the provision of schools, hostels and scholarships, teachers, medium of instruction, curriculum and syllabi, methods of teaching school hours etc. But these variables need not be put into theoretical frame, as most of them are analytical and that relevance or otherwise has to be tested in the context of modernisation at different levels.

Sharma, B.D. (1978) pointed out that tribal development cannot be met by merely devising a formula or a general scheme of development. It should be a concept with goals to achieve. He argued that education is a must for enabling them to understand the new context. These children come of age to assume leadership. So, special education come of age to assume leadership. So, special education programmes aimed at giving them an understanding of the new social, economic and administrative processes are essential if they have to stand on their own feet and talk in terms of equality with members of the advanced communities.

There are a few studies particularly on Ashram school education among the tribals in India. Shaw, B.N. (1958) has discussed the purpose of opening Ashram Schools in Orissa, the method of teaching and the curriculum in these schools, in his study of 'Success of Ashram School-Adivasi'. In his paper 'Vocational Education in the Ashram School', the importance of vocational education with reference to ashram school has been discussed, and the necessity of syllabus, type of instructional staff, and guidance to ashram schools have been described.



Vanyajati (1958) the note describes how schemes of basic education and then the ashram schools came into existence and also its merits have been pointed out. 'The merit of the scheme of Ashram Schools lies in that it makes the students self-reliant, moulds their character and trains them in leadership.

Vyas, Ambalal (1958, 1958-59) has presented a detailed account of ten-year progress of ashram school education in Orissa from 1947-48 to 1957-58. It contains the history of ashram schools and the present state of affairs. Another study has stressed certain aspects of ashram schools which he describes essential for a good ashram school i.e., proper utilization of funds, purity of atmosphere, honesty and integrity of the school staff and the like.

Dave, P.C. (1954, 1957) has given detailed account of ashram schools and Sevashrams and training centres in Orissa. He has also a scheme for education and has suggested to impart industrial and social education in 'Ashram School in Bombay State'.

Patnaik's (1957) appraisal report deals with the curriculum used in the ashram schools existing in Orissa. The relative importance of different subjects that are taught in ashram schools has been measured by way of taking proportion of school-time spent on each subject into consideration.

Apte, J.S. (1960) has first discussed the tribal problems in general and then the Ashram School and calls the latter a more effective weapon and instrument for social transformation. He

has laid down objectives and programme of ashrams and enumerated extra-curricular activities. The article contains a tabular analysis of tribal children in Talwada Ashram School.

In 'Reorientation of Ashram School Education', Bureau Das Nityananda (1963-64) has discussed the various facts of Ashram School like its origin, function, importance and evaluation. The routine in the ashram School and the problems faced by such schools have also been discussed.

Dave, P.C. (1954) has given a detailed account of ashram schools and Sevashrams Training Centres in Orissa. The general routine of the ashram schools has been given along with staff and their pay scales. The details of stipends and scholarships, which the residents get have also been given. Ashram Schools in Bombay State' (Dave, P.C., 1957) has discussed literacy among the Grasias. He has also proposed a scheme for education and has suggested to impart industrial and social education.

Heda, H.C. (1965) has explained in brief the attitude of parents towards childrens education and about the present school atmosphere. Objectives of education in an economically backward community have been described. He has also suggested the scheme of Rashtra Sanatan and has explained in detail, the measures which may be taken to meet the educational needs of the tribal people.

The purpose of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India (1967) was to bring together on a common platform the

administrators, educationists, anthropologists and voluntary workers in the field of tribal welfare to discuss the problems of education of the tribal people, to share their experiences and to make recommendation for future course of action.

An indepth study of Ashram Schools in central tribal belt (Sharma, G.D. and Sujatha, K. 1983) throws light on differential utilisation of ashram school facilities by different tribal groups. The tribal communities with higher literacy level and social hierarchy utilise the facilities better. Provision of residential facility in Ashram Schools benefited to improve the retention of students. Though the cost of education in Ashram Schools is higher than the non-ashram schools, the unit effective cost was lower.

The Ashram Schools situated in developed coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh having better infrastructure facilities as compared to the Ashram Schools in medium and under developed districts have an effect on enrolment and retention of children (Sujatha, K. 1987, 1990). G. Ananda (1994) has studied Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh. He found that the absenteeism stagnation and drop-outs among the Chenchus. It shows that Ashram Schools have no physical facilities and equipments like proper accommodation, buildings, play grounds and the teaching aids craft and games equipments. This study proved further to find the reasons for schools dropout and stagnation. Besides economic and social problems, the administrative bottle-necks in admission policy and management of incentives were contributing directly to less participation in education system.



With the above perspective in mind, an attempt has been made to study on Tribal Ashram Schools among the Chenchus and Sugalis of Nallamalai Hills in Andhra Pradesh.

Education is the most important aspect which plays a dominant role in the changes of culture of various human groups. Efforts to educate the Chenchus started as early as in 1920. The first Chenchu Primary School was started in 1916 at Byrluti in Kurnool district by the Forest Department with 28 students and one teacher. Later, it was converted into an upper primary school. Later the forest Department extended its activities to 21 more villages to impart education mainly to the chenchus. Some of these schools were provided with separate boarding facilities for boys and girls.

In the year 1974, the Tribal welfare Department took-over 22 Chenchu schools from the forest Department and regrouped them into 7 centrally located Ashram Schools which are kept under close supervision of the Reclamation Officer or Social Welfare/Tribal Welfare Officer of respective districts.

Since the inception of the Integrated Tribal Development Project, the authorities have taken steps to start new Ashram Schools with a view to admit almost all the Chenchu school age children into these well equipped Ashram Schools. With the starting of the new Ashram Schools, the coverage of school age children rose upto nearly cent per cent in Prakasham district and about 90 per cent in Kurnool and Mahaboobnagar districts.

The Chenchu and Sugalis children studying in Ashram Schools are being provided free boarding and lodging. Besides, other facilities like free clothing, books and soaps are also provided. However, the response of the Chenchus towards the Ashram School education is very poor and various socio-cultural, psychological, ecological and administrative constraints do not permit them to educate their children.

### **Methodology**

The present research work is an attempt to 'study the Tribal Ashram Schools among the Chenchus and Sugalis of Andhra Pradesh'. The universe of the present study consists of (i) children of Chenchu and Sugalis; (ii) parents of Chenchu and Sugalis; (iii) Ashram School teachers, and (iv) Headmaster-cum-Hostel wardens.

The area of Nallamalai Hills are the Chief habitations of the Chenchus. The area of the study consists of the Ashram Schools and the Chenchus in Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar and Prakasham districts as most of the Chenchus are inhabiting in these three districts.

### **Sample of the Study**

The Ashram Schools, their school children and the associated Chenchu sugali hamlets are the sample frames of the study. The Ashram School and the children going to school are the units of sampling. In the first stage, out of the 30 Ashram Schools in the districts of Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar and Prakasham, 8 Ashram Schools each district and their respective Chenchu and Sugali

hamlets were selected at random for the study. Thus the Ashram Schools at Mahanandi in Kurnool district, Banala, Chenchugudem Vatvarlapalli, Siddapur, Appaipalli, Maisigandi in Mahaboobnagar district and Thummalabailu in Prakasham districts were selected for the study.

In the second stage 200 students from all school and total 100 Chenchu's, 100 Sugali children's were proportionately selected at random for intensive study. The parents of the selected children were also considered for the purpose. All the teachers in the selected 8 Ashram School were also taken for the study. The Headmaster-cum-hostel wardens were also interviewed for the purpose.

### **Techniques and Data Collection**

The data for the study were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary data relating to the historical account of the concept of ashram school education in India and its development was collected from the literature pertaining to tribal education. The secondary data relating to the historical account, structure and organisation of Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh particularly chenchu region, absenteeism, stagnation and drop-outs and other information were gathered from the school registers and the official records.

The primary data was collected through field work conducted during July-August 1994 and February, March, April. Interview schedules for headmaster-cum-warden, teachers, students and parents were prepared & administered. An interview schedule was



administered to the School Headmaster-cum-warden to collect information regarding objectives of ashram school education, the infrastructure of the school and hostel, the process of admission, his problems and opinions with Chenchus Sugalis and their children. Data related to educational background of the teachers, their experiences with ashram school education, problems and attitudes towards the Chenchus/Sugalis and ashram school education were gathered through an interview schedule administered to teachers. Information relating to family background of the student, his problems and attitudes towards teachers, warden and hostel facilities, reasons for absenteeism and stagnation were collected through schedule. It was also administered each parent to gather data pertaining to family background of the parent, his opinion on Ashram School education, hostel facilities problems in sending their children to school. The Project Officer, Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Primitive Tribal Group - Chenchus Srisailam, District Tribal Welfare. Officers, School Inspectors and other officials connected with Chenchus/Sugalis were also interviewed to understand the schemes of implementation of Ashram School education among the Chenchus and Sugalis the problems they are facing in implementation.

Formal and informal discussions, interview with the help of guide-points, and participant observation were used during the field work for the collection of data such as location and physical environment of the ashram school, infrastructure in the school and hostel, administration, teaching methods, responses

of the students in the class room, facilities in the hostel, enrolment, absenteeism, stagnation, drop-outs, problems and opinions on the facilities provided by ashram schools. Data relating to socio-cultural life of the Chenchus/Sugalis were gathered through observation, interview and other anthropological techniques.

### **Organisation of the Data**

The entire work has been organised into seven chapters as discussed hereunder:

#### **Chapter I : Introduction**

The first chapter lays emphasis on a brief review of Tribal education in India with special reference to Ashram Schools. Further, it deals with the scope, objectives and methodology of the research problem under study.

#### **Chapter II : The Ethnography for the Tribes of Chenchus and Sugalis**

The second chapter describes the Chenchu and Sugalis ethnography dealing with their socio-cultural and ecological settings, their living arrangements and status in the family/society.

#### **Chapter III : Ashram Schools for Tribals**

The third chapter deals with the concept of Ashram Schools, admission policy, administration and describes the growth of Ashram Schools where the Chenchus and Sugalis inhabit against the backdrop of their traditional habitat.

#### **Chapter IV : Perception & Attitudes Parent-Students-Teachers Towards Ashram Schools**

The fourth chapter discusses the interactions between the parents-students-teachers' in promoting Ashram School education among the Chenchus and Sugalis.

#### **Chapter V : Constraints of Ashram School Education**

The sixth chapter examines the role of various factors affecting Ashram School Education among the Chenchus and Sugalis.

#### **Chapter VI : Summary and Conclusions**

The last chapter summarises the findings of the present empirical study in brief and conclusions drawn from this study.



## Chapter II

### The Ethnography for the Tribes of Chenchus and Sungalis

#### Origin

The name 'Chenchu' has many alluding references about its origin and derivation of the name Chenchu, there are different explanations such as: (i) ecological, (ii) Historical, (iii) racial, (iv) cultural, and (v) mythological.

The ecological interpretation depicts that a person who lives under a "chettu" (tree) is a Chenchu (Aiyappan, 1948, p.148).

The historical explanation maintains that the name "Chenchu" is a suffix which means renowned, celebrated or skilled as in "Akshara Chenchu" or "Chara Chenchu". This explanation also classified that the Chenchus were employed by the kings of the South to protect the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. Frontiers (Kurnool district manual, 1886).

#### **CHENCHUS:**

The Chenchu is one of the primitive tribal group in Andhra Pradesh. They are semi-nomadic, hunting and food gathering tribe, mainly inhabiting the Nallamalai Hills. The home land of the Chenchu is located between latitudes  $12^{\circ}38'$  and  $19^{\circ}45'$  north and Longitudes  $76^{\circ}45'$  and  $84^{\circ}45'$  east in south-eastern India.

The mythological explanation based on an analysis of the myths and legends of the Chenchu and the Yanadi traces common to both of them to the Chenchu and the Yanadi. The legends and the popular stories reveal that the Chenchus are the first dwellers of Andhra Region much earlier than the Dravidians themselves, Manysmrithi mentions this tribes name as Chenchu and treats them on par with the Andhras. They inhabit mainly the areas of Nallamalai Hill ranges in Kurnool district, the Amarabad plateau of Mahaboob Nagar district and flat lands extending from Mauthanda to Plautla Erragundapalem in Prakasham district.

The habitat of the Chenchus was ruled by the Chalukyas in the 11th Century and the Vijayanagar Kings in the 14th Century. Krishnadevaraya, the Vijanagar King, was referred to the mutual trust and good will existed between the Chenchus and his own people in Amukthamalyada.

In Scott's Ferishta, the Chenchus are described as they appeared before the Prince Mohammad Masum, son of Aurangzib who passed through the Kurnool district in 1694. According to that account the Chenchus were exceedingly black, with long hair and lived in caverns or under the shady branches of trees.

Until the British Government established its regime in the South, the Chenchus were not more than one amongst the jungle fauna enjoying freedom to its brim. They were completely dependent on the forest, wandering from place to place in quest of food. They used to collect wild tubers, green leaves and honey for their livelihood.

## Communication Facilities

The traditional settlement pattern of the Chenchus is to live in small temporary 'gudems' consisting of a few families. They usually live in small conical oblong huts, exclusively under trees. One of the important features of the traditional settlement pattern is that their huts are haphazardly scattered and are connected by a network of foot-paths.

Many of the Chenchu villages have no pucca road facilities. Most of the families settled in the areas of thick forest have only foot-path and some villages have seasonal roads. In plain areas, the villages are well communicated.

## Topography

The hill and thick forest areas along the Krishna river and its tributaries broadly form the Chenchu habitations. The height varies from 600 to 900 metres above mean sea level. The area also widely varies from a larger Amarabad Plateau (Mahaboobnagar district) to supply hills of Atmakur areas (Kurnool district) and flat lands extending from Manthanala to Palutla and Erragondapalem in Prakasham district. Small strips of land are available. In the forest regions of Kurnool and Prakasham, different kinds of soils are seen; the black cotton soil of the plains forming the major variety. Alluvial soils are next in importance from the point of view of agriculture. Such soils occur, to a small extent, on the banks of the rivers and on the borders of the forest areas as also in the plains. The red-and-



brown sandy soil occurs along the base of the Nallamalai and other quartzite-hill ranges.

### **Flora and Fauna**

The Nallamalais are the part of the Eastern Ghats which have been penetrated by some rivers like the Godavari, the Krishna and some of their vital tributaries. These hill terrains have an elevation varying from 2000 to 4000 ft. above the mean sea level.

These forests are infested with wild animals of which most important are the bear, tiger, sambar, spotted deer, fox, panther, four horned antelope, wild pigs and cats; peacocks and wild fowls are also abundantly found in these forests. Snakes, lizards, scorpions and various kinds of birds are found in profusion throughout this region. Mosquitoes carrying malaria germs are plentiful in this region and so malaria often takes an epidemic turn here. The Chenchus supplement their food with some of the flesh of these animals which they hunt bow and arrow.

### **Population**

The total tribal population as per 1981 census in Andhra Pradesh is 31.76 lakhs and the total Chenchu population for the same period is 28,297. The following table 2.1 shows the major distribution of Tribal population during the period 1991 as per census reports.

The total Chenchu population of all the six districts is 23,277 according to 1981 census. Mahaboobnagar District stands first in the strength of Chenchu population followed by

Prakasham, Guntur and Kurnool Districts. The Chenchu population in Nalgonda and Ranga Reddy District is only very small.

TABLE - 2.1

## Distribution of ST population 1991

Sl.	District	Total population	Scheduled Tribe population	Perc popu tota
1.	Srikakulam	23,21,126	1,34,067	
2.	Vizianagaram	21,10,943	1,90,185	
3.	Visakhapatnam	32,85,092	4,68,886	
4.	East Godavari	45,41,222	1,76,083	
5.	West Godavari	35,17,568	84,648	
6.	Krishna	36,98,833	91,767	
7.	Guntur	41,06,999	1,81,588	
8.	Prakasam	27,59,166	98,854	
9.	Nellore	23,92,260	2,14,062	
10.	Kurnool	29,73,024	56,455	
11.	Anantapur	31,83,814	1,11,207	
12.	Cuddapah	22,67,769	47,414	
13.	Chittoor	32,61,118	1,04,938	
14.	Ranga Reddy	25,51,966	1,09,394	
15.	Hyderabad	31,45,939	28,946	
16.	Nizamabad	20,37,621	1,20,716	
17.	Medak	22,69,800	95,042	
18.	Mahabubnagar	30,77,050	2,27,405	
19.	Nalgonda	28,52,092	2,75,638	
20.	Warangal	28,18,832	3,85,309	
21.	Khammam	22,15,809	5,58,958	
22.	Karimnagar	30,37,486	83,017	
23.		20,82,479	3,54,902	

Source: Director of School Education, Hyderabad



## Settlement Pattern

There is a marked change in the settlement pattern of the Chenchus. In the 17th Century the Chenchus owned no houses but roamed in jungle, living under trees and taking rock shelters. But the present day Chenchu settlements are more or less permanent, even though they make temporary camps in the jungle for hunting and food gathering. Most of the Chenchu villages are situated at the edge of forests or by the road side of Highway. Some of the villages, however, are situated in the interior of thick forests.

The Chenchus live in small settlements. A Chenchu settlement is locally called 'Gudem' or 'Penta'. Every Chenchu village (gudem) consists of several clusters of conical huts dispersed hither and thither in a large area which is generally a forest clearing. Sometimes the distance between one hut to another is more than 50 yards. The grouping of huts is invariably based on kinship pattern. Close relationship like brothers and brothers-in-law plays a role among the Chenchus to construct their huts very nearer to each other. Each family has its own huts. Where the families are polygynous, the children generally live together in the same hut, and also sleeps with their parents until they grow old enough to go about themselves. Occasionally a group of adolescents may own separate hut. Soon after marriage, the son constructs a separate huts near his parents' hut or elsewhere depending on personal or group interests.

The temporary camps are occasionally set in the interior forest, generally during March and July, to facilitate themselves of collection of tamarind, mahua fruits, honey, wild leaves, fruits and other wild produce.

### **Physical Features Dress & Decoration**

The Chenchus are generally slender, medium in stature with an average height of about 163 cms, well-build and strong people. their complexion varies from dark-black-brown to a rich copper hue (colour). Eyes are generally brown and some times almost black. The hair of the most of the persons is waxy and curly, a few tightly curled and exceptionally frizzy. They grow their beard, mustache and hair. the hair is tied in a knot and let fall on the nape of the neck.

The Chenchus dress very scantily. Men are merely in a state of nudity having only a piece of cloth around their loins covering their private parts. The women dress more decently than men, in the style of the wandering female-basket-weavers. Leafy garments have been replaced by white loin cloth and some of the women have adopted the bodice (ravika) in imitation of the female costumes in the plains. since the beginning of the century, considerable change has taken place about in the mode of dress of the Chenchus. Men wear a loin-cloth (gochi batta). Women wear a sari (sira) and a bodice (blouse). Several people cover their body with upper cloth. The young people are wearing skirts and few, knickers too.

The Chenchu children are almost half-naked upto the age of 3 to 4 years. The children wear only shirts and loin cloth, whereas the younger children 1 to 3 years old are fully naked. The chenchus do not decorate themselves except for few tatooing marks on hands, face, chest, and legs. Man do not wear any ornaments but the women folk wear a cheap metal ornaments (tinsel) purchased from the pedlars of the nearby towns.

### **Food Habits**

The Chenchus are non-vegetarians. Rice eating among the Chenchus is still given less importance than eating other food grains like millet, jowar and maize. They continue to be the gatherers of jungle produce and they mostly eat flesh of wild animals. Tubers, roots, leaves and fruits supplement their food. They have a thorough knowledge of the seasonal availability of the edible roots and fruits. Sometimes, they subsist on forest produce for several days without eating any cooked food grain. During the rainy season varieties of leaves like Chenchulaku, Devadaraku, Chilkamukkalakura, Gurugaku, Pullakura, Doggabaku, Atikamamidikura, Pendlipeddakura, Mallapura Boddukura, cherukura etc., are also consumed as food by the Chenchus.

### **Social Structure**

The Chenchu tribe is an endogamous unit formed into exogamous local or surname (Kulamu or intiperu or gotram) groups. The principal units of the society are the exogamous groups and the family. The term clan is not suitable to identify the



exogamous groups because these groups do not possess all the essential characteristics of clan (Gangadharam, 1978).

The exogamous group is an important feature of the Chenchus social structure as it serves to identify a person with his patrilineage and acts as a social determinant to consider the permissibility for the partners in marriage. Little cooperation exists between the members of an exogamous group. The exogamous groups of the Chenchu society seem to have originated from the territorial groups.

### **Marriage**

The sexual life of Chenchus is not strictly regulated. There is apparently great freedom for intercourse, tolerated before one gets married. But premarital chastity is appreciated. Even though extramarital sex is not uncommon, it is severely condemned, penalised which ultimately results in divorce. Their age at marriage ranges from 15 years for men and from 14 years for women.

The Chenchu marriage is very simple. There are many marriages by acquiring a mate through elopement. The boy and girl leave the gudem for a week days and live in the forest, then both the parents take a decision to arrange marriage between them.

Marriage by tradition is monogamous. Polygyny, however, is allowed. Both kinds of cross-cousin marriages patrilineal and matrilineal, are practised but matrilineal cross-cousin

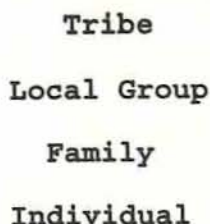
marriages are much preferred. Sister's daughter is also a potential mate for marriage.

Widow marriages are common. Woman is always regarded as an economic asset and her services are much essential for the functioning of the society. Both men and women can freely initiate the divorce. The major causes for divorce are: adultery, non-cooperation, impotence, barrenness, husband's laziness and drunkenness etc. In case of adultery, the guilty are assembled before the tribal council (nasab) and the culprits are fined.

The social and economic controls to stabilize marriage relations became very ineffective. They simply separate and live with the persons of their choice after some time to be reckoned as married couples.

### **Family and Kinship**

Among Chenchus, the family is the basic kin unit. The following diagram depicts social organisation among the Chenchu tribe. Individual-Family-Local group-Tribe.



The parents show much affection towards their children. Generally, the parents do not leave their children at home while they go for work. The unmarried child is a useful member of the

family. The children assist their parents in the economic pursuits such as collection of minor forest produce, bamboo cutting etc. The girl children assist in household work and look after the younger children/siblings.

Residence is bilocal although the newly married persons frequently establish a separate family. The establishment of a new residence depends largely on the rational thinking of the person concerned. Close relatives may live together but in separate huts and cook separately. However, blook relatives generally live close together and many local groups are made up of entirely of blook-relations and their mates. The Chenchus do not like to live where they have no blook relatives.

The kinship system of the Chenchus is classificatory. The Chenchus attach more importance to their mother's brother, sister's husband, father's sister's husband, wife's brother and daughter's son because they are not only the blook relations but affinal kin also. They trust their wife's brother more than their own brother. Avoidance of relationship is practised in respect of younger brother's wife and husband's elder brother. There are some sentimental interests enjoyed by the Wadina (sister-in-law) and Mardi (husband's younger brother) as evidenced by the flock-songs but the Chenchus report that there is no such joking relationship between the two said above.

Both maternal and paternal relatives have important social and ritual roles to play specially during child birth, marriage and death. Kinship terminology is of bifurcate merging type.



## Economic Activites

Hunting, honey collection, fishing, agricultural operations like ploughing, threshing and forest coupe cutting are exclusively male activites. Women collect vegetables, forest food-stuffs like roots, tubers, leaves etc., besides undertaking domestic chores, such as, cattle tending etc. All the members of the family as a unit work for their subsistence in trust of the economic activities. Division of labour sometimes overlaps. In the absence of big hunt requiring corporate efforts, each Chenchu family is independent by itself and makes its own individual effort to secure food.

The Chenchu children accompany their parents in most of the economic activities such as collection of minor forest produce, forest coupe cutting etc. In the months of February and March the Chenchu children help their parents in the collection of tamarind and other minor forest produce. And also in the months of November and December the children help in watching agricultural fields. The female children help in domestic work when the parents are working in forest or farm and also look after their younger siblings in the home.

Besides the above mentioned work, the women participate in forest work, along with men, and assist them in making bamboo cots and mats. Men are obliged to attend the weekly market and buy the necessary household articles, following by women-folks occasionally. The children also assist their parents in doing the domestic chores. They perform functions like looking after

younger siblings in the absence of their parents, grazing cattle, watching agricultural fields and collection of minor forest produce. Girls assist their mothers in household duties like sweeping and cleaning the house, fetching water from the well, cleaning utensils, cooking food so as to enable her mother engaging herself in some other activities. The adult male members participate in all economic activities and extend their cooperation to the parents for the betterment of the family's economic conditions, if they are bachelors.

Chenchus derive income from the following sources mainly :

- (i) Collection and sale of minor forest produce;
- (ii) Daily wages from forest labour;
- (iii) Yield from agriculture;
- (iv) Handicrafts like basket and mat-weaving and selling of bambook baskets, cots, mats etc.;
- (v) Agricultural labour;
- (vi) Liquor distillation and selling; and
- (vii) Government employment.

Besides the above mentioned items, they also collect some edible fruits which are some times sold in the neighbouring villages and markets either for cash or for kind. Working in forest as a labourer is another important way of earning to the Chenchus.

Most of the Chenchus possess dry land either secured as part of the land reclamation scheme or by clearing the forest growth in the vicinity of their villages. The yield is very poor due to



lack of their knowledge about scientific agriculture and also due to lack of irrigation facility. They sell the agricultural produce like horsegram, castor sorghum voriga, redgram etc., in the local market or to the local traders, while consuming the millets like 'voriga and jowar'.

### **Political Organization**

Traditionally the social relations are regulated and stabilized by means of a council (Kulapanchayat or Nasba). This council has authority over the village only in which it is organised. There are no wider political units having authority over other village councils. Each village council is independent and autonomous in itself.

The village council consists of several elderly persons called (Peddamanushulu) generally each from each clan of the village/gudem/penta. The council is headed by an elder person called Peddamanishi, generally from the dominant clan of the village/gudem/penta which is either determined by population strength or if the clan members happen to be the original settlers of the village. The head is assisted by a few subordinates like Pradhani and Kollagallu (attenders or servants) with whose help the Head convenes and conducts the council meetings.

### **Religion**

The Chenchus are generally accepted as pre-Dravidian who lost their original language. Therefore, a search for their



indigeneous tribal deities often leads to confusion, as they are either mixed up or confused with the Hindu ones. there is Garelamai-sama, the deity of the jungle, and is prayed before and after a hunt. In fact, a piece of the game is offered on the spot where the animal is killed. the Chenchus are supposed to kill only male animals, lest it should anger the female deity, though it is also addressed sometimes as father. As far as one can judge, Chenchu prayers do not conform to any strict formula, they are mostly spontaneous outpourings. They also worship Srisaila Mallanna (Siva) on Sivarathri day (a festival of Siva) and Lord Narasimhaswamy in Ahobilam.

There are village deities too like Poleramma, Ankamma, sunkamma, Peddanna, Poturaju, Mallamma, Marremma, Manthanamma etc., considered benevolent and propitiated in all crises. There is Lachamma who is made on offering before planting millet and corn. However, presently they are also worshipping Lord Venkateswara as a great traditional deity.

The Chenchus believe that some of the local deities follow their devotees if they move to a different place. gangamma is the water deity, while crossing water they offer a prayer to Her. They give an offering to Gangamma when child's hair is first cut. They rarely have community worship, mostly individual... Curiously enough, women do not participate in any of these ceremonies.

They believe in ancestral worship and offer new clothes and cooked food to their ancestors. They believe in black magic,

oath, ordeal evil-ey. Very few of them living in plains invite Brahmic priest to officiate marriage ceremonies. They offer sacrifices to the little traditional deities such as Manthanalamma, Poleramma, Gangamma, Ankalamma etc. A very few of them go to pilgrimage to Srisailam and Tirupati.

## **Recreations**

### **Dances**

Unlike most other tribals, dance has no religious significance for the Chenchus. To them, it is purely a social recreation. Nevertheless, they show a genius for dramitizations and a great gaiety of spirit while dancing. Their main dance are `Chenchu Natakamu, step dance (with springs and tilting steps), drum beat dance (holding tip of the sari in one hand and swinging it in Nrithyam to the beat of the drum etc., are th prominent dances of Chenchus. In addition to these dances singing in the night times and festival days are very significant of tribal culture.

### **Fold Songs**

Fold songs of the Chenchus are no polychromatic. They do not have songs connected with the ceremonies of birth and marriage or the song sung on seasonal or festival occasions. Like many other people, love is the main theme of their songs. These songs as they themselves tell when asked to give title, can be divided infour groups: (i) Chenchu patalu (songs) or the songs of the Chenghus, (ii) isurrayee patalu or the songs sung while grinding, (iii) cata patalu or the songs sung while winnowing and

(iv) pokiri patalu or the songs of misconduct for fun and amusement. Such songs generally describe illicit love affairs. the prominent song of the Chenchus, the conversation between Chenchita and Narasimha will disclose what capacities a tribal maiden expects from her husband. Now-a-days some of them go to the movies in the neighbouring towns.

### **Agriculture**

The food gathering and semi-nomadic Chenchus are slowly settling in agriculture. About 20% of the Chenchus are cultivating forest enclosures and Government assigned lands. there is a scheme of purchasing agricultural lands to be given to Chenchus and under this scheme lands purchased in Mahaboobnagar, Kurnool, Nalgonda and Ranga Reddy districts are distributed to Chenchus.

Besides, several programmes like land development, supply of agricultural implements, supply of plough bullocks, irrigation wells and supply of goat units as a part of agricultural development of the Chenchus.

The agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides are supplied by the I.T.D.A. with 80% PTG subsidy and 20% margin money.

### **Medical and Health Services**

One mobile medical unit with head quarters at Peddadornal, Prakasham District is functioning to provide medical and health



facilities to the Chenchus. T.B. Screening camp has been conducted by the I.T.D.A., PTG-Chenchu.

General Medical Camps are also conducted at a few places by the I.T.D.A. Besides, several health programmes such as conducting periodical medical camps in Chenchugudem, Immunization programmes, Malaria treatment, chlorination of drinking water wells in Chenchugudem, digging of bore and open wells etc., are implemented by I.T.D.A.

A proposal had already been submitted to the commissionerate of Tribal Welfare Integrated Child Development Service for creation of one (I.C.D.S.) project for exclusively for Chenchus to improve nutritional standards, health and hygiene (I.T.D.A., PTG-Chenchu, Srisailam, August, 1990).

## **LAMBADIS/SUGALIS**

### **Origin**

**Lambadi:-** The Lambadis are also called Lambani, Brinjari or banjari, Boipari, Sugali or Sukli. But some Sugali is said to be a corruption of supari (betel nut), because they formerly traded largely therein. "The Banjaras," Mr. G.A. Grierson writes, "are the well known tribe of carriers who are found all over Western and southern India. One of their principal sub-castes is known under the name of Labhani, and this name (or some related one) is often applied to the whole tribe. The two names appear each under many variations, such as Banjari, Vanjari, Brinjari, Labhani, Labani, Labana, lambadi, and Lambani."

It is noted by Mr. Grierson that the Banjari dialect of Southern India is mixed with the surrounding Dravidian languages. In the Census Report 1901, <sup>T</sup>Yanda (the name of the lambadi settlements or camps), and Vali Sugriva are given as synonyms for the tribal name. Vali and Sugriva were two monkey chiefs mentioned in the Ramayana, from who the lambadis claim to be descended.

It is said that from the Khamdat clan are recruited from most of the lambadi dacoits. The clan descended from Mota, the second son of Chada, is not found in the Mysore country. The descendants of Nathad, the third son, live by catching wild birds, and are known as Mirasikat, Paradi, or Vagri (see Kuruvikkaran). The jogdas are people of the Jogi caste. Those belonging to the Bhimda family are the peripatetic blacksmiths, called Bailu Kammara. The Lambani outcastes compose a subdivision called Thalya, who, like the Holayas, are drum-beaters, and live in detached habitations."

As pointing to a distinction between Sukalis and Banjaris, it is noted by the Rev. J. Cain that "the Sukalilu do not travel in such large companies as the Banjarilu, nor are their women dressed as gaudily as the Banjari women. There is but little friendship between these two classes, and the Sukali would regard it as anything but an honour to be called a Banjari, and the Banjari is not flattered when called a Sukali." It is, however, noted, in the Madras Census Report, 1891, that enquiries show that Lambadis and Sugalis are practically the same.



### Dress Pattern:

Their dress is peculiar, and their ornaments are so singularly chosen that we have, were we confident, seen women who (not to mention a child at their backs) have had eight or ten pounds weight in metal or ivory round their arms and legs. The favourite ornaments appear to be rings of ivory from the wrist to the shoulder, regularly increasing in size, so that the ring near the shoulder will be immoderately large, sixteen or eighteen inches, or more perhaps in circumference. These rings are sometimes dyed red. Silver, lead, copper, or brass, in ponderous bars, encircle their shins, sometimes round, others in the form of festoons, and truly we have seen some so circumstanced that a criminal in irons would not have much more to inconvenience him than these damsels deem ornamental and agreeable trapping on a long march, for they are never dispensed with in the hottest weather. A kind of stomacher, with holed for the arms, and tied behind at the bottom, covers their breast, and has some strings of cowries, depending behind, dangling at their backs. The stomacher is curiously studded with cowries, and their hair is also bedecked with them. They wear likewise ear-rings, necklaces, rings on the fingers and toes, and, we think, the nose or nose jewel. They pay little attention to cleanliness; their hair, once plaited, is not combed or opened perhaps for a month; their bodies or cloths are seldom washed; their arms are indeed so encased with ivory that it would be no easy matter to clean them. They are chaste and affable; any indecorum offered to a



woman would be resented by the men, who have a high sense of honour on that head.

The Lambadis of Bellary "have a tradition among them of having first come to the Deccan from the north with Moghul camps as commissariat carriers. Captain J. Briggs, in writing about them in 1813, states that, as the Deccan is devoid of a single navigable river, and has no roads that admit of wheeled traffic, the whole of the extensive intercourse is carried on by laden bullocks, the property of the Banjaris."

**Beliefs:** A Lambadi was seen repeating a number of mantrams (magical formulae) over his patients, and touching their heads at the same time with a book, which was a small edition of the Telugu translation of St. John's gospel. Neither the physician nor patient could read, and had no idea of the contents of the book." At the time when human (meriah) sacrifices prevailed in the Vizagapatam Agency tracts, it was the regular duty of Lambadis to kidnap or purchase human beings in the plains, and sell them to the hill tribes for extravagant prices. A person, in order to be a fitting meriah, had to be purchased for a price.

**Occupation:** The common occupation of the Lambadis of Mysore is said to be "the transport, especially in the hill and forest tracts difficult of access, of grain and other produce on pack bullocks, of which they keep large herds. They live in detached clusters of rude huts, called thandas, at some distance from established villages. Though some of them have taken of late to

agriculture, they have as yet been only partially reclaimed from criminal habits."

In the Madras Census Reports the Lambadis are described as a class of traders, herdsmen, cattle-breeders, and cattle-lifters, found largely in the Decan districts, in parts of which they have settled down as agriculturists. In the Cuddapah district they are said to be found in most of the jungly tracts, living chiefly by collecting firewood and jungle produce. In the Vizagapatam district, Mr. G.F. Paddison informs me, the bullocks of the Lambadis are ornamented with peacock's feathers and cowry shells, and generally a small mirror on the forehead.

"They are wood-cutters, carriers, and coolies, but some of them settle down and become cultivators. A Lambadi hut generally consists of only one small room, with no aperture except the doorway. Here are huddled together the men, women, and children, the same room doing duty as kitchen, dining and bedroom. The cattle are generally tied up outside in any available spot of the village site, so that the whole village is a sort of cattle pen interspersed with huts, in whatsoever places may have seemed convenient to the particular individual.

#### **Dress Pattern:**

They wear their bangles between the elbow and shoulder, while the unmarried have them between the elbow and wrist. Unmarried girls may wear black bead necklets, which are taken off at marriage, at which time they first assume the ravikkai or jacket. Matrons also use an earring called guriki to distinguish



woman would be resented by the men, who have a high sense of honour on that head.

The Lambadis of Bellary "have a tradition among them of having first come to the Deccan from the north with Moghul camps as commissariat carriers. Captain J. Briggs, in writing about them in 1813, states that, as the Deccan is devoid of a single navigable river, and has no roads that admit of wheeled traffic, the whole of the extensive intercourse is carried on by laden bullocks, the property of the Banjaris."

**Beliefs:** A Lambadi was seen repeating a number of mantrams (magical formulae) over his patients, and touching their heads at the same time with a book, which was a small edition of the Telugu translation of St. John's gospel. Neither the physician nor patient could read, and had no idea of the contents of the book." At the time when human (meriah) sacrifices prevailed in the Vizagapatam Agency tracts, it was the regular duty of Lambadis to kidnap or purchase human beings in the plains, and sell them to the hill tribes for extravagant prices. A person, in order to be a fitting meriah, had to be purchased for a price.

**Occupation:** The common occupation of the Lambadis of Mysore is said to be "the transport, especially in the hill and forest tracts difficult of access, of grain and other produce on pack bullocks, of which they keep large herds. They live in detached clusters of rude huts, called thandas, at some distance from established villages. Though some of them have taken of late to



agriculture, they have as yet been only partially reclaimed from criminal habits."

In the Madras Census Reports the Lambadis are described as a class of traders, herdsmen, cattle-breeders, and cattle-lifters, found largely in the Deccan districts, in parts of which they have settled down as agriculturists. In the Cuddapah district they are said to be found in most of the jungly tracts, living chiefly by collecting firewood and jungle produce. In the Vizagapatam district, Mr. G.F. Paddison informs me, the bullocks of the Lambadis are ornamented with peacock's feathers and cowry shells, and generally a small mirror on the forehead.

"They are wood-cutters, carriers, and coolies, but some of them settle down and become cultivators. A Lambadi hut generally consists of only one small room, with no aperture except the doorway. Here are huddled together the men, women, and children, the same room doing duty as kitchen, dining and bedroom. The cattle are generally tied up outside in any available spot of the village site, so that the whole village is a sort of cattle pen interspersed with huts, in whatsoever places may have seemed convenient to the particular individual.

#### **Dress Pattern:**

They wear their bangles between the elbow and shoulder, while the unmarried have them between the elbow and wrist. Unmarried girls may wear black bead necklets, which are taken off at marriage, at which time they first assume the ravikkai or jacket. Matrons also use an earring called guriki to distinguish

them from widows or unmarried girls". The woemn wear a peculiar dress, consisting of a lunga or gown of stout coarse print, a tartan petticoat, and a mantle often elaborately embroidered, which also covers the head and upper part of the body. The hair is worn in ringlets or plaits hanging down each side of the face, and decorated with shells, and terminating in tassels. The arms are profusely covered with trinkets and rings made of bones, brass and other rude materials. The men's dress consists of a white or red turband, and a pair of white breeches or knickerbockers, reaching a little below the knee, with a string of red silk tassels hanging by the right side from the waistband."

Their ordinary dress is the dhoty with short trousers, and frequently gaudy turbans and caps, in which they indulge on festive occasions. They also affect a considerable amount of jewellery. The women are, as a rule, comely, and above the average height of women of the country. Their costume is the laigna (langa) or gown of Karwar cloth, red or green, with a quantity of embroidery. The chola (Choli) or bodice, with embroidery in the front and on the shoulders, covers the bosom, and is tied by variegated cords at the back, the ends of the cords being ornamented with cowries and beads. A covering cloth of Karwar cloth, with embroidery, is fastened in at the waist, ad hungs at the side with a quantity of tassels and strings of cowries. Their jewels are very numerous, and include strings of beads of ten or twenty rows with a cowry as a pendant, called the cheed, threaded on horse-hair, and a silver hasali (necklace), a sign of marriage equivalent to the tali. Brass or horn



bracelets, ten to twelve in number, extending to the elbow on either arm, with a guzera or piece of embroidered silk, one inch wide, tied to the right wrist. Anklets of ivory (or bone) or horn are only worn by married women. They are removed on the death of the husband. Pachala or silk embroidery adorned with tassels and cowries is also worn as an anklet by women. Their other jewels are mukaram or rose ornament, a silver kania or pendant from the upper part of the ear attached to a silver chain which hangs to the shoulder, and a profusion of silver, brass, and lead rings. Their hair is, in the case of unmarried women, unadorned, brought up and tied in a knot at the top of the head. With married women it is fastened, in like manner, with a cowry or a brass button, and heavy pendants or gujuris are fastened at the temples. This letter is an essential sign of marriage, and its absence is a sign of widowhood. Lambadi women, when carrying water, are fastidious in the adornment of the pad, called gala, which is placed on their heads, they cover it with cowries, and attach to it an embroidered cloth called phulia, ornamented with tassels and cowries."

#### Leadership:

Each thanda, has "a headman called the Nayaka, whose word is law, and whose office is hereditary. Each settlement has also a priest, whose office is likewise hereditary." The thanda is named after the headman, and he adds, "the head of the gang appears to be regarded with great reverence, and credited with supernatural powers. He is believed to rule the gang most



rigorously, and to have the power of life and death over its members."

### Marriages:

Concerning the marriage ceremonies of the Sugalis these "last for three days. On the first an intoxicating beverage compounded of bhang (*Cannabis indica*) leaves, jaggery (crude sugar), and other things, is mixed and drunk. When all are merry, the bridegroom's parents bring Rs.35 and four bllocks to those of the bride, and, after presenting them, the bridegroom is allowed to tie a square silver bottu or tali (marriage badge) to the bride's neck, and the marriage is complete; but the next two days must be spent in drinking and fasting. At the conclusion of the third day, the bride is arrayed in gay new clothes, and goes to the bridegroom's house, driving a bullock before her. Upon the birth of the first male child, a second silver bottu is tied to the mother's neck, and a third when a second son is born. When a third is added to the family, the three bottus are welded together, after which no additions are made."

The bridegroom arrives at night at the bride's house with a cloth covering his head, and an elaborately embroidered bag containing betel and nut slung from his shoulder. Outside the house, at the four corners of a square, are arranged four piles of earthen pots - five pots in each. Within this square two grain-pounding pestles are stuck upright in the ground. The bride is decked with the cloth peculiar to married women, and taken outside the house to meet the bridegroom. Both stand

within the square of pots, and round their shoulders is tried a cloth, in which the officiating Brahman knots a rupee. This Brahman, it may be at once noted, has little more to do with the ceremony beyond ejaculating at intervals 'Shobhana| Shobhana|' or 'May it prosper|' Then the right hands of the couple are joined, and they walk seven times round each of the upright pestles, while the women chant the following song, one line being sung for each journey round the pestle:

To yourself and myself marriage has taken place.

Together we will walk round the marriage pole.

Walk the third time; marriage has taken place.

You are mine by marriage.

Walk the fifth time; marriage has taken place.

Walk the sixth time; marriage has taken place.

Walk the seventh time; marriage has taken place.

We have walked seven times; I am yours.

Walk the seventh time; you are mine.

"The couple then sit on a blanket on the ground near one of the pestles, and are completely covered with a cloth. The bride gives the groom seven little balls compounded of rice, ghee (clarified butter) and sugar, which he eats. He then gives her seven others, which she in turn eats. The process is repeated near the other pestle. The women keep on chanting all the while. Then the pair go into the house, and the cloth into which the rupee was knotted is untied, and the ceremonies for that night are over. Next day the couple are bathed separately, and feasting takes place. That evening the girl's mother or near



female relations tie to the locks on each side of her temples the curious badges, called gugri, which distinguish a married from an unmarried woman, fasten a bunch of tassels to her back hair, and girdle her with a tasselled waistband, from which is suspended a little bag, into which the bridegroom puts five rupees. These last two are donned thereafter on great occasions, but are not worn every day. The next day the girl is taken home by her new husband."

Among the Lambadis of Mysore, widow remarriage and polygamy are said to freely prevail, "and it is customary for divorced women to marry again during the lifetime of the husband under the sire udiak (tying of a new cloth) form of remarriage, which also obtains among the Vakkaligas and others. In such cases, the second husband, under the award of the caste arbitration, is made to pay a certain sum (tera) as amends to the first husband, accompanied by a caste dinner. The woman is then readmitted into society. But certain disabilities are attached to widow remarriage. Widows remarried are forbidden entry into a regular marriage party, whilst their offspring are disabled from legal marriage for three generations, although allowed to take wives from families similarly circumstanced."

#### **Rituals:**

Unmarried and those who have been married by the kuttuvali rite, are buried. When cremation is resorted to, the eldest son sets fire to the funeral pyre. On the third day he makes a heap of the asghes, on which he sprinkles milk. He and his relations



then return home, and hold a feast. When a corpse is buried, no such ceremonies are performed. Both males and females are addicted to heavy drinking. Arrack is their favourite beverage, and a Lambadi's boast is that he spent so much on drink on such and such an occasion. The women dance and sing songs in eulogy of their goddess. At bed-time they strip off all their clothes, and use them as a pillow."

The Lambadis are said to purchase children from other castes, and bring them up as their own. Such children are not allowed to marry into the superior Lambadi section called Thanda. The adopted children are classified as Koris, and a Kori may only marry a Lambadi after several generations.

Concerning the religion of the Lambadis, it is noted in the Mysore Census report, 1891, that they are "Vishnyvaits, and their principal object of worship is Krishna. Bana sankari, the goddess of forests, is also worshipped, and they pay homage to Basava on grounds dissimilar to those professed by the Lingayets. Basava is revered by the Lambadis because Krishna had tended cattle in his incarnation.

I adore Bharmha (Bramha) in the roots;  
Vishnu who is the trunk;  
Rudra (Mahadev) pervading the branches;  
And the Devas in every leaf.

It is noted by the Rev. G.N. Thomssen that the Lambadis "worship the Supreme Being in a very pathetic manner. A stake

either a carved stick, or a peg, or a knife, is planted on the ground, and men and women from a circle round this, and a wild, weird chant is sung, while all bend very low to the earth. They all keep on circling about the stake, swinging their arms in despair, clasping them in prayer, and at last raising them in the air. Their whole cry is symbolic of the child crying in the night, the child crying for the light. If there are very many gathered together for worship, the men from one circle, and the women another. Another peculiar custom is their sacrifice of a goat or a chicken in case of removal from one part of the jungle to another when sickness has come. The Durgamma pujari (priest), one of their own class, who wears the sacred thread, and is invested with his sacred office by reason of his powers of divination, lights a fire, and, calling on the goddess for aid, treads the fire out, and names the token hidden by the party. His word is considered an oracle, and the pujari points out the direction the party is to take."

From a further note religion of the lambadis, worship the following:-

- (1) Balaji, whose temple is at Tirupati. Offerings of money are made to this deity for the bestowal of children, etc. When their prayers are answered, the Lambadis walk all the way to Tirupati, and will not travel thither by railway.
- (2) Hanuman, the monkey god.
- (3) Poleramma. To ward off devils and evil spirits.
- (4) Mallalamma. To confer freedom to their cattle from attacks of tigers and other wild beasts.
- (5) Ankalamma. To protect them from epidemic disease.

(6) Peddamma.

(7) Maremma.

The Lambadis observe the Hole festival, for the celebration of which money is collected in towns and villages. On the Hole day, the headman and his wife fast, and worship two images of mud, representing Kama (the Indian cupid) and his wife Rati. On the following morning, cooked food is offered to the images, which are then burnt. men and women sing and dance, in separate groups, round the burning fire. On the third day, they again sing and dance, and dress themselves in gala attire. The men snatch the food which has been prepared by the women, and run away amid protest from the women, who sometimes chastise them.

CHAP2/



## Chapter III

### ASHRAM SCHOOLS FOR TRIBALS

Gandhian workers fairly succeeded in their efforts to spread education among the tribals. The tenacity of the Gandhian workers during the nationalist movement was exemplary. Thakkar Bapa and Indulal Yagnik came for the relief work in the famine-stricken areas of Dohad and Zalod talukas (Panchmahals) under the instruction of Gandhi. Thakkar Bapa was moved by the pitiable conditions of the tribals. He decided to devote his life's energy for the uplift of the tribals. Dohad became the centre of his reform and educational activities. The tribal of that area accepted him. He and other Gandhian workers started Ashram schools in some parts of Gujarat and Maharashtra. First Ashram school was started in Mirakhedi, a tribal village in Panchmahal district. Bhil Seva mandal, a voluntary organisation was set up in the Panchmahals to coordinate the constructive activities including education to the tribals.

Several reformers and leaders considered education as an instrument to bring about changes and progress in the individual. Efforts were made by them to bring this group into the fold of education through voluntary activities. The foremost one among the leaders was Thakkar Bapa who under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, along with other reformers, initiated educational activities for the tribal population of Western India under the name of Ashram School in 1922 at Panchmahal Hilla (Gujarat) for tribal children. His efforts were successful in imparting education to tribal children along with training in vocational

and craft education. Later he replicated the same system in Maharashtra and Bihar.

Such Ashram schools were also centres of freedom movement. Their main role was to prepare freedom fighters and social workers. The Ashram school teachers of Surat district participated in 'no-tax campaign', 'Dandi-March' and 'Salt-Satyagraha'. They faced stiff resistance from the British authorities. Because of their political activities Ashram properties were confiscated. The Ashram-cum-workers-cum-teachers were arrested (Joshi Vidyut, 1984). Thus the tribal education work of the Gandhian workers was part of their broad ideological framework of national liberation. Ashram school was an extension of that logic. After Independence, the Ashram schools retained their existence. However, they had lost their earlier ideological ethos or moral fervour which was linked with their struggle with the foreign rule (Joshi Vidyut, 1980).

All the same, the influence of the Ashram Schools and their role can not be understated. As one scholar has noted, "it (Ashram School) did a great service to tribal education in the sense that most of such ashrams, in this phase (1920-1947), were located in such remote areas where there were no day schools. The efforts of voluntary organisations and teachers were commendable in the sense they moved in remote tribal villages, collected students and developed attitudes for education among the tribal (Joshi Vidyut, 1984). tribal students of the Ashram Schools later became teachers in the same or other schools. They

carried out basic education work with a sense of responsibility. Some became Gandhian workers and participated in the freedom struggle. Education led to nationalist consciousness and motivation for liberation from the British rule.

In pre-Independence period, planned attempts to educate the tribal population were negligible and whatever efforts made were only either by the christian missionaries or by individual philanthropists, perhaps exception of Thakkar Bapa, lacked a clear perspective and thereby systematic work. And, therefore, Ashram Schools did not register sufficient progress.

Thus, Ashram Schools wherever they came into existence, introduced for the first time in that tribal region, a school with residential facility, motivated tribal children for education and created an urge among them to improve their social and moral status. Such activities were, however, limited to a few tribal pockets. Their generalised impact was not much consequential. Soon after India got Independence, as a part of the developmental work, various voluntary organizations in the states of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Orissa took immense interest in educating tribals by establishing Ashram Schools. During the first five year plan there was an attempt by the Government of India to open such schools. However, the momentum in opening Ashram Schools started increasing from the third five year plan onwards. In Maharashtra, the State Government has itself taken over the tasks of setting up Ashram Schools in the remote and inaccessible areas. They are called 'Shashkiya Ashram Shalas'. Ashram Schools are residential schools providing free board and



lodging facilities to the tribal students. They are not of ancient and traditional type described in ancient literature.

The Indian constitution envisaged special provisions in the post-Independence period for the promotion of education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and this was special responsibility of the central and state governments (Article 46). Accordingly a number of programmes have been initiated in education for these groups both at school and college level. Special provisions in education consists of fee concession, stipends, provision of ancillary services, hostel and lodging facilities in schools pre-Matric and post-Matric scholarship scheme, reservation of seats, relaxation in eligibility criteria for admission etc.

The establishment of Ashram School was envisaged as a direct intervention to tackle the socio-economic and geographic inequalities of the tribal population, particularly sparsely populated areas by providing educational opportunities. The concept of Ashram Schools stemmed from the objective of providing an atmosphere in which the inmates are offered full opportunities to develop their personality and out-look marked with a high sense of responsibility towards their own community. In addition to formal schooling, those institutions of new ideas create decision making ability among the inmates. The main objectives of Ashram Schools as envisaged by the various committees and commissions are:

- (a) to impart general formal education;

- (b) to encourage tribal traditions like folk songs and dances so that the schools are not only mere learning place but also centres of cultural activities;
- (c) to reduce the drop-out rate and to improve the retention capacity of the school;
- (d) to wean the children away from an atmosphere which is generally not conducive for the development of their personality and out-look;
- (e) to impart socially useful crafts along with general education; and
- (f) to provide close interaction between the teacher and the taught through the increased individual attention.

The concept of Ashram Schools combines both functional and literary aspects based education relieving the tribal parent off the burden of feeding, the clothing his school-going-children besides providing a congenial school environment. It is expected to inculcate in the pupil a sense of service to society and link the school learning with household and community activities. Consequently, Ashram Schools are expected to reduce the incidence of absenteeism, wastage and stagnation and improve the standard of education at primary level. Further, it is also intended to reduce the burden on tribal parents by saving them, from incurring expenditure on their children's education as these Ashram Schools provide free board and lodging facilities apart from supplying books, stationery, clothes (uniforms) warm clothing etc., to the inmates. All these facilities have been provided to favourably motivate the tribal children and their parents towards education.

## Concept of Ashram School

The name was derived from the Gandhian conception of the Indian society a self-reliant one. Since Indian society was perceived as a self-reliant society, the form of education, conceived was also geared towards making individuals self-reliant while transforming accumulated knowledge and information to future events. Accordingly the form of education that caused, evolved in the form of schools where teachers and the taught live together. Along with the formal teaching and learning process, the teacher imparted training to attain practical skills in agriculture, crafts etc., and worked for developing a self-reliant life style.

The educational opportunities provided for the tribals by the Government as well as voluntary agencies, largely followed the pattern laid down in pre-Independent India that is the Ashram Schools system. Since the thoughts and views of the political and social leaders, in Independent India slightly varied from the Gandhian concept form and content of education differed accordingly. (but broad guidelines for the Ashram Schools that were laid down could be said to be a combination of both ideals).

Ashram Schools are in general residential and the inmates are provided with facilities of board and lodging, moreover, they function within highly structured and systematic framework. The broad policy guidelines for the Ashram Schools an envisaged by various committees and study groups on tribal welfare programmes are:



- (i) Ashram Schools should be inter-village schools;
- (ii) Ashram Schools should be opened in such areas where normal schools cannot be opened;
- (iii) Most backward tribal groups should be covered.

### **Growth of Ashram Schools**

The number of Ashram Schools in India and enrolment in these schools were difficult to analyse at one place. Many of them were obtained from various sources. In 1960-61 there were 189 Ashram Schools in the country enrolling 10,890 students. In the year 1971-72 the number of Ashram Schools were increased by five fold (948 ashram schools) and the students enrolled in them by four to five fold (48,311 students). The number of Ashram Schools in the year 1980-81 was 1609 enrolling 83,049 students.

Generally the Ashram Schools provide education upto V standard but in some cases the classes are from I to VII or IV to VII (with the role exception of Maharashtra where it is upto IX). the pattern and size and policy of admission to the institutions differ from state to state. Ashram Schools form only 4 to 5 per cent of the total primary educational system for the tribal population. Out of the total enrolled tribal children in primary education 95 per cent are covered by general primary schools. The growth of Ashram Schools in many states (1960-61 to 80-81) is not proportionate to the percentage of Scheduled Tribes population in the particular state. The growth was ralatively more in the States of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra whereas in Madhya Pradesh with the highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes

population the number of Ashram Schools did not show the proportionate increase. The percentage of school going population covered by Ashram Schools varies from state to state. On the one extreme we have the state of Andhra Pradesh with the highest number of Ashram Schools (423) but enrolling is only 8.47 per cent of the total enrolment of the tribal children in the state. On the other extreme we have the state of Madhya Pradesh with fewer number of schools and covering only a negligibly low percentage of 0.43 per cent of the total enrolled tribal population of the state.

Table 3.1

Statewise Ashram Schools

States	Percentage of Tribal Population to Total St Population (1981)	1960-61 No. of Ashram Schools	Enrolment	1970-71 No. of Ashram Schools	Enrolment	1980-81 No. of Ashram Schools	Enrolment
Andhra Pradesh	5.93	-	-	187	10150	410	30603
Assam	-	-	-	1	210	4	1039
Bihar	8.31	-	-	-	-	77	10982
Gujarat	14.22	48	3411	135	13451	182	16638
Haryana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Himachal Pradesh	4.61	7	209	3	-	7	209
Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	-	-	-	1	20
Karnataka	4.91	-	-	135	8197	112	7275
Kerala	1.03	14	420	55	1650	55	1650
Madhya Pradesh	22.97	-	-	135	-	187	-
Maharashtra	9.19	24	2481	89	8521	300	-
Manipur	27.30	-	-	-	-	6	257
Meghalaya	80.58	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nagaland	93.99	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orissa	22.43	59	2851	110	1220	110	1220
Punjab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rajasthan	12.21	7	143	6	150	11	500
Sikkim	23.27	-	-	-	-	-	-

Tamil Nadu	1.07	30	1375	73	4264	144	7045
Tripura	28.44	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttar Pradesh	0.21	-	-	14	-	12	1220
West Bengal	5.63	-	-	1	180	9	937
Total States	-	189	10890	994	47994	1598	81898
Andaman	11.85	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arunachal Pradesh	69.82	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chandigarh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dadra	78.82	-	-	71	75	94	744
Delhi	-	-	-	3	242	-	-
Goa	0.99	-	-	-	-	2	407
Lakshadweep	93.82	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mizoram	93.55	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pondcherry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (UTs)	-	-	-	17	317	-	1151
Total	7.76	189	10890	948	48311	1609	83049

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971 and 1981

As shown in table 3.1 the general trend and pattern of coverage of enrolled tribal population by the Ashram School shows that in the states with the high concentration of tribals, the coverage is lower than that in the states less proportion of Schedule Tribes population. Given the low percentage of enrollment covered by the Ashram Schools one may genuinely doubt the efficiency of the on-going programme of universalization of elementary education which is not achieved in the tribal belt in the absence of adequate progress in the work of Ashram Schools.

The National Policy on Education (1986) has strongly advocated that the new policy will lay special emphasis on the removal of disparities and equalise educational opportunity by attending to the specific needs of those who have been denied equality so far. Therefore residential schools, including Ashram Schools would be established on a large scale. Various



strategies have been proposed in Programme of Action (POA) in order to strengthen the educational base of the Scheduled Tribes. For those measures, it is to open a good number of Ashram Schools for tribal children. In the context of National Schools in order to remove the constraints and to strengthen their functioning.

To begin with the Ashram Schools, the scheme was a central one, operated by the states. Despite this fact, their structure, functioning and objectives widely vary among the states to such an extent that it is really difficult to find similarities in their workin pattern, or in resource allocation. In some states such as Gujarat and Maharashtra the Ashram Schools are of three levels, primary, middle and secondary whereas in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh they only cover the primary level education. Vocational or craft education, strongly envisaged to be implemented in the Ashram Schools, has not taken roots, except in a few schools in Maharashtra and Gujarat. Mostly the Ashram Schools are functioning like a general organisations which run Ashram Schools in Gujarat and Maharashtra have special problems in fulfilling the conditions laid by the government for eligibility to grants. Appropriate modifications in the Grant-in-aid code are necessary enabling Ashram Schools to function in such a way as to promote tribal welfare and education.

#### **Admission Policy**

The general policy is to admit the students in Ashram Schools which are, in rural and tribal area where general schools are not

useful and also concentration of tribal population and the number of school-going-age children of 6-11 years are considered for establishing these schools. The Ashram School thus selected, should cater to the needs of at least 6 to 8 small and scattered villages in areas of the school. Usually a school started with a strength of 60 Ashramites. But the strength may vary depending on the situation, other students may also attend the school, but they are not provided with board and lodge. Starting of Ashram School is the decision of officers or at the request of the tribal leaders, it is expressed upon that they should provide at least two big huts, one to be used for school and the other for hostel. If the tribals can provide land for building of school and hostel, the hostel is welcomed. In many cases, the existing schools such as government primary schools are converted into Ashram Schools.

In the beginning there was no age bar for admission of the children into the Ashram School. Later this policy was changed. Existing Policy is that a boy or a girl whose villages are away by 8 kms. from the school is admitted. Later it is considered that an admission policy of taking students residing at least 6 kms. away from the school.

It was found that the children of the same village are not much interested in studies and would not follow discipline of the Ashram Schools which created a problem to the school authorities. Hence, it changed the admission policy. When the Ashram Schools were started, only tribal boys and girls could be admitted, the minimum age for admission for them is eleven years only.

The present sanctioned capacity in Ashram School is very low. Therefore, under the present circumstances unless the Government follows a policy of increasing, the sanctioned capacity, the coverage of Ashram Schools, will remain limited as it is today. An admission policy of taking students residing at least 5 kms away from school makes it difficult to attract students in large numbers even if the sanctioned capacity is increased (there are instances as in Bihar where the sanctioned capacity is not filled). The priority system that favoured scheduled tribes followed by Vimukti Jatis, Nomadic Tribes Scheduled Castes and other educational backward classes in Ashram schools again act as a constraint on increase in enrolment.

In Andhra Pradesh Ashram Schools meant for Scheduled Tribes students with reservations of few seats for Scheduled Castes and others. Since these are inter-village schools, children coming from villages 5 kms and above away from the school are admitted into these schools. However, admission to school for local children is allowed as day scholars. In many districts the Ashram Schools have much less enrolment than sanctioned students strength.

Many reasons for disparity in distribution of Ashram Schools can be attributed to geo-political and administrative factors. The geographical location of tribal habitations varies in different districts. Some schools are concentrated in Scheduled area for all administrative and developmental purposes. While in some other districts though tribes are in considerable number,



they are scattered and live in plains along with non-tribals. In this case their development particularly education is covered under general rural development.

The parents of the Chenchu children request by way of application the teacher or headmaster of the respective Ashram Schools for admission of their children or wards in to Ashram Schools. In some schools, in addition to Chenchu children there are the children of Sugali, Yerukula, Yanadi and some other backward castes. Many Ashram Schools are exclusively meant for Chenchu Children. Mahaboobnagar district are meant for Sugali and Chenchu children.

Table location as in Mahaboobnagar backward castes. In those Ashram Schools where the Sugali children dominated and they do better in their studies than students of Chenchus. It is due to lack of interest of the Chenchus towards education and their parents are also not equally interested to send their children to the Ashram Schools.

### **Growth of Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh**

The tribes in Andhra Pradesh constitute 7.76 per cent of total population of 5.35 crores (Census, 1981). Andhra Pradesh is the traditional home of nearly 33 tribal groups and most of these communities are found inhabiting in the border areas of the state in the North, North-East and Nallamalai Forest areas. The distribution of rate of literacy among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh is given in following table 3.2.

Table 3.2

## Andhra Pradesh District-wise Literacy Rates 1991

Sl. No.	Districts	1991 Literacy Rates		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	Adilabad	45.04	20.60	32.96
2.	Anantapur	55.92	27.61	42.18
3.	Chittoor	62.61	34.44	49.75
4.	Cuddapah	63.14	32.35	48.12
5.	East Godavari	55.32	42.26	48.79
6.	Guntur	56.54	35.85	46.35
7.	Hyderabad	78.90	63.56	71.52
8.	Khammam	50.04	30.53	40.50
9.	Karimnagar	50.97	23.37	37.17
10.	Krishna	60.54	45.54	53.16
11.	Kurnool	53.24	26.04	39.97
12.	Mahbubnagar	40.80	18.03	29.58
13.	Medak	47.33	21.35	34.18
14.	Nalgonda	50.53	24.92	38.00
15.	Nellore	58.40	36.99	47.76
16.	Nizamabad	45.15	19.25	32.41
17.	Prakasam	53.14	27.06	40.30
18.	Rangareddy	60.43	36.91	49.07
19.	Srikakulam	49.14	23.52	36.22
20.	Visakhapatnam	53.13	34.60	45.51
21.	Vizianagaram	45.93	22.47	34.19
22.	Warangal	51.98	26.08	39.30
23.	West Godavari	59.75	46.98	53.37
Andhra Pradesh		55.13	32.72	44.09

Source: Director of School Education, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

Out of 33 recognised Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 30 groups are found living in the sprawling 30,030 sq.km. of scheduled areas and contiguous non-scheduled sub-plan area in the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar districts. The scheduled areas in the state which is the chief habitat of tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh

constitutes 11 per cent of the total geographical area of the state. The density of the population in the tribal areas is 125 per sq.km. as against 194 in the plain areas.

TABLE 3.3

GROWTH AND ENROLMENT OF ASHRAM SCHOOL EDUCATION  
AMONG THE TRIBALS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Sl. No.	Years	No. of Ashram Schools	Total Enrolment	Average Enrolment Ashram School
1.	1963-64	4	261	65.25
2.	1964-65	4	249	62.25
3.	1965-66	4	255	63.75
4.	1966-67	6	366	61.00
5.	1967-68	6	378	66.33
6.	1970-71	187	10,158	54.27
7.	1980-81	410	30,603	74.64
8.	1985-86	423	40,499	95.74
9.	1993-94	448	85,206	190.19

Source: 1. Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, Study of Ashram Schools in Tribal Area of Andhra Pradesh, Mimeographed, 1971.

2. Hand book of Statistics Andhra Pradesh, 1985-86, 1993-94.

The establishment of Ashram Schools have been introduced for the first time in scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh during the year 1961 by the State Government and the number of Ashram Schools has been increased to 187 by 1971 with an enrolment of 10,150 distributed in all over districts of the state where tribals are concentrated. During period of over a decade (1970-1981) there was an impressive expansion of Ashram Schools resulting in a two and half fold increase in number of schools (410) and a three and a half fold increase in enrolment (the enrolment went upto 36,603). During 1985-86 there were 423



Ashram Schools with an enrolment of 40,499 children, during 1993-94 there were 448 Ashram Schools with an enrolment of 85206. It shows the growth of Ashram Schools.

There is a phenomenal growth of Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh, their distribution pattern in different districts shows lack of rational normal and proper planning. Out of 23 districts in the state, Ashram Schools are found only in 18 districts although tribals are inhabiting in a considerable number in other districts also and are equally backward in education. Also, there is a wide disparity in provision of Ashram Schools among different districts. The Table 3.4 describes district-wise ashram schools and their enrolment.

Table 3.4

Statement Showing Details of Ashram Schools  
Run by Tribal Welfare Department in Andhra Pradesh  
(1993-94)

Sl. No.	Districts	Hostels		Ashram Schools/High Schools	
		Number	Strength	Number	Strength
1.	Adilabad	46	4037	65	7312
2.	Anantapur	17	1924	1	111
3.	Chittoor	16	1893	-	-
4.	Cuddapah	9	883	-	-
5.	East Godavari	21	2613	48	8364
6.	Guntur	31	3009	3	477
7.	Hyderabad	7	717	-	-
8.	Khammam	46	4037	65	7312
9.	Karimnagar	14	1162	8	748
10.	Krishna	19	1372	1	132
11.	Kurnool	10	951	8	812
12.	Mahboobnagar	20	2132	11	1107
13.	Medak	18	1361	2	158
14.	Nalgonda	36	6242	2	1280
15.	Nellore	24	2535	1	133
16.	Nizamabad	13	1132	-	-
17.	Prakasam	22	2353	15	1301
18.	Rangareddy	11	1041	3	350
19.	Srikakulam	10	1714	34	6871
20.	Visakhapatnam	36	5103	73	13843
21.	Vizianagaram	22	2728	38	4875
22.	Warangal	40	5384	31	5095
23.	West Godavari	20	1496	31	3462
Andhra Pradesh		504	53054	448	85206

Note: There are 118 Hostels, 9 Residential School exclusively for S.T. Girls, & 8 Residential Schools for PTC Boys and 2 Residential Schools exclusively for P.T.G. Girls.

The highest tribal concentration is found in Adilabad and Khammam districts, but the largest number of Ashram Schools are situated in Visakhapatnam which consists of only 4.82 per cent of tribal population of the state. In Nellore district there is more than 1.5 lakhs tribal population living in scattered habitations for whom normal primary schools are not of much use

Ashram Schools with an enrolment of 40,499 children, during 1993-94 there were 448 Ashram Schools with an enrolment of 85206. It shows the growth of Ashram Schools.

There is a phenomenal growth of Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh, their distribution pattern in different districts shows lack of rational normal and proper planning. Out of 23 districts in the state, Ashram Schools are found only in 18 districts although tribals are inhabiting in a considerable number in other districts also and are equally backward in education. Also, there is a wide disparity in provision of Ashram Schools among different districts. The Table 3.4 describes district-wise ashram schools and their enrolment.



where we find only one Ashram School, with the highest average enrolment in the state (Sujatha, K. 1990). Similarly, there is no relation between tribal literacy level and provision of Ashram Schools or vice-versa. In some of the districts, where the literacy rate is low, the Ashram Schools are also very few in number e.g. Nalgonda and some districts with high literacy rates like Krishna, Prakasham and Kurnool have nominal number of Ashram Schools. However, an equally interesting trend is that those districts with large number of Ashram Schools are also having equally low literacy as compared to their corresponding districts. The lowest and the highest average strength in an Ashram School ranges between 58 to 173 in Guntur district and Nellore district respectively. There are eight districts in which the average enrolment of Ashram Schools varies between 80 to 100. There are six districts among which the average strength of the students ranges between 100-173. In many districts, Ashram schools are exclusively meant for Scheduled Tribe students with a reservation of few seats for Scheduled Castes and others:

The reasons for disparity in distribution of Ashram Schools can be attributed to geo-political and administrative factors. the geographical location of tribal habitation varies in different districts. In some districts they are concentrated in particular pockets and they constitute majority and these pockets are covered under Scheduled Area for all administrative and developmental purposes. While some other districts though tribes are in considerable number they are scattered and live in plains along with non-tribals.

## Administration

The administrative organisation of the education department and Tribal Welfare Department are discussed briefly. The tribal welfare in the state is managed by a well-organised administrative machinery. At the state level, the Social Welfare Department of the Secretariat used to make all policy decisions relating to tribal welfare. It also assisted the Ministry for tribal welfare in legislative matters. There is also a state level Tribal Advisory Council which advises the Government about all the welfare programmes including education.

At the state level separate Ministers are incharge of education and tribal welfare. Similar to other states, Andhra Pradesh has a state level Officers designated as Director of School Education and he is usually incharge of all types of school education and allied subjects in the state including Primary Education. Primary education is dealt by one of the Deputies of the Director of School Education.

At district level and regional level the Director of School Education is assisted by District Education Officers and Regional Deputy Directors. The District Education Officer in turn is assisted by a Gazetted Inspector of schools and he has under him Deputy Inspectors of Schools at Block level. All the schools functioning in the state are under the technical control of the Director of School Education and the departmental schools are placed under the control of District Education Officer at district level. The Deputy inspector of Schools and inspector of

schools conduct annual inspection and play surprise visits to the schools occasionally. Besides, local bodies like Mandal Praja Parishads have control over primary schools under their administrative jurisdiction. But these schools are under the technical control of the Education Department both in the Scheduled and non-Scheduled areas. Each Mandal Praja Parishad has one Extension Officer (Education) who is incharge of the subject, besides the Deputy Inspector of Schools. The Extension Officer (Education) is under the administrative control of the Mandal Development Officer and under the technical control of the District Educational Officer.

In Andhra Pradesh, primary education programmes are implemented by Mandal Praja Parishads and therefore, all the funds for educational programmes are channelised through Zilla Praja Parishads to Mandal Praja Parishads. The annual budgets for educational programmes are prepared and sent to the Director of School Education for approval and allotment of funds.

In addition to these, the Tribal Welfare Department is also running schools in the tribal areas which are under the administrative control of the Commissioner of Tribal Welfare. At district level the departmental schools are placed under the administrative control of the District Tribal Welfare Officer/District Social Welfare Officer. However, the technical control of these schools remains with the education department.

The programme of Ashram schools is financed by the Tribal Welfare Department. Ashram Schools are placed under the control



of District Tribal Welfare Officer. There is also Integrated Tribal Development Agency which advises the government about all the welfare programmes including education in its jurisdiction. The technical control, i.e., prescribing syllabus, teaching, conducting examinations etc., remains with the Education Department. The District Social Welfare Officer/District Tribal Welfare Officer supervises the educational programmes and pays occasional visits to the primary schools and Ashram Schools in the Tribal areas. The Tribal Welfare Department has no special staff either to implement or to supervise the schemes at Mandal and district levels. The ITDA Project Officer with limited staff looks after the tribal development programmes including education in their respective regions. All the educational institutions in the Chenchu region have been brought under the administrative control of the Project Officer, ITDA, (PTG Chenchu) Srisailam.

#### **Educational Programmes for Chenchus**

The educational programmes were started during the British rule to educate the Chenchus for their development.

In 1926-27 there were 27 Chenchu schools with 305 boys and 141 girls i.e. total of 446 students under the Divisional Forest Officer, Kurnool West who is assisted by Assistant Chenchu Officer, Special Sub-Assistant Surgeon and an educational supervisor. After Independence, the Chenchu primary schools gradually came under the control of the Tribal Welfare Education Departments.

Out of the total Chenchu population of 28,297 as per 1981 Census reports, 23,277 (82 per cent) are found in six districts of Mahaboobnagar, Kurnool, Prakasam, Guntur, Nalgonda and Ranga Reddy. The Chenchus of these six districts are recognised as primitive tribal group (PTG) in 1976 and mini-Integrated Tribal Development Agency has been working since 1976 for promoting their development.

### Educational Facilities

The literacy rate among the Chenchus is very low (6.5 per cent) when compared to other tribes of the state as well as to the nation. To provide adequate educational facilities and to ensure cent per cent literacy, Ashram Schools, A.P., Residential Schools and Single Teacher Schools are started in the area of ITDA (Chenchu, PTG). Table 3.5 shows the district-wise ashram school and single teacher schools.

**TABLE 3.5**  
**DISTRICT-WISE ASHRAM SCHOOLS AND SINGLE TEACHER SCHOOLS**  
**AND THEIR ENROLMENT**

Name of the District	Single Teacher Schools (1990)		Ashram Schools (1990)	
	No.	Enrolment	No.	Enrolment
Mahaboobnagar	27	980	10	878
Prakasham	20	797	14	1,448
Kurnool	7	406	6	678
Guntur	4	243	3	176
Ranga Reddy	4	243	3	258
Nalgonda	2	74	7	875
	-	-		
Total				

Source: 1. Andhra Pradesh Educational Statistics, 1988.  
2. I.T.D.A. PTG-Chenchu, Srisaillam, August, 1990.

There is no proportional distribution of Ashram Schools to its Chenchu population in the six districts. There are 43 Ashram Schools with the enrolment of 4,313 students at Primary level (i to V). The highest enrolment is in Prakasam District as there are more number of Ashram schools. In Mehboobnagar district there are ten schools but the enrolment is less due to administrative and geographical factors. The rate of enrolment in the schools of other districts is not with much difference. The inconsistency enrolment to total Chenchu population is due to the admission of other tribe Sugatis in Nalgonda district.

In order to provide education facilities in each Chenchugudem/village/penta, government has sanctioned 60 single teacher schools in the ITDA area with the enrolment of 2500 children. In the single teacher schools, children are admitted at pre-primary level. Largest number of single teacher-schools are located in Mahaboobnagar district i.e., 27 schools with enrolment of 980 students. There are 20 single teacher schools in Prakasham district with the enrolment of 797 children.

The Chenchu students who passed or failed 10th class are directly appointed as teachers in Single Teacher Schools even without teacher training qualification.

In order to provide quality education to the Chenchu and Sugati boys, four residential schools are functioning at Srisailam, Yerragondapalem, Mannaur and Nagarjunasagar with the enrolment of 1,220 students from III to X standard.



Besides the provision of free boarding and lodging facilities, a set of text books, note books, two pairs of dresses and monthly cosmetic changes are also provided to the boarders. The furniture items like a chair, table, black board, slates, alphabetical and numerical charts, dining plates and tumblers are provided to the single teacher schools.

CHAP3/

## CHAPTER - IV

### PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF PARENT - STUDENT - TEACHERS TOWARDS ASHRAM SCHOOLS

The chapter deals with the socialization and personality development of a child in the family, the attitudes, perceptions and aspirations of the child as a student in the school and of the parent. The chapter also explains the teacher-student interactions and the opinion of the teachers on the children, school and the parent.

The family is one of the primary groups of society, concerned with face to face relationships. The human child is for a long time dependent for its biological survival upon the adult members. Not only is the family, an institution which permits some safe guarding of the child during its period of biological immaturity, it is also an institution which provides for the child's primary socialization and initial education. Mitchell, G.D. (1963) has pointed out that parent-hood 'rapidly becoming a highly self-conscious vocation' and it is in realms of interpersonal relationships and social interaction that this self-consciousness operates. Socialization is simply the process whereby an individual is adopted to this social environment, and is eventually recognised as both a cooperating and efficient member of it.

The structure of family varies from one society to other and in consequence the modes of socialization will also be varied. The four functions of the family-sexual, economic, reproductive and educational - are universal. The socialization and education

of the children are the function of their parents. The parents, are of considerable importance in the psychological development of their children within the environment and they provide him with a certain security and love that he obtains from no one else. The more stable the family is the more secure the children feel in the home. Divorce and remarriage lead to marital instability and its consequential structural changes deprive the child in the sugali family. The child living in the shadow of the broken home is often bewildered by comings and goings and by the mere fact that essential relationships are not promoted, or are broken off and disrupted at a very impressionable time. Both parents would appear to be essential elements in the growth and socialization of the child; the roles they have to play are different but, at the same time, complementary.

There is, therefore, a basic role structure is the nuclear family which promotes such socialization as a part of the educational function of the family. The family is in a very real sense a social network with role-relationships, which also moulds the child. In the role structure of the family Parsons sees the father as being superior in instrumental power concerned with the relations of the family system to its situation outside the system and with establishing instrumentally the desired relation, to external goal objects. On the other hand the mother as superior in 'expressive' power, is more taken up with the internal affairs of the family system and with the integrative relations among its various members. The development of the child physically and psychologically requires a role-structure such as that of the family.



Besides the provision of free boarding and lodging facilities, a set of text books, note books, two pairs of dresses and monthly cosmetic changes are also provided to the boarders. The furniture items like a chair, table, black board, slates, alphabetical and numerical charts, dining plates and tumblers are provided to the single teacher schools.

CHAP3/

of the children are the function of their parents. The parents, are of considerable importance in the psychological development of their children within the environment and they provide him with a certain security and love that he obtains from no one else. The more stable the family is the more secure the children feel in the home. Divorce and remarriage lead to marital instability and its consequential structural changes deprive the child in the sugali family. The child living in the shadow of the broken home is often bewildered by comings and goings and by the mere fact that essential relationships are not promoted, or are broken off and disrupted at a very impressionable time. Both parents would appear to be essential elements in the growth and socialization of the child; the roles they have to play are different but, at the same time, complementary.

There is, therefore, a basic role structure is the nuclear family which promotes such socialization as a part of the educational function of the family. The family is in a very real sense a social network with role-relationships, which also moulds the child. In the role structure of the family Parsons sees the father as being superior in instrumental power concerned with the relations of the family system to its situation outside the system and with establishing instrumentally the desired relation, to external goal objects. On the other hand the mother as superior in 'expressive' power, is more taken up with the internal affairs of the family system and with the integrative relations among its various members. The development of the child physically and psychologically requires a role-structure such as that of the family.

With this background of the Chenchu and Sugali family, one can understand the structural changes and its consequential instability of role-relations result in the social, psychological and emotional deprivation of the children. The semi-nomadic life, the marital instability, the equality of men and women in all forms of work, particularly the pursuance of the forest economy by both wife and husband as a unit, the participation of older children in the economic functions, the self distillation of liquor and alcoholism, and the poor economy always arises the problems of children left unattended, or left to their own devices intuition or playing in fields or forest. This again aggravates the deprivation of the children. Every Chenchu child develops social immaturity, individualistic nature and shy to talk with new persons and even in the school.

At quite an early age, a child begins to place himself in the position of others, that is, to take on the role of others, but it is done in a very imitative and uncomprehending way. The Chenchu boy is imitative of his father by doing his work at home or in forest. Similarly the girl imitates her mother by doing her work at home or in forest. But they do not bother what other communities are doing or what is happening outside their community and the other awareness is not much developed among the Chenchu children. Where and Sugalis differ from Chenchu and they are much aware of their community and their development.

Thus the Chenchu child suffers from social psychological and emotional deprivation, isolation, unawareness of outside their community, shyness, social fear and individualistic nature. The



child has to learn to live within the 'differentiated subsystem of society', that is his family or home.

With this socio-cultural background, the child enters the school. The aspirations, perceptions and attitudes of the child in the school depend on this socio-cultural background of the child.

#### **PARENT**

In the nine sample villages, 100 Chenchu parents 100 Sugali are parents selected and interviewed to understand their attitudes, perceptions and aspirations towards ashram school education. Among the 200 parnts, 100 Chenchus and 100 Sugalis.

The Chenchu and Sugali community is not much aware of the significance of education. Regarding the attendance of their children in schools the attendance of the boys is comparatively better than that of the girls. Out of 200 parents 100 for Chenchus and 100 for Sugalis.

In the sample villages, 200 parents were interviewed about their children's education in Ashram Schools. 85.56 per cent (154) are men and 14.46 per cent (26) are women. They opined that they are in favour of promoting Ashram School education to their children. The Chenchu women folk felt shy to respond properly regarding their children's education. The Chenchu males are better than the women in giving responses, in sending their children to school. The educational qualification of Chenchu parents are given in table 4.1

TABLE 4.1

## EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION OF THE PARENTS

Sl.No.	Qualifications	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Illiterates	74	60
2.	Primary level	19	33
3.	Upper Primary level	4	11
4.	High school level	3	6

N = 100

Table 4.1 depicts that 74% and 60% of the sample Chenchu and Sugali parents are illiterates and 19.0 per cent are literates i.e. primary, upper primary 4.0% and high school 3.0% only. As most of the parents are not aware of the significance of education, they do not meet the teachers in connection with their children's education. The following table shows the percentage distribution of parents contacting the teachers.

TABLE 4.2

## FREQUENCY OF PARENTS CONTACTING THE TEACHERS

Sl.No	Contacting the teacher	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Regularly	10	28
2.	As and when occasion arises	22	34
3.	Seldom (rarely)	46	31
4.	Never	22	7

N = 100

The table 4.2. shows that 46.0 Chenchus and 31 Sugali of the parents contacting the teacher rarely, 22.0 and 34 per cent of the parents contact the teacher as and when occasion arises 10.0 and 28 per cent opined that they contact the teachers regularly and 22.0 and 7 per cent reported that they never contact the teachers in connection with their children's education. They meet the teachers to discuss only the food problems of their children.

The parents were asked about the means of knowing the children's performance in the school as given in table 4.3.

**TABLE 4.3**  
**PARENTS VIEWS ON THEIR CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE**

Sl.No.	Responses	Number	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Periodic school reports	5	70
2.	Discussion with the child	1	20
3.	Discussion with the teacher	43	38
4.	Discussion with the educated person in the village	51	25

N = 100

The table 4.3 shows that 51 per cent of the Chenchus and Sugali parents discuss it with the educated persons in the village to know about the children's performance in the Ashram Schools. 43% and 38% parents discuss it with the teacher, 1% and 20% discuss it with their children while only 5% and 17% of the parents know their children's performance through periodic school



reports. The table indicates the awareness and interest evinced by the parents towards ashram school education.

**TABLE 4.4**  
**PARENTS' VIEWS TOWARDS EDUCATION IN ASHRAM SCHOOLS**

Sl.No. Responses	Number	
	Chenchus	Sugalis
1. Satisfied	23	37
2. Partially satisfied	63	49
3. Dissatisfied	12	14
4. Not responded	2	-

N = 100

The parents who were sending their children to ashram schools were asked as to how their children were getting with their studies in Ashram Schools. The views of the Chenchu parents are given in table 4.4.

With regard to parent's views on the performance of the Ashram Schools in imparting education the table 4.4 depicts that 63% and 49% of the Chenchu and Sgali parents are partially satisfied, 23% and 37% are satisfied, 9.44 per cent are dis-satisfied and 2% have responded that they are unable to say about their children's education. It shows that in tribal context parents neither take interest in sending the children to school nor in knowing their progress in school. On the contrary, the parents very often withdrawn the children from school to help them in their household and agricultural work.

In eliciting the information, the researcher was conscious of the fact that the Chenchus did not know all the levels of

education as we labelled them. Therefore they were asked in so and so gudem\ village\ town or the ashram school to understand their intention in education of their children. The responses of parents are given in table 4.5.

**TABLE 4.5**  
**EDUCATIONAL PLANS FOR THEIR CHILDREN**  
**(PARENTS' VIEWS)**

Sl.No. Level of Education	Responses	
	Chenchus	sugalis
1. Ashram School	96	42
2. Village crafts education	2	6
3. Technical training school	1	37
4. College	1	15

N = 100

The above table shows that a large percentage of parents (96% and 42%) sugalis wanted to educate their children only up to the level of Ashram School and this indicates that the parents are not interested in keeping their children at distant places. The Sugali (37%) parents are interested to educate their children in the crafts and technical training schools or in the college. The data also indicate that the Sugali parents are interested in higher education.

In ashram schools, the students are provided free board, lodging. stationery and dress. Most of the Chenchu parents are not spending money on their children's education in ashram

school. But a sugali parents (40%0 expressed that they are spending only to purchase uniforms/clothes for their children.

Expecting that having education in Ashram School the parents would have some idea of goal of education. The parents were directly questioned about the goal of education and are given in table 4.6.

**TABLE 4.6**  
**GOAL OF EDUCATIONAL FOR THEIR CHILDREN**  
**(PARENTS' VIEWS)**

Sl.No.	Goal of Education	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	To provide economic security	41	8
2.	To achieve higher status in society	15	34
3.	To turn into cultured person	29	28
4.	To turn into a good citizen	15	30

N = 100

The table 4.6 clearly shows that 41% Chenchus and 8% Sugali parents are opined that the goal of education is to provide economic security to their children. 29% and 28% to make their children as cultured persons. 15% and 34% expressed to achieve higher status in the society and 15% and 30% parents told that to make their children good citizen of India. The priority of the goal of education is to provide economic security for Chenchus to be a cultured person, to achieve higher status in society and to turn into a good citizen for Sugali parents.



education as we labelled them. Therefore they were asked in so and so gudem\ village\ town or the ashram school to understand their intention in education of their children. The responses of parents are given in table 4.5.

**TABLE 4.5**  
**EDUCATIONAL PLANS FOR THEIR CHILDREN**  
**(PARENTS' VIEWS)**

Sl.No. Level of Education	Responses	
	Chenchus	Sugalis
1. Ashram School	96	42
2. Village crafts education	2	6
3. Technical training school	1	37
4. College	1	15

N = 100

The above table shows that a large percentage of parents (96% and 42%) sugalis wanted to educate their children only up to the level of Ashram School and this indicates that the parents are not interested in keeping their children at distant places. The Sugali (37%) parents are interested to educate their children in the crafts and technical training schools or in the college. The data also indicate that the Sugali parents are interested in higher education.

In ashram schools, the students are provided free board, lodging. stationery and dress. Most of the Chenchu parents are not spending money on their children's education in ashram

TABLE 4.7

**PARENTS' OPINION ABOUT THE STUDENTS'  
ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY**

Sl.No.	Activities	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	A Student should be concern with his studies only	63	70
2.	A student should devote to household duties	37	30

N = 100

Table 4.7 describes the students' activities in school and society. 60% Chenchus parents and Sugalis 70% expressed a student should be concerned with his studies only and 40% and 30% told that a student can also devote himself to household duties.

Parents were questioned about the reasons for irregular attendance of their children in the Ashram School. The parents' responses are given in table 4.8.

**TABLE 4.8  
PARENTS' OPINION ON THE IRREGULAR  
ATTENDANCE OF THEIR CHILDREN**

Sl.No.	Reasons	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	To help their parents in domestic/ farming work	15	31
2.	Illness of the child	22	15
3.	To work and earn for the family	20	18
4.	To lookafter the younger siblings (children)	20	20
5.	Gone to another village with relatives for a short duration of time	18	12
6.	Do not bother about going to school	5	4

N = 100

The table 4.8 shows reasons of the students for not attending the Ashram Schools. 15% Chenchus and 31% Sugali parents opined that the children have to help the parents in domestic and farming work, 22% and 15% answered illness of the child, 20% and 18% told that the children had to work and earn for the family, 20% both the parents said that to look after younger children, a few parents 18% and 12% reported that the child went to another village with relatives for a short duration and 5% and 4% parents said that the child did not want to go to school.

The table indicates that the children assist the parents, because the children are also economic assets in the family. When the family members are at work, the children look after their younger siblings or assist their parents in work.

Children help their parents during the collection of minor forest produce, fishing, bamboo cutting, cultivation etc. Some of the children are not interested in attending schools because the parents do not bother much about their education.

#### CHILD/STUDENTS

The role and aspirations of the child in the family differ in the classroom as a pupil. A peer is an equal, and a peer group is composed of individuals who are equals. In terms of a school, the children in the classroom are members of a peer group and their interaction is that of equals. The sense and awareness of identity with the group is one of the essential features of socialization of the pupils and their feelings of stability and solidarity. The peer group provides the norms or



standards of thought and behaviour to be pursued by its members, and establishes the attitudes, opinions and cultural ideas which they are expected to adopt. It is through such peer groups that subcultures in standards of social behaviour or dress and fashion are carried on.

It is this general sense of identity and solidarity which can be used and manipulated in a variety of ways in the class room and school as a whole. The individual child is motivated not simply by his own basic needs and drives but his peers.

In consideration of teacher-pupil relationships, there is a tendency to think only in terms of extremes, of authoritarian and democratic styles of teaching.

The class room is in many senses an artificial reproduction of the conflict and stress of the larger society, and the child has to be educated in an attitude of development as well as trained in the skills of social interaction, discussion, compromise and mediation and discipline where children are in a more fluid and mobile situation and may be immediately under the eye of a teacher for only a small proportion of the learning day. It fails, of course, to take in terms of self-discipline and of developing a sense of personal responsibility, but these qualities are not acquired simply by presenting of their attainment in a particular learning situation. If children have to learn how to learn, they equally have to learn how to become self-disciplined and responsible individuals.

The school and the class room provide a social base from which children can diversify, but to which they can, in addition, return for security and stability. The general opinion of students towards ashram school is discussed hereunder.

In the sample ashram schools, 100 Chenchu 100 Sugali students are interviewed out of which 51% boys and 49% girls are chenchus and 60% boys and 40% girls are sugalis have given their views on ashram school education.

Since the ashram schools are located in the village or near the village, the Chenchu children can easily meet their parents regularly. It is also found among Chenchus, the love and affection are more, they cannot live without their children. Many anthropological and sociological studies found that they love and affection are more in rural and tribal populations.

TABLE 4.9  
CHILDREN'S OPINION ON THE LOCATION OF THE  
ASHRAM SCHOOL

Sl.No.	Distance between school & residence	Response	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	School must be with in the village	93	8
2.	School must be outside the village but it must be clean	4	78
3.	School must be outside the village and it must be far away from the village	3	14

N = 100

The table 4.9 depicts that 93% chenchus and 8% sugali students responded that the school must be very near to their native places. The table indicates that Chenchu desires the school must be within the same village. 4% chenchus and 78% sugali students told that the school must be outside the village but within a short distance, 3% and 14% students said that the schools must be far away from the villages.

**TABLE 4.10**  
**PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS ABOUT THE TEACHERS**  
**IN ASHRAM SCHOOL**

Sl.No. Teachers behaviour	Responses	
	Chenchus	Sugalis
1. he teaches fine	43	36
2. he loves most	37	13
3. he understands our difficulties	17	38
4. he does not teach well	3	13

N = 100

Regarding students' perception towards the teachers in ashram schools. 43% chenchus and 36% sugalis teaches well, 27% and 13% said that teacher loves most, 17% and 38% said that the teacher understands the students' difficulties and 3% and 13% of the students responded that the teachers are not teaching well. Many of the students expressed that the teachers teach well, loved them most and understood the students difficulties in the class room as well as in the hostel.



TABLE 4.11

RESPONSES ON GETTING HELP FROM THE  
TEACHERS FOR STUDIES



Sl.No.	Help From the Teachers	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Yes	47	58
2.	No	52	42

N = 100

Very few students get help from the teachers in the classrooms as well as in the schools. 52% Chenchus and 42% Sugali students have said that they do not ask the teachers for help in their studies, only 47% and 58% get help from their teachers.

The reasons for not understanding all the subjects in the class and also not asking of help from their teacher in the class are gathered. It is found that the Chenchus children feel shy to raise their problems in the class room. They also feel shy to mingle themselves with other students other than the Chenchus. The reasons for not getting help from the teachers are given in table 4.12.

TABLE 4.12

NOT GETTING TEACHER'S HELP IN THE CLASS

Sl.No.	Teachers need for help	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	I have not felt the need	31	48
2.	Hesitate to go to ask teacher	69	52

N = 100

The table 4.12 shows that 69% Chenchus and 52% Sugali students reported that they hesitate to ask their teachers' help in the class and 31% and 48% said that they do not feel the need of teachers help. Generally the Chenchus have shyness due to that they may be unable to get the necessary help from teachers in the class room. The reason for not following the subjects in the class is given in the table 4.13.

Table 4.13

REASONS FOR NOT FOLLOWING THE SUBJECTS IN THE CLASS

Sl.No.	Reasons	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Difficult in understanding the the medium of instruction	11	24
2.	Teachers do not explain properly	8	23
3.	Subject as such difficult	68	32
4.	No response	13	21

N = 100

The table 4.13 shows reasons for not following the subjects in the class. 68% Chenchus and 32% Sugali students told that the subject as such are difficult in understanding the medium of instruction, 8% and 23% reported that the teachers are not explaining properly and 13% and 21% of the students are not responded. The method and syllabus which were prepared in the plains (urban) are difficult of tribal children to understand. The difficulties expressed by the students in various subjects are given in the following table.

The table 4.9 depicts that 93% chenchus and 8% sugali students responded that the school must be very near to their native places. The table indicates that Chenchu desires the school must be within the same village. 4% chenchus and 78% sugali students told that the school must be outside the village but within a short distance, 3% and 14% students said that the schools must be far away from the villages.

**TABLE 4.10**  
**PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS ABOUT THE TEACHERS**  
**IN ASHRAM SCHOOL**

Sl.No. Teachers behaviour	Responses	
	Chenchus	Sugalis
1. he teaches fine	43	36
2. he loves most	37	13
3. he understands our difficulties	17	38
4. he does not teach well	3	13

N = 100

Regarding students' perception towards the teachers in ashram schools. 43% chenchus and 36% sugalis teaches well, 27% and 13% said that teacher loves most, 17% and 38% said that the teacher understands the students' difficulties and 3% and 13% of the students responded that the teachers are not teaching well. Many of the students expressed that the teachers teach well, loved them most and understood the students difficulties in the class room as well as in the hostel.



The table 4.9 depicts that 93% chenchus and 8% sugali students responded that the school must be very near to their native places. The table indicates that Chenchu desires the school must be within the same village. 4% chenchus and 78% sugali students told that the school must be outside the village but within a short distance, 3% and 14% students said that the schools must be far away from the villages.

**TABLE 4.10**  
**PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS ABOUT THE TEACHERS**  
**IN ASHRAM SCHOOL**

Sl.No. Teachers behaviour	Responses	
	Chenchus	Sugalis
1. he teaches fine	43	36
2. he loves most	37	13
3. he understands our difficulties	17	38
4. he does not teach well	3	13

N = 100

Regarding students' perception towards the teachers in ashram schools. 43% chenchus and 36% sugalis teaches well, 27% and 13% said that teacher loves most, 17% and 38% said that the teacher understands the students' difficulties and 3% and 13% of the students responded that the teachers are not teaching well. Many of the students expressed that the teachers teach well, loved them most and understood the students difficulties in the class room as well as in the hostel.

TABLE 4.11

RESPONSES ON GETTING HELP FROM THE  
TEACHERS FOR STUDIES

Sl.No.	Help From the Teachers	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Yes	47	58
2.	No	52	42

N = 100

Very few students get help from the teachers in the class-rooms as well as in the schools. 52% Chenchus and 42% Sugali students have said that they do not ask the teachers for help in their studies, only 47% and 58% get help from their teachers.

The reasons for not understanding all the subjects in the class and also not asking of help from their teacher in the class are gathered. It is found that the Chenchus children feel shy to raise their problems in the class room. They also feel shy to mingle themselves with other students other than the Chenchus. The reasons for not getting help from the teachers are given in table 4.12.

TABLE 4.12

## NOT GETTING TEACHER'S HELP IN THE CLASS

Sl.No.	Teachers need for help	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	I have not felt the need	31	48
2.	Hesitate to go to ask teacher	69	52

N = 100



The table 4.12 shows that 69% Chenchus and 52% Sugali students reported that they hesitate to ask their teachers' help in the class and 31% and 48% said that they do not feel the need of teachers help. Generally the Chenchus have shyness due to that they may be unable to get the necessary help from teachers in the class room. The reason for not following the subjects in the class is given in the table 4.13.

**Table 4.13**  
**REASONS FOR NOT FOLLOWING THE SUBJECTS IN THE CLASS**

Sl.No.	Reasons	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Difficult in understanding the the medium of instruction	11	24
2.	Teachers do not explain properly	8	23
3.	Subject as such difficult	68	32
4.	No response	13	21

N = 100

The table 4.13 shows reasons for not following the subjects in the class. 68% Chenchus and 32% Sugali students told that the subject as such are difficult in understanding the medium of instruction, 8% and 23% reported that the teachers are not explaining properly and 13% and 21% of the students are not responded. The method and syllabus which were prepared in the plains (urban) are difficult of tribal children to understand. The difficulties expressed by the students in various subjects are given in the following table.



Table 4.14

## SUBJECT-WISE DIFFICULTY IN UNDERSTANDING BY THE STUDIES

Sl.No.	Subjects	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Telugu	30	27
2.	Maths	27	25
3.	Science	31	30
4.	Social Studies	12	18

N = 100

Table 4.14 depicts that 30% Chenchus and 27% Sugali students felt difficult in Telugu 27% and 25% in Mathematics, 31% and 30% in Science and 12% and 18% in Social Studies. Most of the students have difficulty in Mathematics and Telugu, perhaps this is mainly due to the lack of numeracy in tribal culture and pronunciation of Telugu in this area.

Table 4.15

## SHOWING PROBLEMS IN ASHRAM SCHOOL EDUCATION

Sl.No.	Problems in Schools	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	lack of suitable books and stationery	13	18
2.	difficult to understand the lessons	77	52
3.	hostel food is not sufficient	2	24
4.	not responded	8	6

N = 100

The table 4.15 shows that 77% Chenchus and 52% Sugali students said that it was difficult of them to understand the lessons books and stationery 2% and 24% said that the hostel food was not sufficient for them quantitatively and the remaining students did not commented.

**Table 4.16**  
**STUDENTS OPINION ON ASHRAM SCHOOLS**

Sl.No.	Opinions	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Food	23	18
2.	Education	45	63
3.	Food and Education	32	19

N = 100

The Table 4.16 clearly shows that 32% Chenchus and 19% Sugali students reported that they joined ashram schools for food and education, 45% and 63% said that they joined for education only 23% and 18% told that they joined to get food in the ashram schools.

Table 4.17

**STUDENTS INTEREST AFTER COMPLETION OF  
ASHRAM SCHOOL EDUCATION**

Sl.No.	After Education	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Start working to earn livelihood	5	10
2.	Continue studies for further Education	66	70
3.	Want to help the parents	29	20

N = 100

The table 4.17 shows that 66% Chenchus and 70% Sugali responds to continue their studies after completion of their education, 29% and 20% told that they wanted to help their parents, and a few students (5% and 10%) children help their parents during the collection of minor forest produce to supplement their family income

**Table 4.18  
THE PRINCIPAL GOAL OF EDUCATION**

Sl.No.	Subjects	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	to provide economic security	31	26
2.	to achieve higher status in society	28	33
3.	to be a cultured person	25	23
4.	to turn into good citizen	16	18

N = 100

The table 4.18 depicts that 31% Chenchus and 26% Sugali students said that their goal is to provide economic security, 28% and 33% told that to achieve higher status in society, 25% and 33% told that to be cultured persons and 16% and 18% said that to turn into good citizens.



TABLE 4.19

## THE AIM OF THE STUDENTS IN PREFERRING EDUCATION

Sl. No.	Aim of education	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	just to get knowledge	20	24
2.	to get a job	54	68
3.	on compulsion of the parents	23	6
4.	to get government grants	3	2

N =100

The table 4.19 shows that 54% Chenchus and 68% Sugali students said to get a job, 20% and 24% said to get knowledge, 23% and 6% said due to the compulsion of their parents, and 3% and 2% said that to get government grants. But many students responded that the education was to get a job only.

TABLE 4.20

## PREFERENCE OF CHILDEN TO LIVE URBAN OR RURAL LIFE

Sl. No.	prefer to live	Responses	
		Chenchus	Sugalis
1.	Prefer to live in villages	46	38
2.	Prefer to live in towns	54	62

N =100

The tables 4.20 shows that 46% Chenchus and 38% Sugali students prefer to live in villages after their education, 54% and 62% said that they preferred to living in towns.

## TEACHER

The role of the teacher, E. Hoyle remarks that the teacher is 'intermediate between the "real" world and the "ideal" world (Hoyle, E., 1969). The teaching role was something given, and there were assigned or prescribed duties which were clearly accepted and defined. To-day however, as Bernstein (1960) has indicated, and teaching role is one which has to be achieved; it has to be made. We shall consider in more detail the precise nature of the role of the teacher presently; here we are more concerned with nature of the teacher's training and the way in which he may become involved in life and society as a whole, although he is in fact preparing as institution for a specific profession.

If the student is to move from the 'ideal' or perhaps 'unreal' world to the 'real' world, from social environment then the institution in which he lives must be an active element in the real community. In fact, the student's years of training, or education, must not simply make the transition easiest, they must rather make such a transition unnecessary.

In any examination and delineation aims and methods in education, in fact its philosophy and methodology, we must inevitably become more and more conscious of the role of the teacher in the class room. As we become more aware of the relation between the child's behaviour and his home environment, and between the school and society at large, in fact the sociology of education, so we become more involved in the individual problems of particular children in the class room.

There may have been a time when a teacher could happily say that it was his sole function to a particular group of children, and in form them with certain skills and perhaps even attitudes and opinions. But, thanks to the changing social climate as well as the close examination of the process of education through its various disciplines, it is impossible any longer to epitomize the role of the teacher so narrowly. There may of course, be teachers who still interpret their role in this way, but one can hardly accept that they have a serious look at their role vis-a-vis the role set, its changing nature, and role expectations.

Any analysis of the role of the teacher, therefore cannot afford to ignore the individuality of the teacher; yet in terms of that role this individuality can be spoken only in generalizations. (Karl Mannheim and W.A.C. Stewart, 1968).

The teacher brings into the class room his views of his job, his prejudices, his personal fears and inadequacies, his ambitions, his humanity and affection. The children/Students whom he has to teach differ in physique, appearance, intelligence, sociability, temperament and social and personal background.

As a member of Society the teacher may accept that his role is primarily that of initiating his pupils into society; that is, he may feel that it is his chief duty to socialize them. At some point in his career the teacher has to give conscious thought to his aims and objectives in teaching, and the means whereby he may achieve them. His role becomes a serious business of analysis and



validation within the context of pupil activity and fulfilment, and in relation to the expectations of parents and society as a whole. But he is also concerned with the mediation of knowledge and culture, as well as with the development of a number of skills.

The teacher plays the most important role in the extension of education in a community. The success or failure of the school in a community mostly depends on the type of teachers recruited. It is commonly assumed that the schools in the accessible tribal areas do not attract good quality and trained teachers and therefore education in these areas generally suffers.

All the teachers in the sample Ashram Schools were interviewed and their responses are collected. There are 27 male and 1 female teachers working in 8 ashram schools. All the teachers are Hindus. Their mother tongue of all the teachers is Telugu and they speak Telugu language only. The teachers belong to different communities. The following table shows the different communities of the teachers.

TABLE 4.21

## THE COMMUNITY BACKGROUND OF THE TEACHERS

Sl. No.	Community	Number	Percentages
1.	Scheduled Tribes (others)	4	14.3
2.	Scheduled Tribes (Chenchus)	10	35.7
3.	Scheduled Tribes (Sugalis)	5	17.8
4.	Scheduled castes	1	3.6
5.	Backward caste	5	17.8
6.	Others	3	10.7

N =28

The table 4.21 indicates that 10 teachers belong to Scheduled Tribes and some 5 teachers are scheduled caste, 5 teachers are from backward caste and the others belong to other castes such as Kamma, Kapu, Baliya, etc. Some of the teachers belong to Chenchus, they are appointed recently. It is the intention of the government to appoint the teachers in Ashram Schools from the chenchu community only for better understanding and better teaching and for better results. It is found that all the Chenchu teachers are teaching of I and II classes only because they are untrained.

The data reveals that most of the Chenchu teachers' parents are illiterates. Majority of the teachers (89.3%) are from rural background and the rest (10.7%) are from the town. The general educational qualifications of the tribal and non-tribal teachers working in Ashram Schools are given in the following table.

TABLE 4.22

## EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION OF THE TEACHERS' PARENTS

Sl. No.	Qualification	Number	Percentages
1.	Matriculation	5	17.9
2.	Intermediate	21	75.0
3.	Degree (graduates)	2	7.1

N =28

The table 4.22 reveals that the educational qualification of 17.9% percent of the teachers is matriculation, 75% of the teachers are Intermediate, 7.1% of the teachers is Graduation. The Government has appointed teachers from the Chenchu who passed or failed S.S.C. and even without proper training.

Most of the teachers are trained. The following table shows the professional qualification of the teachers working in ashram schools.

TABLE.4.23

## PROFESSIONAL TRAINING QUALIFICATIONS OF THE TEACHERS

Sl. No.	Professional Qualification	Number	Percentages
1.	Primary teacher training	4	14.3
2.	Teacher training certificate	15	53.6
3.	Bachelor of Education	2	7.1
4.	DIET training only	7	25.0



The above table shows that 53.6% of the teachers have certificate in teacher training, 14.3% of the teachers have primary teacher training, 7.1% of the teachers have degree in Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.,) and 25% of the teachers are DIET training. Most of the teachers from Chenchu are DIET Training only.

**TABLE 4.24**  
**TRAINING EXPERIENCE OF THE TEACHERS**

Sl. No. Teaching experiences	Number	Percentages
1. Below 2 years	5	17.9
2. 3 to 5 year	10	35.7
3. 5 and above	13	46.4

N =28

The table 4.24 reveals that 17.9% if the teachers have below two years experience, 35.7% of the teachers have 3 to 4 years and 46.4% if the teachers have more than 5 years teaching experience.

Special monetary and other allowances are provided to the teachers working in tribal areas. However, most of the teachers reluctant to work in tribal areas due to lack of sufficient facilities in these areas. The following table shows the interest of the teachers working in tribal ashram schools.

TABLE 4.25

## TEACHERS INTEREST TO WORK IN TRIBAL AREAS

Sl. No. Teachers interest	Number	Percentages
1. Posted in this area	6	21.4
2. Opted for the place	4	14.3
3. Accidental Education	4	14.3
4. Interested	10	35.7
5. Transfer	4	14.3

N =28

It is found that 35.7 per cent of the teachers are interested and only 21.4 per cent of the teachers are posted in tribal area. 14.3% opted (transfer and accidental).

When the teachers take combined class of teaching it is found that the other class students make noise and looking outside the class room. The data revealed that 60.7% of the teachers said that the children from other tribes Sugalis perform better than the Chenchus in Education. It is observed that the Chenchus children feel shy to ask their teachers in the class room any question or get their doubts cleared.

The data reveal that 75% teachers said that the enrollment of the tribal children are satisfactory and 25% have expressed that the enrollment of Chenchus is not satisfactory in Ashram school.

Table 4.26

## REASONS OF POOR ENROLMENT

Sl. No. Reasons	Number	Percentages
1. Poverty of the parents	9	32.1
2. Apathy of the parents towards education of their children	9	32.1
3. Lack of interest in education among the children	6	21.4
4. Lack of facilities in the school	4	14.3

N =28

It is found that 32.5% of the teachers stated that poverty of the parents, 32.1% stated that apathy of the parents towards education of their children and 21.4% said lack of interest in education among the children and 14.3% of the teachers opined that lack of facilities in the Ashram School were the reasons of poor enrolment in Ashram School.

The teachers have given different reasons for showing affection towards the school children. The following table shows the reasons for affection of the teachers.

TABLE 4.27

## AFFECTION OF TEACHERS TOWARDS THE STUDDENTS IN ASHRAM SHCOOL

Sl. No. Professional Qualification	Number	Percentages
1. they are tribal	16	57.1
2. they are helpless	15	53.6
3. they take lessons seriously	5	17.8
4. they are honest and faithful	15	53.6
5. they obey you	4	14.3
6. they help you	9	32.1

N =28



The table 4.27 shows that 57.1% of the teachers have said that they are tribals, 53.6% have said that of the tribal students are helpless, 53.6% have said that they are honest and faithful, 17.8% have expressedd that the children take lessons seriously and 32.1% have opined that the children help them with materials, as the reasons of their affection. 14.3% said that they obey the teachers in the class room as well as outside. The following table shows the attitudes of the parents towards the teachers.

**Table 4.28**

**ATTITUDES OF TRIBAL PARENTS TOWARDS TEACHERS**

S1. No. Attitudes	Number	Percentages
1. follow you and respect	11	39.3
2. seek your advice an occasions	7	25.0
3. do not pay any attention	8	28.6
4. treat you as an outsider	2	7.1

N =28

The data reveal that 25.0% of the teachers have said that the Chenchus seek advice on occasions, 39.3 % said that they follow and give respect and 28.6% have said that the Chenchus do not pay any attention towards the teachers. Some of the parents usually come to the school to talk and give respect to the teachers. 7.1% said that the tribal parents treat the teachers are outsiders. Because teachers are away from the school holidays.

The table 4.27 shows that 57.1% of the teachers have said that they are tribals, 53.6% have said that of the tribal students are helpless, 53.6% have said that they are honest and faithful, 17.8% have expressed that the children take lessons seriously and 32.1% have opined that the children help them with materials, as the reasons of their affection. 14.3% said that they obey the teachers in the class room as well as outside. The following table shows the attitudes of the parents towards the teachers.

**Table 4.28**

**ATTITUDES OF TRIBAL PARENTS TOWARDS TEACHERS**

Sl. No. Attitudes	Number	Percentages
1. follow you and respect	11	39.3
2. seek your advice an occasions	7	25.0
3. do not pay any attention	8	28.6
4. treat you as an outsider	2	7.1

N =28

The data reveal that 25.0% of the teachers have said that the Chenchus seek advice on occasions, 39.3 % said that they follow and give respect and 28.6% have said that the Chenchus do not pay any attention towards the teachers. Some of the parents usually come to the school to talk and give respect to the teachers. 7.1% said that the tribal parents treat the teachers are outsiders. Because teachers are away from the school holidays.

TABLE 4.29

**OPINION OF TEACHERS ON THE INTEREST OF THE PARENTS IN KNOWING THE  
PROGRESS OF THEIR CHILDREN**

Sl. No. Parenets	Number	Percentages
1. Most of the parents	8	28.6
2. Few of the parents	16	57.2
3. None of the parents	4	14.2

N =28

It is found that 57.2% of the teachers said that there were a few parents interested to know ther children's progress, 14.2% of the teachers said that none of the parents were interested to know ther children's progress and 28.6% of the teachers expressed that most of the parents were interested to know their childrens progress.

TABLE 4.30

**CHILDRENS PROGRESS INFORMING TO THEIR PARENTS**

Sl. No. Informing proress	Number	Percentages
1. Primary through periodic report	4	14.3
2. Primarily through parent-teacher meeting	21	75.0
3. Teacher do not keep in touch with them	3	10.7

N =28

The data reveal that 75.0% teachers inform the progress of the students through parent-teacher meetings, where 10.7% of the



teaachers do not keep in touch with the parents. 14.3% of the teachers said that progresss reports periodically by post and some times on request of the parents.

Most of the Ashram Schools are situated in the village or near the village. But some of the teachers do not keep in touch with the parents and at the same time the parents also do not bother about their childrens education. The following table show the frequency of contacting the parents by the teachers.

TABLE 4.31

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OF TEACHERS WITH THE STUDENTS PARENTS

Sl. No.	Frequency of contacting	Number	Percentages
1.	Regularly	15	53.6
2.	As and when occasion arises	8	28.6
3.	Seldom (rarely)	2	7.1
4.	Never	3	10.7

N =28

The data reveal that 28.6% of the teachers contact the Chenchu parents when occassion arises, 7.1% of the teachers contact the parents rarely, 10.7% of the teachers said that parents meet regularly.

TABLE 4.32

## FREQUENCY OF STAFF MEETINGS HELD IN THE ASHRAM SHCOOLS

Sl. No.	Staff meeting	Number	Percentages
1.	Regularly	16	57.1
2.	Held as and when required	9	32.1
3.	Very rarely	2	7.1
4.	Never	1	3.5

N =28

Regarding the staff meetings in the Ashram Schools 7.1% of the teachers said that the staff meeting were conducted very rarely, 32.1% of the teachers expressed that the meetings were conducted whenever they required, 52.1% of the teachers expressed that the meetings were held regularly and 3.5% of the teachers expressed that the decisions were taken by the headmasters without consulting the other teachers.

The data reveal that 100.0% of the teachers have expressed that the frequent inspection is necessary in Ashram Schools. But there are no visits of inspection authorities in Ashram Schools.

The teachers were directly questioned about the objectives of the Ashram Schools. The teachers responded are given in the table 4.33.

Table - 4.33

## TEACHERS VIEWS ON THE PRINCIPAL GOAL OF ASHRAM SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR TRIBALS

Sl. No.	Principal goal of Ashram School	Number	Percentages
1.	To provide economic security	14	50.0
2.	To achieve higher status in society	17	60.7
3.	To be cultured person	10	35.7
4.	To turn into good citizen	21	75.0
5.	To trace occupation	6	21.4
6.	To help parents in the petty business	6	17.5
7.	To guide parents in health matters	9	32.1

N =28

The teachers view on the principal goal of Ashram School Education for Tribals are 60.7 percent teachers said that to achieve higher status in society, 50 percent said that to provide economic security, 75 percent said that to turn into good citizen, 35.7 percent said that to be cultured person, 21.4 percent view that trace occupation and also help parents in the petty business and 32.1 percent said that the guide parents in health matters.

It is stated that education is the critical component of development. To state advantages of education, it reduces the vulnerability of the uneducated and to protect themselves against exploitation. In the rural and tribal area the education makes them aware of human rights.



Culture is transmitted from one generation to the other. In tribal societies the parents taught them traditional skills of exploitation of environment and other aspects of their culture through the process of acculturation and socialization. Education in the traditional social system was a matter of assimilation rather than formal observations, and the child learned through contacts, observations, and active participation in daily life. Through his daily activities, he gradually acquires the material and spiritual fundamentals of social life: the values, customs, and traditions of his society, attitudes, beliefs, and world view and the meaning of life in general.

A school system can draw active response and enthusiastic participation from the local population if it reflects the local culture. To be more specific, if the teaching of learning process adopted in the school it maintains continuity which reflects the local cultures, and utilitarian role in the life of the local community, the teachers can teach the students effectively if they know the tribal culture and language. The students can learn the lessons effectively if the contents of education, instruction given in the class room and other learning activities are related to their culture.

#### **MOTIVATION FOR EDUCATION**

The levels of motivation and aspirations of children as well as parents and teachers play an important part in continuation of education of the children. In order to ascertain the nature of motivation and levels of their aspirations, the heads of

households, students and teachers were asked about the Ashram School education.

#### EDUCATIONAL PLANS

The parents were asked about their educational plans and occupational aspirations. The parents were asked as to how far they wanted to educate their children (Table 4.5). It is generally assumed that slow progress of education among the tribals is due to the difficulties experienced by the tribal children in getting through the school work, as the contents of education in the schools are not adopted to the local society and its needs (N.K.Das Gupta, 1967).

The curriculum in schools in tribal areas is vogue and it does not reflect the culture of the local tribal communities and does not cater to the desired needs of these communities. Ashram Schools have adopted the same curriculum used in non-tribal schools of the state. So, the students feel difficult in understanding various subjects in class rooms (Table 4.14). The students have to learn the subjects like the regional language Telugu Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies. The subjects that are taught at the level of I and II only Telugu and Arithmetic. Apart from Telugu and Mathematics, Science and Social Studies are taught from the standard III to V.

Telugu texts consist of poems and essays, Social studies consists of mainly history of non-tribal areas and their leaders and events. The science lessons include strange flora and fauna but not the flora and fauna with which the Chenchu and Sugali

students are familiar. All these aspects are alien to a tribal student. He thinks that he is learning about the world with which he is not familiar and not concerned with. The difficulties expressed by the Chenchu students with regard to local history, biology and geography are genuine. If they confine themselves, they shut themselves in their region. The purpose of their education on par with the plan people into get themselves mixed with the main stream of National life.



## Chapter V

### CONSTRAINTS OF ASHRAM SCHOOL EDUCATION

The chapter examines the role of various factors affecting Ashram School education among the Chenchus and Sugalis. We have noted earlier while discussing the theoretical model that the differential educational attainments among individuals and groups in a society arise mainly from two sets of structural variables, viz., the external (non-school) and the internal (the school) factors. The external structural variables include the econological factors and the socio-economic factors. We shall examine the effect of the ecological and socio-economic factors on the educability of the Chenchu and Sugali children.

#### Ecological Factors

We use the term ecology here in its wider sense to include the geographical spatial factors and the socio-cultural configurations. These factors generally affect the provision of school facilities and other educational resources and use of the same by the individuals belonging to various categories inhabiting a geographical area.

The habitations of the Chenchus are largely covered with hills and thick forests and whereas Sugalis live in the plain area and some are living in hills and thick forests the area has low density of population. The area occupies the lower rank in density of population, urbanization and percentage of literacy and education. Thus there seems to be an association between density of population, urbanization and literacy (Daniel, 1962).

Universal provision of a school is an essential prerequisite for the extension of education in a given geographical area. Existence of a school in a village induces the parents to send their children to Ashram school. Differential provision of school facilities in an area is, therefore, a significant factor in differential educational attainments. It is observed that the geographical isolation of the tribal communities, living in inaccessible hilly and forest areas in scattered settlements, the adequate school facilities are not being made available to them. The geographical isolation and the inadequate educational facilities constrain the extension of education among the Chenchus and Sugalis.

Even though a large number of schools were opened in the area during the last two decades after Independence, yet we find that there are many Chenchugudemms without even a single teacher school. With the result that the number of villages covered by and the area of operation of each school becomes unmanageable both from the point of teacher as well as of the Chenchu population. Hence for the establishment of a school the size of a village should alone be considered; instead, suitability of that in terms of size of population served by the school should be the criterion.

When the school does not exist in a village/gudem, the willing Chenchu children have to go to a distance of about 4 to 6 kms to attend the school situated in another village. Further,

it may be noted that most of the Ashram schools where education is imparted from I to V standards are situated at longer distances.

Ananda, G. (1994) has shown in his study that lack of provision of school in the village is the major factor for the tribals not sending their children to school. To obviate this difficulty, the Dhebar Commission (1962) recommended : "where 30 children of the school going age are available in one locality, the school should not be located at a distance of more than one mile (1.5 km.). In no case a child should be required to walk for more than a mile to go to school. In other cases there should be schools with hostels attached (Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1962).

Communication is the vital problem on Nallamalai Hills. The Chenchu settlements are often intersected with streams and rivulets with hills and thick forest which cannot be crossed during the rains or monsoon season. Other with to say these villages and hamlets are cut off from one another during the monsoon period. It can easily be imagined how difficult it is for the small children to attend distant school braving all these odds of the Nature.

Most of the Ashram schools in Chenchu area were started during the Fourth Five Year Plan period. It is obvious that these ashram schools do not cover the large tribal Chenchu population inhabited in scattered settlements with poor communication facilities. In the beginning there was inadequate



feeder strength from the Ashram schools. Prior to this, however, considerable progress in enrolment was recorded.

Environment vis-a-vis socio-cultural configurational factors affect educability. We have seen in the previous chapter that there are wide variations in educational attainments between tribals viz., Chenchu, Sugalis/Lambadis and Yerukulas. These differentials in educability among the socio-cultural groups living in the geographical area and having the same school facilities, stem from the differential socio-cultural communities and also differences among the tribal groups themselves. It is necessary to note that socio-cultural factors have their own impact irrespective of the geographical spatial factors.

In order to find out whether or not differentials in educability exist in various groups living in a given region, having the same facilities and subjected to similar constraints, we have compared of the enrolment of Chenchu and Sugali children and other tribal groups on one hand and the tribal groups on the other. The following table shows views of headmaster-cum-wardens on the enrolment of Chenchu and Sugalis children in Ashram schools.

Table 5.1

**Enrolment of Chenchu Children in Ashram Schools  
(Headmaster-cum-Wardens)**

Satisfaction	Responses		Percentage	
	Chenchus	Sugalis	Chenchus	Sugalis
Yes	4	10	33%	83.7%
No	8	2	67%	17.0%

N = 12.

In the nine sample Ashram schools, 33 per cent of the headmasters opined that the enrolment of Chenchu children 83 per cent of Sugalis are satisfactory. The headmasters expressed the reasons for poor enrolment (i) below poverty of the parents, (ii) apathy of the parents towards education of their children, (iii) lack of interest in education among the children, and (iv) lack of facilities.

Regarding the enrolment of Tribal children, 75 per cent of the teachers working in Tribal Ashram schools responded satisfactorily and 25 per cent expressed unsatisfactorily. It is found that the parents are not interested in sending their children to Ashram schools because of their poverty (tribal child is also the economic asset of the family). Table 4.26 shows the opinions of teachers on the reasons for poor enrolment of the Chenchu <sup>and Sugali</sup> children.

In the Chenchu community the elder male child is an economic asset of the family. Whenever the Chenchu parents go to the forest to collect minor forest produce they take their children along with them for help or assistance.

### **Socio-cultural and Economic Factors**

The socialization and education of the children are the functions of their parents. The functions of the family, social, economic, reproductive and educational are universal. The more stable in the family the more secure the children will feel in the home.

In Chenchu family husband and wife are for practical purposes, partners with almost equal rights. They are individualistic but cooperation and mutual loyalty always exist among members of an individual family. The social and economic controls to stabilize marriage relations are very ineffective. The structural changes and its consequential instability of role-relations result in social, psychological, and emotional deprivation of the children. The semi-nomadic life, the marital instability, the quality of men and women in all forms of work particularly in pursuance of the forest economy by both wife and husband as a unit, the participation of older children in the economic function, the self distillation of liquor and alcoholism and the poor economy always and other problems of children make them leave their children unattended in schools or left to their own devices in streets or playing in fields or forest. This again aggravates and deprivation of the children. Every Chenchu child develops social immaturity, less individualistic nature and shy to talk with Sugalis and this trait also continues in school.

The family is an institution which permits some safeguarding of the child during its period of biological immaturity, it is also an institution which provides for the child's primary socialization and initial education (G.D. Mitchell, 1963). "The particular form that education takes, the number of pupils who receive it, the number and nature of the schools they attend and the length of time they stay there -- all these are influenced by socio-cultural and economic circumstances" (Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, 1959).



It is commonly accepted that socio-cultural and economic aspects of the family greatly influence the educability of the children in all societies. A number of studies in India and abroad have confirmed this fact (P.C. Joshi and M.R. Rao, 1964). Although tribal societies are not stratified as the modern complex societies are, certain differences in family occupation, levels of income and education and social status in the village, etc., are clearly visible. Some of these differences are the result of the exposure are unexposure of these tribal societies to modern influences.

The enrolment of children in the Ashram schools from various occupational groups can be seen in Table 5.2

**Table 5.2**  
**Distribution of Occupations of the Children's**  
**Father/Guardian**

Occupational Group	Frequency		Percentage	
	Chenchus	Sugalis	Chenchus	Sugalis
Cultivators	40	52	40	52
Food gathering and hunting	15	5	10	5
Forest labourers	40	13	45	13
Petty business	4	11	4	11
Employment	1	19	1.1	19
N = 100.				

Table 5.2 shows the distribution of occupations of the children's fathers/guardians. Among the sample 40 per cent of the fathers are cultivators for Chenchu and 52 for Sugalis and 15 per cent are food gatherers and hunters because hunting is the traditional occupation of the Chenchus whereas 5 per cent Sugalis are also food gathering and hunting because they are living with the Chenchu hamlets. Ten per cent of the parents are employees in government services such as the forest guards, watchmen, kamati, technicians, etc. 40 per cent of the Chenchu parents and 13 per cent of Sugalis are forest labourers and a very few of parents are engaged in petty business only.

It is generally accepted that the parents who have stable occupation are economically better off and can send their children to school rather than the poor parents. At the time of harvest and collection of minor forest produce the children abstain from school and help their parents.

The socio-economic status variables have more effect on the educational attainments of the Chenchus. To state specifically, the educational attainments in the tribal families of upper-socio-economic state group are likely to be higher than the families of the lower and middle socio-economic status groups.

The education of the parents paves the way for education of Chenchu children. In other words, education acts as an antecedent variable. "A comparative study of adult literacy and enrolment of children shows the close association between adult literacy and the enrolment of children" (Rathnaiah, E.V., 1977).

It is evident that the educational level of the Chenchu parent contributes to a greater extent in sending the children to Ashram school. However, it is significant to note that a large percentage (56.1%) of Ashram school students are drawn from the families of illiterate Chenchu parents. As the literacy level in the Chenchu community is very low, it is natural to find 56.1 percentage of first generation educated Chenchu children in the Ashram schools. As it is, that the enrolment among the families of illiterate fathers may be attributed, among other things, to the increasing availability of educational facilities, not with standing other constraints we have noted. These Chenchu children require special coaching in their education.

**Table 5.3**

**Enrolment of Chenchu and Sugalis in the Ashram Schools  
1994-95**

Ashram Schools	Enrolment	
	Chenchus	Sugalis
1. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Udimilla	38	56
2. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Jangamreddypalli	27	78
3. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Vatvarlapalli	39	68
4. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Siddapur	03	117
5. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Banala	11	94
6. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Chenchugundem	33	102
7. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Rayavaram	25	42
8. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Appaipalli	37	52
9. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Molachintapalli	72	33
10. Govt. T.W. Ashram School Maisigandi	16	57

There is a gap in the enrolment of Chenchu and Sugalis in the Ashram Schools due to lack of interest for Chenchu parents. There are no separate ashram schools so for girls and in the



existing ashram schools the enrolment of Chenchus are not satisfactory. This indicates that special steps need to be taken to motivate the tribal parents to send their girls to schools and they have to be provided with adequate hostel facilities for girls in the Ashram Schools. The satisfaction of the parents towards Ashram school education is given in Table 4.4. A large number of parents 63 per cent Chenchus and 49 per cent Sugalis are partially satisfied, and 23 per cent Chenchus and 37 per cent Sugalis said are satisfied and the remaining 12 per cent Chenchus and 14 per cent Sugalis are dissatisfied.

Several writers pointed out that the tribals look upon modern formal education with suspicion, for they feel that it engenders dis-equilibrium in their socio-cultural system and detribalises the younger generations (Sachchidananda, 1967). As Elwin committee reported: "many tribal parents regard the spread of education with apprehension, for they feel that their boys and girls will be turned into 'Sahibs' and 'Memsahibs' with new and expensive habits which they can ill-afford and that when they have left school they will leave their homes" (Report of the Committee on Special Multi purpose Tribal Blocks, 1961).

In order to understand the interest of the Chenchu parents and the tribal leaders towards education of their children, the opinions from both the Chenchu and Sugali parents and the community leaders are collected. The parents have had a bad opinion that the children have become misfits.

The opinion of the tribals about the students activities in school and society are also gathered to understand the regularity of their children in sending them to the school. 63 per cent Chenchus and 70 per cent Sugalis of the heads of households replied that a student must be concerned with his studies only. Only 37 per cent Chenchus and 30 per cent Sugalis said that a student must also devote his time to the household duties. From the opinions gathered and formal discussions held with the tribals, it may be inferred that the tribals in this region do not have negative attitudes towards ashram school education and there are no built-in prejudices or taboos regarding the acceptance of education and the behaviour of the acceptors of education also did not create any negative impression on the two minds of the tribals.

The opinions expressed by the teachers regarding the attitude of the tribals towards education of their children as elicited from the teachers working in sample villages is given in the table 4.28, reveals the majority of teachers 39.3 per cent opined that the children follow and give respect to teacher. The tribal community does not take interest in the school and the education of their children. However, some of the tribal leaders are taking interest in Ashram School education for their children.

The researcher finds a number of Chenchu and Sugali girls (at the age 4-7) playing either in the village or in the fields. When the parents were asked why those boys and girls were not sent to school, they gave a cool reply, "they are too young to go

existing ashram shools the enrolment of Chenchus are not satisfactory. This indicates that special steps need to be taken to motivate the tribal parents to send their girls to schools and they have to be provided with adequate hostel facilities for girls in the Ashram Schools. The satisfaction of the parents towards Ashram school education is given in Table 4.4. A large number of parents 63 per cent Chenchus and 49 per cent Sugalis are partially satisfied, and 23 per cent Chenchus and 37 per cent Sugalis said are satisfied and the remaining 12 per cent Chenchus and 14 per cent Sugalis are dissatisfied.

Several writers pointed out that the tribals look upon modern formal education with suspicion, for they feel that it engenders dis-equilibrium in their socio-cultural system and detribalises the younger generations (Sachchidananda, 1967). As Elwin committee reported: "many tribal parents regard the spread of education with apprehension, for they feel that their boys and girls will be turned into 'Sahibs' and 'Memsahibs' with new and expensive habits which they can ill-afford and that when they have left school they will leave their homes" (Report of the Committee on Special Multi purpose Tribal Blocks, 1961).

In order to understand the interest of the Chenchu parents and the tribal leaders towards education of their children, the opinions from both the Chenchu and Sugali parents and the community leaders are collected. The parents have had a bad opinion that the children have become misfits.



to school". But when the children grow a little older, their services are utilised for economic pursuits. From all this we may infer that parental incapacity to appreciate the significance of education in modern context and/or their indifference and neglect towards education of their children are mostly the contributing factors for slow progress of education among the tribals.

Parental indifferences towards education of their children is reflected in the poor enrolment in schools. A large number of teachers have pointed out that the poverty is not the sole cause for not sending their children to school but the tribal parents are basically not interested in education their children. They do not even bother to know whether the child is studying in the school or not. But what they want to know is whether their children are getting sufficient food in Ashram School. This indicates the basic indifference of parents towards the education of their children and this indifference is the product of their basic ignorance of the functional advantages of formal education.

As Dhebar Commission has rightly said:

"For a tribal family to send its grown-up boy or girls to school is an economic proposition and it entails dislocation in the traditional pattern of division of labour. Girls give every kind of help to their mothers in the domestic work. During the agricultural season, tribal boys work in the fields along with their parents. In other seasons, they are busy in collecting minor forest produce, firewood, grazing, watch the crops, bring

water, hunting and fishing. Many parents just cannot afford to send their children to school" (Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1961).

The table 4.8 depicts reasons for not sending the children to ashram schools. 15% Chenchus and 31% Sugalis of the parents opined that the children are to help the parents in domestic and farming work and 22 per cent Chenchus and 15 per cent Sugalis of the parents said that the illness of the child is the reason. 20% and 18% of the parents explained that the child has to work and earn for the family. Only 18% and 12% of the parents said that the elder children especially girls are to look after the younger siblings at home when the parents are at work.

The Chenchus in Nallamalai Hills are predominantly food gatherers, marginal farmers and Sugalis are agricultural labourers. They cannot afford themselves to employ outside labour in the collection of minor forest produce and in their agricultural operations. The services of their elder children are utilised for cattle grazing, goat herding, agricultural work etc. Several Anthropologists and Sociologists are found that rural and tribal child is the economic asset of the family. It is observed that even young boys are engaged in cattle grazing and young girls working in fields.

#### **Internal Constraints (The School Systems)**

The holding power of the school system is dependent on its adaptation to the needs and interests of the child in particular

and the community at large. We shall, therefore, examine the structural variables of the school system, viz., the teachers, the contents of education medium of instruction, text-books, administration, supervision and guidance etc. With a view to ascertain as to what extent these internal factors of the Ashram School have been facilitating the extension of education among the Chenchus of Nallamalai Hills. The holding power of a school is usually measured by the indicator the rate of drop-out. In India the word is vogue much akin to drop-out as educational wastage. A related concept 'stagnation' also often used in the literature on Indian education along with wastage. The problems of wastage and stagnation are discussed here.

It is generally recognised that the absenteeism, stagnation and wastage are universal problems affecting all educational institutions throughout India particularly at the primary stage of education and these problems are very serious in the tribal areas (Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe commission, 1962). At the primary level of education, the broad objectives are the attainment of permanent literacy and training in citizenship by an individual. Thus every child is withdrawn from school before completing the fifth class is generally considered as a case of wastage, because he is not likely to receive any lasting benefit from such short schooling. On the other hand, he is likely to relapse into illiteracy.



## CAUSES FOR DROP-OUTS

### (A) Socio-Economic

The poor circumstances of the tribals affecting the enrolment of the Chenchu children is already discussed. The socio-economic conditions force the tribal children to leave the Ashram School earlier without completing the prescribed course. Informal discussions with teachers and parents revealed that children may be sent to Ashram School between the age 6 and 8, because at this tender age, they may not be of much help at home. After the age between 9 and 11, the Chenchu child becomes an economic asset because he can work at home or in the forest or farm. This is especially true of girls who assist their mothers at home and some times in the fields. The child is, therefore, withdrawn from the school and thus becomes a drop-out. As Manning Nash correctly put it: "Where school and work conflict in societies at this level of income, work always wins. Poverty coupled with familial agricultural production has the effect of drawing children out of school as they are useful in the fields" (Manning Nash, New York, 1971).

Another reason for drop-out is that the children do not like to move far away from their gudems/villages obsession with - a feeling of homesickness. When the children are admitted into a distant Ashram School, they may stay there for some time but when they return to their village, they will be reluctant to go back and hence they discontinue their studies. Some of the children have discontinued their studies, because both the

parents and the children left that the place was far away from their village. Sugalis and their children would like to live in their own surroundings and closer to their village/gudem. Thus if the schools are far away from the tribal villages, the children are more likely to discontinue their studies.

As we have already pointed out early marriages are common among the Chenchus and Sugalis. There are also wide variations in the ages of Children joining the Ashram School. Sometimes the children join the school at the age of 8 to 10 even. Such of these children discontinue their education as soon as they get married or whenever their help is required in the field or household. Generally the girls are withdrawn earlier than boys.

**(b) Educational**

**(i) In complete schools**

Another important cause for high incidence of drop-outs in the tribal area is the inadequate schooling facilities. Most of the Ashram schools area have inadequate space and teaching equipment like models charts, black boards, maps etc. and also some of the teachers are untrained.

When the child complete Ashram School education (I to V) he has either to go to another school at a distant place for continuation of his education or stop his education. The restricted instruction for I to II class also some times lead to the repetition of the same grade by the children and thus cause

stagnation in education. Thus incomplete school seems to be the most important cause for wastage and stagnation in tribal area.

### **(iii) Malfunctioning of Ashram Schools and Hostels**

The headmaster of the Ashram School is the warden of the hostel and he has to look after both the school and the hostel but the headmaster always concentrates on hostel activities and this contributes to wastage in education. It was found that in some of the schools there is no co-ordination and co-operation between the school teachers and the headmaster-cum-warden. The teachers feel that the warden gets benefit of managing the hostel activities. It is also found that most of the teachers are not staying even near the Ashram School and they are staying at neighbouring villages/towns.

As in some of the Ashram Schools, both the teachers and students are not staying and hence the very concept of Ashram School is defeated and there is no meaning of ashram school. They are like other non-residential schools with the provision of food for three times per day. Both the teachers and students left the school in the evening and come to the school in the morning like other non-residential schools.

### **(iii) Irregular Attendance**

This has been found to be one of the most important contributory factors for the phenomenon of stagnation leading to wastage in tribal areas. The problem of absenteeism is very serious in tribal areas. Whereas one sees a large number of



pupils on rolls, the actual attendance in class rooms is generally very poor. To ascertain the extent of absenteeism in the Ashram Schools in the Tribal area.

To ascertain the facts from the parents about the absenteeism of the tribal children, the parents were asked about the reasons for irregular attendance of their children in the Ashram School. The table 4.8 shows that the main reason for irregular attendance of children is domestic/farm work. This is very significant from the point of functioning of the Ashram School system.

Regarding the performance of their children, most of the parents opined that they are partially satisfied. Very few parents (Table 4.2) meet the teachers regularly to know their children's progress. This indicates that Tribal parents neither evince interest in sending the children to Ashram School nor know their progress in the school. On the contrary, the parents very often withdraw the children from school to help them in their household and other economic pursuits. The periodical withdrawal of the child from the school develops the tendency of truancy in the child and consequently loss of interest in the child for education, which results in drop-out.

Telugu is the medium of instruction in these schools. The pattern of education, which is alien to the tribal life and culture, it is assumed that tribal children would experience difficulties to get along with their class room work. In order to ascertain the nature of educational hardships, the

Chenchu/Sugalis students in Ashram Schools were asked about their understanding the subjects in the class. Most of the Chenchu students (81.67%) felt difficult in one or more subjects to understand.

Generally the Chenchus feel shy and hesitation to talk with others except their own kinsmen. Most of the students hesitate to approach their teachers too for guidance and help (Table 4.12). This indicates the communication gap between the teachers and the taught is not encouraging.

### **Text Books**

Another source of difficulty for the Chenchu students to get on well with their class work arises from text books. There are no special text books suitable to the tribal children in the Ashram Schools. The nationalised text books are being used in the ashram schools, as in all other schools throughout the state. These text books have been written keeping the plains people in view. Even among the plains people the style of language and language ability of the students vary with the social class (Basil Bernstein, New York, 1961). The Chenchu children from the culturally deprived primitive tribal groups would feel more difficult to understand and follow these text books. The teachers pointed out that the tribal students were finding it difficult to follow the language and content of the text books. Further as these text books do not contain anything pertaining to either society and culture. The teachers fail to create and sustain interest among the children.

## The Teacher

The teacher plays a most important role in the extension of education in the community (pivot of educational system). The success or failure of the school in a community mostly depends on the type of teachers recruited. It is commonly assumed that the schools in the inaccessible tribal areas do not attract good quality and trained teachers and therefore education in these areas generally suffers.

There are both tribal and non-tribal teachers working in the schools. It can be seen from the table (4.22) that the majority of the teachers (75%) have intermediate and 17.9% are matriculation. It indicates the large difference in the educational qualifications of the teachers. However, most of the teachers (53.6%) have professional training. The newly appointed Chenchu teachers are untrained.

When the non-tribal teachers are appointed in the tribal area, it is expected that they are adequately equipped not only with the knowledge of tribal life and culture but also with the necessary skills to teach the tribal children. It is observed that most of the non-tribal teachers are not interested to work in tribal areas, and they feel that their appointment was quite accidental. They were not given any orientation training to teach in tribal areas.

Most of the teachers do not pickup anything about tribal myths, folkore and folksongs. The informal dicussions with the



non-tribal teachers revealed that when they first came to the chenchu area, they felt it very difficult to communicate with the tribal children and their parents. All the teachers reported that the teachers in the Ashram School should be given special training and orientation. As Dhebar Commission has rightly put it:

"A teacher in tribal areas must have a through knowledge of tribal life and culture. He must speak the tribal language. Only so he can be in a position to act as a friend, philosopher and guide to the tribals" (Report of the Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1961).

Leaving the educational qualification apart, the teachers working in the tribal areas should have a liking for the profession on one hand and identification with the area and the people on the other.

It was reported by some of the tribal parents and it was also observed that some of the tribal teachers have their own agriculture and they devote more of their time and attention to their own private work rather than teaching the children in the Ashram Schools. This is also a reason which does not enthuse the tribals to send their children to school as the teachers are irregular and non-responsive in the schools. It was also informed that the teachers who have been working in the same school for more than four years have developed vested interests and neglected the teaching work.

## **Methods of Teaching**

Creating and sustaining interest in formal education among the Chenchu students mostly depends on the methods and techniques of teaching used by the teachers in the Ashram schools. The tribal children are accustomed to playing or working in the fields and forests. The teachers, therefore, have to make use of the material of informal education like tribal plays, folk stories, fables, riddles, myths, proverbs, folk-dances, music etc., in their teaching to attract and impress the children. But no such materials are being used by the teachers in the Ashram Schools. It is observed that the teachers use only the method of rote learning and drill - one student telling and all others repeating the same in chorus blindly as in a routine. The teachers did not seem to have made any attempt to correlate the teaching material with the real life situations of the child. It is a well known fact that in a tribal society, education is carried on in a rather informal manner. Even sitting for a few hours at a stretch in a class room is also irksome to them. No teaching-aids are found to be used in the tribal ashram schools. Thus the traditional methods of teaching, used by the teachers is also to a certain extent constraining the extension of formal education in the Chenchu area.

## **School-Community Relations**

Sociologists and Educationists feel that the spread of education in a community depends largely on the intensity of interactions between the school and the community depends



largely on the intensity of interactions between the school and the community. In order to develop closer contacts between the school and the community the concept 'community-school' has been evolved very recently. The two broad characteristics of the community-school are: (a) it teaches children to discover, develop and use the resources of the local community, and (b) serves the entire community, not merely the children of school are. In India the community-school idea had been accepted as it was stated in the report of the Second Five Year Plan that the village school and specially those which are run on basic lines have an important role in community development (Planning Commission, 1956).

In order to examine the degree of interaction between the school and the community, both the teachers and the heads of the households were asked certain questions. When the teachers were asked whether the Tribal parents are interested in knowing their children's progress and the school activities in Ashram School, 57.2 per cent of the teachers replied that a very few parents were interested to know their children's progress (Table 4.29). When the Chenchu parents were asked whether the Ashram school were suitable for their childrens' education, 89.44 per cent of the parents replied positively. Most of the parents contact the ashram school teachers rarely. This indicates that the interaction between the community and the school are minimal. This is also one of the reasons for slow progress of education in the tribal areas.



## Administration and Supervision

Another source of constraint in the progress of education in Chenchu area arises from the agencies functioning in the area and inadequate supervision of the Ashram School.

The Ashram Schools are under the direct management and control of the district tribal welfare officer and the project officer, Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Srisailem. But the academic supervision and control rests with the education department.

A few operational problems with which the administrative set up is confronted at various stages. There is inadequacy of supervisory staff of primary schools in the hilly and thick forest tracts of tribal areas. The poor transport and few communication facilities further aggravate the situation and make the tribal areas inaccessible. Consequently, the frequency of supervisory visits are very limited as compared to the neighbouring plain areas.

In tribal areas the teachers require close supervision and technical guidance to tackle the peculiar problems of the areas. It is the quality and level of technical guidance and supervision that help improve the standard of teaching in tribal areas. The peculiar social and economic conditions of the tribal areas necessitate careful handling of the situation. As the schools are widely distributed in the forest and hilly areas, it is very difficult to cover the existing meagre supervisory staff. Further, it is observed during the study that lack of qualified

teachers who are and willing to work in the tribal areas are the major hurdles in the successful implementation of Ashram School education. The teachers held the view that the pay scales and other allowances are not commensurate with the difficulties they are facing while discharging their duties. The working and service conditions are not attractive enough to obtain the services of qualified and talented teachers.

According to the recent Government Order (G.O.) dated 18.3.89 all the teachers posts in the Ashram Schools should be filled with only Chenchu candidate, so the Chenchu candidates who are untrained were appointed in Ashram Schools. Therefore, the Chenchu candidates irrespective of their qualifications, Xth class (SSC) failed or passed or above qualified persons are appointed as teachers in Ashram Schools in the Chenchu region.

Accommodation is an acute problem for the teachers working in the Ashram Schools where climatic conditions are inhospitable year in and year out. The other major problems as enumerated above, have sufficiently contributed to the slow progress of educational programmes in the tribal areas.

The school buildings are not conducive for education both the students and teachers. Neither the teacher nor the school is sufficiently equipped to impart education. The Chenchu children both boys and girls who have been accustomed to playing at home and forests find it difficult to adopt themselves to the class room discipline. In the absence of suitable play materials and games equipment to relieve the strain of learning, the students



find the class room teaching too monotonous to bear with and ultimately they prefer to drop-out of the school. Another main reason for drop-out of the children is that were forcibly admitted into the schools. (A.P. Residential Schools) which are far away from their gudemms.

Another important factor is that the district administrative structures for tribal development. Such gap can also be attributed in the differential administrative approaches adopted for tribal development. In those districts, planning of various developmental activities including education is done at micro level. Whereas in scattered areas sectoral approach is in vogue and tribal development is planed at macro level.

Futher, in the personal interest of the hostel, the headmasters-cum-wardens try to enhance the strength of the Ashram School to enable them to get higher budgets for misappropriations. It is observed that there is large gap between the actual enrolment, attendance in school and hostel registers and the actual presence of the student in the ashram schools.

Finally, it is observed that the tribal welfare department i.e., the project officer and the district tribal welfare officer, visit the ashram schools and inspect only hostel stores and accounts but not the educational performance and output. It seems there is some understanding between the school headmaster-cum-wardens and the Disrict Tribal Welfare Officers which lead to the negligence and misappropriation in management of the hostels.



As there is recurring financial involvement in the maintenance of hostels, most of the officials are interested only in hostels, but they do not bother about the quality education in ashram schools. Besides this, the officials of the education department are also not interested in inspection and supervision for improving the education in ashram schools as there are no incentives and lack of communication and transport facilities. When there are no frequent inspections, particularly to interior places, the wardens are accustomed to misappropriate the hostel funds. This leads vested interests of the wardens in the hostels but not in education and they are not able to spare much time and expertise for the education of the children. This leads to no coordination and no cooperation between the teachers. Thus, both administrative and academic staff do not bother about the educational output in ashram schools but all are interested wonderfully in the hostels attached to Ashram Schools.

CHAP5/

## Chapter VI

### Summary and Conclusions

The present regional level analytical study is aimed at examine the Ashram School among the Chenchu and Sugalis in Andhra Pradesh. From the anthropological point of view, education is a stabilizer of culture whereby culture is transmitted from one generation to the other, and it maintains continuity and also serves as an instrument for adaptation and change. Education is essential for the human society to enable it to take up their due place in the social, economic and cultural life of modern India and at the same time to maintain the respect of their own culture.

Education is related to culture. Education is a harmonious development of the individual in the context of the community to which he belongs. The personality of the individual is moulded to a large extent by the culture in which he is born and brought up. There is always interaction between the environment and the individual.

In pre-independence period, planned attempts made to educate the tribal population were negligible and whatever efforts made were only by either the Christian missionaries or by individual philanthropists, perhaps with the exception of Thakkar Bapa, lacked a clear perspection and thereby systematic work. Therefore, Ashram Schools did not register sufficient progress.

The Indian constitution envisaged special provisions in the post independence period for the promotion of education among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and this became a special responsibility of the Central and State Government (Article 46). Accordingly a number of programmes have been initiated in education for these groups both at the school and the college level. Special provisions in education consists of fee concession, stipends, provision of ancillary services, hostel and lodging facilities in school, pre-matric and post-matric scholarship scheme, reservation of seats, and relaxation in eligibility criteria for admission.

The concept of Ashram School combines both functional and literacy based education relieving the tribal parent of the burden of feeding and clothing of his children going to school besides providing a congenial school environment to the children. consequently Ashram Schools are expected to reduce the incidence of absenteeism, stagnation, dropouts and improve the standards of education at primary level. Ashram Schools provide free boarding and lodging facilities apart from supplying books, stationery and uniforms to the inmates. All these facilities have been provided to favourably motivate the tribal children and their parents towards education.

As for the growth of Ashram schools in India, initially there were 1989 schools enrolling 10,890 students in 1960-61. The number of Ashram schools in the year 1980-81 was 1609 enrolling 83,049 students. In Andhra Pradesh there were 4



schools enrolling 261 students in 1963-64 and the number had increased to 423 schools with an enrolment of 40,499 children.

Traditionally, the social relations are regulated and stabilized by means of a village council (Nasab). The council is headed by an elder person called Peddamanishi, generally from the dominant kin group of the gudem. The Chenchus believe in supernatural beings. They worship village dieties and offer sacrifices. Folk songs of the Chenchus are not polychromatic. The folk dances of Chenchus are very significant of tribal culture.

The literacy rate among the Chenchus is very low (6.5%) when compared to other tribes of the state as well as the Nation. To provide adequate educational facilities and to ensure cent per cent literacy among the Chenchus, Ashram Schools were started in the year (1970). There are 43 Ashram Schools with the strength of 4,313 students in Chenchu area. Besides, single teacher schools are also started in the interior Chenchu hamlets. There are 60 single teacher schools enrolling 2,500 in the pre-primary level.

With the functioning of Ashram Schools for the past two and a half decades in Nallamalai region, the present growth rate in literacy among the Chenchus and Sugalis of the State is much better than the period prior to the establishment of these schools. Still it is not sufficient to catch up with that of the general population. The percentage of literacy rate among the Chenchus is very low when compared to the population of Scheduled

Tribes which is 7.76 per cent among general population in India while for the State as a whole is 29.54 per cent (1981).

Ashram Schools are financed and managed by the Tribal Welfare Department. At State level the schools are under the control of Director of Tribal Welfare/Commissioner of Tribal Welfare and at district level the schools are under the administrative control of the District Tribal Welfare Officer/Assistant Social Welfare Officer (ASWO). However, the academic control of these schools remain with Education Department.

The performance of a school depends on the adequate physical facilities and equipment. The physical facilities in the Ashram Schools include proper accommodation for class room and hostels, teaching staff, school and hostel infrastructure, like furniture, teaching aids, sports and games, dormitory, reading and dress material, water, toilets, cooking place, electricity, play ground and library. Inadequate accommodation either to run classes or dormitories, lack of staff rooms, non-availability of teaching aids lack of blackboards, in adequate furniture, lack of teaching-aids, sports and games material lead to educational wastage. It is quite evident from the data presented in the preceding pages that all the Ashram Schools without any exception are suffering from inadequate infrastructure facilities. Under these deplorable conditions it requires a miracle for the teachers to be efficient.



The two worlds of the students namely, the home and the school should be similar in their values, expectations and guidance. When they are similar, they reinforce each other and motivate the student to go ahead in his/her academic pursuits. If they are dissimilar the student is bound to get confused and to misplace his/her priorities. Among the Chenchus both the home and the school are dissimilar and the parents are indifferent towards education of their children. Most of the parents and their children to the ashram school not for education, but for food only.

The child learns some patterns of behaviour, perceptions of reality and habits of thinking which are feature of their social environment. The social attitudes, the promotion of social awareness are all elements in the socialization of the individual. As the Chenchus are isolated and possess primitiveness, the children do not develop much self awareness as well as other awareness and the attitudes are limited to their environment.

A Chenchu child develops his personality in such a way that he could not move freely with other community members and mingle with them. The Chenchu children studying with other tribes (Sugalis) in the Ashram Schools, could not dominate in the school. The individualistic nature, social fear, shyness contribute to his personality development. This type of personality of the Chenchu child aggravates to his lack of self awareness and awareness of others. Thus the Chenchu child



suffers from social, psychological and emotional deprivation, isolation, unawareness of situation outside his community, shyness, social fear and individualistic nature.

It is observed that all the schools have succeeded in having the sanctioned strength, and in a few cases the strength exceeded because admission is given to other tribes (Yerukula, Sugali) and backward classes in Chenchu area. The other tribes and Sugalis (Lambadis) are classes dominate in the schools as well as in hostels. Ashram Schools are started on the name of Chenchus, but the other neighbouring tribes Sugalis exploit and make use of these facilities more than the Chenchus.

The reasons for the differential utilization of Ashram Schools are: (a) The Chenchus being food-gatherers and hunters are economically poorer than the Sugalis and Yerukula who are settled as agriculturists. Moreover, the traditional occupation is hunting and food-gathering necessitates semi-nomadic way of life and to stay in forest. The Chenchu children are away from the schools particularly during the collection of minor forest produce; (b) The lookout range of the Yerukulas and Sugalis is much wider due to constant exposure to the outside world while that of Chenchus, is still traditional; (c) There is some tradition of formal education among the Sugalis and Yerukulas while it is lacking among the Chenchus (d) While the villages of Sugalis and Yerukulas are situated in plains, the gudems of Chenchus are located at the foot hills and amidst thick forests and in interior of the forest and therefore communication are not easily accessible to them.

The most important component in teaching-learning process is the teacher. Teacher is the nerve centre of school system. A teacher to be effective in tribal school system should have a sympathetic understanding of the tribal way of life, with at least a minimum knowledge of the local culture and language. If the teacher and the taught belong to the same culture, it is easier to impart instruction. But in the Ashram Schools most of the teachers come from different cultural background.

The teachers themselves face some acute problems. Non-availability of residential accommodation, lack of schooling facilities for their children, lack of medical facilities, trouble-some living in tribal areas are some of the problems faced by the teachers working in tribal areas. Accommodation is an acute problem for the teachers working in Ashram Schools where climatic conditions are inhospitable throughout the year. This results in unauthorised absenteeism and late coming among the teachers themselves. These problems have sufficiently contributed to the slow progress of educational programmes in the tribal areas.

Unfortunately, we often come across teachers who look at the local population as uncivilized, foolish, and exhibit indifferent attitudes towards the locals. With these impressions such teachers treat the children in a very derogatory manner and their slow performances is frequently attributed to their cultural back-ground. This ethnocentrism on the part of the teachers has disturbing effect on the minds of the Chenchus and Sugali

students. They consider themselves inferior, feel shyness, hesitancy and this results in a tendency to dis-own their own cultural values. A teacher should be able to communicate and create interact effectively, establishing rapport with the students and local community. This requires, on the part of the teachers, at least basic understanding of the customs and habits of the people for whom he works.

The other important components of the teaching-learning process are the subjects of study, medium of instruction, co-curricular activities and teaching aids. In these aspects also the Ashram Schools are not in good position. The contents of the subjects like literature, science and social studies are alien to the tribal students.

In the text of these subjects, there is nothing about tribal culture, tribal stories, folk-songs, folk dances. Inclusion of these aspects definitely creates interest and curiosity among the Chenchu students. Majority of the Chenchus and Sugalis are feeling difficulty in coping with Mathematics, Science and Social Studies. The inability of the teachers to cope with the situation and adopt suitable teaching methods to make the students understand, is very much lacking.

The study materials, dress and bedding material are not supplied in time. The study materials like books, slates and slate pencils etc., are not given in time to the students due to inadequate supply. Even the cooking and catering utensils are not supplied in sufficient numbers and in proper sizes.



The curriculum of Ashram Schools is almost similar to that of other primary schools. One of the objectives of the Ashram Schools is providing vocational education to the tribal students. No school has taken this aspect seriously. Further, the little skill and knowledge acquired in the crafts during the primary stage of Ashram Schools is forgotten as there is no scope for improving upon them in the next higher level of education as there is absence of facilities - for vocational education in Ashram Schools of higher level. The co-curricular activities organised in the Ashram Schools in the area do not seem to have any relevance to the tribal culture.

The most important reason for absenteeism is that the boys accompany their parents at the time of collection of minor forest produce and harvesting seasons. Generally the absenteeism is high in the months of September to January during the collection of minor forest produce. If once the Chenchu child leaves the school in summer holidays, he will return to school very late.

Stagnation is due to a variety of factors, the chief among which are the poor quality of teachers, inadequate teaching materials and aids, lack of interest on the part of the students, poverty and non-availability of books.

In the quest to meet the social demand for formal education with given limited resources, ministries of education around the world have sought to eliminate educational wastage caused by absenteeism, stagnation and dropouts. The rate of drop-out in the Ashram School education of Chenchu and Sugali students also

corroborates the findings of the absenteeism and stagnation rate.

The most important programme to reduce the rate of absenteeism, stagnation and drop-outs in Ashram School Education are to improve, the general economic conditions of the parents to create interest among the parents to provide adequate educational facilities, to provide adequate teaching aids, to provide proper accommodation for the students, residential quarters for teachers, supervision and guidance for teachers. Thus absenteeism, stagnation and drop-outs are interrelated and interdependent variables caused due to various socio-economic, educational and other aspects of the Chenchus and Sugalis life and society.

There are various factors affecting Ashram School Education in the Chenchu area which are: socio-cultural, ecological, economic and educational. The geographical factors and the socio-cultural configurations affect the provision of school facilities and other educational resources and use of the same by the individuals belonging to various categories inhabiting a geographical area.

Communication is the vital problem in Nallamalai Hills. The Chenchu settlements are often interested with streams and rivulets which cannot be crossed during the rainy season. These villages and hamlets are cut-off from one another during the monsoon period. It can be easily imagined how difficult it is for the small children to attend the schools.

Eventhough the Ashram Schools are meant for tribals particularly for the Chenchus, the students enrolled in the schools were predominantly other tribals and non-tribals. Neither the teachers seemed to have taken any special pains to control the tribal children nor have the Chenchu tribal parents evinced any interest in sending their children to school.

We have seen that there are wide variations in educational attainments among the tribals. The differentials in educability among the socio-cultural groups living in the geographical area and having the same school facilities, stem from the differential socio-cultural configurational aspects of the tribal and non-tribal communities and also differences among the tribal groups themselves. It is necessary to note that socio-cultural factors have heir own impact irrespective of geographical spatial factors.

The individualistic nature of the Chenchus cooperation and mutual loyalty always exists among the members of the family. The social and economic controls to stabilize marriage relations are very ineffective. The structural changes and their consequential instability of role-relations result in the social, psychological and emotional deprivation of the children. Every Chenchu, child develops social immaturity, individualistic nature and shyness to talk with new persons and even in the schools.

It is commonly accepted that socio-cultural and economic aspects of the family greatly influence the educability of the children n all societies in India and abroad (P.C. Joshi and M.R.



Rao, 1964). It is general accepted that the Chenchu parents who have stable occupation and who are economically better off can send their children to school rather than poor parents. At the time of harvesting and collection of minor forest produce the child of a poor family abstains from the school and helps his/her parents.

Anthropologists and Sociologists have found that rural and tribal child is the economic asset of the family. It is observed that even young Chenchu boys are engaged in cattle grazing and young girls working in fields. Further some parents feel that the dresses and books that are received by the students are not sufficient for their children which are considered pre-requisites for sending their children to school.

From opinions gathered and formal discussions held with the tribals, it may be inferred that the tribals in this region have ignorance and unawareness towards education and there are no built-prejudices or taboos regarding the acceptance of education. Further the behaviour of the acceptors of education also did not create any impression on the minds of the tribals. The opinion expressed by the teachers regarding the attitude of the tribals towards Ashram Schools education of their children also throw some light on this aspect.

Parental indifferences towards education of their children is reflected in the poor enrolment in schools. A large number of teachers have pointed out that poverty is not the cause for not sending their children to schools but the tribal parents of

Chenchus and Sugalis are not interested in educating their children. They do not even bother to know whether the child is studying in the school or not. But they want to know whether their children are getting food in Ashram School or not. This indicates the basic indifference of parents towards the education of their children and this indifference is the product of their basic ignorance of the functional advantages of formal education.

To sum up, on the Government side the study reveals that the Ashram Schools lack necessary infrastructure resulting both the teachers and the students not residing at school and consequently the very concept of 'Ashram School' is defeated and becomes meaningless. It seems that Government is particular in expansion rather than in the consolidation of Ashram Schools. It is also evident that both the officials and the parents are more interested in incentives and hostel food but not in the education of the children. Further, it is understood that the officials and the headmaster-cum-wardens are very much interested in the maintenance of hostels, in the manipulation of the attendance, figures and in misappropriating the accounts to get maximum monetary benefits.

On the community side, the social isolation, poverty, the forest economy, the type of family and the changing role relations, indifference and unawareness of the parents. The system of division of labour, alcoholism and other socio-cultural factors contribute to social, psychological and emotional deprivation of the children and give no value and importance to



education. Further, the parents are not in a position to socialise their children in such ways useful for educating their children or to keep them away in Ashram Schools.

With this background of the study, a few points are suggested for promoting the Ashram School Education among the Chenchus and Sugalis. The teachers should extend their activities towards creating an awareness in the community about the value and ignorance of education, and the crucial role of the parents expected to play in educating their children.

To suit the economic needs of the community both class-room teaching and crafts taught in the Ashram Schools should have local basis. The lessons should be prepared to suit the varied economic activities of tribals like food gathering, hunting, fishing, cultivation and horticulture. The practical classes conducted in the attached agricultural farm and vegetable gardens of Ashram Schools should benefit the students. It is better to change the vacation to suit the period is during the collection of minor forest produce, to enable the children in helping their parents.

It is also essential to instill a sense of self respect, reliance and psychological preparation to live and mingle with people of varied socio-cultural and economic setting in their future educational and occupational careers without suffering from any inferiority complex.

Even in teaching alphabets and simple words at the grass-root level, it is essential to prepare charts and pictures with



locally familiar examples. Instead of depicting Apple or Aeroplane for teaching alphabet 'A', it is better to draw the figure of an antelope or Axe or Arrow and 'B' for bow which are familiar to the tribal students than the farmer which are quite alien to their habitat.

The teachers should be dedicated, service oriented and should reside near the Ashram School itself. The necessary infrastructure should be provided in the hostels to avoid the students going to houses so that more time could be provided to the students for studying different subjects. Ashram School must have adequate living place for dormitory, class rooms and staff rooms along with furniture. The School must be attached with hostel and staff quarters to facilitate easy interaction in between the teacher and the taught and also supervision and guidance whenever the student requires help. All the required teaching equipment like teaching aids and also material for games and sports must be provided. Special training must be given to all teachers working in Ashram School through Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute. Educational tours and excursions must be conducted, for better understanding and world view.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ananda, G. (1991) A study on Tribal Ashram Schools among the Chenchus in Nallamalai Hills in Andhra Pradesh. Ph.D. Disse, Sri Venkateswara University College, Tirupati (India).
2. Ananda, G. (1993) Rural Society and Changing World Order Employment News. Vol. XVII, No. 52, New Delhi.
3. Ananda, G. (1994) Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh Common Welath Publishers, Darayaganj, New Delhi.
4. Bernstein, Basil, (1961) Social class and Linguistic Development : A Theory of Social Learning in History, in Halsey A.H. et al., (eds), Education Economy and Society, The Free Press, New York.
5. Daniel Lerner (1962) The passing of Traditional Society. The Free Press, New York.
6. Dhebar, U.N. (1962) Report of the commission for Scheduled Tribes, Ministry of Home Affairs, Vol.1, New Delhi.
7. Government of Andhra Pradesh (1990) Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Primitive Tribal Group-Chenchus, Srisailem, (India).
8. Government of India (1961) Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, New Delhi.
9. Joshi, P.C., and Rao, M.R. (1964) Social Economic Factors in Literacy and Education in Rural India, Economic weekly, Bombay.
10. Manning Nash (1971) The Role of the village school in the processes of cultural and Economic Modernisation in Gezi, Kalik I. (ed.) Education in comparative and international perspectives, New York.
11. Mitchel, G.D. (1963) Sociology : The study of social systems, Chapter X, University Tutorial Press.
12. Ratnaiah, E.V. (1978) Structural constraints of Tribal Education, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.
13. Sachchidananda, (1967) Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education, in Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India. NCERT, New Delhi.
14. Sapra, C.L., (1967) Educational Wastage and Stagnation in India, NCERT, New Delhi.
15. UNESCO (1980) Wastage in Primary and Secondary Education: A statistical study of Trends and Patterns in Repetition and Drop-outs, CSR-E-37, Division of Statistics on Education, Office of the Statistics, UNESCO, Paris.









