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**Schools and Schooling in Tribal Gujarat:
The Quality Dimension**

B.L. Kumar

Gujarat Institute of Development Research
Gota, Ahmedabad 380 060

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Abstract

With the help of school and household survey undertaken in an Integrated Tribal Development Project Area, this study attempts to look into issues related to access, enrolment, retention and quality of education in tribal areas of Gujarat.

The school survey results show that predominantly tribal villages have better access to school. Average number of schools per village works out to 1:62. This is not a bad average, but single or two teacher schools are most prevalent. The functioning of schools is poor due to absence and irregular attendance of teachers. Moreover, many schools lack minimum facilities such as drinking water, toilets, library etc. Multi-grade teaching is a common feature and low level of learner's achievements speaks a lot about the quality of teaching in these schools.

Ashram schools envisaged to be an ideal alternative for sparsely populated tribal habitations, have also failed to deliver the goods. The coverage of Ashram schools is limited in terms of total enrolment and quality of teaching in these schools is not very much different than those of formal schools.

The household survey reveals that notwithstanding, massive expansion of primary schools, a large number of tribal children are still out of schools, both for economic and social reasons. Moreover, implementation of various educational incentive schemes was also found to be poor, both in terms of coverage as well as quality of benefit received by the tribal children.

In order to achieve universal elementary education and improving tribal literacy rates, more and better schools are required. Effective implementation of incentive schemes and community participation in the governance of primary schooling system can yield better results.

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B. L. Kumar

1. Introduction

Gujarat state has a sizeable population of tribals. According to 1991 census, the state had 61.62 lakh Scheduled Tribes population, which constituted about fifteen per cent of the state population. Majority of them live in the eastern border areas of the state, known as *Purva Patti Vistar*. The entire area is socio-economically backward because it is characterised by hilly terrain, rocky soil, uncertain rainfall and large forest areas. Agriculture in this area is backward because of primitive nature of cultivation practices and low level of irrigation facilities. The area is also industrially backward. Poverty is high among tribals. Out of 12.32 lakh tribal families, 6.89 lakh or 55.9 per cent families were living below poverty line (GOG, 1995).

Realising that education is important for social transformation and economic development of tribals, the Government of Gujarat has been providing sustained support and protection to improve literacy and education among tribals in the state. From the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) onwards, the state government has been implementing a special programme called Tribal Area Sub-Plan (TASP). Under this programme attempts have been made for increasing access to education, by bringing primary and middle schools in easy reach of each tribal child. Support is provided to establish and run Ashram Schools and hostels for tribal children. Voluntary organizations are encouraged to run these institutions.

In addition to this, state government also provides various incentives and financial support for development and promotion of education among tribals by granting scholarships, freeships, stipend, supply of free books, school uniforms etc. The objective is to encourage more and more enrolment and retention of tribal children in the schools. In the Ninth Plan (1997-2002), the state government allocated Rs. 252.55 crores for education of tribals alone. This is in addition to expenditure incurred by the state education department in tribal areas. Thus,

under TASP, the state government is spending more than Rs. fifty crores every year on the promotion of tribal education (GOG, 1997).

As a result, a large number of educational facilities and institutions have been created in tribal areas. This has led to increase in enrolment of tribal children in primary and upper primary levels, (Kumar, 2001). The latest data available from the Sixth All-India Educational Survey conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) in 1993 showed that in Gujarat, nearly 84 per cent of predominantly tribal habitations had facility of primary schools and another eleven per cent tribal habitations were having primary schools within a distance of one kilometer, (NCERT, 1998). Thus, overall situation of primary schools in tribal areas of Gujarat did not seem to be that bad because at the all-India level, only 46 per cent of tribal dominated habitations had school facility for primary education. Furthermore, access to upper primary schools, secondary and higher secondary schools was much better in Gujarat state compared to all-India level, (NCERT, 1998; Kumar, 2001). But despite all these efforts, literacy among tribals of Gujarat is low and also marked by a wide gender gap. In 1991, only 36.5 per cent of tribal population was literate as against the general literacy rate of 61.3 per cent in the state. Interestingly, the literacy rate of Scheduled Castes (SCs) with 61.1 per cent was almost on par with the general literacy rate. The literacy rate among tribal males was 48.3 per cent and 24.2 per cent among females. Thus, three out of four tribal females were found to be illiterate in the state.

The review of trends in literacy by Kumar (2001) shows that tribals are not only very much last in education but the literacy gap defined as percentage points difference between the Scheduled Tribes (STs) and general population has actually increased over time. The literacy rate in the state for general population increased from around 30 per cent in 1961 to 61.3 percent in 1991, while for Scheduled Tribes (STs) it has increased from 11.7 per cent to 36.5 per cent during the same period. Thus, the literacy gap has increased from about 19 percentage points in 1961 to about 25 percentage points in 1991. And the increase in the literacy gap has been much larger in case of tribal females.

Moreover, the spread of education has not been uniform among different tribal sub-groups or communities. For example, the Chaudharys and Dodias are more literate than Bhils and Halpatis.

From the above discussion, it is clear that all is not well with the tribal education in the state. Although the state government has been fairly successful in addressing the access issue, yet some factors lie beyond access, which is affecting the enrolment and retention of children in the schools and inhibits reaching the goal of universalization of primary education.

Availability of a school within easy access is though the most basic condition for a child to attend school but it is not sufficient one to achieve the goal of universal primary education. The presence of adequate number of teachers, space and facilities in school is also important. The conducive school environment and quality of education are also equally important issues, which needs attention of the policy makers and programme implementing authorities.

2. Objectives and Survey Methodology

In the above context, an attempt is made in this paper to look into the ground realities and the situations prevalent in the tribal areas of Gujarat on various aspects of access to school and quality of education. This is based on the survey carried out in 40 villages of four tribal talukas, one each from four Integrated Tribal Development Project Areas, between August to December, 2000. Ten villages in each Taluka were selected randomly on the basis of size of the village population. A detailed inquiry in each village was done at two levels. First at school level and second at household level. A senior member of the research team visited all working schools in the sample villages. The Principal or teacher/s available were interviewed to collect information on availability of schooling facilities such as number of teachers, classrooms, other facilities etc. Discussions were also held with teachers and students in classrooms to know more about the school environment and quality of education.

Since Ashram Schools play an important role in the tribal education, we also randomly selected 16 out of 44 Ashram Schools operating in these four talukas and an in-depth inquiry was done about the schooling facilities available and the quality of the education imparted in these schools.

Simultaneously, a short schedule was canvassed to every household in the selected village adopting a census method. The information elicited from each household pertained to their socio-economic characteristics and enrolment status of

children aged 6-14 years. The reasons for non-enrolment and school dropouts of tribal children were examined in detail in all tribal households. In addition to the above, discussions were also held with district officials such as District Education Officer (DEO) and District Ashram School Officer to gain more understanding about the functioning of schools. The Taluka and village panchayat heads were also consulted to know more about schooling problems in tribal areas.

3. Access to and Functioning of Schools

Basically three types of schools exist for the promotion of tribal education in Gujarat state. These are (1) Government schools, (2) Ashram schools and (3) Adarsh Niwasi Shalas. The government schools are part of the general education system and admission to these schools is open to all, while Ashram schools are for tribal children. These schools are run and managed by the voluntary organisations but financially supported by Social Welfare and Tribal Development Department (SW & TDD). However, the Adarsh Niwasi Shalas are established under a special scheme for promoting science education among talented tribal children and are directly supported by the Social Welfare Department. The District Education Officer is in-charge of implementing general education scheme of primary schools, while the Joint Director, Secondary Education monitors the schemes related to secondary and higher level education. While the Ashram School Officer looks after the administration of Ashram schools, the Adarsh Niwasi Shalas are looked after directly by the Social Welfare Department of the State Government. The following is the situation in the primary schools.

3.1 Government Schools

We have seen earlier that tribal dominated habitations of Gujarat are better placed in terms of access to school. About 84 per cent of the tribal habitations have schools within the habitation, and children of only 16 per cent tribal habitations need to cover a distance of one or more kilometers to reach to school. Our survey data also show that out of 40 villages only one village was without school. In the remaining 39 villages there were 65 schools. These included 22 primary schools upto fourth standard, 35 upper primary schools (I-VII standards), four secondary schools and four Ashram schools. Thus, there were, on an average 1.60 schools per village, which is not a bad average for tribal areas. The number of schools per village is higher in Dohad and Kaparada taluka, which has high concentration of

tribal population living in scattered habitations. The other two talukas namely, Rajpipla and Palanpur are situated largely on plain areas. The distribution of villages by number of schools indicates that 35 per cent of villages have more than one school and the number of schools in the village increases with population size of the village. However, the number of secondary schools seems to be much lower in these areas. There is only one secondary school for every 14 primary schools (Table 1). At state level this ratio is one to six. The data by district on school facilities also indicate a lower number of primary schools per secondary schools in non-tribal areas compared to tribal areas of Gujarat, (GoG, 2003). It is also evident from Table 2 that there are many large size villages with population more than 3000 which do not have secondary schools.

Although attempts have been made by the state government to establish primary schools within a distance of one kilometer, but due to the sparse settlement pattern and the tribal areas being mainly characterised by undulating terrain with hills, forests and streams flowing, even the distance of one kilometer may be difficult to cover by small children.

3.2 Teachers

It is encouraging to note that in the recent past more schools have been opened in the tribal areas and efforts are on to equip all schools with at least two teachers. However, in most remote areas, still a few schools are operating with one teacher only. Such schools remain closed when teacher is absent or has to proceed on leave. Out of 22 primary schools (I-IV), two schools were found to be of one-teacher school and incidentally both these schools were found closed on the day of our visit. Moreover, where two teachers were posted, in most cases, only one teacher was found available on the day of our visit. It was told by the fellow teachers that no arrangement has been made by the department to fill the vacant post of teachers who proceed on long leave. Under such circumstances one teacher attends to all the classes. For practical purpose all students are put together in such schools and teacher is unable to devote enough attention to all children.

The situation in upper primary schools with I-VII standards is relatively better so far as number of teachers are concerned. Table 3 shows that average number of teacher per school in the study area is two for primary schools (I-IV) and 5.66 for upper primary schools. Thus, almost every teacher in primary school teaches to

more than one class at a time. In order to find out the regularity of the school teachers in attending schools, we noted the number of teachers present on the day of our visit to school against their sanctioned posts. Interestingly, at any day, about 20 per cent of teachers were found absent and the rate of absence was higher in primary schools located in remote and interior areas. Many parents complained that teachers frequently remain absent from schools. It was however observed that teachers' absenteeism was found to be quite low in villages, which were located on *pucca* roads and were well linked with the transport facilities for easy commutation.

The development of roads and transport facilities has certainly improved the linkages between rural and urban areas. However, it had adversely affected the tendency of teachers to stay in the village. Now it is easy for the teachers to stay in urban areas and commute. According to Table 4 it is clear that 7 out of every 10 teachers were not staying in the village of their posting but commuting from the nearby village or town. Many teachers including the principal teachers were reported to be commuting and the percentage of teachers commuting was found to be much higher in Dohad and Palanpur talukas. Teachers are not staying in the villages even where residential quarters are provided for them. However, some female teachers are staying in villages.

The right type of qualification, experience and training of teachers is important for improving the quality of education in tribal areas. Whether the type of teachers available for tribal areas are suitable to teach in such areas is an issue in itself. Most of the teachers, as we have seen earlier, do not stay in the villages and come from non-tribal areas.

It can be seen from Table 3 that only 44.2 per cent of teachers serving in the tribal dominated areas are from tribal communities. The percentage of female tribal teachers is even lower. Since most of the non-tribal teachers are not aware of the life and culture of the tribals, it is difficult for them to appreciate the tribal way of life and take interest in the educational upliftment of tribal children.

Only proper functioning of primary schools can assure delivery of quality education and the functioning of schools in tribal areas depends on the regularity of teachers and the time spent by them on teaching. During our field visits, we found many schools functioning irregularly. Very few teachers reach school in time, particularly teachers commuting by bus or train adjust their schedule according to the availability of bus or train. Many teachers who commute by their two wheelers

(particularly male teachers) reach the school late and leave earlier than scheduled school timings. Thus, the erratic and irregular attendance of teachers limit the actual classroom teaching. Occasional absence of teachers for attending meetings, training and remaining busy in non-school related jobs such as conducting population or livestock census etc. adversely affect the total working days of the school.

More recently, two experiments have been initiated in Gujarat state to achieve the objective of universalization of primary education in record time. One is of appointing Vidya Sahays, i.e. teachers employed on contractual basis at salaries lower than those of regular teachers. Though they are trained teachers but they lack experience. Also majority of them are from non-tribal areas and are not from the tribal community. Second, is an innovative experiment of Alternative Schools (initiated in DPEP districts). Under this scheme poorly qualified local youths are appointed as teachers on incentive basis to start schools in smaller habitations where there are no schools. Both these schemes are, no doubt, cost effective. Since these programmes have been introduced very recently, it will take some time to assess their impact. However, the poor qualification of the para-teachers and a minimal training given to them are some of the factors, which limit their competence in providing quality education to tribal children.

3.3 Classrooms and Other Facilities

While improving access to school, improving the space and the facilities available to the teacher and the taught to make both teaching and learning a happy and enjoyable event, is also important. Table 3 further shows that, on an average, a primary school (I-IV) has 1.77 rooms and an upper primary school (I-VII) has 4.37 rooms. However, the distribution of schools by number of rooms suggests that as many as 20 out of 22 primary schools are operating in one or two rooms. Similarly about 60 per cent of upper primary schools have facilities of four rooms or less. During our visit to the schools, we found that in several schools classes were held either in the veranda or in the open space. Although majority of school buildings were *pucca*, several rooms were found with broken windows and doors and floor damaged. It was told by many teachers that the repair work is hardly done even when requested. Even the newly constructed school buildings were of poor quality.

So far as other facilities such as library, electricity, drinking water and toilet etc. are concerned two third of the schools had drinking water facility. They mostly have

handpumps for drinking water purpose. However, the toilet facilities were found to be quite inadequate. Only 10 per cent schools in Rajpipla and 20 to 25 per cent schools in Kaparada and Dohad had toilet facilities. Very few schools had separate toilet for girls. The schools of Palanpur taluka were found better placed so far as basic minimum facilities such as library, electricity, drinking water and toilets were concerned. The availability of furniture, maps, charts etc. were found to be quite inadequate in several schools.

It emerges that though single and two teacher primary schools are more prevalent in tribal areas, the functioning of these schools is however poor due to frequent absence of teachers. As a result the actual teaching time in these schools is low. In the following paragraph some of our observations on the quality of teaching and levels of learning achievements of tribal children is mentioned.

3.4 Quality of Teaching and Learning

Learners' level of achievement speaks volume about the quality of teaching delivered in primary schools. In order to test learners' reading and writing abilities, we asked one student from each row of class three and four in 16 schools to write their name, their class teacher's name, read one small paragraph from their book and solve three simple sums. Our assessment of 124 children showed that 74 per cent of them could write their names but less than 60 per cent children could write their class teacher's name correctly. Only 36 per cent of children were able to read fluently and could solve simple sums of additions and subtractions.

The National Policy on Education, 1986 has underlined many dimensions of the quality of education and substantial improvement in the quality of learning is one of them. The learning should take place in a child centred activity based classroom where, children should be allowed to learn at their pace without fear of a cane-wielding teacher (GOI, 1992). However, our survey shows that the levels of learning achievements are far from satisfactory in primary schools of tribal dominated areas.

To a large extent, the main reason for poor level of learning achievement among tribal children is poor quality of teaching. But there are also other important reasons such as the problem of medium of instruction, lack of adequate number of teachers, poor governance and supervision, uninspiring school environment and above all poor attendance of children.

Teachers lack adequate pedagogic skills that equip them to effectively teach subjects such as language, mathematics and science particularly in tribal areas. There have been recommendations in education policy document (GOI, 1992) that tribals be taught at least for the first two years in their mother tongue and tribal youths be recruited as teachers. But still majority of teachers in primary schools are from non-tribal communities. Interaction with teachers showed that their academic skills were rarely raised through special training in handling multi-class schools.

The importance of teaching in local tribal dialects is all the more essential for tribals of Gujarat who live in border areas of neighbouring states. The mother tongue of majority of tribals living in these areas is very much different from the language spoken in that region and has a great influence of neighbouring states like Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Hence, even a tribal teacher of the same region may find difficulty in teaching. A simple solution for this could be that the teaching and learning materials be prepared in local language by using pedagogic resources that exist in the tribal culture. It will help in making the classroom environment less alien for tribal children.

Finally it can be said that the conditions of most of the primary schools is deplorable. Enrolment is high but attendance is low. Most of these schools lack basic facilities such as adequate number of teachers, classrooms, supply of teaching and learning materials and other facilities such as drinking water, toilet etc. Schools located in remote areas are hardly visited by inspector of schools. Moreover, there seems to be a complete lack of concern for schooling among the people. Village headman seldom visits the school and the inspector does not meet the village leaders and interacts with them about the problems of the school. There is hardly any effective control and vigilance of Village Panchayats on the functioning of the schools. This is more true for remote villages. On the whole, schools and schooling in the tribal areas provide a gloomy picture and much more is required for improving the schooling facilities in tribal areas.

4. Role and Relevance of Ashram Schools

Since Ashram Schools have been recommended as an alternative to cover tribal children of sparsely populated habitations, we were interested in knowing more about the working of the Ashram Schools and the quality of education imparted in these schools. Hence, we selected 16 Ashram Schools, out of 44 such schools

registered in the study regions. While selecting the Ashram Schools for detailed study, care was taken to include both new as well as old schools. Basic information collected from these schools is presented in Table 4.

Shri Jugatram Dave, who was one of the members of the Committee of 'Ashram School Scheme, 1953' noted in his autobiography that providing free and compulsory primary education to each and every one was the responsibility of the state government. But in 1953, it was not possible for the government to start schools in each tribal village as these villages were mostly backward and unapproachable. Moreover, it was quite difficult at that time to get adequate number of children to run a school in each village. Under such circumstances, it was considered worthwhile to gather children of the dispersed habitations at one place and start a residential school. It was proposed that the voluntary organisations working in the tribal areas may be provided grants for running such schools through establishing Ashrams, (Dave, 1975; Joshi, 1980). Thus, Ashram Schools were recommended for the education of tribal children living in sparsely populated habitations. These schools being residential in nature are supposed to cater to the most specific economic and cultural needs of the tribals. For example, the children of the seasonal migrating tribal families can stay and study in these schools and the craft taught in the Ashram School can be of a real economic value to the children when they complete their studies. Moreover, the Ashram like environment also provides a cultural milieu to the tribal children. After 1953, a number of Ashram Schools have been started with the government support in different parts of tribal dominated areas of Gujarat. The number of such schools in Gujarat has increased from 135 in 1973 to 506 by March 2000 (GOG, 2000). Are Ashram Schools really catering to the educational needs of the tribal children? What is the role of these schools in achieving the objective of universalisation of elementary education? How different are Ashram schools from the formal schools in terms of quality of education? And more importantly, what is the relevance of these schools in present education system when there exists a primary school in almost every village? These are some of the questions addressed here.

4.1 School Enrolment, Teachers and Other Facilities

Out of 16 Ashram Schools, 13 were running primary sections up to standards seven and three were post-basic schools. Total number of tribal children enrolled in 15 schools (for which information was available) was 1926 giving us an average of 128.4 children per school. The sanctioned seats per school are 120 students and

the grant is made available for 120 students only. However, the number of children admitted varied from 98 to 150 or more. As many as 11 out of 15 schools reported more than 120 children on their rolls and thus stretching their capacities by enrolling more than 120 children for which the grant is being given. How do they manage for an additional child in a fixed grant and limited facilities such as space (rooms for accommodation and teaching) and other facilities is a moot point to discuss.

A total of 63 teachers (39 male and 24 female) were reported to be posted in 16 schools, giving an average of roughly 4 teachers per school. However, about one-third of schools were having three or less number of teachers and half of the schools had four teachers on their rolls. Around half of them belonged to tribal communities but not necessarily they were locals.

Regarding infrastructure and other facilities, it was reported that 14 out of 16 schools had their own building, while two schools were operating out from a rented building. The average number of rooms per school for teaching-cum-accommodation was 3.69. However, majority of the schools had library, electricity, drinking water and toilet facilities.

4.2 Functioning of Ashram Schools

Ashram Schools are generally managed by the voluntary organisations but government provides grants to run the hostel facilities attached to these schools. Currently it is given at the rate of Rs. 350 per child per month for ten months in a year, along with hundred percent grant for salaries of teaching and non-teaching staff and some grant for maintenance. The grant per child is meant to provide food, school uniform, soap, hair oil etc., to the children and also to meet miscellaneous school expenses such as fuel, light bill, etc. Similarly, the sanctioned post of teachers per school is four including the Principal. Four non-teaching staff include a cook and two helpers and one person known as *Kamati* to help doing agricultural activities on school land. It could be seen from Table 4 that several Ashram Schools had limited space for teaching and living accommodations. Average number of dual-purpose rooms (for teaching as well as living) was less than four per school. A few schools even do not have residential quarters for teachers and other staff. In few schools, we found Ashram School teachers commuting from the nearby town. The availability of teachers per school was also inadequate. As many as 5 out of 16 schools had less than four teachers and the percentage of tribal teachers in Ashram Schools was only 55 per cent.

Many of the school principals and managers remained silent in response to our query on how they manage for the space, food and other facilities for additional children when grant per school is given for 120 children only. However, some of them tried to explain the phenomenon in two ways. One that the most of the additional children come from the same village where Ashram School is located, hence, they do not stay in the school. Others reported adjustment in the menu of food served. However, it was learnt from the anonymous sources that the usual practice followed by some organizers is that the children are persuaded to go to their native places on holidays and sometimes on Saturdays and Sundays. Also least care is taken to get children return to school in time. This was also validated by our survey to some extent. For example, several schools reported very thin school attendance during our visit. An average attendance on the day of our visit varied from about 40 to 80 per cent in sample Ashram Schools. Moreover, attendance register is hardly maintained in these schools.

Part of the grant is for providing two school dresses each year to a student, but we hardly found significant number of students wearing school dresses. The percentage of children wearing proper school uniform was found to be in the range of 30 to 40 per cent on any day of our school visit. Late supply and improper stitching were the complaints made by the children. Children reported rare supply of soap, hair oil and milk. Although majority of Ashram Schools had electricity, yet many rooms were poorly illuminated. In many schools there was only one 40-watt bulb for 40x15 feet room where children stay. Fans were not found almost in any school.

It was reported that 13 schools had library facilities. The number of books (reported) ranged from 150 to 300, but both their usage and frequency of usage is not known as no records are being maintained. Similarly, most Ashram Schools are subscribing for daily newspapers. However, the students hardly read them, as there is no facility for the display. Often teachers and the principal read the paper and for rest of the time, it is found lying on the table of the school principal.

4.3 Ashram Schools: Are They Different?

Ashram Schools established during forties and fifties by the Gandhian workers like Shri Jugatram Dave in Surat and Shri Thakkar Bapa in Panchmahals had basic pattern of education. In these schools education was craft based. But basic pattern

of education was not introduced in other tribal areas of Gujarat (Joshi, 1980). Although agriculture is included as a craft in these schools but it is taught as one of the other subjects only. A tribal child hardly gets a special training in agriculture through these schools for the following reasons:

1. Several Ashram Schools do not have land for cultivation. For example, in Dohad ITDP area, 44 out of 114 Ashram schools reported to have no land. Similarly in Valsad ITDP area only 60 per cent of Ashram Schools had reported having land.
2. The little land that Ashram Schools have are getting reduced due to increasing construction activities in school premises and encroachment by villagers.
3. No scientific knowledge about agriculture is given to tribal children because neither the teachers nor the *Kamati* who looks after agriculture in these schools had ever received proper training of modern agricultural practices. The children usually get some preliminary understanding about agriculture. In fact, the parents of the tribal children had more knowledge of new agricultural practices than the Ashram School teachers and *Kamatis*.
4. Majority of Ashram Schools, hardly possess adequate agricultural implements and financial resources to do scientific cultivation. Most of the schools grow only monsoon crops, which have very limited yield. Thus, in majority of cases agriculture is a losing proposition. We did not come across any case, where Ashram School had earned substantial profit out of agriculture, contributing to the income of the school.
5. Moreover, educated tribal children are less interested to go back to village life and pursue agriculture. Desai (1975) observed that tribal society is entering into a second and new phase of change. The change is towards industrialisation and urbanisation. For educated tribal children there is no question of going back to village and pursue agriculture. His aspirations have changed. Both parents as well as child presently are more interested in non-agriculture jobs.

Thus, agricultural training given to the children in Ashram Schools is only a formality and has no practical use and relevance with the activities and aspirations of the children. Also, the production realised on the school lands, hardly adds to the income of the school.

As far as the quality of education is concerned, we did not find much difference between the teaching and learning methods of Ashram Schools and the formal

schools. The curriculum and the subjects taught in both types of schools are same. The evaluation procedure is also similar. Practically, there is no difference in teaching methods in both types of schools except one that Ashram Schools are residential in nature. Although, we could not carry out detailed performance tests of children of Ashram Schools, however, apparently, it appeared on the basis of the interviews of several children that the level of knowledge and understanding was not significantly different compared to the students of Government and Ashram Schools. There was also not much difference in the results of both categories of schools.

4.4 Are They Relevant Today?

What is the relevance of Ashram Schools in today's context, when there are primary schools in almost every village? This question has been asked from time to time (Desai, 1975; Joshi, 1980). According to the 'Ashram Shala Scheme, 1953', Ashram Schools were supposed to be started in areas where there were no school facilities. But today more than ninety per cent of the population of the tribal dominated areas of Gujarat has school facility within one-kilometer distance. Under such circumstances, what is the role of the Ashram Schools to cover unreached tribal children is a moot point. Our survey of Ashram Schools brings out two observations. One is that all the villages where Ashram Schools are located also have primary schools in these villages. Second, majority of Ashram Schools, including Post-Basic Schools are located in large or medium size villages. Thus, Ashram Schools play only a limited supplementary role rather than envisaged role of being a complementary one. It seems there are duplication of efforts in reaching out to the tribal children of medium and large villages. On the other hand, the children of very remote areas are still left uncovered by either of the school facility.

Another anomaly, which attracted our attention, was that the Ashram School Officer, who works independently of the state education department, implements the scheme of Ashram Schools. The grants given to these schools also come from the Social Welfare Department, hence, there is hardly any coordination between the offices of Ashram School officer and the District Education Officer to prepare and implement district education plan. This leads to the unequal distribution and under utilization of both Ashram and formal schools. Since Ashram Schools are not under the state education department, the inspector of schools does not visit these schools. Rather the entire monitoring and supervision task of Ashram Schools rests with those who are from the administrative cadre. They hardly have any

background or training to supervise the educational institutions. Therefore, it is very difficult for them to appraise of the problems of Ashram Schools.

Moreover, the management of the Ashram Schools rests with the voluntary organisations and all voluntary organisations are not equally competent to run the educational institutions. Our survey reveals that the management and the style of work vary from organisation to organisation. All are not equally sincere to the cause of tribal education, and also are not good managers. Some are committed while others are simply involved in this business to harness economic and political gains. Supervision of Ashram Schools by the district official is weak where political influence is more in the management of these schools. The former do not want to come in confrontation with the latter. Both believe in the policy of compromise and try to avoid confrontation. The efficiency of the institute is the causality in between.

4.5 Problems of the Ashram Schools

Running of Ashram Schools seems to be a costly affair. Average annual expense per Ashram School works out to approximately Rs. 8 lakhs consisting of Salaries Rs. 3.60 lakhs, Student grant Rs. 4.20 lakhs and other expenses of Rs. 0.20 lakh. This is for 120 students. Thus, average expense per child per year works out Rs. 6,667 approximately. This is not a small sum.

Moreover, the limited role played by Ashram Schools in the promotion of tribal education in the state is evident from the following figures. According to the latest data available as on March 2000, there were 506 Ashram Schools (426 primary and 80 post basic) in the state benefiting 58,671 tribal children. This formed only 5.1 per cent of the total tribal children enrolled in the state in classes I to X. Geographically very few Ashram Schools are located in hinterlands. Majority of these schools are either located in medium or large villages or where there are government schools already existing (Kumar, 2001).

5. Adarsh Niwasi Schools

As stated earlier, the Adarsh Niwasi School Scheme was introduced in 1986. These schools were established for talented students of scheduled tribes. The objective of this scheme was to provide secondary education in standards VIII to X and higher secondary education in science stream for XI and XII standards. These schools are

basically residential schools and have all teaching and education facilities comparable to central schools or Navodaya schools. The scheme envisages admission of 200 children in each school at the rate of 40 students per class from VIII to XII standards. Thus, all facilities in these schools are created according to the requirements of 200 students. Each school has a separate school campus with residential quarters for teachers, non-teaching staff and hostel facility.

At present there are 29 such schools (19 for boys and 10 for girls) benefiting about 3,000 children, giving an average of about 103 students per school. This is about half of the capacity created in these schools. Thus, most of these schools are operating sub-optimally. For these schools, the government is spending around six crores annually. In these schools all facilities are provided free of cost. This is one of the most expensive education schemes aiming at to provide quality education of science stream to tribal children. We visited two such schools, but got some data from one school only, a case study of that school is provided below. Though it is difficult to generalize anything on the basis of the study of one school, however, this case study provides a good illustration to depict the working conditions of this noble institution.

5.1 Adarsh Niwasi School, Dohad

The school was started in 1986 with the admission of 30 students in class VIII. The school has a large campus, located in an institutional area of Dohad town, about 10 kilometers away from the main town. About one crore rupees was spent by the government on the development of the campus. It has residential quarters for both teaching as well as non-teaching staff, a three storey hostel building to accommodate about 200 students, a big school building with all facilities including well equipped laboratory to teach science education. At present only 92 students are studying in this school.

5.2 Teaching and Non-teaching Staff

There were eight teachers and 16 non-teaching staff on the pay roll of the school. The sanctioned posts of the teachers are ten. Posts of teachers of crucial subjects such as mathematics and physics were reported to be vacant since 1996. However, all the teachers present in the school were found well qualified. The school also had a fairly good number of supporting staff.

Following are the details of the school staff:

Teaching Staff	M.Sc., M.Ed.	One
	M.Sc., B.Ed.	One
	B.Sc., B.Ed.	One
	B.A., B.Ed.	Five
Non-Teaching Staff	Hostel Warden	One
	Accountant	One
	Clerk	Two
	Cook	One
	Kitchen Helper	Three
	Hamal	Two
	Cleaner	Two
	Watchman	Three
	Peon	One

Earlier the school had one bore-well but for the last two years it is defunct. At present water supply is being made through tankers. The quantity is quite inadequate. The principal told us that the school had a hostel facility to accommodate 200 students but at present there are 92 students staying and studying in the school. The following is the distribution of students by class.

Class	No. of Students
8 th	47
9 th	23
10 th	16
11 th	5
12 th	1
Total	92

The main objective of Adarsh Niwasi Shala as stated earlier was to give education of science stream in standard XI and XII to the Scheduled Caste children. However, a very poor strength of science stream students, only 6 children in higher secondary classes (5 in class XI and only 1 in class XII) indicates towards a colossal under utilization of school capacities. Moreover, despite a high teacher student ratio (1:12) quality of education is very poor. The results of the school show a dramatic decline

since 1992-93. Besides poor performance, the school has had a very high rate of dropouts. For detail see Table 5.

Lack of adequate number of science teachers is one of the reasons given to us for the poor performance and high dropouts. However, it does not seem to be so because almost all teachers are working in the school for more than three years. Another explanation given was of recent change in the admission policy. Earlier admission was centrally done after passing an examination. At present, all those who have secured 50 per cent or more marks at secondary or seventh standards are given admission. Thus, most of the students admitted now are weak, as the quality of education in rural schools is generally poor, as told by the principal of the school.

Some of the above reasons may affect the performance of the school in the long run but one is unable to appraise of current situation when school has all the facilities to provide science education and also at free of cost. A detailed enquiry is required to look into the real reasons for such a pathetic conditions of the premier institution. It was surprising to know that not a single soul from the management side is living in the campus, except students. Even the warden is living in Dohad town a dacoity in 1998, which frightened them to vacate the quarters. No proper security arrangements have been made thereafter. The need for evaluation is more and urgent because government is spending annually on average, about 30 lakhs or more on this school. It works out to more than thirty thousand rupees per child per year. Such a colossal wastage needs to be stopped as early as possible.

It is clear from the above discussion that Ashram School and Adarsh Niwasi Shalas are quite expensive propositions and have helped very little in promoting education among tribals. The lopsided development be curtailed by proper planning in future so that these institutions can play both supplementary and complementary role in the education of tribals. It should be seen that only genuine voluntary organisations are involved in the management of these institutions. Handing over of Ashram Schools back to the state education department needs to be seriously considered for effective utilization of such facilities. Harubhai Committee, (GOG, 1984) also recommended transfer of Ashram Schools to the Joint Director, Education as it would help in the preparation and implementation of education plan for the tribal areas more effectively.

6. School Enrolment and Retention

Universal enrolment and universal retention are the other quality dimensions of the universal elementary education. Notwithstanding, massive expansion of primary schools and rising enrolment in the state, the non-enrolment and drop-out rates are quite high among tribals. The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) conducted a survey of around 35,000 households in sixteen states. Shariff and Sudarshan (1996) analyzed those data and estimated non-enrolment and drop-out rates across the states for different social groups. They pointed out that the Ever Enrolment Rate (EER) was 72.8 per cent for tribal boys and 55.9 per cent for tribal girls in the Gujarat state. Further, the EER was much lower for tribal children compared to other social groups and there existed a large gender gap in the enrolment ratios of male and female children. They also worked out Average Discontinuation Rate (ADR). The ADR for male tribal children was 10.5 per cent, which was much higher compared to other social groups and female tribal children had even much higher ADR than the male children.

The result of the Sixth All-India Educational Survey of 1993, examined by Kumar (2001) also found that a majority of tribal children in Gujarat who enroll in class one drop-out within a few years of schooling. For example, out of 100 tribal children who enter formal school in class I, only 45 reach to class V and another 35 leave the school before reaching to class IX. Thus, only 20 out of 100 children complete the primary school stage, and the drop-out rates are much higher for girls, at every stage of schooling.

The data collected from 10,842 households of 40 villages from four tribal blocks in Gujarat also throw some light on the enrolment status and reasons of school discontinuation for Scheduled Tribes and other social groups. It may be noted that out of 10,842 households surveyed, as many as 5,170 or 45.9 per cent did not report any school going age child i.e. 6-14 years, at the time of the survey. The enrolment status of the children of remaining households is presented in Table 6.

It is evident from this Table that non-enrolment and drop-out rates are quite high for tribal children compared to those of other social groups. For instance, about 12 per cent of boys and 20 per cent of girls of tribal households have not been enrolled in the school and another 9 per cent of both boys and girls dropped out from the school. Thus, a total of 21 per cent boys and 29 per cent girls of tribal

households have reported to be out of schools, compared to only 2 and 5 percent boys and girls respectively for Scheduled Castes and other caste groups.

A further analysis of enrolment status of tribal children by important socio-economic characteristics such as major source of household income and education of household head reveals some interesting results (Table 7 and 8). Table 7 shows that non-enrolment and dropout rates are low for the children of those tribal households who derive large part of their income from non-agricultural pursuits. While Table 8 shows high non-enrolment and dropout rate for the children of the head of households who are illiterate and these rates decline systematically with improvement in the educational level of the household head. The trend seems to be similar for both boys as well as girls. Interestingly, the percentage of children attending schools has been reported more than 90 for households with education above SSC level.

6.1 Reasons for Non-Enrolment and School Dropouts

Many committees/commissions and experts from time to time have pointed out poor economic condition as the major handicap in promoting education among tribals (Dhebar Commission Report, 1961; Vidyarthi Committee, 1972; Shah, 1985). Our survey of tribal households in forty villages also indicates that poverty and financial difficulty are the most important reasons for non-enrolment of majority of tribal children. This is true for both boys as well as girls (Table 9). Though the Government of Gujarat, under the TASP, provides various incentives and financial support for development and promotion of education among tribals, the small sum of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 by way of freeships and scholarships hardly works as an incentive to attract and retain children in schools. Moreover, the implementation of these schemes is poor. An evaluation by Kumar (2001) indicated that only 56 per cent of children reported to have received benefits of cash scholarship and around 50 per cent children got school uniform; and less than 10 per cent children received cash scholarship and uniform during first term of the school.

Taking care of the siblings when parents are out on work has been reported another important reason, particularly for girl children to remain away from school. Scheduled Tribes being traditional community, lack of tradition of education in the community and disinterest of both parents as well as children also keep about 30 per cent of tribal children away from schools. Interestingly,

lack of school facility in the village has not been reported as an important reason in tribal areas. It is mostly family related reasons that are more responsible for the children having never gone to school.

The tribal households give various reasons for children dropping out of schools. According to Table 10, the major reason reported for school dropout is poor learning achievement and failure in the class. Once failed in the study, the child loses interest in education and if he or she happens to be a non-performer for consecutive two-three years, the parents also lose interest and hope in the education of the child. This leads to discontinuation of studies for most of the children. There is, therefore, a need to further scrutinize the reasons for failure or non-performance of the child in the school. Non-availability of school facilities in the habitation and alien school environment also compel about 14 per cent children to discontinue the schooling. This is particularly true in the case of those habitations where school facilities at reasonable distance are not available especially for upper primary and middle level education. Among other reasons, help of the child in domestic work and for taking care of siblings has been reported as the main cause of school dropout for about 23 per cent of children. This is applicable more for girls than for boys. A large number of tribal parents, who get their children enrolled in school due to persuasion of teachers and fellow villagers, withdraw their children from school when they need their assistance for household or economic activities. Especially during the peak agricultural season, most of the tribal parents take out their children from schools. Thus, both the 'push out' as well as 'pull out' factors are equally working in a large number of tribal children leaving schools. Improving economic conditions of tribal households along with the provision of more and better schooling facilities and imparting quality education can help in reducing high school dropout rates in tribal areas.

7. Conclusion and the Way Forward

We have seen that access to school is much better in tribal areas of Gujarat. Nearly 84 per cent of predominantly tribal habitations had facility of primary schools and another eleven per cent such habitations had a school within a distance of one kilometer. But despite massive expansion of primary schools in tribal areas, still large number of children continued to remain out of school and dropout rates are quite high among tribal children. Various reasons have been

cited by the tribal households for low school enrolment and children dropping out of school without completing their elementary level of education. The most important among them are poverty, migration and lack of attitude and interest of parents in educating their children. In addition, lack of access to upper primary and secondary level schools, uninspiring school environment and low level of learning achievement and failure were reported as major school related reasons for low school retention rates.

Under the Tribal Area Sub-Plan Scheme, the state government provides various incentives and financial support for development and promotion of education among tribals. About Rs. 50 crores are spent annually on these schemes but the implementation of most of those incentive schemes is poor both in terms of coverage and quality. For example, only 56 per cent of children reported to have received benefits of cash scholarship and around 50 per cent children got school uniform; and less than ten per cent children received scholarship and uniform during the first term of the school.

The survey of infrastructure and schooling facilities makes primary education a wonderland in tribal areas. Single and two teacher schools are more prevalent in tribal areas and the functioning of schools is poor because of frequent absence and irregularity of teachers. This often leads to reduction in number of school working days and classroom teaching time. The impact of these is worse in schools located in hinterland areas and single or two teacher schools.

The average number of two teachers per school in the study area points to the fact that almost every teacher in primary school (I – IV standard) teaches to more than one class at a time. Moreover, only 44 per cent of teachers serving in tribal areas are from tribal communities and not necessarily all of them are local. Also, many schools are ill-equipped in terms of number of classrooms and other facilities like drinking water, toilets, library etc.

Multi-grade teaching is a common feature in schools located in tribal areas but teachers' academic skills are rarely raised through special training in handling multi-class schools. Besides inadequate number of teachers, poor quality of teaching has been recognized as the main reason for poor level of learning achievements of tribal children.

Ashram Schools have been envisaged as an ideal alternative to cover tribal children of sparsely populated habitations. However, our review of Ashram Schools reveals a sad state of affair. Not only these schools play a very limited role in terms of coverage of tribal children but also the quality of education in these schools is not very different from the formal schools working in the tribal areas. Moreover, the management of Ashram Schools rests with the voluntary organizations, which are neither competent to run an educational institution nor are sincere to the cause of tribal education. Above all, monitoring and supervision of Ashram Schools rests with the Ashram Shala Officers who are from administrative cadre. They hardly have any background or training to supervise the educational institutions. Therefore, it is very difficult for them to appraise of the problems of these schools.

Thus, universalization of elementary education is the real challenge for tribals who are socially, economically and educationally the most disadvantaged group. The problem is multi-dimensional, encompassing issues around access, enrolment, retention and quality of education. In order to ensure every child a fundamental right to basic education, the following is the way forward:

- Availability of schools within habitation facilitates easy access for children to attend school; therefore, efforts should be made to provide at least one primary school up to 4th standard in each predominantly tribal habitation.
- The number of upper-primary and secondary schools needs substantial increase because inadequate availability of such schools makes difficult the transition of children from the primary to middle and secondary levels. The current ratio of secondary to primary school in tribal areas is 1:14. It needs to be halved.
- There is a need of transferring management of Ashram Schools to the state education department. It will help both in effective supervision and monitoring as well as planning and implementation of district education plan in a more comprehensive manner.
- Every school must be provided with adequate number of teachers, teaching-learning material and minimum facilities such as drinking water, toilets, library and support for games and cultural activities.
- Adequate number of teachers and non-availability of sufficient number of teachers from tribal community are the two major problems of tribal areas. At present 15 per cent seats are kept reserved for tribals in teachers' training institutions. It is inadequate to meet the demand of tribal

teachers, considering the size of the tribal population in the state. So there is a need for more number of teachers from tribal communities. It can be done by increasing the present quota for tribal teachers. Creation of a separate cadre of tribal teachers, trained in Tribal Teacher's Training Centre could be another alternative. Two such training centres can be started one each in South Gujarat and North-Eastern region to meet the shortfall of local tribal teachers.

- For fighting teacher's absenteeism and irregular attendance of schools, there is a need for developing an efficient and effective supervision and monitoring mechanism. The schoolteachers and supervising inspectors should be made accountable for the poor school performance. Community participation in the governance of primary schooling system can yield better results.
- It has been well recognized that quality in basic education usually revolves around teachers' training and pedagogic aspects of learning process. Hence, the pedagogic skills of teachers, teaching in tribal schools need to be enhanced to handle multi-grade class environment till adequate number of teachers are not made available.
- The problem of medium of instruction is another major reason for children's low level of comprehension and learning, leading to low attendance and eventually dropping out of the school. Therefore, mother tongue should be the medium of instructions at least at the primary level.
- Tribal children are also highly irregular in attending schools because they often share the responsibilities of household chores and are engaged in family or paid labour. Migration for long duration also keeps many tribal children out of school. Instead of leaving them to their fate, they can be covered by expanding schooling facilities through alternative and/or mobile schools.
- The administration of direct incentive schemes such as cash scholarships, free supply of books and school uniforms to tribal children needs revamping. Efforts should be made to provide these benefits to the children in time and of adequate nature.
- Finally, what is required is improving and strengthening of various educational institutions existing in tribal areas and providing additional schooling facilities wherever required. In short tribal areas need 'more and better schools'.

Table 1: Schools in the Sample Villages

Particulars	Talukas				
	Rajpipla	Kaparada	Palanpur	Dohad	Total
No. of Sample Villages	10	10	10	10	40
No. of Schools by Type					
Primary Schools (I-IV)	4	11	2	5	22
Upper Primary (I-VII)	6	5	11	13	35
Secondary School (VIII-X)	1	1	1	1	4
Ashram Schools	2	2	-	-	4
Total	13	19	14	19	65
Average Number of Schools per Village	1.30	1.90	1.40	1.90	1.63
Distribution of Villages with No. of Schools					
No. of Schools	No. of Villages				
0	-	-	1	-	1
1	8	4	7	5	24
2	2	5	1	3	11
3	-	-	-	1	1
4	-	1	1	1	3

Source: Field Survey

Table 2: Distribution of Schools by Size of the Village Population

Size of the Village Population	No. of Villages	No of Schools				Total
		Primary Schools (I-IV)	Upper Primary (I-VII)	Secondary School	Ashram School	
< 300	4	3	-	-	-	3
300-500	5	3	2	-	-	5
500-1,000	10	2	8	-	2	12
1,000-2,500	16	10	17	2	2	31
2,500 & above	5	4	8	2	-	14
Total	40	22	35	4	4	65

Source: Field Survey

Table 3: Selected Details of Schools in Sample Villages

Particulars	Taluka				
	Rajpipla	Kaparada	Palanpur	Dohad	Total
No. of Teachers in Primary Schools (I-IV)					
Male	4	9	4	7	24
Female	3	12	-	5	20
Total	7	21	4	12	44
Teachers per school	1.75	1.90	3.00	2.40	2.00
No. of Teachers in Upper Primary (I-VII)					
Male	23	22	43	33	121
Female	8	17	28	24	77
Total	31	39	71	57	198
Teachers per school	5.17	7.80	6.45	4.38	5.66
Percent of Tribal Teachers in all Primary Schools					
Male	40.7	90.3	17.0	57.5	48.3
Female	36.4	75.9	-	37.9	38.1
Total	39.5	83.3	10.7	49.3	44.2
Percent of Teachers Staying in the Village (All Primary Schools)					
Male	22.8	40.0	27.7	27.3	27.5
Female	53.8	46.9	28.9	23.3	34.3
Total	34.9	43.3	28.0	25.7	30.1
Distribution of Schools by No. of Rooms (Primary Schools (I-IV))					
1 Room	1	3	1	-	5
2 Rooms	3	7	-	5	15
3 Rooms	-	1	1	-	2
Total	4	11	2	5	22
Distribution of Upper Primary Schools (I-VII) by No. of Rooms					
1 Room	-	-	-	2	2
2 Rooms	1	-	2	4	7
3 Rooms	1	1	2	3	7
4 Rooms	2	2	1	-	5
5 Rooms	2	2	6	4	14
Total	6	5	11	13	35
No. of Schools having Other Facilities					
Library	2	3	8	9	22
Electricity	2	1	8	7	18
Drinking water	6	13	10	9	38
Toilet	1	4	7	4	16

Table 3 Continued...

Total Enrolment Primary Schools (I-IV)					
No. of schools	3	11	2	5	21
Boys	73	395	120	210	798
Girls	32	321	67	134	554
Total	105	716	187	344	1,352
Average Enrolment per School					
Boys	24	36	60	42	38
Girls	11	29	34	27	26
Total	35	65	94	69	64
Teacher-pupil ratio	18	29	37	29	28
Total Enrolment Upper Primary Schools (I-VII)					
No. of schools	6	5	9	13	33
Boys	735	587	908	1,752	3,982
Girls	491	513	749	983	2,736
Total	1,226	1,100	1,657	2,735	6,718
Average Enrolment per School					
Boys	123	117	101	135	121
Girls	82	103	83	76	83
Total	205	220	184	211	204
Teacher-pupil ratio	40	31	34	48	39

Note: Enrolment data were available of 54 schools only

Source: Field Survey

Table 4: Basic Information about the Selected Ashram Schools

1. Schools	
Schools with primary section (I-VII)	13
Post basic schools (VIII-X)	3
Total	16
2. Year of Establishment	
Up to 1985 (Old schools)	9
After 1985 (New schools)	7
3. No. of Students	
Boys	1,066
Girls	860
Total	1,926
Average no. of students per School	128.4
4. No. of Teachers	
Male	39
Female	24
Total	63
5. Schools with No. of Teachers	
2	2
3	3
4	8
5 or more	3
Average Number of Teachers per School	3.9
6. Tribal Teachers	
Male	20
Female	15
Total	35
7. Average no. of rooms for teaching-cum-accommodation purposes	3.7
8. Schools with land	10
9. Schools with Goshalas	5
10. Schools with Facilities Such as	
Library	13
Electricity	13
Drinking water	16
Toilet	15

Source: Field Survey

Table 5: Yearly Progress of Adarsh Niwasi School, Dahod

Year	Number of Student			Per cent Passed
	Admitted in 8th Std.	Appeared in 10th Std.	Declared Passed	
1986-87	30	-	-	-
1987-88	41	-	-	-
1988-89	38	22	14	63.6
1989-90	41	20	14	70.0
1990-91	78	40	33	82.5
1991-92	74	32	29	90.6
1992-93	70	19	15	78.9
1993-94	37	26	7	26.9
1994-95	37	28	15	53.6
1995-96	68	20	8	40.0
1996-97	55	28	18	64.3
1997-98	48	33	13	39.4
1998-99	53	24	4	16.7
1999-2000	38	18	10	55.6

Source: Field Survey

**Table 6: Enrolment Status by Sex and Caste Group
(Percentage of School Going Age Children)**

Caste Group	Boys				Girls			
	Not Enrolled	Dropped Out	Currently Going to School	No. of Children	Not Enrolled	Dropped Out	Currently Going to School	No. of Children
Scheduled Tribes	12.4	8.8	78.8	4,075	19.9	9.1	71	3,052
Scheduled Castes	1.1	1.3	97.6	369	2.7	2.5	94.8	290
Other Backward Castes	5.2	4.3	90.5	1,073	10.9	6.5	82.5	812
Other Castes	0.6	1.3	98.1	668	0.6	3.6	95.8	501
Total	8.9	6.6	84.5	6,185	14.4	7.7	77.9	4,655

Source: Field Survey

Table 7: Enrolment Status of Scheduled Tribes Children by Major Source of Household Income

Source of Income	Boys				Girls			
	Not Enrolled	Dropped Out	Currently Going to School	No. of Children	Not Enrolled	Dropped Out	Currently Going to School	No. of Children
Agriculture	13.2	9	77.8	3,241	20.5	9.3	70.2	2,425
Agricultural Labour	9.9	8.7	81.4	312	15.3	11.4	73.3	255
Other Occupations	6.9	7.7	85.4	522	11.8	7.5	80.6	372
Total	12.4	8.8	78.8	4,075	19.9	9.1	71	3,052

Source: Field Survey

Table 8: Enrolment Status of Scheduled Tribes Children by Educational Level of Head of the Household

Educational Level of Household Head	Boys				Girls			
	Not Enrolled	Dropped Out	Currently Going to School	No. of Children	Not Enrolled	Dropped Out	Currently Going to School	No. of Children
Illiterate	14.4	10.3	75.2	2,797	23.8	10	66.1	2,051
Primary	8.8	6.6	84.6	897	11.9	9.2	78.9	699
SSC	2.9	3.5	93.6	311	3.5	4.7	91.8	255
HSC	2.9	-	97.1	35	-	-	100	18
College	-	-	100	35	-	-	100	29
Total	12.4	8.8	78.8	4,075	19.9	9.1	71	3,052

Source: Field Survey

Table 9: Reasons for Non-Enrolment of Children by Sex

Reasons	Boys	Girls	Both Sexes
No School in Village	0.6	0.9	0.7
No Tradition of Education in Community	6.7	9.6	8.3
Taking Care of Siblings	14.8	19.1	17.1
Poverty or Financial Difficulty	51.6	43.0	47.0
Not Interested in Education	12.1	10.7	11.3
Parents Not Interested in Education	8.9	10.8	10.0
Other Reasons	5.3	5.9	5.6
Total	100	100	100
No. of Children	494	581	1,075

Source: Field Survey

Table 10: Reasons for School Dropouts of Children by Sex

Reasons	Boys	Girls	Both Sexes
Alien School Environment	2.5	2.1	2.3
School Far Away/No Company	11.7	12.0	11.8
Failure	45.3	36.5	41.4
Seasonal Out-Migration	10.9	7.1	9.2
Domestic Work/Care of Siblings	15.9	32.3	23.1
Married	0.6	0.7	0.6
To Supplement Family Income	8.4	5.7	7.3
Other Reasons	4.7	3.6	4.3
Total	100	100	100
No. of Children	358	282	640

Source: Field Survey

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