

FORMAL EDUCATION AMONG THE SAVARA
(AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY)

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THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
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IN
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BV SHARMA

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

Date: 13-4-92

This is to certify that I, BV Sharma, had carried out the research embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under Ph.D ordinances of this university.

I declare that, to the best of my knowledge, that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree of any university.


(BV SHARMA)

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

Date: 24-4-92

CERTIFICATE

I hereby affirm that Mr. BV Sharma has carried out the research work embodied in the present thesis under my supervision and guidance. I recommend his thesis entitled, "Formal Education Among the Savara (An Ethnographic Study)" for submission for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.

B. Visham
Head

Head
Department of Anthropology
University of Hyderabad
Central University P. O.
Hyderabad-500 134

Dean

S. K. Reddy
DEAN
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

M. Madhavaiah
B. V. Sharma
Supervisor

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The increase in the per capita income is not a true index of development. The definition of development has been widened beyond the narrow economic concepts. It is measured in terms of an increase in the 'physical quality of Life' of the people, such as infant mortality, life expectancy at the age of one, and literacy rate. Education is not only an indicator by itself, but also influences the other indicators.

'The destiny of India is now being shaped in her class rooms' is a popular slogan. It is observed that education determines the level of prosperity, welfare, and security of the people. The National Education Commission, headed by Kothari **categorically** stated that quality and number of people coming out of the schools and colleges would decide the success of efforts in national reconstruction and the ultimate objective of raising the standard of living of the people (Government of India; 1966:3).

Education is viewed as the **basic constituent** of **the** social input which is indispensable for building up the capability of an individual and the community to bring about improvement in other areas of **life**. Education is one

of the indices of modernization. It is viewed as the critical factor in bringing about social and economic development. Planners in India like **VKRV Rao(1966)** earnestly pleaded for considering education as an investment. Dube(1968) stated that education would help in socialization of the child, development of human personality, social mobility, occupational change, and the rise of professions. He asserted that all inputs going to education contributed directly or indirectly to human development. Investment in education has to be viewed as an investment in man - an investment that alters the quality of life, on one hand, and provides basic knowledge for economic growth and technological modernization, on the other. A World Bank survey report envisaged that education has a major role in overcoming poverty, increasing income, improving health and nutrition and reducing family size. Commenting on girls' education, in particular, the Report stated: "educating girls may be one of the best investments a country can make in future economic growth and welfare, even if girls never enter the labour force. Most of **the** girls become mothers, and their influence, much more than the **fathers'** on their children is crucial. It has favourable efforts on the next generation's health, fertility and education" (1980: 38).

Having recognised the all pervasive influence of education, our country ever since it **embarked on planning** for **development** has been **emphasising on rapid educational**

development. Universal primary education is the constitutional commitment of our government. Formal education - the **institutionalised**, graded **and** hierarchically structured education system among **primary**, secondary and tertiary levels was adopted as the most suitable mode of achieving educational development. Non-formal education, organised and systematic learning outside the formal system, was thought as supplement to this, but not as an alternative or a short cut to the rapid education of the population. In tune with the resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations (1972), the Central and State Governments are making best efforts to extend facilities for education to all sections of the people.

As the **elementary** education lays the foundation for making one eligible for education at higher levels, it has been assigned a high priority in our country by providing for free and compulsory education in the constitution under the Directive Principles of State policy. This has been further reinforced and **reemphasized** through Minimum Needs Programme and new 20 point programme.

In spite of the efforts of the **Government**, the educational attainments of the masses of the country have not improved to any one's **satisfaction**. The differences with regard to educational levels of different sections of the population have not narrowed down. The attainments of

Scheduled Tribes (S.T) consisting of 212 groups, and the Scheduled Castes (S.C), who constitute about 7.85% and 15.4% of the total population of the country, in the field of education, particularly remained very low. Realising that these less privileged sections of the country need immediate attention, the Government besides continuing with the special provisions under the Articles 23, 46, 275, 330 etc, of the Indian constitution has also allocated more funds for their educational development. The programme wise break up of the expenditure shows that more than one-half of the budget allocation made for the tribal development was spent on schemes related to educational development.

However, the response to formal educational programmes by these poorer sections did not improve with more allocation of budget. The situation remained as worse as it was, by and large, in the case of tribal population. They did not respond to formal education with atleast half the enthusiasm with which it has been introduced. There was no large scale **improvement** in the enrolment of tribal boys and girls in schools. On the other hand, the stagnation and drop-out figures were as alarming as they were before.

In view of the above mentioned facts, a number of scholars and planners recognized the need for studies on formal education among the different castes and tribes. It was pointed out that the studies should focus on **'why** certain sections of population remain educationally

backward? The educational backwardness was to be seen in terms of (1) Why do a few, children attend the **school and** take up formal education, (2) Why a majority of those attending school discontinue during the primary school education or immediately after it? and (3) What are the reasons for the poor performance put up by those children in their studies?

The earlier studies have focussed on a variety of sociological factors that are responsible for the poor response to formal education. These studies, by and large, followed the western models. The 'variables' that were found to influence the education of the children of certain ethnic groups, were tested in the Indian context. Anthropologists, who were particularly interested to know the reasons for poor response to formal education from the tribals similarly tried to follow other social scientists in their methodology and attempted to find correlations between some socio-economic and cultural factors and the educational attainment. Some of them, however, adopted qualitative methodology and presented case studies to show how some specific cultural features of the tribals are hindering the spread of formal education among them. An attempt has been made below to present a comprehensive review of the studies, made outside India and also at home, showing how certain socio-cultural factors have a bearing on educational attainments. Following this, a review of the studies on formal education among different tribal

groups is presented. After this **exercise**, some observations on the studies on formal education among the tribals in India were listed out. Basing on those observations, it has been attempted to specify the approach adopted for the present study among the the Savara of Seethampeta Block, **Srikakulam** district, Andhra Pradesh.

The system of compulsory schooling for children in some countries did not give rise to the problems of enrolment, like in India. Studies in these countries mostly focussed upon absenteeism and poor **performance** of certain sections of the population. It was also assumed that absenteeism leads to poor educational attainment and drop outs are a consequence of poor performance.

The quantitative studies undertaken to identify different socio-cultural factors related to educational attainment varied in their **methodology** and scope. While some studies focussed on aspects such as the teacher or home environment, others focussed on aspects related to school. While some studies have taken to macro-approach with particular regions as units of analysis, others have taken the individual students as units of analysis. Most of the studies, however, used rigorous statistical methods, their samples being very large, varying between 1000 - **10,000** students or 50 - 500 schools, to show correlations between the variables studied.

With regard to absenteeism, studies in England

pointed out that girls were absenting more often than boys. Citizens Committee on children (1950), in the same country identified that children of the guardians who experienced separation from mothers, remain absent more frequently than others. Gill (1977) in his study showed that absenteeism is evident in the first and last school years and that the position of the person in the family also affects absenteeism.

The financial constraints have been highlighted in many of the studies. For example, UNESCO reports suggest that poor economic status of the family is closely related to child labour and this is the major cause for absenteeism in the schools in a number of countries. A study by Gill(1977) in England indicates similarly that persons pupil from lower socio-economic groups tend toward higher rates of absenteeism. Karpino's(1943) study in U S too, pointed out a marked relationship between the extent of absenteeism and family income. He found this relationship to be especially high for students of 16-17 years of age group. It is interesting to note that the financial constraints, health and distance from the school to residence were found to be important reasons for students' absenteeism in 1930's. However, they were found to be less important in 1960's.

Studies such as by Barber (1957), and many others in the later years revealed that absenteeism is more **because** of lack of parental interest and parental encouragement,

indiferent attitude towards **educat..on etc..**. These studies also correlated family aspirations for social mobility with absenteeism of children to school.

Factors related to the school and the teacher were also found to have an influence on student's absenteeism. But, Ruetter (1979) attributes absenteeism to the personal and home related factors. In a study in 1955, Margeret compared poor, average and superior high school attenders. Her findings were: Superior attenders come mostly from middle class houses, are better satisfied with schools. They had better attendance histories and were ranked high by their teachers on such traits as school interest, industry and responsibility and were more active in **extra-**curricular activities. Fornwalt (1956) while citing the psychological reason that the truants had difficulty in admitting their own short comings, also pointed out the teacher's negative attitude towards truants.

A wide variety of factors have been related to the question of performance. The factors range from the unequal distribution of educational facilities, to self fulfilling prophecy of the students to the most frequent occurence of premature births among the lower class people.

The '**educational ecology**' study by **Tylar** and Ayres(1969) showed an '**educational split**' between northern England and southern England. They compared the two regions with respect to educational attainments and some non-educational factors and concluded that certain **non-**

educational factors are related to educational attainment. In their study, they found: (1) the North had higher rates of adult **mortality**, sickness and injury and therefore, more one parent families with chronic sick parents; (2) its houses were older, were crowded, more often lacking basic amenities. (3) The Southern regions had higher family incomes than the Northern region. (4) The standard of adult education also varied. One showed 37 mothers in every 1000 to have received education upto sixth form, but the other had 136 for every 1000 mothers who had completed the sixth form. (5) The North had a higher proportion of the semi and unskilled, and a lower proportion of professional and marginal workers than the South. It had a higher rate of unemployment. (6) The wealth of the local authority measured in terms of income per child, has also been compared. The figures indicated the poverty of the North as compared to the South.

While comparing the educational outcome, it has been shown that in the North, a smaller percentage than the national average **stayed** at school beyond the minimum age, while in the South, the percentage was higher. The percentage of school leavers with two or more ' 0 ' levels in the North was just short of the national average while that in the South, it was above.

Majority of the studies with individual students as units of analysis, on the other hand, showed the socio-

economic status of the **students'** family to be an important factor influencing the performance. Havigurst and Jenke (1945), Blou and Duncan (1967), Stojavk (1966) and many others have pointed out this factor. Mc Pherson's study (1977) however, shows that the educational attainment of the boys is less dependent on family socio-economic status than girls.

Floud, Halsey et al (1956), and others, however, observed in their studies that family size, parental interest, parental aspirations, higher ordinal position etc. were essential factors than any others in the educational attainment of children. In many studies, size of the family, filial position in the family, parental education, mother's aspiration etc. have also been individually correlated. Stojavk (1966), for example found a correlation between parental education and the son's educational performance. He observes that although the financial resources to attend post secondary schools are available to all students, those from families of higher social and economic status tend to have higher educational goals and better grades. Students whose parents have a high school diploma tend to strive for the same or higher levels of achievement and deem lower levels of achievement as a sign of failure. Khal (1965) in a study while attempting to explain the differences between educational aspirations of American boys, similarly pins down to one factor: '**parental pressure**'. According to him, those boys

whose parents believed in 'getting ahead' and who internalised their concern tended to be sufficiently **motivated** to overcome the obstacles to educational progress that they **met** at the school. Other boys whose parents accepted the scheme of things and 'their own place in it' tended not to encourage a future orientation in their children and allowed their sons to 'do as they liked'. It was also observed that several of the 'getting ahead' parents were conscious of their own failures at school and were anxious to have their sons take a serious attitude to their school work and their future education.

Featherman and Hauser(1978) in their study observed that father's education rather than father's occupation has a greater influence on the **sons'** educational attainment. Se Well (1975) similarly concluded from his study that the "influence of father's education on son's education has maintained its position as the most important of parental background influences". A study by Craft (1979) indicated that the mother's aspiration than that of the **fathers'** influence **childrens'** educational attainment.

Some studies made an index of student's social environment and observed its influence on the performance. For example, Bhatnaagar (1955) had prepared index for such home related factors as :size of the family, children living with both parents/mother only; parental occupation; reading habits, and interest in schools. Dave (1963), Wolf (**1963**), Douglas (1964) and Vernon(1965) used similar

variables which were termed as "environment process variables" and observed child's performance vis-a-vis these variables. The variables which they selected were:

Achievement press; language models; academic guidance; activeness in the family; intellectual interests at home; and work habits emphasized in the home.

Fraser(1959) on the other hand, in her study in Scotland took slightly different set of variables as environment variables and found significant correlation for those variables with achievement. She selected: parents education; reading habits of parents and children; income; occupation of the father; family size; living space; parental attitudes to the education and future employment; abnormal home background; and a general impression of the home **background**, as environment variables.

Blou and Duncan (1967), Blake (1981) and others observed lower performance by the students for whom the size of the sibship is big among the black families. On the other hand, Jenks and Brown (1977) found that the presence of a brother raised **males'** educational attainment by .28 years. However, they did not find that having a brother raised **female's** educational attainment. In spite of this finding, the inter sibling effects on educational attainment were denied for quite some time. Jenks et al (1979) argued that the older brothers act as role models

for younger brothers, the importance of father as role model would be diminished. Olneck's study (1977) correlating the age differences of brothers with differences in their educational attainment suggested that brothers born close together were more alike in their attainment. However, they also thought this similarity in educational attainment to be a consequence of similarities in **environment**, than as sibling influences. But, Benin and Johnson (1984) in their study observed this relationship to be consistent with role modeling theory, as these sibs would have more opportunity to interact with one another. Benin and **Jhonson's** study also indicated that educational attainments were similar, more in the case of older brother - younger brother pairs and less for the older sister-younger brother pair.

In a study by Masser and Distler (1977) it was observed that in the case of single parent families, children living with **fathers' performed** well than children living with mothers.

School effects on child's performance is one topic which has kept sociologists of education busy for a long time. Contradictory findings presented with regard to this aspect by different scholars has generated a lot of debate in this sub-discipline. Murphy in his recent review pointed out the misuse of statistics in this regard and concluded that "it is unlikely that any one, except the statisticain, will find the differences between two groups

to be significant" (1985:106).

Coleman found that variation in school funding and facilities accounted for relatively little variation in pupil achievement. According to him, as far as "separate but equal schools were concerned, *the* "average minority pupil scores distinctly lower at every level than the average white pupil".(1966:21) For Coleman, differences in school factors account for only about 10-20 per cent of the total variation.

Jenks was more critical about the "school **effectiveness**". He could find no correlation between what a high school spends and its impact on students attainment. He has also remarked that "qualitative differences between high schools seem to explain about 2% of the variation in students educational **attainment**".(1973:159)

The British researchers like Reynolds (1976), Ruetter et al (1979) found contradictory evidence, to the American researchers. Reynolds noted that schools which attempted to maintain strict and extensive control over all aspects of their pupils (described by the author as '**refusing a truce**') was associated with higher levels of truancy and lower levels of going on to further education, than schools willing to negotiate with their pupils and less control over its pupils. Ruetter (1979) similarly found that his well matched secondary schools varied markedly with respect to their peoples behaviour, attendance, examination success

and delinquency.

Foreman's study covering 10,203 Negro students concluded that the performance of these children varied according to the schools they attended. The school varied according to size, racial composition of the students and teachers. **Kampin** (1954) similarly found that the school size, conditions of school building which were old but allowed freedom of movement for children, was found to be positively correlated to performance. The study also indicated better performance among the children attending schools headed by female teachers. **Knox** (1956) opined that good buildings and quality of amenities may affect learning, but it may do so as a result of the fact that they attract good teachers, who it may be assumed better motivated to work.

That the teaching makes a difference in performance of the students is initially proved by showing that the length of the school year or the number of required courses correlate the achievement. Such a study was made by **Herbert** and others (1974).

Allen (1974) and others suggested that one of the main reasons for the lower level of achievement by the Blacks and other lower class minorities was the negative attitude and lower expectation of achievement for these groups by their teachers. It has been argued by **Brophy** and

Goode (1974) that teachers from early in the school year had differential expectations regarding the achievement potential of their people. On the basis of these **expectations**, they treat students **differentially** and then these people reciprocally respond to their teacher treatment in ways that reinforce the **teachers'** expectations, and over time will gradually approximate the expectations more or less closely. Wewell and Hansen (1975) too opined that the **parents'** and **teachers'** expectations for their sons and students' affect the students own expectations and this will influence their **performance**.

With regard to teacher expectations and attitudes, it has been observed by Rich (1960) that poorly educated teachers were "less sympathetic" and had "more negative attitude" towards the children of lower classes.

Two important concepts have been developed while explaining the **individuals'** characteristics to his performance. It was observed by Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) that the '**scholastic self concept**' influences the student's aspirations with regard to education, which finally influences his real attainment. '**Scholastic self concept**' is a sense formed when the students compare their performance to the performance distribution of the school or class room.

Relating to scholstic self concept, Davis (1976)

coined another concept "frog pond effect". He says, "**in** the comparative process (scholastic self concept), the less favourable the out **come** of the relative **evaluation** of each student, (both by himself or herself and by others) the lower his or her level of aspirations". This negative relationship between the intellectual context of the school and aspirations has been labelled as '**frog pond effect**'.

As the above review shows, the research studies with quantitative methodology tended to high light one set of factors, either relating to school, home or teacher, rather than showing interaction mechanisms of such factors. The scholars who attempted the review of studies in the field of sociology of education made explicit remarks with regard to limited usefulness of such works (Byrne and **Willianson**; 1979). In fact, on some occassions, the authors of the studies themselves recognized the limitations of such studies. For example, Benin and Jhonson stated: "additional research is needed to **address... (sic)**. some of the interacting mechanisms in the causal process suggested **here**" (Benin and Jhonson, 1984:19). Maurice Craft (1979) points out the limited usefulness of these kinds of studies and also observes that sub-cultural studies of educability dealing with educational aspirations, attitudes and value system are still very few. Stephen Ball (1986), in a recent book has stated: "to be sure, much of the sociology of education done in Britain upto the mid sixties was only weakly

informed by theory, the emphasis was on **emperical** description through the accumulation of statistical data".(1986:14)

Byrne and Williamson (1979) made an attempt to present the interacting mechanisms of some of the factors which were identified as related to the educational attainments in the macro level studies using quantitative methodology.

The early studies on educational attainment indicated a strong relationship between social class and educational attainment. However, works of Douglas (1964) and others showed how certain socio-cultural factors are related to social class. Hence, it was thought social class is related to educational attainment only through its influence of certain familial socio-cultural intermediate **variables.**

Social class positive familial socio-cultural
intermediate variables positive attainment.

However, in the latter studies, social class determination of certain familial socio-cultural variables has been negated. Consequent to this finding the model was expressed as following:

Familial socio-cultural variables positive attainment

Tylor and Ayers with their educational ecology

studies, departed from this concern for socio-cultural factors. On the other hand, they found material environment as a major determinant of attainment. **Also**, they did not observe if there is any relationship between social class and this material environment. Their (implicit) model would run as:

Material environment positive Attainment

Eggleston introduced the notion of provision of educational resources as one of the determinants of attainment, while stressing the influence of high socio-economic class too. Though Eggleston labelled the variables as administrative variables, his concern was with such factors as **`age of the school building'**. Byrne and **Williamson**, hence contend that this model involves an element of **`resource'** determination. They expressed his model as:

1. Pattern of provision positive
attainment

Resources positive

2. High socio-economic class positive attainment

Byrne and Williamson differ from the above models. They find social class relationship with the educational attainment only through the interrelationship between high social class and availability of resources on one hand, and the elite oriented policy (which will lead to high

levels of **attainment**, if attainment is defined in elitist terms), on the other hand. According to **them**, low socio-economic status is likely to be related to the anti-elitist policy and it will be negatively correlated to attainment, if we define attainment in 'elitist terms'. But, the same is likely to be positively related to alternative, non-elitist, definition of attainment. In summary, their finding is: "those authorities with a high proportion in low social class resident within their area both devote a higher proportion of their income to education, than do authorities with higher social class constituencies, and spend their money on primary education rather than on secondary education, the reverse being true of the 'high social' class authorities".

Primary expenditure

Proportionate
importance of education

-ve

Resources

+ve

-ve low social class

High social class

Secondary expenditure

Model generated by Byrne and Williamson may guide some macro-approach studies, as it links social class composition of an area to the policy formulation of **the** authorities that in turn effect the educational attainment

of different groups of population in that **particular area**. **The model, however,** simplified **the problem** of showing **the** actual relation between the educational attainment of pupil to some school related aspects like the per capita expenditure on each student, excluding others. Moreover, **the** school effects (particularly with regard to relationship between what a school spends and the performance of its students) on **childrens'** performance has not been completely approved in some studies. The model, in any case cannot be applied in the Indian context, as the local authorities are not responsible for policy formulation, but the State.

Anthropological studies on formal education; ,

Anthoropologists involvement in the studies of formal education using qualitative methodology would enhance the understanding of the processes involved in the acceptance of education through formal institutions, such as schools. However, anthropologists have, by and large, failed to pay attention to such indepth studies on formal education. The studies on **'education'** by anthropologists dealt more with the informal learning during the enculturation process. In view of the greater emphasis placed on the realm of informal learning, the studies on cultural transmission have become the focus of Anthropological studies (Fredereck and Tindall, 1973). The Encyclopedia of Educational Research, pointed out the bias in **the studies on education**

by anthropologists by saying that anthropology of education, **means**, informal **learning**, by and large, with family and kin group support (Mitzel: 1982). The studies that distinguished between education and socialization, too did not refer to formal education. Socialization, for them meant activities, "that are devoted to the inculcation and elicitation of basic motivational and cognitive patterns through on going and spontaneous interaction with parents, siblings, kinsmen and other members of the community" (Cohen, 1971: 22). Education is the inculcation of standardised and stereotyped knowledge skills, values and etiquette by means of standardised and stereotyped procedures. The native mechanisms of 'education' such as repetitive recitation of lore, myth, and etiquette by grand parents to grand children around fires in crude shelters and working of the native institutional complexes like dormitories, were studied, rather than the formal educational system.

The study of formal education using qualitative approach, thus, can be said to be a recent phenomena. Studies on formal education, initially again focussed more on the results of such education, but not the process (Spindler, 1963). **Only** on a few occasions the descriptive analytical approach, using case study method was adopted in the study of educational process.. The studies did not build up broad theoretical paradigms, but explained the phenomena using the broad concept of culture. Scholars who reviewed

the works in educational anthropology noted that " in this field of specialization, there is an abundance of uncrystallized thinking and unrefined terminology (Theodore, 1963). In this context, Spindler (1963) also noted that, anthropologists can make substantial contribution to education by building up a body of case materials using technique of observation in different educational situations.

In the qualitative approaches to the study of formal educational process, the child rearing process became a central concern. The importance may be seen in the **statement** by Mead: "**Every** intellectual capacity that is later tested by achievement, test, or observation is intimately linked with early childhood experience, with the level of education of parent and nurse, with the structure and furnishing of the home, with the contexts with which the members of the family and the neighbourhood are preoccupied and with availability of the apparatus and technology on which abstract thought is **dependent**"(1971: 74). The studies emphasizing on child rearing practices for understanding of formal education in the west, pointed out that the values, attitudes etc. differ to a climate of experience that varies according to its family's social class. It is argued that the socialisation experiences of working class children and middle class children are distinct and the experiences of middle class children are likely to be better preparation for school

success.

Musgrove (1966), for **example**, summarized his study as **following**:

"The `good home' is an aid to success in our school system. It is small; the parents are ambitious for their children; the father is atleast a skilled manual worker; and if it is a working class home, the mother has preferably 'married down'. The father is somewhat ineffectual, perhaps, rather feckless, but one of the both parents are demanding, even ruthless in their expectations of achievement. Relationships in the home are emotionally bleak. The family is unstable and has moved often; the mother goes to work. The children grow up to be rather withdrawn and solitary, conscientious and given to self blame. They are `good grammar school material'.

Margaret Mead observed the need to understand the culture of the community, particularly the socialization process to explain the educational experiences of children of that community. Mead had suggested as how the emphasis placed on either reward or punishment in a society in the socialisation of children determined the education of the children. In the case of societies with repressive socialisation, the children's school performance is badly affected for they would always act out fear of **being** wrong. On the other hand, societies with **participatory** socialisation, the children actively **seek rewards for being**

right. **Mead** explains that such consequences as the above, are very important in the explanation of **childrens'** educational experiences (1971: 68).

Similarly, Mead suggests that the culture of a community would possess certain resources that make education of children easy and interesting. Referring to the acceptance of formal learning, she observed: "in primitive homes into which the idea of script will penetrate with conquest and community development programmes, are already a series of underlying expectancies that will partly shape the ways in which reading and writing will be learned. **One** of these expectancies will be the amount of curiosity that is cultivated within the particular socio-cultural setting. If there is a strong interest in the strange and the unknown, then the ground work is laid for looking at the pictures and later reading books about that which is not known"(1971: 70).

The study of early childhood experiences of children in holistic perspective to understand the success or failure of them in modern education system was emphasised by Mead while commenting on the abstract and concrete thinking being so heavily emphasised today. She stated: "the child who is cared for in infancy and early childhood by individuals of a lower level of education than **the** child will later be expected to reach, faces a different educational situation **than one who is reared** from infancy

by parents who represent the same level of education to which the child is expected to **aspire**"(1971: 74-75). She has further hinted: "on the cultural level it is possible to work out in some detail the consequences for later learning of living in houses constructed without benefit of any precise **measurment**, without clocks or **calenders**, or even toys that embody some of the principles on which the education is postulated.....(sic) the child who comes from housing built on the basis of explicit geometrical knowledge makes a different order of discovery of geometry than the child who comes from a circular thatched dwelling, or from a crazy, sagging hut made of broken pieces of tin" (1971: 76).

Jules Henry made a study (1971) based on life histories of two Negro children. He observed that the learning experiences of these two at school and at home. He showed how a particular boy, named Mr. Davids' experiences in the school are bad? For that, **Mr.David's** home environment is first characterised: "He comes from a lower social class family; father and mother are separated and neither of them lives in the apartment; His household is held together by his illiterate 59 years old great grand mother. The only adult male member, his uncle, is **'violent'**. The communication among the members of the household is limited. The **adults'** communication with the children is limited to commands and admonitions. The

organization of the activities are as disorganised as **the** furniture in the **house**"(1971: 276-277).

After having characterised the home experiences, the author explained as to why the boy is unsuccessful in **the** school. He is unsuccessful because he is an outfit in the school culture: "He acts up in a school which insists on strict order and discipline; teacher devalues David since she comes from a middle class; the principal and teachers believe that the only thing that makes an impression on kids is a strong arm; the school district is under pressure to 'make showing' and it's kids like David who give them a black **eye**' ; teacher promotion is related to achievement records of her **children**"(1971: 285).

The author felt that since the student has his own emotional problems that do not allow him to do well in the class, he is often inattentive etc. Then he observed,"under the conditions given above (school culture) the teacher is prone to express her irritation with children by violence. This makes the student's life as harsh as his environment at home. The result is an accumulation of anxieties beyond a point where school learning is **possible**"(1971: 285).

A study by Clark (1985) similarly, emphasized the socialisation process. On the basis of life histories of 10 children, it was pointed out that black child succeeds because his or **her** family acquaints him or **her with** social survival skills or knowledge needed to adjust to school **and**

to academic work in the class room; and he or she fails if the family does not transmit the appropriate cognitive competences.

Social survival skills which were studied by Clark include, ability to accept and follow rules, to maintain self **control**, to involve in construction of self directed activities, to enjoy orderly social interaction, and carry through and complete tasks.

Newson, Newson and Barnes (1977) similarly conducted a longitudinal study interviewing 700 mothers at regular intervals. Their study showed social class differences with regard to patterns of general cultural interests and also to what they called, '**home-school concordance**' (whether child takes things to school to show to the teacher, whether parents help with school work, and whether the child follows up school work with parents etc. Their study shows that the children of the unskilled manual groups, in contrast to the children of professional groups, share less restricted and narrower cultural interests. Further their parents show little involvement in the discussion of school inspired topics and often submit their ignorance to the **childrens'** doubts.

Lawrence's (1984) recent study too, dealt with the question of socialisation and schooling. Using '**exchange theory**'¹ he explained that Blacks drop-out early from the school since they tend to view US society as a closed

system within which they will be denied participation, regardless of their educational tenure. Factors that appear to influence the development of this attitude, according to him, include; perceived lack of opportunity in the occupational world beyond school; and discrimination and rejection experienced in schools and the treatment received from teachers and staff.

Some of the ethnographic studies have taken a 'cultural differences' approach to explain the ethnic school failure, and sought explanations focussing attention to specific areas such as language.

Bernstein had studied for instance the failure of working class child from a different perspective. One of the main ingredients of culture, the language models used, was systematically studied by him. According to him, 'the linguistic performance' and the 'forms of talk' or 'speech codes' as he calls them, within the family vary according to some socio-cultural features which different groups share. These speech codes determine the attitude to learning, the aspiration, motivation and the forms of social control. He observes that the 'restricted code' orients the speaker to relatively context-bound speech and "particularistic orders of meaning'. This type of speech he associates with working class children and also attributes that in this case, the structure of communication is closed and social control is through imperative mode ("Stop it'. Because I said so). The child

according to him, in this case may lack autonomy but attain a strong sense of social identity. The middle class children, on the other hand, use an 'elaborated code' which suits to the school environment and hence brings success to those children (1971: 182-189).

The interest in language patterns and speech styles adopted in schools grew to explain the ethnic failures (Philips; 1983). During the same time, ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkle too influenced the studies of educational anthropologists, to make ethnographies regarding how educational failure was being 'socially construed' in the everyday interactions between the teachers and students. These scholars focussed on the institutionalised communicative practices of school authorities. Such studies on Negroes pointed out that the 'black youth were given less counselling, attention in class rooms and the way to answer standardized tests (Foley; 1991). The ethnomethodologists too, in a sense emphasized cultural difference approach to explain the academic failure of ethnic minorities in west.

The recent interest in the detailed study of communication styles adopted by different actors in a particular setting revealed how the variability in academic performance may result when the teachers and students come from different cultural back grounds. Erickson (1987) describes, a situation in which teachers

and students misunderstood the verbal and non-verbal communication styles of one another. Studies by Heath (1983), Hymes (1974) similarly pointed out that conceptions of appropriate class room behaviour will differ depending upon the cultural background and socio-economic characteristics of individuals. What a student considers proper class room conduct may be interpreted as being any thing from withdrawal to disruption by the teachers.

To sum up, the smaller samples in the qualitative studies helped the scholars to explain why a particular trait, which stops/helps a child to attain education is present or absent. These studies though focussed on different aspects of culture arrived at more or less similar conclusions.

Bernstein's study as well as the studies by Jules Henry and Newson and Newson emphasized on the communication patterns in the households of those who fail to attain education. The '**restricted code**' in the forms of talk essentially means limited communication. Newson and Newson pointed out the same phenomena when they observed that parents show little inclination to learn and explain children's questions'. Similarly, Bernstein stresses on '**imperative mode**' in talks of form. The '**violent**' behaviour of adults in the case presented by Henry can be understood as an extreme case of such '**imperative mode of communication**'. The demanding nature of the parents and the ruthless expectations of the parents which Musgroove

points out in his study result in the imperative mode of communication. Similarly, both Henry and Musgroove found a common feature that the relationships in the home are emotionally bleak.

Cultural Resources, Learning Experiences and Schooling:

The qualitative studies can be discussed under the conceptual framework provided by Bourdieu (1970). He employs two crucial concepts in his account of the role of schools in transforming social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next. They are 'habitus' and 'cultural capital'.

The habitus, is essentially, "the culture of particular social group or class that provides the basis for the 'durable disposition' - the ways of seeing and making sense of world - of the child. The habitus is constituted afresh in each generation through the children's experience of socialization within their social group and in relation to the objective material conditions of their social world". He further observes that certain habituses constitute cultural capital in relation to the process of schooling while others do not. Bourdieu's attempt was to show that this cultural capital differs according to social class and is cause of the initial inequalities of children when faced with examination and tests and hence marginal achievement.

The linguistic models by **Barnestein**, the social survival skills by Clark, the inferences of Henry from the case study of home and school environment of Mr. David, the observations of Mead with regard to cultural resources that would be made available to children in a **country/family** can all be put under the broad category of **'cultural capital'**. The availability or non-availability of such **cultural capital'** would determine the educability of the children. However, Henry's study suggests that the failure of the student is not just because of the absence of cultural capital, but because that problem is compounded at the school. Thus, he suggests the following model.

$$O = f (E + S + P)T$$

Where O stands for the **student's** total educational experience, E for his experience at home, P for his peer group experience, and S for the influence of the school culture and T for time.

This model suggests that school success is a function of different elements. Negative role by any of these factors leads to school failure. But, possibility to overcome the negative influence by maximization of other factors is always there. Henry entered time factor (T) to suggest that the longer any process continues, the greater the effect it will have. This model by Henry takes a holistic view of the study of educational attainment, than others.

Formal Education in the Indian Context:

Following the lead given by the scholars abroad, many studies were conducted in India to know the social factors behind educability. The scholars associated with such studies, to mention a few, are Chitnis (1972, 1975), Desai (1978), Goswami (1969), Madan, et.al (1972), Sabarwal (1975), Shah and Patel (1977), Sharma (1974), Aphole(1962), Gorwaney (1974), Prakash Chandra (1975), and Shah (1975). Some of the variables which have been identified as influencing the educational attainments elsewhere, were picked up and their influence in the Indian context were tested. These studies among different caste groups, thus, pointed out certain statistical correlations between educational attainment, choice of subjects etc. with factors like sex, caste membership, income level of the family, occupation of the father, educational aspirations of the parents, family size etc. The scope of these studies being limited, no attempt has ever been made to build up conceptual models that include all aspects or variables that have been found to be influencing the response to formal education.

Studies on tribal education;

There are only few major works on response to formal education among different tribal groups in India. Studies undertaken by Sen Gupta (1964) among Santhals by Srivastava (1969) among Saoras inhabiting the Ganjam

district of **Orissa**, by **Naik** (1969) among **Bhills**, and the recently conducted studies by Shah and Patel(1981) among different tribal groups in Gujarat and by **Shyamlal**(1987) among the tribals of Rajasthan are result of projects sponsored by bodies like University Grants Commission, **ICSSR**, NCERT. The studies by Ratnaiah (1977) among the Gonds of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh and by Sita Toppo (1979) on tribals of Bihar were conducted for their doctoral degrees. In addition to the works mentioned above, the different commissions and committees appointed by the Government of India pointed out a variety of factors that are hindering the spread of formal education **among tribals**. Most of the major studies on formal education among tribals dealt with the quantitative techniques and did not go beyond drawing inferences based on comparison of statistical data relating to enrolment, absenteeism, stagnation and drop-out among children of different communities. On the other hand, many scholars who published short articles in different journals or read out papers in important seminars on tribal education listed out important and specific socio-cultural factors that are influencing the acceptance of formal education by different tribal communities. Their methodology is qualitative in nature.

It is attempted below to review different studies undertaken in India on formal education among different tribal groups and list out the factors believed to be

influencing its spread.

Lack of educational infrastructure:

Studies in different tribal areas by Kurup (1972), Madan(1952), Nag(1954), Sachidananda(1967, 1964), and also by the study team on Social Welfare of Backward Classes (1959) which enquired into the state of educational development among the tribals felt that facilities for education were lacking in tribal areas. Lack of facilities were thought to be the main obstacle for the spread of formal education.

During the successive Five Year Plan periods, the Government has increased allocation of budget to provide the **infrastructural** facilities for school education in tribal areas. But many scholars like Srivastva (1969), Lal(1972), and others writing about the reasons for educational backwardness recently, also identified the lack of **infrastructural** facilities as the main factor. On the other hand, some scholars who worked among tribal communities doubted the figures provided by Government to indicate the efforts taken to improve the educational attainments of tribals. Sinha (1981), for example observed: " The statistics do not quite convey the experiences of a person who efforts to visit one of the schools, particularly in the rural areas. He might end up with a non-existent school or a broken uneven raised platform, which once was probably a primary school. He

might run into a tilted roof supported by a few bamboo poles where a buffalo might be relaxing comfortably while the students of the school are taking private tuition in a shadow school being run at an affluent villager's place. With a little bit of luck the visitor might even locate a piece of wood hanging by a bamboo pole which might be the only black board around. The potential guardians grumble helplessly; but the outfit suits the students who do not have to confine themselves within the school as well as the teachers who can without any feelings of guilt mind their private tuition or household affairs at the same **time....**

" The teachers do come to the school if the head masters happen to be a strong person. **Ofcourse,** their punctuality is a matter of their convenience and their resourcefulness and status in the locality. They also have the job of running to the government officials without whom they might be put to all kinds of harassment. How a student in any of these schools experiences his learning process is anybody's guess. A dilapidated building, a three legged chair, an indifferent teacher without a black board or chalks, over crowded class rooms without proper sitting facilities are the realities of atleast half of our middle and primary **schools**" (1981:15-16).

The description of school in rural society as presented may not be quite true for a tribal school. The question of over crowded class rooms and the undertaking of

tutions by teachers may not be particularly true in case of schools in tribal hamlets.

Poverty of the tribals:

Some studies among tribal communities found hard to believe that lack of educational development among tribes is largely due to lack of **infrastructural** facilities. Ishwarlal (1971), for instance, thought: "The complaint that tribal children do not attend schools because there was no school does not hold true where there is a school in a village and still some school going children do not attend schools. It is necessary to explain this problem outside education. There are several studies on who go to school but the interest on those who do not go to school is of recent origin"

The poverty of the tribal parents received a special attention when search for other factors began. Tribal economy was discussed in reference to education by some scholars (Das Gupta, 1964; Naik, 1969; Ratha, 1981; Bose, 1970). Tribal economy was discussed in reference to education by some scholars. According to them, tribal children, both boys and girls, as soon as they attained 8-10 years, were obliged to share economic responsibilities and contribute to the family income. Sending them to school was, therefore, considered to be an economic loss to the family. It was also observed that, even if the boys and girls do not take part in economic activity, they help

the parents by looking after the younger children when the parents were away on agricultural work.

Medium of Instruction:

Language difficulties in learning process as one of the important variables for retardation, and early drop-out of tribal children was pointed out in many studies. While Banerjee (1962) categorically stated that medium of instruction was the determining factor of primary education among tribal students, Basu (1963) Banerjee (1962), Brahma (1953), Sachidananda (1967), Ratha (1981) and others agreed with the contention that medium of teaching had a great role to play. Pattanayak (1981) has more recently argued that "**both** education managers and teachers erroneously consider economic and societal reasons solely responsible for low achievement. The fact that language plays a major role in the low performance of the tribal child has not been properly **appreciated**"(1981:80).

Lack of motivation and educational aspiration:

Banerjee (1962) trying to locate the causes for differential effects on primary education in tribal areas of West Bengal found that non-location of a school was not a barrier to the **progress** of education. On the other hand, factors like low level of educational aspirations, lack of motivation for education were cited as primary reasons for the low level of educational attainments in several tribal

groups.

The study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes (1959), the Committee on Tribal Development Blocks (1960), Sachinanda (1964), Das Gupta (1963), **Ambashat** (1970) observed lack of motivation and apathetic and indifferent attitude towards education. Ratnaih (1977), Toppo (1979), Shah et al (1981) and many other recently observed low educational aspirations of tribal parents, and also of children attending schools.

However, the type of school was found to make a difference as far as motivation for education was considered. Presence of strong motivation for education was noticed wherever missionary influence was high, and where other voluntary organisations had tried to spread education (**Elwin** 1966; **Ambashat**, 1970). In a recent study by Shah and **Patel** (1981) found that more percentage of women are attending school in recent years than the percentage of women who were attending a few years back. From this they inferred that the attitudes towards education are changing in the recent years in many tribal groups.

The content of education:

With the demand for uniform pattern of education, **the** content of education is the same as the one offered to non-tribals. According to many scholars, this is the main

constraint for the spread of education in tribal areas. Scholars have pointed out that the present syllabi of education had little relevance with the life of tribals. As **Pattanayak** (1981) pointed out "the education system offers little by way of **tribal's** culture in school curriculum. It has not recognised the tripple axes of the cultural identity of a tribal in terms of '**tribalism, pluralism and nationalism**' and has not evolved any strategy which will ensure a smooth transition from the home language to the school language at an early stage so as to permit him to avail of the benefits of higher studies without loss of cultural identity and individuality". He further stated that the language text books in the school seldom teach the skills; even at the very primary level books attempt to present literature. The child is taught to learn the text book by heart. The lack of cognitive skills of **abstraction, deduction, and argumentation**, which are essentially based on language learning', further hinder the success of the tribal boys and girls (1981: 89). Sharma (1991) in the book titled, '**Educational Life Styles of Tribal students**' too, observed that: "The tribal people can be benefitted from education. They can learn but they can derive little value from programmes that are based upon the general mass or for non-tribal peoples who come from the middle and the upper middle class socio-economic status."

Aiyappan (1948), Brahma (1953), Biswas (1955), Sachidananda (1967), Pattanayak (1981) and many others argued that the content of education as far as tribals were concerned, should have a vocational bias. They suggest that tribal education be related to productivity in a manner relevant to the tribal social life and economy, credit is given to the child's work at home, and his latent skills are recognised and developed in the school as part of the educational programme.

Teacher's attitude toward tribals:

Ambashat (1970), Ratha (1981) and others recorded the social distance observed between the non-tribal teachers and tribals and also suggested that the tribals preferred tribal teachers. Basu (1961) was of the opinion that education through tribal **dormitories** was successfully imparted to tribal children in the past. Elwin (1959) had earlier suggested that schools should become as much a tribal institution as morung (dormitory).

Government policies:

Pattanayak (1981) was very critical about the governmental policies towards tribals. He states that Government interferes in every aspect of tribal life, shifting cultivation, utilization of forest produce and tribal justice. He says, "tribal is then punished for **his** cultural values, his life style and his ethos about which

judgement has already been passed by a ruling society which has determined the 'main stream' in its own image and to its best advantage. This, the tribal naturally considers **enimical** to his interest. There is no wonder that the tribal people are not keen to take advantage of an education which appears to them to be a calculated move to destroy their social **fabric**".(1981: 90)

Role of the teacher in tribal village:

The teacher in the tribal village is not just an instructor in the **school**. The residents of the village expect of him many other advantages. He is also expected to take part in the village festivals and village panchayats. Ruhela (1969), and others felt that if the teachers fail to play their role they will not be accepted by the tribals.

Teacher absenteeism:

Many of the recent studies conducted among different tribal groups point out the unofficial closure of schools due to **teachers'** absence. In this context the lack of supervision was also noted by many scholars. It has been observed that in some **states**, tribal schools are managed by three agencies, the education department, the tribal welfare department, **and** voluntary agencies. "As education department have no special staff, and tribal welfare department has no expertise in the field of education, in

many states tribal schools have not been inspected for 10 **years**, if not more". Ratha (1981) felt that the appointment of husband and wife teams in tribal schools would check the unauthorised absence of teachers in tribal schools.

Ashram School:

Apte (1960), and others discussed the tribal problems in general and pointed out the significant role which the Ashram schools could play in the spread of formal education in the different tribal groups they studied. However, in a recent study by Desai and **Patel** (1981) in Gujarat, the stagnation and drop-out rates in the Ashram schools and non-ashram schools were found to be the same. Hence, they inferred that opening up of Ashram schools cannot solve the problem of education in tribal areas.

Other factors:

A very close examination of the reasons for the failure of the tribals in utilising the facilities for education, revealed factors like: tribal beliefs with regard to the location of schools; age at marriage of tribal boys and girls; unsuitable school hours; vacation time; cumbersome admission procedure, the inferiority complex of tribal boys and girls in the class etc. Similarly, Sachidananda (1967), and **Shyamlal** (1987) observed that the major spurt in the spread of tribal

education during the last three decades of the present century in parts of Bihar, Rajasthan and Gujarat is mainly **due** to the role played by the Christian missionaries.

Naik (1969), Rathnaiah (1977), Toppo (1979), **Parvatamma (1974), Shah and Patel (1981)** and others have tried to show correlations between some **socio-demographic** factors and educational attainment. Naik in his study on Bhills found significant correlation between family size and economic status with enrolment of tribal children in schools. Ratnaiah and Toppo, similarly found in their study among Gonds and Orans, respectively, positive association of literacy level, education of the parents, political status of the parents with education of the children.

Some observations on the studies in India:

1. Major works on formal education in tribal areas are very few. Many of the studies dealt with comparisons of educational attainments of different tribal groups and non-tribals in the area studied. As has been mentioned earlier, those studies which attempted to offer socio-cultural explanations for the poor educational attainments tried to quantify the responses and identify the **'variables'** influencing the formal education in tribal areas.

2. The inadequate provision of facilities, economic status, socio-political status, parental education, parental interest and encouragement, family aspirations with regard to children's education and occupation, size of the family, filial position of the student in the family, negative attitudes and lower expectations of achievement by the teachers etc. are some of the variables that have been identified both in the context of tribals and other ethnic groups elsewhere.

3. The discussion on unsuitable school hours, vacation time, responsibility of the other children to look after the younger brothers and sisters, the role of Ashram school etc. have been discussed in the context of poor economic status of the tribals. Economic status was found to be influencing the response to formal education in many countries.

4. Studies which dealt with lack of employment opportunities for the first generation educated tribals come close to the study of **Lawrence's** study using exchange theory.

5. However, such factors as the sibling similarities, self fulfilling prophecy, frog-pond effect, etc. were not considered in the studies in India.

6. School effects on **childrens'** performance were not observed adequately by comparing the schools varying with

regard to design and type of school **building**, social composition of students and teachers, per capita expenditure on student, the sex of the head of the school, the nature of the management etc.

7. In addition to some of the **factors** that have been pointed elsewhere, some specific features such as the cultural pressures for an early marriage, for training the females to 'motherly' roles, the beliefs regarding the location of schools have also been discussed in the studies among tribal communities.

8. The failure of the teachers to play their '**role**', the medium of instruction, the irrelevant content of the syllabi are also similarly specific to the tribal education in India.

9. The scope of the studies being very narrow, these studies offered no insight into the problem by studying all the aspects of formal education, and so no framework has been offered for future research.

The changing situation and the need for a new approach:

The early studies among different tribal communities and the suggestions made there upon brought out many changes in the formal education system in tribal areas. Initially studies pointed out the lack of infrastructural facilities for formal education. Efforts were subsequently made to improve the situation by providing **pucca** buildings

and appointment of teachers. The poverty of the tribals was discussed in relation to the economic value of the children and the social roles of adult females and males to look after the younger ones, in the later studies. The role of the Ashram schools where a better academic environment could be provided and where the tribal parents will be relieved of their financial burden as far as their ward's education is **concerned**, has also been highlighted. Similarly, the need for opening of Anganwadis and Balwadis to relieve the adult females of their social responsibilities to look after their younger brothers and sisters has been stressed.

The failure to explain the phenomena of **unsatisfactory** utilization of school services and the academic failures of tribals in India may be particularly due to lack of indepth ethnographic studies of schools and specific communities demonstrating the culture-school congruence. The cultural differences in value orientations and learning styles in schools and community need a special emphasis for understanding of this phenomena. The present study is an attempt in this direction.

The Savara of **Seethampeta** block of Srikakulam district have been selected for a case study. The Savara perceptions and ethnographic account is aimed to explain the phenomena of why only some children attend school and also why majority of those attending fail in their academic

pursuits. It is proposed to observe how the Savaras evaluate their perceptions with regard to formal educational system **like**, what is taught, how it is taught, who teaches, how long it is taught, etc against their cultural values, norms, beliefs and demands for encouraging their wards to attend school. Similarly, it is intended to identify how the lack of certain cultural resources or social survival skills lead to lower educational attainments and withdrawal of the children.

The fact that certain children of the same community become academically successful lead us to believe that the school-community cultural differences become salient under certain conditions. Taking the model of Jules Henry into consideration, it might be possible to know how the negative influences of culture could be over come by maximizing other factors. In this regard it is proposed to identify the socio-economic and demographic differences between the school going and non-school going children and also identify the differences with regards to different aspects of formal education like enrolment, attendance, performance and drop-out behaviours of children with differences in schools.

METHODOLOGY

As has been stated earlier, the objective of the present study is to enquire into the reasons for the low achievement of tribals in the field of education. The purpose of this research is to explain poor response from these groups to formal education, in general, through a cultural analysis of both school and the community. Keeping in view the objectives of the study, it was proposed to undertake a case study of one of the tribal groups in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

For the purpose of this study, it has been desired to choose a community: 1) whose literacy and educational attainments have been recorded as very poor, compared to others, and 2) amongst whom no indepth studies were conducted in the field of education. Following the above criteria, Savara tribal community, a primitive tribal group (PTG) inhabiting the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh has been selected. The selection of Srikakulam district is keeping in view the fact that about 28.2 % of total Savara population in the state of Andhra Pradesh inhabit that particular district.

As the nature of the study demanded, data more of qualitative nature, it has been desired to select **not more than** three villages for an intensive **field-work**.

Seethampeta Block in Srikakulam district is most

populous as far as Savara tribe is concerned. For this reason, it has been proposed to select the three villages for intensive field-work from this Block. Since the observation of school culture formed part of the study, only those villages in which atleast a Primary school was located needed to be selected. This criteria eliminated the selection of some villages in the Block. The following three villages were selected, finally, for reasons of availability of minimum facilities to conduct anthropological field research:

1. Mutyalu ;
2. **Manapuram** ; and
3. Manda

However, for the collection of secondary data with regard to enrollment, attendance, performance, stagnation, and drop out of school children, all the 16 Primary Schools functioning in villages predominantly inhabited by Savaras have been selected. This data is for an understanding of general response to formal education, and also for an analysis of differences in response to formal education with differences in schools. The list of the villages where the schools were located is presented below:

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| 1. Mutyalu | 2. Manapuram |
| 3. Manda | 4. Sarangi |
| 5. Jonaga | 6. Seedi |
| 7. Tadipai | 8. Gondi |

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| 9. Kusumuru | 10. Gadidapai |
| 11. Antikonda | 12. Kottakota |
| 13. Valagadda | 14. Manda Colony |
| 15. Thottadi | 16. Chinnamanuguda |

Organization of field-work:

For the purpose of the study, field-work was carried out for about 18 months during the years January, 85 and November, 86. The time spent and the activity undertaken at different places was as follows:

<u>Period</u>	<u>Activity</u>
January, 85 - March, 85	Stay at Block Head Quarters Meetings with officials at the office of the ITDA, Block Development Officer, Deputy Inspector of schools etc.
	Collection of data for selection of villages and schools from secondary sources.
	Visit to different Savara hamlets for finalisation of selection of villages for intensive field-work. Collection of Secondary data data from schools located in different Savara hamlets.
	Interviews with teachers.
May, 85 - September, 85	Field-work in Mutyalu village
November, 85 - March, 86	Field-work in Manda village
July, 86 - November, 86	Field-work in Manapuram village

While doing **the field-work in the three selected**

villages, one full month was spent for observations in the school.

The researcher had conducted field-work amongst Jatapu and Savara tribal communities inhabiting the Seethampeta Block **earlier**. The contacts and the data obtained during that time also helped **immensely** in the present study.

Data collection;

The researcher had to pay visits to different Savara hamlets for the selection of suitable village for intensive field-work, initially. He took advantage of these visits and data collection from school records relating to **enrolment**, attendance, performance stagnation and drop out of the Savara boys and girls, as well as other data relevant for **comparison** of different schools with regard to performance was completed during that time.

The data required to make an ethnography of the tribe was collected while living in the three Savara villages for a total period of 16 months. The census data as well as the data on household types according to the genealogical composition, numerical strength, the marriage, the primary and subsidiary occupations, etc, which was intended to be quantified was collected from all the households in the three villages. The qualitative data on the socio-economic and religious organisation and socialization was also

collected from respondents in all the three villages. The information obtained in each of the villages on these different aspects was checked and rechecked in other villages to achieve greater reliability of the data.

For the data relevant for the understanding of organization and functioning of schools in the Savara **hamlets**, the researcher visited the schools in each of the three selected villages on 30 working **days**, while conducting field-work in the respective villages. The data with regard to interaction patterns between the students and the students and the **teachers**, the teaching and learning process **etc.** were obtained by spending time in the school itself from the time of its opening to closure in a day.

In accordance with the nature of the study, greater importance was attached throughout the field-work for an understanding of values that are emphasized in the Savara community, the way the values guide the actions of the people in performance of different tasks relating to family, marriage, economy, polity, religion etc., the process of internalization of values of the community by the Savara children etc. Similarly, collection of data on attitudes and perceptions of the adult Savara towards different aspects of formal education also received a priority.

While making observations in school, the

researcher recorded the school culture as it emerges in **the** organization of activities of the school and **the** interactions of school personnel and the pupil.

The qualitative data was collected by recording the statements of the people during their interactions with one another and with the researcher. The researcher recorded the events as they occurred in the field to infer the values, perceptions **and** attitudes of the people with regard to different aspects of real life situations in the community and school.

Rapport establishment:

The need for a good rapport particularly when case studies and such other qualitative information is to be collected, is **undisputable**. Trusted and friendly dealings with informants would only provide **information**. The researcher adopted different methods for initial contact and rapport establishment with the three selected villages. The differences in the approaches are explained below.

The Mutyalu village was familiar to the researcher. This is because, he had selected the same village for field-work earlier. An accidental event that took place while proceeding from Palakonda to **Kusimi** (the nearest village from where the villagers of **Mutyalu** avail bus facilities) in a private bus earlier **created good**

impression amongst the villagers of Mutyalu, while travelling along with some other Savara people of the village. During the journey, the researcher pleaded on behalf of the parents of a child for charging only half fare for whom the conductor of the bus was demanding full fare. The parents of the child felt **extremly** happy for helping them in getting the concession. This couple later passed on the message in the village that `the researcher was a good person and that he came to the rescue of the poor **people**'. Thus, this unintentional and dramatic incident helped immensely to lay down a good foundation for building rapport in Mutyalu village.

In view of the familiarity and rapport with the villagers of Mutyalu, the researcher directly approached the President of the Gram Panchayat, Mr. Basanna, and other members of the village and revealed his intentions of living with them for a few months. The initial contact in the case of Manda village was through the Auxialiary Nurse and Mid Wife (ANM) working at the sub-centre at **Chinakamba** village. As Manda village came in her jurisdiction, the ANM used to frequently visit that village. As dactaramma, she is very **familiar** to the villagers.

The ANM introduced the researcher to **some**, whom the villagers consider, "peddamanushulu" (village elders). The "peddamanushulu" included, the President of the Gram Panchayat, two members of the Gram Panchayat and two others

whose economic status was better.

The researcher approached the members of the local voluntary organization at **Manapuram** for his introduction to the villagers. It was informed earlier to him, by some teachers working in the schools in villages neighbouring the Manapuram, that the people of Manapuram have great respect to the "Brothers", the members of the organization.

The members of the local voluntary organization did not introduce formally to the villagers as done in the case of Manda village by the ANM. The Brothers introduced the researcher as another Brother of the organization who had joined them.

The first seven to ten days atleast in all the villages were spent without collecting any data through formal interviews. Efforts were made during these days to meet as many villagers as possible and get acquainted with their first names. In Mutyalu village the researcher preferred to sit for long hours at the place where the Panodu used to undertake his work. As many adult members used to visit that place and sit for long hours, the researcher had the opportunity to involve in informal discussions and establish friendship with the members. Similarly, in Manapuram village, the researcher had spent considerable time at the tea stall and **informally** met the members of the village who visited it. In his meetings,

the researcher tried to explain the purpose of his visit and win their confidence. The researcher had faced little difficulty in Manda village initially, for it was thought by them that his visit was connected with some Government enquiry. Only after a prolonged effort, the researcher was able to overcome this problem.

In the initial stages of field-work, after having succeeded in establishing rapport with some members, the socio-economic census data of each household was collected. The collection of this data and general genealogical information helped further to establish good relations with members of each household. When the villagers found some difference in the researcher's method of enquiry and eagerness to learn about their way of life, the people slowly started conversing with the researcher freely. Whatever reluctance was faced initially, was overcome slowly with personalized conversations about their fields, individual problems etc.

Use of a tape recorder helped in establishing friendship particularly in the Manda and Mutyalu villages. Since many members in these two villages were not familiar with this gadget, they were very much delighted to hear their recorded voices. The equipment generated curiosity and helped researcher in getting cordial welcome in all the houses in the villages.

Medicines brought for personal use were offered to ailing patients during the field-work. Eatbles (such as papads and biscuits) were freely distributed to children. At the time of field-work, the villagers were facing acute shortage of kerosene. When the researcher distributed **kerosene**, the excess of which he carried, the villagers were happy. This helped to gain the confidence of elderly people and the women. During the field-work, minor presentations were also accepted by the researcher without any reservations. No distance was maintained in the dealings with children and youth.

During the later stages of field-work, the people were more open in their discussion with the researcher. The people in all the three villages treated him as their kinsman. Kinship extensions were established. The 'peddamanushulu' many-a-time asked the researcher to join their team while settling family and personal disputes that would come to them. Similarly, the heads of different households freely approached him for his advice in dealing with their personal problems, more particularly when they had to deal with **Government** officials for selection as one of the **beneficiaries** in some scheme.

Tools of the study;

Traditional anthropological tools were used for gathering qualitative and quantitative data from each household in the village and the functionaries involved.

An account of the type of data collected through each method is given below.

Interview schedules: Three different semi-structured interview schedules were designed for collection of qualitative and quantitative information from selected respondents.

(a) **Household schedule:** The schedule was used for collecting socio-economic data about each of the household by administering it to the head of the household. The schedule was aimed at obtaining information relating to members in the household, type of family, family composition, economic status, health status, including morbidity and mortality, details of educational attainments of members of the household, etc.

(b) **Schedule for the school teacher:** The schedule was administered to gather data pertaining to teacher characteristics like, his family background, educational attainment, teaching methodology, conceptions of his role, attitude toward tribals, job satisfaction, relations with members of the village where he is employed etc.

(c) **Schedule for parents of the school going age children:** The schedule contained questions to know the views of the parents with regard to 'education', 'school', 'teacher', and also to get an idea about the degree of interest evinced in their ward's education etc.

Interviews: The technique of interview was very

frequently used for data collection. Indepth interviews were conducted with different members of the households for information on **socio-economic organisation**, the child rearing and socialization process, the rituals, and religious life of the people etc., with the use of interview guide. The school drop outs were also contacted and interviewed similarly to know the circumstances under which they had to discontinue their studies.

Language and use of **interpreters**: As many members in all the selected villages were able to speak Telugu, the researcher did not face great difficulty to communicate with them. However, at times when the researcher desired to follow the conversations between the Savara men, women and children (as for example, when the adult members of the village called a meeting to discuss certain issues relating to celebration of festivals, leasing of **tamarrind** grooves to the **non-tribals**, settling of disputes between the members of the village or when members in a particular ' family met to discuss the work distribution or when the parents or other family members were passing remarks at the activities of the children, or during the conversations amongst the children while playing or undertaking some work or when the members of two different villages met to decide about marriage payments etc.) the researcher had to depend on interpreters. The local Savara boys who could speak Telugu well, were employed for the job of interpretation. In Mutyalu village, the help of local

school teacher who was conversant with Saavara language was also taken many times. Similarly in **Manda** village the local Anganwadi teacher (female) assisted the researcher in translating the conversations made in Savara language into Telugu.

Use of tape recorder for interviews: Initially, the researcher used an audio cassette recorder for recording the interviews and later transcribed the information to the schedule. But, on many **occasions**, it was felt that the respondents were not able to feel free as they were extremely conscious of recording arrangement. Hence, this method was not adopted throughout. Only when the interviews were conducted at the room of the researcher during the night time, when the researcher was not able to take the points on paper because of lack of electricity facilities, the use of cassette recorder was resorted to. But, then most of the times, the informants were not aware of its use.

Time and place of recording: No specific timings were maintained for interviewing. During day time most of the villagers, both males and females, used to be away from their houses for work. So mostly the interviews were conducted in the evenings after their return from **fields/forest**. The place of interview was also not strictly adhered to. Many a time, this depended on the convenience of the respondent. While conducting **interviews**, the neighbours and some other kin's men of the

interviewee used to be present and also participate in the discussion. The concept of personal privacy for these people being very different from that held by others, the presence of other members at the time of interview did not affect the interviews. The presence of more than one respondent at the time of interview helped also in checking the accuracy of the data. In fact on a number of occasions, the respondents took the help of other members to recollect some events of the past.

Case studies: Case study method was also frequently used for collection of specific and detailed information on a particular subject. Case studies of children in different categories of families viz: single parent, joint, extended etc. were collected as it was thought, that data would be very useful for an understanding of the factors which influence both positively and negatively, in the response to school education in the Savara community. Throughout the field work, the researcher resorted to observation of both participant and non-participant types, for finer details and verification of data collected through the use of several techniques of data collection. Further, through observation, it was possible to check the disparity between what people say and what people do.

A brief outline of the selected villages:

The total number of households in each of the three selected villages, **Mutyalu**, Manda and **Manapuram** are, **38**,

TABLE 1.1(a)

Distribution of population by age, sex and marital status in Mutyalu village.

Marital status		Age-Groups (in years)										To	
		< 6	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50		50 +
	Married	-			1 6	6	8	6	4	7	3	3	
M	Unmarried	4	1 8		9 4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	
A	Widowed	-				1	-	1	-	-	-	4	
E	Divorced	-	-	2	2	-	-	2					
S													
	Total	4	18	10	12	10	8	7	6	7	4	7	
F	Married	-		1 13	13	11	9	6	4	3	1		
E	Unmarried	10	15	10	3			1					
M	Widowed	-							1	1		1	
A	Divorced	-					1				1		
L													
E													
S													
	Total	10	15	11	16	13	12	9	8	5	4	2	1
	Married	-		1 19	19	19	15	10	11	6	4	1	
T	Unmarried	14	33	19	7	1	-	-	1	-	1		
0	Widowed	-					1	-	1	1	1	5	
T	Divorced	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	
A													
L													
	Total	14	33	21	28	23	20	16	14	12	8	9	1

TABLE 1.1(b)

Distribution of population by **age**, sex and marital status in **Manapuram** village.

Marital status		Age-Groups (in years)										To		
		< 6	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50		50 +	
	Married	--		-5	10	8	7	6	5	4	3			
M	Unmarried	6	10	9	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		
A	Widowed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1		
L	Divorced	-	-	--	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		
E														
S														
	Total	6	10	9	9	11	9	7	7	6	4	4		
F	Married	-		1	5	1	3	1	0	5	6	2	4	1
E	Unmarried	8	9	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
M	Widowed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2		
A	Divorced	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-		
L														
E														
S														
	Total	8	9	11	7	15	10	5	7	4	5	3		
	Married	-		1	10	23	18	12	12	7	8	4		
T	Unmarried	14	19	19	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		
O	Widowed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	3		
T	Divorced	--	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-		
A														
L														
	Total	14	19	20	16	26	19	12	14	10	9	7	1	

TABLE 1.1(c)
Distribution of population by age, sex and marital status in Manda village.

Marital status	Age-Groups (in years)											To		
	< 6	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	50 +			
M A L E S	Married	-		4	4	9	1	2	6	7	7	4	2	
	Unmarried	7		1	4	5	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	
	Widowed	-	-						-	-	1		1	
	Divorced	-	-			1			-	-	-	-	-	
	Total	7	14	9	8	10	12	6	7	8	4	3		
F E M A L E S	Married		1	2	6	12	10	6	2	5	3			
	Unmarried	5	11		4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	Widowed	-	-							1		2		
	Divorced	-				1		-	2					
	Total	5	12	6	6	13	10	6	4	6	3	2		
T O T A L	Married		1	6	10	21	22	12	9	12	7	2	1	
	Unmarried	1	2	2	5	9	3	1	-	-	-	-		
	Widowed	-								2		3		
	Divorced	-			1	1			2					
	Total	12	26	15	14	23	22	12	11	14	7	5	1	

22, and 32 respectively. Mutyalu and Manda villages consisted of two non-tribal households **each**, the non-tribal households were three in number in **Manapuram** village. One of the non-tribal households in case of both Manapuram and Manda was that of a 'Panodu' family. The total population of each of the selected villages varied between 161 and 198 . The distribution of population of each village, according to sex, age and marital status is presented in the Table 1.1. The most important observations we may make with regard to the distribution of population by age, sex and marital status are:

- 1) The sex ratio of the population in each of three villages, namely, Manapuram, Manda and Mutyalu is 102, 116, and 112 females per 100 males respectively.
- 2) The significant percentage of population falls in the age-group 21 - 25 years in Manapuram and Manda villages while the majority of the population in Mutyalu village belong to the age-group of 16 - 20 years.
- 3) The percentage of married persons is 63.3% , 57.3% and 53.0% respectively, in Manda, Manapuram and Mutyalu villages. The census count also indicates that a great percentage of men and women are married by the age of 21 - 25 and 16-20 years respectively.

The literacy and- the educational attainments of men and women by age groups is presented in the Table 1.2. As the data indicates a great majority of the population in the three villages are illiterates. The **number** of persons

TABLE 1.2

Distribution of population by age groups and educational attainments

AGE-GROUP (in years)	MUTYALU				MANAPURAM				MANDA				Total
	IL	L	P	S+	IL	L	P	S+	IL	L	P	S+	
Less than 6	14	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	40
6-15	21	6	27	-	8	4	24	3	15	3	23	-	134
16-25	46	2	1	2	18	8	10	6	29	-	6	2	130
26-35	36	-	-	-	22	6	3	-	33	1	-	-	101
36-45	26	-	-	-	23	1	-	-	25	-	-	-	75
Above 45	16	1	-	-	15	1	-	-	12	-	-	-	45
Total	159	9	28	2	100	20	37	9	126	4	29	2	525

IL = Illiterates, L = Literates, P = Primary
S+ = Secondary and above

who received Primary education are also a few and such persons are aged less than 6-15 years.

Political leaders: The members of the three villages have been participating actively in the **elections**, particularly at the level of Gram Panchayats. Basanna and Mangadu, the residents of Mutyalu and Manda villages have won the elections for the post of Gram Panchayat of their respective villages. Mangulu of **Manapuram** village contested for the post of President of **Kottakota** Gram Panchayat, but lost the election in the year 1986. In the three villages, a total number of five persons have also won the elections to become members of the Gram Panchayats. Manapuram earned the distinction with the election of **Smt. Sumbari** as the only female member of the Gram Panchayat.

Youth associations and Mahila mandals: The youth of the Manapuram village organised themselves to establish a youth association. The association has a membership of 38 members and is registered under the Societies Registration Act. This youth association undertakes a number of programmes for the benefit of all the members of the village, under the guidance of the local voluntary association. The Women Welfare Officials of the Block organised the women folk in Manda and Mutyalu villages to form Mahila Mandals. However, the Mahila Mandals in both the villages have not been actively undertaking any activity.

Location: The three villages selected for the study are located in three different directions from the **Seethampeta** village, which is the Block Head Quarters. Mutyalu lies to the East, Manapuram to the North, while the Manda village lies in the North-East direction. Mutyalu and Manda villages are located on hill slopes, but Manapuram is in plains. Manapuram village has been established when certain Savara families from 2-3 hamlets migrated to occupy the Government constructed colony after the **Naxalite** movement in this part of Andhra Pradesh in the early **70's**.

Communication facilities: Physical communication facilities are poor to all the three selected villages, though Manapuram village being a roadside village in the plains enjoys better communication facilities than the other two villages. Manda village is connected to another village by name, Gondi via which passes the road linking Palakonda and Kotturu, by an all weather road. Mutyalu village is located on a hill slope. At the foot hills **Kusimi** village is located . **Kusimi** is connected by a tar road to Palakonda. But, to reach Mutyalu, one has no other option than to climb up the village by foot from Kusimi. On the other side of the hill on which Mutyalu is located, a bigger village by name, Sarubujjili is located.

Manapuram village is located at about 15 kms. from the Block Head Quarters, on the side of the road connecting Seethampeta and the Veeraghattam **town**. Villagers of Manapuram may avail bus facility from their

village itself, as two State Road Transport run buses between **Veeraghattam** and Palakonda pass via their village. The inhabitants of other two villages can avail bus facility to reach town only after covering a distance of about 2 - 4 **kms.** by foot. **However,** bicycles and bullock carts do serve the purpose of transportation of men and goods for the inhabitants of **Manda** village, sometimes.

The nearest town from where the rail facilities are available for the residents of all the selected villages is **Srikakulam** Road at a distance of about 40 - 60 kms. from their villages. The residents of Manapuram and Mutyalu need to change atleast two buses to reach Srikakulam Road.

Postal and communication facilities: For the residents of all the three selected villages, Postal facilities are available only in the neighbouring villages at a distance of about 3 - 5 kms. Manda village, however, has a special distinction. In the year 1986, telephone connection was provided to the President of the village Panchayat under the rural telephone services. This is the only Savara hamlet in the entire Block where telephone facility is available.

Electricity: At the time of field-work, only Manda village has been provided with the facility of electricity. The electrification work for Manapuram and Mutyalu villages was

under progress.

Health care facilities: For the services of a qualified Medical Officer posted at the Primary Health Centre, the villagers of all the three selected villages need to travel 5-8 kms from their respective villages. However, the residents of the village Manda may avail the services of a trained multipurpose health worker posted in the sub-centre at Chinnakamba village, located at about three kms. from their village. The residents of Manapuram benefit from the medical services provided by one of the qualified personnel of the local voluntary organization (Girijana Seva Samithi), founded by the Brothers of St. Gabriel. While there were no Health Guides in two villages, namely Manapuram and Manda, one of the school drop-outs of the village has been selected for this post.

Non-Formal Education Centres: Government sponsored N F E centres are `functioning' in two out of the three villages. These two villages are, Mutyalu and Manda. In Manapuram village, the local voluntary organization runs a Ratri Badi (night school) to benefit the school drop-outs.

Anganwadi centres: Anganwadi centres started under the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) by the Central Government, are located in all the three selected villages. The centre is located in its own building in Mutyalu village, while in the other two villages, they are functioning at the residence of the teachers in charge of

the Centres.

Fair Price shops: The fair price shop managed by the G C C, which supply rice, kerosene, oil and other essential commodities at subsidized prices is located only in Manapuram village. The other two villages are deprived of this facility. The inhabitants of these two villages would go to the neighbouring villages by foot to purchase the commodities from G C C run fair price shops.

Weekly Markets: The nearest village where a shandy is organized once in a week, are located at a distance of about 3-5 kms. for all the three villages. The place where the shandy is organised, the distance of the place to the village, and other details have been presented below:

Village	Place of shandy	Day	Distance	Transport
Manapuram	Polla	SAT	4 kms.	bicycle, bus and by foot
Mutyalu	Kusimi	FRI	3 kms.	by foot
Manda	Seethampeta	MON	5 kms. 3 kms.	by bus by foot

Exposure to mass media: Exposure to mass media, particularly to print media, in all the three villages is very limited. Though no family subscribed for supply of newspaper in any of the three villages, some members in Mutyalu and Manapuram reported borrowing the paper from the local school teacher and the members of the local voluntary organisation, respectively. Only 16 households owned radio

sets in the three villages. The residents of three villages get exposure to film media when they watch movies in the nearest town (seven to nine **kms.** away). Occassionally, the District Public Relations and Information officials arrange exhibition of films on environment, **health**, family planning and other themes in their own villages.

Chapter 2

RESPONSE TO FORMAL EDUCATION

As observed earlier, the central and the state governments and other agencies are making best efforts to promote formal education among the tribals. The response of the tribal people, however, remained poor. The studies on different tribal communities living in different parts of India, indicate that the **infrastructural** facilities provided for formal education are not being put to proper use. In this chapter, the extent of utilization of **infrastructural** facilities provided for formal education, by the Savara is outlined.

The response to formal education has been observed with reference to enrolment, attendance, average performance, stagnation, and drop-out behaviour of the boys and the girls. The data on these different aspects of formal education has been obtained from schools established in 16 Savara hamlets. Except in five hamlets, schools in all other hamlets have been functioning for the last ten or more years. The data obtained for ten years since 1976-77 is analysed and presented below.

Enrolment:

The data in Table 2.1 shows that the percentage of boys and girls enrolled in schools **among** the children of

TABLE 2.1

The school going age children and enrolment

Year	School Going Age Children			Number enrolled		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1976-77	309	274	583	295 95.5	251 91.6	546 93.6
1977-78	326	290	616	311 95.4	278 95.8	589 95.6
1978-79	349	295	644	337 96.6	274 92.9	611 94.9
1979-80	342	268	610	339 99.1	266 99.2	605 99.2
1980-81	367	296	663	361 98.4	275 92.9	636 95.9
1981-82	375	321	696	362 96.5	285 88.8	647 92.9
1982-83	377	283	660	369 97.9	259 91.5	628 95.1
1983-84	397	293	690	380 95.7	250 85.3	630 91.3
1984-85	363	267	630	338 93.1	229 85.8	567 90.0
1985-86	387	291	678	357 92.2	248 85.2	605 89.2

school going-age, is very impressive. More than 90.00% of the boys and 85.00% of the girls of school going-age have been enrolled in schools in every year during the last ten year period. These figures are quite **impressive**, because even in **1981-82**, the average all India enrolment of children in 6-11 years is 83.07%. The average enrolment in the state of Andhra Pradesh is only slightly better than the all India average, but less than the percentage of enrolment observed in the study area.

In the year **1979-80**, 99.01% of the boys and 92.02% of the girls in the school going-age have been enrolled. This shows an increase of enrolment by over 4.00% in the case of boys and by about 7.00% in the case of girls from the year 1976-77. This is a remarkable progress considering the fact that the rate of growth in enrolment percentage during the period from 1967-68 to 1981-82 for scheduled tribes as a whole is only 4.06% .

However, the data also shows a disappointing trend in the enrolment after the year 1979-80. After a gradual increase in the enrolment percentage from the year 1976-77 till **1979-80**, there is a fall in the same from the year 1980-81 onwards in the case of both the boys and the girls. The fall in the enrolment is more conspicuous in the case of girls. The enrolment percentage of girls decreased by about 6.00% in the year 1980-81, while in **the case** of the boys the percentage decreased to 98.04% from 99.01% in the year 1979-80.

The gradual decrease in the percentage enrolled, continued both in the case of boys and girls till the year **1985-86**. By **1983-84**, the percentage of girls and boys enrolled decreased to 95.07% and **83.04%**, respectively, while in that year it has been hoped to attain an enrolment of 95.07% of both boys and girls in the age group of 6-11 years in the whole country. In 1985-86, the percentage of boys enrolled is 92.02% . This is less by about 7.00% as compared to the figure in 1979-80. Similarly, the percentage of girls enrolled in 1985-86 being 85.02%, is less by about 14.00%, as compared to the percentage of girls enrolled in the year 1979-80.

Spurious enrolment:

The data from the records at school and Office of the Deputy Inspector of Schools presented earlier give an impression that the response to formal educational programme, particularly in terms of enrolment of children is generally very **satisfactory**. The decreasing trend, though in the enrolment is little disappointing, the minimum percentage of enrolment being more than 92.02% in the case of boys and 85.02% in the case of girls during the ten year period, is more than what has been observed in the case of many other tribal groups within the state and outside. Yet, many a scholar working particularly in the field of tribal education refuse to accept the findings based on the data obtained **from school records**. Serious

doubts are expressed with regard to the reliability of data from such sources. Govind Nayar observed: "I have seen that many of the schools do not have the percentage of attendance they claim to have. Many of the students whose names are on rolls attend the schools very rarely. They just show their face on the inspection day... so their presence in the school has only statistical importance. These students later on figure in the stastical data as drop-outs from schools which they are not **actually**, because they never attended in the true **sense**"(1978 : 15).

Explaining the increase in the **enrolment**, a teacher working in a single teacher school in Vojjaiguda village candidly remarked:

"Our authorities are more interested in the paper work. They ask us to work for targets. We '**achieve**' the targets on paper".

An official of the M.D.O. office responsible for extension of education takes a lenient view of the whole issue and expressed surprise over the failure to achieve 100% enrolment of children in the school in some villages. He exclaimed:

"After all what is the difficulty in knowing the names of boys and girls not attending the school? The teacher need not even have to visit all the households for information. The villagers live so close by and have good intimacy with each other. Any one in the village can

reveal the needed information. What all the village teacher need to do is to sit for only a few minutes with any one in the village to obtain the list of the children not attending school. Once he has this, he has to only enlist them in the register to achieve the 100% enrolment".

Another functionary in the ITDA office at Seethampeta reveals the secret of achieving 100.% enrolment. He stated:

"The teachers and the inspecting officials are interested in the enrolment as every student thus enroled is sanctioned a scholarship. Most of this scholarship amount is pocketed by the teachers forging the thumb impressions of the innocent and illiterate parents of the tribal children".

It is quite evident from the above statements of the teacher and other officials that the enrolment of children is made without the involvement of the parents or the children. The teachers enroll all the eligible children without caring whether they actually attend the school or not. The officials are not serious to verify the records and get to know the truth. Inview of this, a wide gap occurs between the data obtained from school records and the reality. Hence, there is now a growing concern in the studies about the spurious enrolment. The literal meaning of spurious being **`false'** or **`not** genuine, spurious enrolment refers to false enrolment. Operationally, it has been defined as "those students who have been continuing to remain on rolls but their attendance is almost negligible".

It is very difficult to estimate the spurious enrolment of children in any school. But, methodologies have now been suggested to estimate the spurious enrolment in the grade I. The extent of spurious enrolment in Andhra Pradesh, for example, is estimated by Jain (1984) to be around 43.07% in the case of the boys and 48.06% in the case of girls in the year 1962-63. The extent of spurious enrolment increased in successive years from 1956-57. In the case of boys, the increase is only 1.00% in the year 1962-63, as compared to the percentage observed in the year 1956-57. But, the study indicated a rise by about 5.00% in the year 1962-63 from the year 1956-57 in the case of girls. This increase is understandable. The enrolment of girls in schools has generally been very low and so, there would have been more pressure on teachers to improve the situation in this regard. In view of such pressure, the extent of spurious enrolment must have increased and the actual enrolment remained the same.

Following Jain (1984), an estimation of the extent of spurious enrolment in schools in the Savara hamlets is made. The extent of spurious enrolment varies between 23.05%(1984-85) and 54.03% (1981-82) in the case of girls. On the average, the extent of spurious enrolment is observed to be 40.02% in the ten year period of 1976-86. The estimated genuine **enrolment** of girls varies between 40.80% (1980-81) to 65.54% (1984-85).

However, the data interestingly reveals that the extent of spurious enrolment considerably decreased from the year 19**82-83**, and the estimated genuine enrolment of girls increased from the same year. The average spurious enrolment for the six year period from 1976-77 to 1981-82 is **46.60%**, while, the average spurious enrolment in the next four years period from 1982-83 to 1985-86, is 29.8% .

The extent of spurious enrolment in the case of boys is observed to be varying between 40.00% (1976-77) and 46.01% (1984-85). But the estimated genuine enrolment is over 50.00% in any year during the ten year period of 1976-1986. The data, however, shows that there is no impressive increase in the genuine enrolment during the last ten years. As it has been revealed by the data from school records, the percentage of enrolment of boys out of the total school going-age boys decreased **significantly** in the recent years. The estimated genuine enrolment is 60.04% in the year 1983 - 84. But, in the year 1984-85 and 1985-86, the estimated genuine enrolment is only 50.01% and 51.09%, respectively.

Attendance:

The data on attendance has been obtained from the records available at the school and also in the Office of the Deputy Inspector of Schools at Seethampeta. The average attendance of pupil in school in each year calculated from the monthly reports of teachers sent to the D.I. of schools is presented in Table 2.2.

TABLE 2.2
Attendance of the Savara boys and girls

Year	Number enrolled			Average no.of Attenders		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1976-77	295	251	546	151 51.2	133 52.9	284 52.0
1977-78	311	278	589	170 54.7	147 52.9	317 53.8
1978-79	337	274	611	186 55.2	146 53.3	332 54.3
1979-80	339	266	605	180 53.1	144 54.1	324 53.5
1980-81	361	275	636	217 60.1	138 50.2	355 55.8
1981-82	362	285	647	234 64.6	167 58.6	401 61.9
1982-83	369	259	628	234 63.4	179 69.1	413 65.8
1983-84	380	250	630	249 65.5	172 68.8	421 66.8
1984-85	338	229	567	243 71.9	149 65.0	392 69.1
1985-86	357	248	605	235 65.8	153 61.7	388 64.1

The attendance of pupils to school is far from satisfactory. Only about 50.00% to 65.00% of the boys and 50.00% to 60.00% of the girls enrolled in the schools are reported to be attending the school. The increase in the percentage of boys and girls attending to schools in the successive years **during** the 10 year period of 1976 to 1986 is negligible. While 51.02% of the boys enrolled and 52.09% of the girls enrolled attended the school in the year 1976-77, their percentage in 1985-86 is only 65.80% and **61.7%**, respectively. That is, the percentage of attendance increased during the last ten years by only 8.00% in the case of girls and 14.00% in the case of boys. Further, the data does not show a trend of gradual increase in successive years.

As it has been noted in the case of enrolment, the percentage of boys and girls attending the school out of the total enrolment decreased in the year 1985-86. In the case of girls, the percentage attending the school shows a gradual increase in each successive year from 1976-77 to 1982-83 only. There after, it shows a gradual decrease. While the percentage of girls attending school increased by about 16.00% by 1982-83 from 1976-77, it has again decreased by about 7.00% by 1985-86 from 1982-83. The trend in the case of boys is different, but in their case also, there is a decrease by about 6.00% in 1985-86 as compared to those attending in 1984-85.

The data obtained from the monthly reports, perhaps, is not totally reliable. The average attendance as observed from the data obtained from inspection visit records and visit records (maintained at the school) gives a different impression. The average attendance as revealed from these records shows that only 30% to 35% of the boys and the girls enrolled attend the school. Further, the data also reveals that the average attendance increased in the case of girls while it has decreased in the case of boys over the years.

Similarly, the data on attendance records of individual pupil did not indicate satisfactory trends. The percentage of pupils who had more than 90.00% attendance in 1985-86 is not very much more than what was in the year 1975-76. In 1975-76, they constituted 20.00% and in 1985-86, their percentage was 24.02%. Majority of the pupils in both the years had an attendance record of less than 50.00%.

Performance:

The performance of both boys and girls in the formal educational system is very unsatisfactory. The situation has not been corrected to any significant extent during the last ten years.

The performance levels of the Savara boys and girls was observed from the average percentage of marks scored by them in the annual examinations conducted in the school.

TABLE 2.3

Performance of the Savara boys

Year	Number of boys scoring				Total
	less than 30%	30%-50%	above 50%	absentees	
1976-77	129 43.7	42 14.2	25 8.5	99 33.6	295
1977-78	146 46.9	54 17.4	32 10.3	79 25.4	311
1978-79	132 39.1	76 22.6	59 17.5	70 20.8	337
1979-80	148 43.6	96 28.4	38 11.2	57 16.8	339
1980-81	154 42.6	91 25.2	50 13.9	66 18.3	361
1981-82	173 47.8	57 15.8	66 18.2	66 18.2	362
1982-83	158 42.8	105 28.5	41 11.1	65 17.6	369
1983-84	150 39.5	132 34.7	44 11.6	54 14.2	380
1984-85	145 42.9	87 25.7	36 10.6	70 20.8	338
1985-86	167 46.8	82 22.9	43 12.0	65 18.3	357

The data (Table 2.3 and 2.4) reveals that the boys and girls who scored more than 50.00% in the annual examination accounted for less than 12.00% in all the **years**, except in 1978-79 and 1981-82. The performance of girls was especially poor compared to boys till about 1983-84. The percentage of boys who scored more than 50.00% was 8.50% in the year 1976-77. On the other hand, the girls who scored more than 50.0% in the same year constituted a negligible 2.0%. However, the performance of girls seems to have improved marginally, subsequently, as a minimum of 7.3% of them scored more than 50.0%. From the year 1983-84, approximately as many girls as boys scored more than 50.0%. But even in the year 1985-86, only 12.1% of girls were recorded to have scored more than 50.0%.

Among the boys, the percentage of those who scored more than 50.0% varied between 8.5% (1976-77) and 18.2% (1981-82). In the year 1978-79 and 1981-82 the percentage is observed to be 17.5% and 18.2%, respectively. In all the other years, they accounted for less than 12.0%. The boys and girls whose performance is **'average'** were less, in each year during the ten year period. The percentage of the boys whose average score varied between 30% - 50% was 14.2% in 1976-77. There was a gradual increase in the percentage in each successive year and it raised to 28.4% in 1979-80. There after, their percentage declined to 15.8% in 1981-82. In 1982-83 and 83-84 they accounted for 28.5% and 34.7% respectively. Again there **was a sharp**

TABLE 2.4
Performance of the Savara girls

Year	Number of girls scoring				Total
	less than 30%	30%-50%	above 50%	absentees	
1976-77	145 57.8	46 18.3	5 2.0	55 21.9	251
1977-78	130 46.8	46 16.5	23 8.3	79 28.4	278
1978-79	177 64.6	39 14.2	20 7.3	38 13.9	274
1979-80	136 51.1	52 19.5	31 11.7	47 17.7	266
1980-81	157 57.0	78 28.4	20 7.3	20 7.3	275
1981-82	138 48.4	74 25.9	26 9.1	47 16.6	285
1982-83	136 52.5	66 25.5	23 8.9	34 13.1	259
1983-84	114 45.6	85 34.0	27 10.8	24 9.6	250
1984-85	102 44.5	76 33.2	23 10.0	28 12.3	229
1985-86	112 45.2	75 30.2	30 12.1	31 12.5	248

decline to 25.7% in 1984-85. Their percentage was further reduced constituting only 22.9% in 1985-86.

Among the girls, the percentage of average **performers** increased by about 15.0% during the 10 year period. From about 14.2% in the year **1978-79**, their percentage increased to 30.2% in 1985-86. During the years from 1976-77 to 1979-80, the girls whose average varied between 30-50% constituted less than 20.0%. During the next three years, their percentage was more than 25.5% but less than 30.0%. The percentage of average performer in the last three years of 1985-86, 84-85, **83-84**, was 30.2%, 33.2%, and 34.0%, respectively. Though there was a slight decrease in their percentage in each successive year from 1983-84, the difference is not very **significant**,. and this is also compensated with increase in the percentage of those who got more than 50.0% marks.

The boys and girls whose performance is poor and is less than average constitute a great majority. About 40.0% - 45.0% of boys and 45.0% - 60.0% of girls belonged to this category in different years. The percentage of average performers more or less remained the same around 45.0% during the last 10 years. But, in the case of girls, their percentage has considerably decreased as more and more girls joined the category of average performers.

The most significant aspect observed while recording the data on performance, relates to **the number of girls and**

boys who abstain from the examination. As high as **33.6%** of the boys were recorded to have abstained on the day of examinations in 1976-77. Though there was a decrease, their percentage was more than 20.0% in the next two years. In the next few years, however, their percentage further dropped, but accounted for about 18.0%.

The data interestingly revealed that less number of girls than boys abstain from examinations. Except during two years of 1977-79, the percentage of girls who abstained from examinations was less than 20.0%. In the last two years of 1984-85 and 1985-86, their percentage was 12.3% and 12.5%, respectively.

Stagnation:

The most serious problem of formal education is the one relating to stagnation (Table 2.5). Till 1978-79, more than 70.0% of the girls and more than 60.0% of the boys repeated the same grade in the next year. In the next four years too, more than 60.0% of the girls failed to go to the next grade.

The percentage of repeaters among boys decreased by about 10.0% from 61.7% in the year 1978-79 to 52.5%, in 1978-80. But the boys who repeated the same class accounted for more than 50.0% in all the subsequent years till 1985-86, except **ofcourse**, for two years during 1982-84. Among the girls, the sharp decline in the percentage of repeaters was recorded in the year 1983-84. The

TABLE 2.5

The Savara boys and girls repeating the same grade/class

Year	Number enrolled			Number Failed		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1976-77	295	251	546	206 69.8	204 81.3	410 75.1
1977-78	311	278	589	195 62.7	209 75.1	404 68.6
1978-79	337	274	611	208 61.7	197 71.9	405 66.3
1979-80	339	266	605	178 52.5	179 67.3	357 59.0
1980-81	361	275	636	202 55.9	166 60.4	368 57.8
1981-82	362	285	647	195 53.8	173 60.7	368 56.9
1982-83	369	259	628	178 48.2	157 60.6	335 53.3
1983-84	380	250	630	163 42.9	126 50.4	289 45.9
1984-85	338	229	567	189 55.9	130 56.8	319 56.3
1985-86	357	248	605	190 53.2	117 47.2	307 50.7

decrease in this year **was** more than 10.0% . Though in 1984-85 the percentage of repeaters increased, in **the** subsequent year of 1985-86 it has again declined. The repeaters in the year **1985-86**, constituted a little less than half of the total strength.

Drop-outs;

The important issue relating to the formal education that receives a considerable attention at present is the retention of boys and girls in school till they complete all the grades. The studies in different parts of India indicate that as high as 50.0% of the boys and girls enrolled drop-out before completing the V grade, and about 75.0% drop-out before they pass out the middle school.

The data obtained from school records in the study indicate that by and large, majority of the children enrolled are also retained in the school. Further, the problem of retention in the case of both boys and girls has got gradually **narrowed** in each subsequent year (Table 2.6) .

While about one-fifth of the total boys enrolled in school dropped-out in 1976-77, the number of drop-outs in 1985-86 accounted for **less** than 10.0% only. **Similarly** among **the** girls, in 1976-77 the drop-outs constituted 18.7%. But, in 1985-86, they accounted for a mere 6.5%. The percentage difference in **each year between drop-outs**

TABLE 2.6
The school drop outs

Year	Number enrolled			Number of Drop-outs		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1976-77	295	251	546	60 20.3	47 18.7	107 19.6
1977-78	311	278	589	57 18.3	59 21.2	116 19.7
1978-79	337	274	611	39 11.6	31 11.3	70 11.4
1979-80	339	266	605	31 9.1	29 10.9	60 9.9
1980-81	361	275	636	25 6.9	16 5.8	41 6.4
1981-82	362	285	647	30 8.3	26 9.1	56 8.6
1982-83	369	259	628	43 11.6	16 6.2	59 9.4
1983-84	380	250	630	20 5.3	17 6.8	37 5.9
1984-85	338	229	567	19 5.6	19 8.3	38 6.7
1985-86	357	248	605	35 9.8	16 6.5	51 8.4

CHPATER 3

SAVARA: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Savara, numbering about 4.92 lakhs are one of the most populus tribes of the country. They are presently inhabiting Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar and Assam (Table 3.1). However, the present Orissa state contains nearly three-fourths of the total population of the Savara. In Orissa, their number is about **3.42** lakhs and are distributed in 13 districts. In this State they are mostly concentrated in Ganjam and Koraput districts. Their population in these two districts account for more than one-third of the total Savara population in the country.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Savara account for about **5.14%** of its total tribal population. They occupy a continuous belt in the Vizianagaram and the **Srikakulam** districts bordering the Orissa State. The present Savara population in different districts of Andhra Pradesh is presented in the Table 3.2.

Srikakulam district has a predominant tribal population. Besides the Savara, three other important tribal communities, namely Jatapu, **Kondadora** and Gadaba inhabit the district. The population of different tribal communities **inhabiting** the Srikakulam district and their

TABLE 3.1**Distribution of the savara population in different states**

Sl. No.	State	Population	Percentage
1.	Orissa	3,42,757	72.1
2.	Andhra Pradesh	68,185	14.3
3.	Madhya Pradesh	59,535	12.5
4.	West Bengal	2,181	0.5
5.	Tripura	2,150	0.5
6.	Assam	684	0.1
	Total	4,75,492	100.0

TABLE 3.2

Distribution of the Savera population in different districts in Andhra Pradesh*.

District	Males	Females	Total
Srikakulam	31,647	30,708	62,355
Vizianagaram	9,127	8,700	17,827
Visakhapatnam	370	291	661
Others	632	626	1,258
Total	41,776	40,325	82,101

* Source : Census of India, 1981, Series 2, Andhra Pradesh, Special Tables for Schedule Tribes.

TABLE 3.3

Population of the major tribes in Srikakulam district

Sl. No.	Tribe	Population
1.	Savara	62,355
2.	Jatapu	4,929
3.	Konda dora	19,318 *

Source: Census of India, 1981, series 2, A.P. Special table for S.T.

proportion to total tribal population of the district is presented in the Table 3.3.

History of the Savara;

The different scholars citing puranic, archeological and historical evidences have established that the Savara belong to a very ancient tribe. Sitapati (1938-43), and Dubey (1964) have particularly examined the references to the Savara in the epics and puranas. Mention of them has been noted in Ramayana and Mahabharata. As per the reference made in Ramayana, they were inhabiting the modern Chatisgarah in the neighbourhood of the upper stream of Mahanadi (Sitapati, 1938: 8).

Sahitya Darpana mentioned that the Sabari and Ahiri dialects were spoken by the leaf gathering and wood cutting people called the Sabaras. Reference to the Sabara as the nomadic wood cutters of the forests was made in Khasikhand of Skand purana. They were described as Vindhya maulikas, indicating their inhabitation in the hills and forests of the present Madhyapradesh State (Dubey 1964: 7). Das after comparing the lists of the countries mentioned in Vamana purana, Ramayana and Vayu and Markandeya purana concluded that **"the** country of Savara or Savara varna came next to Aranya or Atavya country and that this later extended upto the Vindhyas. This enables us to fix **the Aranya Arournoi** country as extending **from** the area of Savara **country** watered **by** the Sabari river, to **the base of the Vindhyas**

where are the Vindhya, Maulika countries or Bediamai of Ptolemy" (Das 1931:127).

Authorities on Indian archeology like Sankalia (1962) and anthropologists like **Haimendorf** (1962) considered the Savara as one of the indigenous tribes of **Pre-historic** India. Sankalia stated: "the bearers of the Nevasa-Nevadatoli culture as well as of the Copper Hoard belong to indigenous tribes such as Nishads, Pulindas, Savaras,....."(1962:225) .

Haimendorf (1962) while assuring that different regional cultures evolved during the same time when the great indus civilization was flourishing in Sind, Saurashtra and the Punjab also believed that some of the ancestors of primitive or aboriginal **tribes**, now confined to the forests and **hills** of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh like Gonds, Baigas of Bastar, or the Oraons and Savaras of Chota Nagpur or the Chenchus of Kurnool are the authors of these regional cultures (1962: 269). Historical accounts indicate that the Savara country was very extensive, spreading on either side of the Vindhya upto the Ganges in the north and the Godavari in the South. Some accounts indicated that they inhabited the country as far south as Penna river and also along the valleys of the Krishna river. Sitapati and Munro believed that these people fled from their original habitat because of the on slaught of the Aryans and settled initially **along**

the basis of **Vamsadhara** river. Later they were invaded by the Hindus from the East and this forced them to **splee** to the hills and **forests**. Hanumantha Rao mentioned that the names of certain villages in the plains of **Srikakulam** district were derived from Savara words. **Similarly**, mention has been made by him about how the drawings on the wall of Siva temple at Mukhalingam, in Srikakulam district, indicate the early inhabitation of the Savara in the plains of the Srikakulam district (1972: 5).

Lanqaage:

Savara language is included in the **Kol** Munda group of Austro- Asiatic family. Grierson (1906) felt that it is closely related to Kharia and Juang though in some important characteristics differed from them. **However**, he believed that the Savara language has been largely influenced by Telugu and very much a mixed form of speech at present. But writing much later, **Elwin** (1955) disagreed with Grierson and opined that the language of Hill Soara ¹ is remarkably pure. According to him, Soara language is closely allied to the Gutob and the Pareng, though **ofcourse** had some affinities with Kharia and Juang also. **Rammurty** Pantulu (1933) presented an excellent and systematic work on Soara language. He authored **Soara-English** and English-Soara dictionaries. He opined that Soara language is very similar to that of Juangs, and also Parong Parojas of Orissa.

The Settlements

The distinct feature of all the Savara settlements is their location on **hill** slopes. Except for four to five villages, all the Savara settlements in **Seethampeta block²**, where the present study has been **conducted**, are located on hill slopes. The slope of the hills on which these settlements are located are so steep that for a non-Savara it is not only difficult but also risky to climb the hills. Many of the Savara settlements in the block are located at an elevation of 1500 ft. to 3000 ft. from sea level.

The Savara settlement is small in terms of its size and population. As per the revenue records the total **area of** the Savara villages varied between 8.5 acres (Kindangi village) to 10.0 acres for about 80.0% of the Savara villages in the Seethampeta block of Srikakulam district. The maximum area of any Savara village in the same block is about 300 acres (Seedi village). In terms of population, the highest population of 400 persons is observed for Dabara village, while the minimum is less than 30 (**Timpadu guda**). A typical Savara settlement consists about 100 to 150 population. Each of these small settlements inhabited by not more than 25-35 households is known as

The Savara villages are called Gorian. But the specific name is derived after a senior person in the village (viz., Timpadu guda, Sanguyya guda etc.) or after a

prominent tree at the entrance or within the village (Marriguda) or after a stream flowing near by (Gadda guda) etc. It is also common that 2-3 hamlets on a particular hill are combindly given a name. In Seethampeta **block**, three hamlets on a particular hill are given a common name as Mutyalu. Each of these hamlets have a separate name viz., Eguvuguda, **Nadimiguda**, Diguvaguda, on the basis of their location (up, middle, and down respectively).

The typical Savara settlement is characterized by congestion and a little disorderlines. The houses are distributed unevenly in the settlement area. Many a time, the houses are constructed wherever a place is available. All the households in the Savara settlement are thatched and uniform in their structure. When the sons separate from their parents, they construct another house adjacent or opposite to their parents house. If there is no space available, they may construct at some other place near by. Division of parental house into smaller portion is avoided. Similarly, atleast two houses are constructed in any row and at no place, a single house is seen.

More often, the Savara settlements are located nearer to steams flowing through hills. However, the location of the villages is such that one need not cross these streams. The forest around the source of water is preserved. This forest growth around the very location of the water source helps to keep privacy while bathing.

Another significant feature of the Savara settlements is the presence of half a dozen or more **Jeeluqu⁴ (salpam)** trees. An area with abundant **Jeeluqu** trees is readily preferred in case of establishment of a new settlement. In rare cases, Jeeluqu trees are grown after the establishment of the village. If there are more number of Jeeluqu trees, the villagers can honour their guests well. In marriage negotiations too, people proudly point out the number of Jeeluqu trees in their village.

The cattle sheds in the settlements are built a few feet away from the house. Since all the households do not require cattle sheds, their number is few. The houses are surrounded by these cattle sheds. Any space left between the cattle sheds is used to store the fire wood or grass used for thatching the houses. In some villages, on the backyard of the dwelling place, kitchen gardens are also grown. At the outskirts, under the trees, one finds menhirs erected in the name of dead persons of the village.

Houses:

The ground plan of the Savara houses (**soong**) is same. It consists of an open varanda on the front, a living room of about 10 x 12 ft. size (diva **soong**) and then a closed varandah generally used for dining. In the living room, there is rift (**mada**) made by cross beams, about five **feet.** from the floor, on which grain is stored in baskets.

In the middle room, one invariably finds a pot hung from the roof which houses the ancestral spirits of the family. The houses are built of upright pieces of wood stuck in the **ground**, five or eight inches apart and then placing thin wood rafters horizontally in between them. Mud is plastered all over the wood partitions. The houses are built on an elevated platform. The houses consist of only one door fixed towards the left side and no windows or ventilations.

The house is constructed on 11 poles. The central pole is called 'Pinjansan' which is made of wood locally known as Panju considered sacred. The slope of the roof is very steep and very low from the ground level. The grass used to thatch the house is replaced once in two-three years. Some times, fire proof arrangement is made by placing two layers one with mud plastering and the other with a thatch as usual.

The Savara: Sub-divisions:

The Savara inhabiting the three villages have distinguished **themselves** as belonging to Konda Savara. However, they claimed that they may also be called Arsi/Aasi Savara. The inhabitants of **Manapuram** village further believed that the prefix '**Bhima**' may also be added to their community name Savara. The prefix **Bhima** is in view of their belief that they are descendants of Bhima,

the second of the five Pandava brothers. The legend revealed by the persons of older generation is as follows.

The Pandavas lived on the hills which the Savara now inhabit, during the period of their exile for twelve years. At that **time, Draupadi**, the common wife of the five Pandava brothers, requested Arjuna to bring her a tiger's tail. Arjuna in turn requested **Bhima** to do that job. **Bhima** having obliged the request went into the forest and killed a cow, as the arrow he shot at to kill the tiger hit the cow instead of the tiger.

The dead animal was carried over by him to the place where they lived. Draupadi cooked the meet of the the dead animal and served to all her five husbands. But, except for Bhima, none of her husbands consumed the meat. The other four husbands of her avoided eating beef without, she being aware of it, by keeping the meat underneath their leaf plates.

As Bhima consumed the beef, the other brothers of him got angry and stated that he had eaten the beef like a hill dwelling Savara. All the progeny of Bhima henceforth, became the Bhima Savara.

The Savara in the study area, however, maintained that there are some Savara living else where and they are called by other names. In this regard, mention of **Kapu** Savara living in the plains around the villages **Kotturu**, **Hiramandalam**, **Nivagam**, **Pathapattanam**, in the same district

is particularly made. It is said that, Kapu Savara were earlier living like the Hill Savara. But having taken to settled agriculture in the plains they have changed themselves. It is said that these Savaras have taken to the "way of life of "Diquvallu"(people in the plains).

In addition to the mention of Kapu Savara as another distinct endogamous group, they have also listed some other groups named after the locality they inhabit or the principal occupation they pursue. They are, according to the location Tekkali Savara, Bobbili Savara, Gunupur Savara, Puttaisingi Savara, and according to the principal occupation, the **Muli** Savara,(block smithy) Kindal Savara (basket making), **Kumbi** Savara (pottery). The members of one household in **Manapuram** who migrated from a Savara hamlet in Gunupur sub-division in Orissa, stated to be belonging to Jati Savara, different from local Arsi Savara.

The different endogamous groups which have been found out in the present study thus, more or less fit into the scheme given by Thurston (1909:307-310), with regard to the sub-divisions amongst the Savara. Thurston divided the Savara into two broad groups: the Hill Soara and the Plains Soara. The Hill Soara were further sub-divided into six groups: a) Jati Soara, b)Aasi,Arsi, or **Lombo** lanjiya Soara, c) Luara or Muli Soara, d) Kindal Soara, e)Jadu Soara and f) Kumbi Soara.

Of the above Soara, according to **Thurston**, Jati Soara or Maliah Soara regard themselves as superior to others, as they do not eat cows meat which others do. The legend given in support of the prefix of **Bhima** by the Savara in the study area and the habit of eating of cows meat, fits into the above notion of Thurston.

The Soara of the plains were sub-divided by Thurston into a)Kapu Soara and b)Sudha Soara. The Savara in the area of the present study, mentioned only about **Kapu** Savara and claimed that the Kapu Savara have given up their Savara way of life.

The list of the endogamous groups found in the present study, however, did not tally with those given by Sitapati (1938) and Hanumantha Rao (1972). Both of them submitted a list containing more than 25 endogamous groups among the Savara. Hanumantha Rao while expressing that there is confusion with regard to the number of endogamous groups present amongst the Savaras, also stated that, this confusion can be attributed to the local variations in naming the same group or different sub-groups by different names or by the same name in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh (1972: 53).

The Principles of Social Organization:

The two most important principles on which the social organization of the Savara is based are: birinda and quda. Birinda refers to the domestic unit. All the members

living together in one household are referred to as living in one birinda. The members in each birinda may belong to 2-3 generations. The numerical **strength**, as well as the geneological composition of different birinda show considerable **variation** (discussed separately). **However**, all the members in a birinda are also tied together by close kinship ties.

The guda refers to a Savara settlement consisting of about 25-35 birinda. The members of different birinda in any one particular guda are also geneologically related. Majority of members in a guda, are consanguineously related to each other through a common ancestor. As such the
“
children of different birindia trace kakun-kain" (brother-sister) relationship.

The organization of different socio-economic and religious activities of the Savara take place at the two levels of birinda and guda. The membership of one in a birinda calls for certain **loyalties**, obligations and responsibilities towards other members in the birinda. Similarly, the membership in a guda calls for reciprocity, mutual help and cooperation with all other members in the guda.

Birinda is the basic social unit, for, the **individuals'** immediate emotional and biological needs are satisfied by being a member of this group. Each birinda acts an independent unit as **far** as production and

consumption is concerned. The members of birinda, by a system of division of **labour**, undertake all the domestic activities as well as other activities relating to their economy. The birinda members take a collective responsibility to grow as much grain as they require to last throughout the year.

The birindia similarly acts as a unit in the organization of rituals, It undertakes the organization of all life cycle rituals. The most important of these rituals include: assandele (at the time of first menstruation of a girl); sirrunq (marriage); agnathi (when the woman misses her **first-menstrual cycle, i.e.**, when the woman is considered to have coceived) and ayatojong (death ceremony). In addition to these rituals, birinda also takes care of other rituals, conducted for example for the safe delivery of a child, for the good health of a new born child etc. The members of a birinda show great concern in case of disease to any of its members. As it is believed that disease is due to the displeasure caused to the dead ancestors, the Savara adopt a **magico-religious** approach for cure. The head of the birinda takes the responsibility to consult the kudon or kundanboi⁵ to get to know the reason for illness to one of the members of his birinda and also what he should do for restoration of his health. The kudon or kudonhoi invokes the dead ancestors and finds out which action of the head (or other members of birinda) caused displeasure to the ancestors. He/she also reveals the

demands of the ancestors. The head of the birinda, accordingly takes the responsibility of organizing the rituals for restoration of good health of the member suffering from a disease. All the expenditure to be incurred towards organization of such rituals is met by the members of the birinda.

That the birinda is the basic social unit, is also revealed by the fact **that**, the birinda as a whole is held responsible for the wrong conduct of any of its members. According to the nature of the misconduct of a person, a danda (punishment) is decided upon in a meeting of all the heads of the other birinda (or sometimes, the elders of the guda only). The danda is imposed in the nature of fine, a specified amount to be paid by the head of the birinda.

The principle of guda is revoked on many an occasion in a Savara community in the organization of different **soico-economic** religious activities. The principle of guda particularly leads to collective decision making, reciprocity and cooperation amongst the members of a guda. It helps to invoke a sense of solidarity amongst the Savara inhabiting a settlement.

The Savara identify themselves as belonging to a guda. The reputation of members depends upon the prestige of guda. Hence, all the members strive for good reputation for the guda by a strict observance of the **`codes** of conduct¹ for all the members, and expression of unity.

The resources of livelihood of members of different birinda in a guda are not **`private'**. The two important resources of livelihood for Savara are shifting cultivation on hillslopes and the collection of forest produce. The hillocks and the forest are not individually owned. They are communal properties. The members of different birinda in a guda, however, avoid unilateral decisions with regard to selection of plots for podu⁶ cultivation. The decisions are arrived at collectively by the members in different birinda in a guda. Similarly, certain conventions are imposed on the members for collection of forest produce. The activities relating to the podu cultivation and collection of forest produce are commenced at one time by all the birinda in a guda.

The membership in a guda calls for reciprocal relations. Members of one birinda seek help from others in **different birinda** for organization and completion of some **of the** tasks. For example, when the members of a birinda intend to build a new house, a buffalo is sacrificed and its meat is distributed to all the birinda in the guda with a request to its members to participate in the house building activity. Similarly, in the organization of certain rituals or ceremonies concerning the birinda, help is sought from others.

The principle of guda is also used in the organization of their religious activity. A number of festivals like kandikotta, korram kotta, Mamidi kotta, etc

are organized with participation of all the birinda in a guda. **Similarly**, certain festivals like vujjidoqamya, **iakari** panduga which are celebrated to ensure good health and good harvest for all the birinda are collectively celebrated.

The **gour** ceremony performed as the last rites of dead person is concern of the birinda. The birinda celebrate the gour ceremony by offering sacrifices of a number of buffaloes and erecting **menheris** in the name of dead. Though the gour ceremony is the concern of individual **birinda**, all the birinda in a guda perform the ceremony at one time. Erection of menhirs for the dead persons in different birinda is taken up at one time and the menheris are erected at one place.

The principle of guda assumes importance with regard to observation of rerede (pollution) in case of death of any member in the guda. In case of death of a member, members of all the birinda in a guda, irrespective of their relationship with dead person, observe pollution.

Social organization: The earlier accounts and the present study:

The earlier accounts on the Savara varried with regard to different units of social organization among the Savara. Sitapati (1943) considererd the extended family as the basic **unit** of social organization **and** noted that there **are no lineages or clans amongst them.** He, however,

observed that the Savara practise village exogamy to avoid "incestuous marital relations" as they consider that men and women of the same village stand in the relationship of brothers and sisters and belong to the same extended family (1943: 4). **Hanumantha Rao** (1972), similarly observed that there are no **exogamous** divisions equivalent to lineages or clans among the Savara of Andhra Pradesh. They claimed that family is the sole unit of social structure among these sections (1972: 63). However, in his study, he refuted the claim of Sitapati with regard to village exogamy in the present days. But he observed that Savara of **Pathapatnum** taluk have adopted the names of the villages to which they originally belonged as their family names and as such considered themselves as an exogamous group. From these observations, they belived that **Sitapati's** contention of prevalence of village exogamy at one time is **justified** (1972: 62).

Singh (1984) claimed that the Saora have no exogamous **totemic** clans, no phratries and no **moitics**. The main exogamous unit is the extended family decended from a common ancestor called birinda. With regard to birinda, he also stated that usually male ancestors among the birinda members are traced not more than two or three generations (1984: 20).

Suryanarayana (1978), however, tried to demonstrate that lineages exist among the Savara. He characterised

the Soara lineage as poly **segmentary** which is divisible into three segments: the maximal **lineage**, major segment and minimal lineage. He observed that these distinctions are not **made** by the Savara themselves, but can be perceived in their various **socio-religious interactions**(1978: 47).

In the present study, no lineage organization as has been described by Suryanarayana is observed. The following observations are in **contradiction** to **Suryanarayana's** contentions with regard to the existence of unnamed lineages among the Savara.

Suryanarayana has presented the list of Savara rituals and festivals and also indicated that level at which the **participation** of kulam maranqi occurs for each of these rituals and festivals. In his list of 25 important **rituals/festivals** the level of participation of the kulam maranqi was recorded as minimal lineage for as many as 19 **ceremonies/festivals**. With regard to minimal lineages, he stated that : " the **domestic** group forms the basis for lineage organization and it has generally two to three generations depth and it can be identified as minimal lineage"(1978: 46).

The participation of kulam maranqi at the level of major segment was noted in the case of of four ceremonies/rituals. But, in the foot notes, it has been mentioned, "most of the ceremonies and festivals mentioned under '**economic**' are also performed at the village

level" (1978: 65). Two of the four festivals/ceremonies, for which participation of lineage at the level of major segment has been recorded, belong to the category of 'economic'. Thus, the operation of major segment, according to Suryanarayana, is to be noted in the case of only two ceremonies, namely, Kuntari tunq pur/Sandinyopur/Aiolaemee (ceremony to save mother in difficult delivery) and kum kum bob pur (tonsure ceremony). I had the opportunity to record the Kuntari tunq pur in Manapuram village. In this, only the members of the birinda to which that woman belonged participated. Similarly, the investigations with regard to tonsure ceremony also revealed that members of only the birinda participate in that ceremony. Suryanarayana has referred to Gour ceremony as indication of operation of lineage with different levels of segmentation. But, it is interesting to note that the Gour ceremony is performed by the whole village at one time. All the households in the village participate in the Gour ceremony to erect menheries in the name of those dead since the last Gour. Decisions with regard to the date of commencement of the Gour are made by a meeting of all heads of the households in the village rather than 'lineage' heads in different villages.

Suryanarayana listed the rights and duties of 'kulam maranqi'. My observations do not lend support to many of his contentions. They are listed below:

1) At the time of marriage of any member of the **village**, atleast one member of each household irrespective of his/her **geneological** relationship with bride/bridegroom or with his/her parents go and offer their services. Bridegroom's father's sister's family members and mother's brother's family members have as much obligation to give a helping hand as **do**, father's brother's family members.

2) Woman married to a person if elopes with some other person, a danda (type of marriage payment) is demanded from the person with whom the woman elopes. In such cases, atleast one member from each household join the members of the households when they go to demand and receive danda. Also, the same one or two persons good in such litigations represent for any family in the village in the arguments at the time of fixation of danda. In the arguments and counter arguments, references to the whole village is made rather than to any **'lineage'**. Further, the danda thus collected is used to organize a community feast by sacrificing a buffaloe.

3) Even when a woman elopes with a near agnatic kin (husband's first cousins on father's side) of her husband then also, the danda as compensation is imposed. The danda would be as much as it would have been in any other case.

4) Suryanarayana had observed that, "if a widow is not remarried, the near agnates of her deceased husband

have **to look** after her in the old age in the absence of sons to her" (1978: 55). No such ideology is expressed **in** the present study. The Saora woman, even after her marriage is considered as belonging to her natal birinda. This was noted by Suryanarayana also as he stated: "Thus, her position in her husband's agnatic kin unit is always marginal only" (1978: 53). **In** view of such relationship, woman naturally look to the protection from her **parents**, brothers and brother's sons in the case of widowhood. In the present study, two cases of women of old age with no sons of their own are recorded. In one case, the woman returned to her brother's home after her husband's death. In the other case, the woman along with her daughter aged about 13 years has joined her brother's son's family.

5) The members of different households in all Savara **villages/hamlets**, help each other in different economic and social activities. Affinal relations are as obliged as consanguinal relations."

As the study revealed amongst the Savara of this part of the country, the birinda is the basic unit of social organization. As the married sons are forbidden to separate **from** parents and establish their independent households till all their brothers are married, and also till the death of the parents, the birinda usually comprise of three generations, the parents, married sons, their spouses **and children**, **...and** the unmarried sons and daughters.

Household Composition

As **has** been stated, birinda, the household, is the basic social unit among the Savara. The birinda shows considerable variation with regard to the numerical and geneological composition.

The numerical composition of the households in the three villages is presented in the Table 3.4. As the data shows, the minimum size of the household is two, while the maximum size is sixteen. However, the size of the households is most frequently four with 21 households. It is closely followed by the five and three member birinda, with 16 households each. The Savara households generally tend to be smaller in size and larger sized households with **ten** or more, are rare. Such households are recorded more frequently in Manda village.

In Manapuram, the numerical strength exceeds more than ten in the case of only one household. This household consists of 16 members. In **Mutyalu** village, the maximum size of the household is fifteen.

The data on the size of the household, thus reveals that the average size of a household is six among the Savara.

Genealogical Composition;

The genealogical composition of birinda units in the **three villages** is classified, **using a few operational definitions, as follows:**

TABLE 3.4

Distribution of the birinda according to the numerical composition

Numerical size	Number of birinda			Total
	Manda	Manapuram	Mutyalu	
One	-			
Two		5	3	8
Three	2	6	8	16
Four	4	11	6	21
Five	1	5	1 0	1 6
Six	2	2	3	7
Seven	2	1	-	3
Eight	4	3	-	7
Nine	-			
Ten	4		3	7
Eleven	2		-	2
Twelve	-		1	1
Thirteen	-	-	1	1
Fourteen	1		2	3
Fifteen	-		1	1
Sixteen		1	-	1
Total	22	34	38	94

The birinda with nuclear family structures usually consists of a **man**, his **wife**, and with or without his children. The data shows a preponderance of such units in the villages with as many as 34 birinda. However, out of the 34 birinda, **seven** are two member households with a husband and wife and without children. These conjugal families comprise of wife and husband aged 50 or more years or youngsters married recently aged less than 20 years. Similarly, two, two member households consists of middle aged man and woman who failed to have children.

The birinda with polygynous family structure with a man, his two wives and the children of the man have also been recorded. There are ten such birinda in the three villages.

The other types of households are the birinda with an extension to the genealogical structures described above. The kinship composition of these extended families is not similar. Hence, using a few more operational definitions, these families are further classified as following:

Simple Extended Families: When an extension took place in the case of a birinda with the inclusion of any lineal or fraternal kin of the head of the birinda, they are categorized as simple extended families. The households of Sannai (Manapuram village), **Sumbru (Manapuram village)** and Chinna Appanna (Manda village) are the examples of the

TABLE 3.4

Distribution of Birinda according to the type of the Genealogical Composition

Family type	Number of birinda				
	Mutyalu	Manda	Manapam	Total	
Nuclear families with no children		2	-	5	7
Nuclear families with children	8	7	12	27	
Polygynous families	3	4	3	10	
Simple extended families	7	2	5	14	
Simple joint families	7	-	6	13	
Extended joint families	2	3	3	8	
Polygynous joint extended families	3	2	3	8	
Special cases	2	4	1		7
Total	34	22	38	94	

three different types of simple extended **families**, which occur most frequently among the Savara.

1. Sannai, aged about 30 **years**, is the third son of his parents. The members of his household include, his wife, four unmarried children (3 sons and 1 daughter) and **his** widowed mother aged about 50 years. (**Fig.3.1**)

2. **Sumbru** is aged about 25 years. Members in his household are: his wife, two unmarried children, a widowed mother and his unmarried brother and sister. (**Fig.3.2**)

3. Chinna Appanna is aged about 30 years. The extension in this case took place with the inclusion of his unmarried brother and sister into his family. (**Fig.3.3**)

Besides the above referred types, extension may result in some other ways. Extension need not always be with only a widowed parent. Cases where the aged parents are staying separately with two of their sons are also recorded. In Manapuram village, Anapa and his wife are living separately with their **sons'** families. This turned the households of both their sons into simple extended families. (**Fig.3.4**)

Extension also resulted with the inclusion of divorced parents. Bangari of Manda village married **two** women. His elder wife divorced him **later and joined her son's** family. **Thus, Bangari's son's household has resulted**

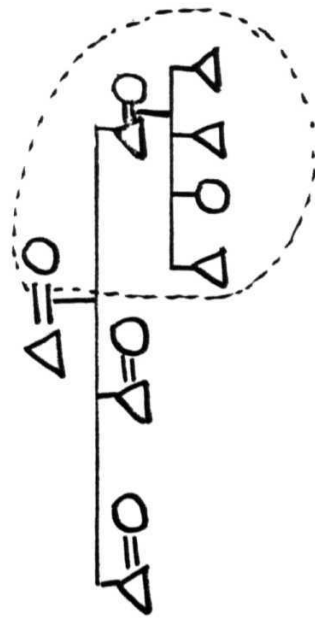


Fig 3.1: Genealogical composition of the household of Sannai of Manapuram village.

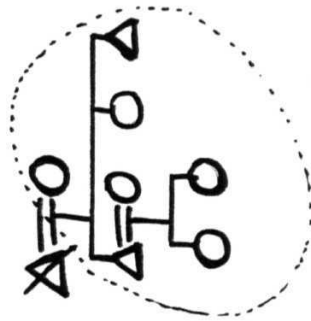


Fig 3.2: Genealogical composition of the household of Sumburu of Manapuram village

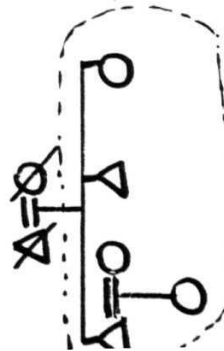


Fig 3.3 : Genealogical composition of the household of Chinna Appanna of Manda village.

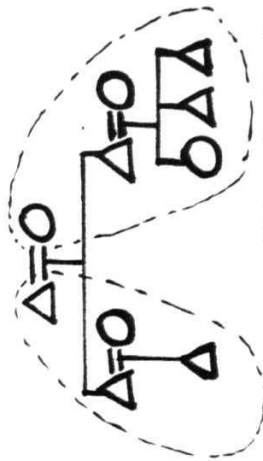


Fig 3.4: Genealogical composition of the household of Anapa of Manapuram village.

into an simple extended family. (Fig.3.5) Similarly Kodi **Sumbru's** household (**Manapuram** village) has resulted into simple extended family when his father joined him after he separated from his wife.

The inclusion of unmarried brothers or/ and sisters into **one's** birinda need not be always after the death of one's parents. In the case of Desadu of Manda village, extension took place when one of his younger brothers joined him, after living with their parents. (Fig.3.6)

The genealogical data of the simple extended families shows that they mostly occur with the inclusion of one of the parents. Half of the total simple extended families are of this nature. However, out of the seven simple extended families thus formed, three are with inclusion of a widowed parent, two with a divorced parent and another two with the inclusion of an aged parent whose spouse is reported living separately with another son. In two such cases, the widowed mother is included and only in one such case is the inclusion of a widowed father.

Extension to one's birinda with the inclusion of unmarried brothers and sisters is recorded in five households. In three of the five such cases, the unmarried brothers and sisters who joined their brother's household had no parents to go. But in the case of two households, the boys joined their elder brother's family even when their parents are alive.



Fig 3.5: Genealogical composition of the household of Bancari of Wanda village.

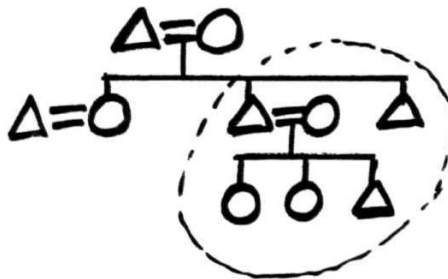


Fig 3.6: Genealogical composition of the household of Dāsadu of Wanda village.

Extension of nuclear family with the inclusion of unmarried brothers and sisters along with widowed parents is recorded in the case of only two households. While no such case is recorded in **Manapuram**, one each is found in the other two villages.

The other type is joint family structure. The most frequently recorded type is where two units of nuclear families coreside. The joint families are further classified into simple joint family structures and extended joint family structures according to the genealogical composition of the household. Both the simple and the extended joint family consist of members belonging to **two** or three generations.

a. Simple joint family structures:- The simple joint family consists of two nuclear **families**.~~.....The simple~~ joint families are either patrilineal **joint families** or fraternal joint families. The households of Basanna and Buddadu can be taken as examples of the two types of simple joint families recorded in the field.

1. Basanna married about 20 years ago. He had six children with about 2-4 years gap between each child. His eldest son, **Addai**, got married about 3 years back and he had a female child in 1987. This household comprised of two nuclear **families**, that of Basanna and his son Addai. The members of this household belonged to three generations. Basanna and his wife belonged to first generation while

their children belonged to second generation. **Addaiah's** daughter, on the other hand belonged to the third generation. (Fig.3.7)

2. The household of **Komti** of Mutyalu village is an example of simple fraternal joint family. His household consisted of two nuclear units, that of his own nuclear family and his brother's nuclear family. Members in his household belonged to only two generations. **Komti**, his brother and their spouses belonged to the first generation while **Komti's** children belonged to the second generation. (Fig.3.8). A rare case of simple joint family is recorded in Manapuram village.. This household consists of two nuclear units, one is that of the head of the household and the other, is his daughter's family.

b. Extended Joint family structure:- Extended joint families occurred rarely when the widowed parents are also members of the two types of residential units - patrilineal joint and fraternal joint family - described above. The extended joint families consist of members belonging to three generations. Ego's widowed parents belong to the first generation, the ego and his spouse to the second generation and ego's children to the third generation.

Data presented in Table 3.6 shows the frequency of occurrence of different types of joint families. The patrilineal joint families are reported more frequently than any other type. They constitute about 84.0% of the

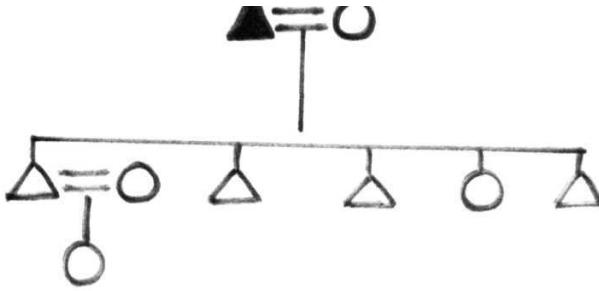


Fig. 3.7: Genealogical Composition of the household of Basanna of Manda village.

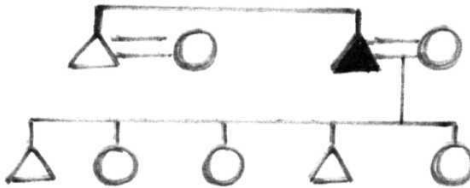


Fig.3.8: Genealogical Composition of the household of Kouti of Mutwala village.

TABLE 3.6

Frequency of occurrence of different types of joint families

Type of family	Number	Percent
Patrilineal joint families	11	37.89
Fraternal joint families	2	6.8
Extended joint families with inclusion of widowed parents in patrilineal joint family	5	17.5
Extended joint families with inclusion of widowed parents in fraternal joint family	2	6.8
Extended joint families with inclusion of widowed sister in patrilineal joint family	1	3.4
Polygynous joint families	8	27.6
	29	100.0

total simple joint families. Fraternal joint families are not reported in two out of the three villages. Only in Mutyalu village, two such cases are recorded. Similarly, extended joint families are formed mainly with the inclusion of widowed parent to the patrilineal joint family. Five out of the eight extended joint families are of this type. On the other hand, only in two cases, the widowed parents were living with their son's fraternal joint family.

c. Polygynous joint families: **The** birinda where two polygynous family units are living together have been termed as polygynous joint families. A total of eight households in the three villages are recorded to be of this category. **(Fig.3.9)**

Seven birinda in the three villages did not fit into any of the categories described earlier and they may be called as special cases. Some of these households are incomplete with little or no genealogical **ramifications**. Each of these special cases are described below:

1. The household headed by Mangulu in **Manapuram** village consists of 16 members with five nuclear family units. The household has undergone a series of transformations before it attained the present status. By the year **1982**, it was a simple extended family with ego's younger brother also living. About three years later ego's brother got married

and chose to live with his brother's family. This transformed the household into a fraternal joint family. A year later, the two sons of ego (Mangulu) got married. In the same year, ego's father's brother's **children**, three in number joined his family when their **parents** died. About an year after their inclusion, the only daughter of the ego, too, got married. Her husband too continued to live along with his wife in his **father-in-law's** family. (Fig.3.10)

2. **Sanyasi's** household in Manapuram village, similarly shows a complicated genealogical composition. His household is a simple extended **family** by November '85 with only his widowed father living with him. However, a year later his sister got married to his wife's brother. They joined her **brothers's** family. A few months later, his another **sisters'** son joined his family, when both his parents died. (Fig.3.11)

3. A special case of household is also reported in Mutyalu village, where the aged widowed mother-in-law (wife's mother) lived with ego's family.

4. Special cases of households resulted as they do not have any adult male member to look after them. In two of such cases, the widowed women are living with their children. In another case in Manda village two widowed women who were married to one man continued to live in the same household, along with their children, even after the death of their

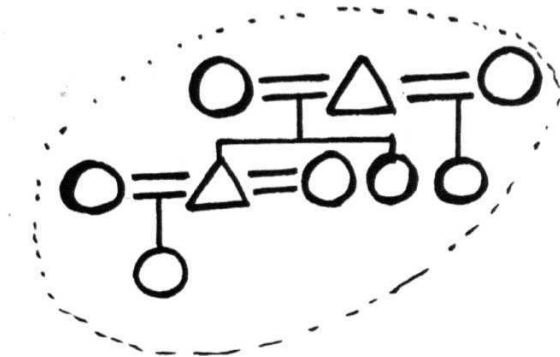


Fig. 3.9: Genealogical composition of the household of Mandadu of Wanda village.

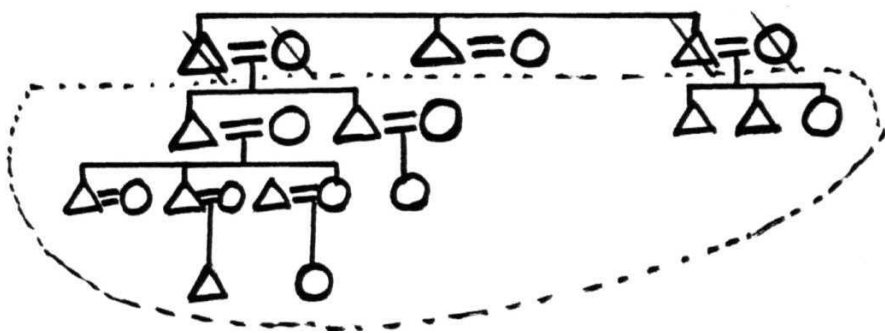


Fig. 3.10: Genealogical composition of the household of Mandulu of Manapuram village.

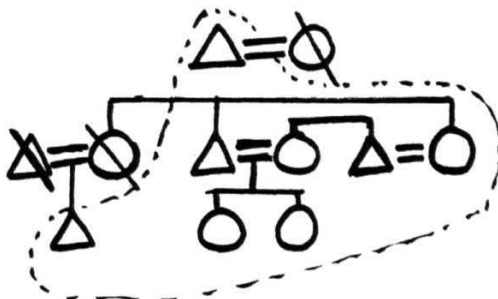


Fig. 3.11: Genealogical composition of the household of Sanyasi of Manapuram village.

common husband.

5. In Manda village, the household of **Kuvari** consists of only two **members**, the ego and his son, and no adult female **member**.

Formation of households;

The different types of households according to the differences in kin group composition represent a particular dimension of the birinda development due to demographic changes with the death, marriage, divorce and the individuals decision to leave and join other households. However, these different dimensions cannot be construed as exhibiting a lineal progression from one stage to the other.

The general pattern observed is that married sons continue to live with their parents and the married brothers continue to remain in the same household till the youngest brother gets married. Thus, the birinda undergo a series of developmental changes at a later stage. Adjustments and **readjustments** in the geneological composition of the birinda takes place due to deaths and divorces. The heads of the households are morally obliged to accept any kinsmen in his birinda if one wishes to live with him.

It is desired by parents that their daughter, if she **is their only** child, should **take care of them** in their old

and between the females and males is based on respect and obedience to the later. Deviations from this ideal norm are, **however**, normal.

Within a nuclear family, the relationship between husband and wife is more or less a kind of friendly relationship with great emotional attachment to each other. Though the Savara express that the women is a subordinate to man, relationship however, is one of mutual respect to each other. In the nuclear household, the wife plans and executes the domestic work with least interference from the men folk. Outside the domestic sphere, the **husbands'** decision is final. They represent in the village meetings and take a leading role in the negotiation of children's marriage etc. However, the men invariably seek the opinion of their wives on all matters related to household affairs.

As a mark of respect to her husband, a woman is forbidden to call her husband by name. Like wise, she cannot take meal before her husband completes his meal. She cannot sleep or sit on a cot or on an elevated place when her husband sleeps or sits on a mat. She would always follow him rather than lead her husband while going out of the village with him. She would carry the luggage while going with her husband. Similarly, she cannot wear new clothes or any other ornaments without the permission of her husband or participate in processions or dances. She is not permitted to climb 'nichenna' (ladder)

in the presence of her husband.

However, many of the above mentioned are followed during the initial years after marriage, particularly when she is with her husband's parental family. As time passes **by**, a relative independence and freedom is enjoyed by the woman in these matters. However, the husband is always treated with respect as he is given vari annam' (rice) while the wives take 'ionna' qanti, ooda, etc., Similarly, the husbands meal includes a curry or **dal** or some other extra dish.

Relationships between parents and their children are also very informal. The spouses have equal authority and responsibility over their children. The parents and children below ten years, particularly show great emotional attachment. The parents express great concern over the health problems of their children. Sacrifices of animals/fowl are made frequently for the good health of the children. It is strongly believed that if a child cries for any reason, the family would experience some calamity or the other. Hence, no child is ever displeased. Anything wanted by him is given, at all costs.

The relationships between the siblings are also intimate and informal. But cross-sibling relationships are not as strong as those between the same-sex.

MARRIAGE

The significance of marriage among the Savara **can** be clearly seen from the fact that about 90.0% of males **and** females who attained 25 years of age in the population is married. The fact that about 30.0% of men and women entered into wedlock at the early age of 15-19 years further reflects the importance of this institution in the life of the Savara.

Marriage, (sirrung) among the Savara is a cultural device for men and women for sex **gratification, and** procreation of legitimate children. As **such**, married life is not only regarded as normal state of life but it is also considered as the foremost important event in an **individuals'** life. "The parents are as much obliged to arrange marriage to their children, as they are obliged to **feed** them".

The Savara have been found to be observing the following set of rules with regard to marriage. These rules are related to endogamy, incest, and exogamy. Breach of these rules would be highly condemned and the actors involved in such breach would be punished according to the native law. However, such rules prescribe or prohibit marriage with certain category of people. Specific choices for a particular person are, on the other **hand, based on** some practical considerations.

The first rule concerning the marriage is related to tribal endogamy. Not even a single instance of inter tribal marriage is reported in the study.

Marriage reflects the equal status claimed by the parties involved in it. The status of any Savara being equal to any other Savara, marriage is possible among them. On the other **hand**, the status positions of a Savara and any non-Savara are incompatible for marriage.

Some of the Savara in other villages of Seethampeta **block**, are reported to have taken to "matam"(christianity) like many other low castes of the region. However, the unity of these low status groups do not make them to consider one for the purpose of marriage and commensuality. Therefore, there are no cases of marriage between the Savara who have adopted Christian religion and the non-Savara Christians. On the other hand, cases of marriage between the Savara who have taken matam and those who have not taken matam have been recorded. Thus, marriage is possible only with a Savara, irrespective of the differences in the religion. Given such sanctions, a person's identity as Savara becomes important for marriage. This identity is traced depending upon the language spoken, the food habits followed, and the rituals performed. Thus, in **Manapuram** village, the local Savara established marital relationships with a family which migrated from the Orissa border (Gunpur sub- division), since they were found to be the **`Savara'**.

The Savara do not approve sex with certain categories of **kin**. As such any marriage with such kin is said ersi and is disapproved. In case of marriage by negotiations, no proposal is made for a marriage of a boy with a girl which would amount to ersi. In case of marriage by elopement of a boy with a girl between whom ersi relationship exists, the members of the community strongly resent and observe a complete social boycott. The boy and the girl are forced to leave the village. The parents of the boy and also the girl are demanded to pay a danda (fine) to the members of the community. In addition to this, the members of the birindaa to which the boy and the girl belong, fear that their ancestors and Gods would also be unhappy about such incidents and hence cause calamities in some form or the other to them. Hence, sacrifices are offered to them.

The union of a man with the following relations amount to ersi;

- a) with a mother;
- b) with a sister;
- c) with a daughter;
- d) with a brother's daughter;
- e) with a father's sister;
- f) with a father's mother; and
- g) with a father's brother's daughter

The union of a man with the following relatives **are** also **disapproved**, but tolerated:

- a) with a step mother;
- b) with a step mother's daughter;
- c) with a step daughter; and
- d) with a daughter-in-law.

The Savara state that the marriage between any two who share a brother-sister relationship or a **father-daughter** relationship is forbidden. That is, marriage with only those with whom a person does not trace his ancestry through the male line is permitted. In the absence of named lineages or **clans**, they distinguish between marriageable and non-marriageable categories of kinsmen. Marriage is approved with only members belonging to the marriageable category. The marriageable category consists of all those with whom one cannot trace common ancestry. In view of the difficulty in tracing out ancestry in non-unilineal kinship like the Savara, they consider it safe to marry someone who is definitely known to be belonging to marriageable category, which includes, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, and also sister's daughter. When a marriage is with the woman, other than the above mentioned, there may be difficulty to ascertain the **relationship**, whether or not the person has **any** links of shared ancestry with the woman to whom the marriage is proposed. The Savara in such circumstances **try to** overcome the confusion by finding out:

1. Whether any one of his siblings or agnatic cousins married any daughter of a particular birinda or its agnatic birinda; and

2. Whether one's father or his agnatic uncles married any woman of that birinda or its agnatic birinda.

Thus, marriage among the Savara, because of the above mentioned **considerations**, leads to the exchange of women between a limited number of birindas restricted to a limited number of villages.

The women among the Savara continue to belong to their parental group, even after the marriage. In view of this, the women after their death, are cremated only in the village to which they belong. The **menher** in her name is erected in her native village only. In view of the affiliation of a woman with her parental group, in case of divorce or death of her husband, she will cease to have any relationship with her **husbands'** group. Except her own son any person from the former husband's group can remarry her. Thus, the Savara permit a step son's marriage with a step mother after his father's death, or marriage with the wife of his deceased brother.

The Savara similarly permit the marriage of a man with his mother's sister and also with his mother's sister's daughter. The approval for the marriage with one's mother's real or classificatory sister is evident

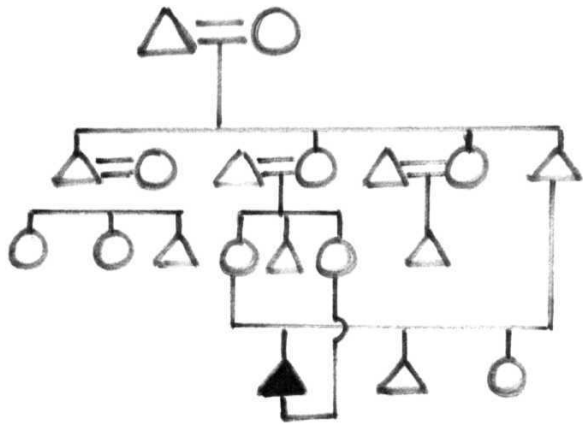


Fig.12: Genealogical chart of Kodi Sumburu of Manapwaram village showing marriage with mother's sister.

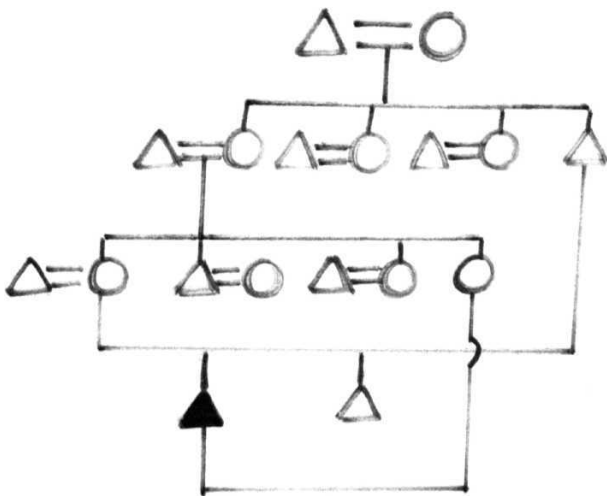


Fig.13: Genealogical chart of Papanma of Mandaguda village showing marriage with mother's sister.

from the two cases of this type observed in the present study. However, in these two cases a justification is given for such marriages. In one case (Kodi Sumbru of Manapuram), the woman is related to him both as mother's sister and also as father's sister's daughter (Fig. 12). In the other case (Papanna of Manda guda), his relation to the woman he married is traced through the father rather the mother to justify the marriage. His mother's real sister is also related to him through his father as father's sister's daughter (Fig. 13).

Polygyny:

As many as 26 out of the 147 married men in the three villages are living with more than one wife at the time of field-work. Out of them 20 are heads of the households and the rest six are members of joint families living with their parents. The high incidence of polygyny (17.68%) reflects the cultural sanctions for the institution of polygyny among the Savara.

There are no separate rules for the second marriage in case of polygyny. • However, in such marriage, the preference is for one's wife's real sisters (sorroral polygyny). This is to avoid conflict between the wives and avoid divorce by one of the two. The data does not, however, conform to this desired behaviour. Out of the 26 cases of polygyny, only in three (11.53%) cases, the

co-wives are real sisters. In five other **cases, the** co-wives **are classificatory** sisters (FBD) to each other.

Polygyny may be resorted due to an encouragement from the first wife. Such encouragement is usually given when she is barren or suffers from some chronic disease. In the case **of** two polygynous marriages (7.69%) the men married for the second **time**, when their wives were barren. In another case the reason given was the illness to his first wife.

Polygyny also results from levirate marriage. Four men (15.38%) married the widow of their elder brothers. While one in the three villages married the widow of his own father's brother, another married the widow of his father's **classificatory** brother.

Thus, out of the 26 polygynous marriages, 12 (46.15%) are with unrelated persons, while the rest 14 (53.85%) are with a close relative. Polygyny is culturally approved. The success of the second marriage depends primarily on the support for such marriage from the first wife. The data shows that such support is usually obtained when they are barren or ill. This has a consequence on the age at marriage at the time of second marriage. The age at the time of second marriage is usually 30-40 years, and hence, there is less likelihood to obtain 'oli pilla'. On the other hand, marriage with moqanalu involves a lot of

TABLE 3.6

Distribution of savara men and women in manda and manapuram villages according to the number of times married

No. of times married	Manda		Manapuram		Total		Grand Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Once	28	20	40	36	68	56	124
Twice	14	11	16	22	30	33	63
Thrice	4	2	1	2	5	4	9
Four		1				1	1
Total	46	34	57	60	103	94	197

expenditure. **Thus**, polygyny is closely associated with the economic status of the family.

Divorce and remarriage:

The Savara allow men and women to remarry in the event of death or divorce of the spouse. The data obtained for 197 persons from 56 households with regard to the number of times each one of them got married is presented in the Table 3.6 .

The data shows that a second marriage is quite common for the Savara men and women; though majority of them (60.0%) marry only once. The maximum times a woman and man married was four and **three**, respectively. As many as 29.1% of men and 35.1% of women married twice. A significant percentage (5.0%) also reported to have married more than twice.

The data indicates that a second marriage is common for the Savara. The 197 persons, for whom data on marriage is **obtained**, married 281 times. The data separately for men and women shows that women marry for the second time more often than the men. In the survey a total of 103 men reported to have married 143 times. On the other hand, 94 women reported to have got married 138 times.

Preferential marriage:

Though all the women from the marriageable category are equally considered for marriage, there is a preference

for marriage with women of a particular genealogical relationship. Data shows that 66.27% of the men while marrying for the first time married a closely related woman, (MBD, FZD, ZD) another 8.1% of them married a woman related as father's father's sister's daughter (FFZD), or mother's brother's son's daughter (MBSD), or mother's brother's daughter's daughter (MBDD). The rest 25.58% married to unrelated persons. The data also suggests that among the closely related women, FZD is preferred to MBD and ZD. 26.74% of the men reported marriage with FZD, 18.60% married MBD and 8.1% married ZD. However, if the three marriages falling under the genealogical relationship of both ZD and MBD are merged, the differences in percentage between MBD and FZD marriage is reduced to 4.65% only

Forms of marriage:

Marriage among the Savara may be by: 1) negotiations (Sirrunq boi), 2) elopement (dum dum tub) 3) capture (ding ding boi), 4) by service (kinarsinq), and 5) by intrusion (qandownboi).

Marriage by elopement is most frequent of all the five. As the study reveals, about half of the marriages account for this kind. Marriage by capture and intrusion have not been reported in the three villages. In the marriage by negotiations, the parents of the boy initiate

the negotiations, but seek the help and support from the villagers. The payment made to the bride's parents is termed **oli**. Marriages by **elopement**, take place on the initiation of bride and bridegroom themselves. Elopement of **married**, as well as unmarried, men with married or unmarried women is socially acceptable. In the case of marriage of a man **with** married woman, the former husband of the woman has to be paid danda (punishment) called moqanalu. For the demanding of danda, the former husband visits the village of the person with whom his former wife eloped along with all the adult male and female members of his village. The danda is collected only after heated exchanges between the two parties. Remarks that humiliate all the members of the village are made by each party. In some cases, if no agreement is possible with regard to the amount payable as danda, this may result into physical attacks. Hence both parties pool as many members as they can from their respective villages. However, once the moqanulu is paid, the social relationships are resumed and strengthened by frequent visits to each others villages.

Marriage by service, occurs on a low scale. When the man cannot afford to pay oli or moqanalu, he would prefer to have kinnarsing type of marriage. Persons who have lost both their parents or those whose parents divorced and remarried again take to this type of marriage. **Kinnersing** is recorded in two cases in Manapuram, three in Mutyalu, **and** two cases in Manda village.

RELIGION AND RITUALS:

With deities of 21 orders, celebration of **about a dozen pandugalu** (festivals) celebrated at the level of village, about a dozen at the family level and a host of rituals relating to disease, cure and life **cycle**, about half a dozen specialists in each village to conduct the religious ceremonies and rituals and sacrifice of not less than dozen animals/birds by each family on an average in a **year**, clearly indicate the rich and complex religious life of the Savara. The religion plays a dominant role influencing all other aspects of social life of the Savara.

The fundamental conception that every person has two life giving phenomena: 1) Rup-rup purdon and 2) Suda purdon and that all kinds of sufferings of one's family are due to the displeasure caused to the dieties, spirits and dead ancestors, lie basic to the complexity of religious life of the Savara.

The festivals celebrated by the Savara may be classified as 1) Economic 2) Social and 3) Religious, according to the nature of activities associated with these festivals.

Under the category of economic are festivals like kondem kotta, kandikotta, mamidikotta, tenkakotta, korra kotta etc. These are celebrated after the harvest of each crop, and at the time of eating the first fruits of the **crops**. Besides these festivals, those celebrated at the

time of commencement of different agricultural and allied operations also come under this category.

Social festivals include those celebrated during the life cycle process like birth, name **giving**, **puberty**, marriage and death. The festivals classified as religious are to propitiate the numerous dieties and spirits by offering sacrifices. The festivals are intended to please the dieties and thus avert the evils that may befall before the community. These festivals are celebrated jointly by all households in the village. Such festivals as Ooru panduga, Takari devata panduga, Aqalu, Goddalamma devata etc. come under this category. Of all the pandugalu, agalu is the most important and expensive for the **Savara**. This is conducted once in three or five years.

As has been mentioned earlier, the Savara believe that with the death of a person, the rup-rup-purdon, one of the two life giving phenomenon will cease to exist. But the Sudda purdon is immortal, and so leaves the body after the death. This becomes kulba (preta). The kulba wanders freely till the quar ceremony is performed. With the celebration of quar ceremony, it becomes an ancestral spirit. The kulba often demands the birinda members to give food and drink. It is believed that fevers or other health problems to the birinda members are caused because kulba are unhappy with them. The members of the birinda, so, approach kudan /kudonboi (religious specialist) and request him/her to evoke the dead ancestors who are unhappy

and also the cause of their displeasure. **Accordingly,** sacrifices are offered to those dead ancestors. Once the agalu is performed, the kulba joins the ancestral spirit and does not visit them to demand food and drink.

In the celebration of agalu, as many buffaloes as the number of persons dead from the celebration of last agalu are purchased by each family and sacrificed, and **menher** in the name each dead person is erected. As the women retain their membership in their natal family, sacrifices in their name are made in her native village. The kinsmen of all the families, living in other villages, also attend the agalu panduqa on invitation. Such kinsmen too bring buffaloes for sacrifice. As such during the three or four days of celebration of- this panduqa, a large number of buffeloes are sacrificed.

The drawings on the wall representing the "house of the God" contain picutres of all the objects which a Savara would come across and has had some encounter. The pictures of the **rocks**(representing hills), the crops grown on podu lands, the animals they hunt, the forest produce they collect, and some other material cultural items receive prominence over others in such drawings.

Among the Savara, specialists for conducting the religious ceremonies and rituals do not get the knowledge by professional training. As per the orders of the God in the dream, one enters into the job and becomes

professional. The different specialists associated with religious life of the Savara are: 1. Desari : one who fixes the muhurtams (auspicious time) for conducting all the religious performances. 2. Kundan/kudanboi: one who conducts the ceremonies 3. Ittalmaran: specialists to make drawings on the walls.

The female members cannot be the specialists in fixing up of muhurtams to conduct the rituals or Ittalmaran to draw the figures on the walls. But, they may become kundanboi to conduct the rituals. Kundanboi is particularly involved in rituals relating to disease and cure.

Women have a significant role to play at the time of conducting of worship and rituals. They are involved in cleaning and plastering the place where the deities are propitiated and arrange all other items needed for the ritual. The women carry the sacred pot containing food and other offerings to the spirits of the deceased ancestors during rituals of memorial services offered to the ancestors. But at the time of offering ceremonial **sacrifice**, they play a restricted role. Though women are permitted at the time of sacrifice of the fowl, they are not permitted to witness the sacrifice of buffaloes or goat or pig.

The Savara sacrifice only the models (made of fruits or vegetables) at the actual place of worship in

the house or outside and the animal is actually killed at another place, in the outskirts of the village. The heart of the animal, which is cooked at the place of sacrifice is again consumed by the men involved in the performance of the ritual, while the meat of the other parts of the animal is cooked by the women at home and consumed by all.

The religious specialists, before performing a ritual, pray to be excused for their mistakes, if any, in the conduct of rituals. As for example, ittalmaran says, "I am an ignorant fellow, I know nothing; but I have been told to make you a house. If I make any mistakes, do not punish me, for it will not be my fault".

The most important items in all the religious **observtions** of the Savara are (1) allimqadu(liquor) 2) rice and (3) turmeric paste. The kudan or kudanboi the italmaran are offered allimqadu before they commence the work relating to any ceremony. The allimqadu is sprinkled at the place of worship before commencement, and it is also sprinkled on all **itmes** used in worship including the sacrifices offered to deities/ancestors. The items attain the sacred value only after the sprinkling of the allimqadu.

The Savara conduct majority of the festivals collectively. Equal amount of money is contributed by all birinda in the village towards the expenditure in conducting of festivals. The labour is pooled by drawing

one adult member from each household. **Festivals/rituals**, conducted at the level of birinda also involve help from other birinda. At least one adult from each household comes to help the members of the family in undertaking the activities related to such rituals. Further, the cooked food items are exchanged between kinsmen living in separate **households**.

When a particular birinda is to sacrifice an animal like goat, or **pig**, or buffalo, other birinda in the village support them by contributing some amount towards purchase of that animal. However, such birinda are given a part of the meat of the animal sacrificed.

The Savara worship is more or less transactional like. Animal sacrifices are offered to appease the evil spirits, not to interfere and cause damage to the interests and activities. It is clear in their chantings, "I have done this, I have done everything according to the traditional prescriptions. I offered you so much of liquor, so much of rice and sacrificed animals. Why do'nt you restore the health of my son. You are not faithful. But I **am**".

The religious life of the Savara reinforces the values of collectivity, cooperation, mutual help, reciprocity, honesty, integrity and sincerity of the Savara, and play a great role in the production and reproduction of their culture, unique in **many ways**.

ECONOMY

The ethnographic accounts given by different scholars at different points of time show little variation with regard to subsistence activities of the Savara. The earlier accounts by Ramamurthy(1931), Sitapati (1938-43), Elwin (1955) and others pointed out the excessive dependence of these people on shifting cultivation on hill slopes. The recent accounts by Suryanarayana (1978), Kumar (1984) and others too characterised the Savara economy as shifting cultivation type.

Due to improvement of communication facilities, increase in contact with non-tribals, constant interference of Governmental Extension agencies, exposure to mass media etc., many changes seem to have taken place in the Savara economy.

The following are the major resources exploited by the Savara for their living today:

1. Shifting cultivation on hill slopes;
2. Collection of forest produce;
3. Hunting, trapping and gathering
4. Permanent settled cultivation;
5. Plantations on hill slopes;
6. Grazing of animals and poultry keeping;
7. Supply of agricultural implements and house building materials;
8. Wage labour;

9. System of kambaritanam; and
10. Business.

1. Shifting cultivation;

The historical reasons for which the Savara have selected their present habitation places can not be ascertained. But, probably occupation of such an ecological setting for a very long time lead them to strongly believe that : "Savara are those born in **rocks**, make a living from rocks and die in **rocks**" . Their folk tales, too lend support to this belief, as it is told: "kitting (supreme God) once declared that, "you Savaras will never make a living in ordinary fields". The attachment the Savara feels with konda (hill) is not just expressed in certain statements but it is the recurring theme of folk tales. This association is also to be found in the rituals. The picture of a rock, representing a hill, is the most important component of the drawing on the wall made at the time of aqalu (ancestor's worship) and certain other ritual performances. The podu cultivation has become a part and parcel of their life. Therefore, the idea of giving up podu cultivation means to them, "killing the mother, one who has given birth". Some of them also believe that "Podu, cultivation is more profitable.

The Savara use the term Konda Podu Vyavasayam for cultivation on hill slopes, in which case there is shifting from one patch of **hill** slope to another after a few years

of cultivation. The timing of shifting from one patch to another usually depends on the returns from that land.

Activities related to Konda Podu Vyavasayam:

The activities related to cultivation on hill slopes slightly vary from one crop to another. But for general account of Konda Podu Vyavasayam, mention of the following activities is sufficient:

- a) Acquiring bullocks and seeds;
- b) Selection of Konda (hill)
- c) Getting the agricultural implements ready;
- d) Clearing of bushes and cutting of trees;
- e) Burning of weeds;
- f) Hoeing/Ploughing;
- g) Broadcasting of seeds;
- h) Weeding;
- i) Gaurding against wild animals and birds; and
- j) Cutting and thrashing.

The planning for Podu Vyavasayam for the following year is made well in advance. This usually starts immediately after the harvest. The first step would be to look for a pair of bullocks for ploughing. Many of the households are compelled to buy a pair of bullocks for each season. This is because, due to tight economic position and their inability to generate funds from any other source **for** day to day living, the cattle **are sold** off just after **compleating** the ploughing operations of that season. So

when some money is obtained by them by the sale of such cash crops as red **gram**, ginger etc., they prefer to invest for a pair of **bullocks**. Similarly, seeds if required, for cultivation of some crops in their fields, are also acquired at that time. Good quality seeds at cheaper rate can be obtained immediately after the harvest is over.

Cattle are purchased usually in the near by shandies. But occasionally, they may be purchased from some one within the village. While purchasing cattle, help is taken from persons possessing knowledge to select the good quality ones and also from those good at bargaining. It is observed that mostly confidence is reposed in the same persons by all the villagers.

The forest on the **hills** is considered as a communal property. Unilateral decisions in the selection of plots for podu cultivation are not approved. The members make a collective decision with regard to selection of podu lands. The sites for Podu are selected according to a number of criteria, some ecological and some social. With regard to ecological criteria, they restrict site selection by excluding certain kinds of land as agriculturally not fit for Podu. Excluded is the land that is too rocky or too steep. Of land that is suitable, the Savara prefer, sites covered by well developed forest growth. Vegetation serves them as an index of the fertility of site. The thicker the forest vegetation of an area, the more years it can be kept under cultivation and the larger its **yilds**

But at the same time, the hillocks which include too many huge hardwood trees which would require too great an amount of labour to cut, is also not preferred by them.

Some other factors which influence the choice of the site for podu cultivation are, its distance from the village and the distance between it and other fields. The selection of sites adjacent to each other facilitates one to maintain close **watch** on his fields.

Another very important feature **is**, even if a site is considered favourable for podu **cultivation**, they do not go for podu cultivation unless atleast two other households of the village are willing to join them. It is strongly stated: "Whether good or bad, we should do it in the company". This requires prior consultations and group **decisions**.

Further, the selection of more than one site depends upon the numerical composition of the households. The Savara consider that it is not possible to undertake podu cultivation at more than one site when the numerical size is less than five members. This is because, the cultivation of each plot of land (about one and half acre) requires the services of atleast three adult members to work as a **unit**.

Before the start of activities related to Podu cultivation the heads of all households (or a

representative of the household) formally assemble (as in case of **Manapuram**) or informally discuss (as in case of Manda) to take collective decisions. The site for Podu cultivation, the extent of area, **etc.**, are all decided to the maximum satisfaction of all.

Once the decisions regarding the sites of Podu cultivation, are finalised, next step would be to get the agricultural implements like, barisim, qitti, todu, qoddali, barism, pandre kola, konki boriqi naqali, nolla etc., ready. Most of these tools have two components; a wooden part and an iron part. The wooden part consists of a handle and it is prepared by the Savara themselves. The iron component is prepared by Panodu, a Jatapu crafts man.

The first task in the preparation of tools, thus, involves collection of suitable wooden pieces from forest. To collect such wooden pieces, one or two members of each household join together and go in groups. However, these persons do not work together and then divide the pieces equally amongst themselves. Each one brings home as many pieces as he could collect. But this is not to say that there is no cooperative spirit. If some one in the group fails to gather as many as he needed others will help him after their work is completed. Similarly, if one gets injured by accident, others do undertake his work. They go in groups and return in groups.

The preparation of handles involves some carpentry

work. There are very few in each village who know carpentry. As such, others approach and seek help from those who are skilled workers in carpentry.

The iron component of the tool is prepared by the Panodu, who is paid grain annually by each household. Assistance is provided to him by some members of the village as helpers. The work place of panodu is a meeting place for all the adult male members of the village.

Sometime in April, after the implements are ready, on the advice of Desari, operations relating to tuppalu kottadam (clearing of bushes) will be commenced. On the auspicious day, however, clearing is undertaken only in a small patch of land, on the kottakonda (new hill), if it has been taken up that year. On that day, it is forbidden to work for a longer duration. But on subsequent days, most of the time is spent by all adult members of the family for completion of this task.

Once clearing of forest is over, the bigger logs are carried home for use as fire wood in rainy season. The leaves, branches of the trees etc., in the cleared plot when become dry, are all burnt to ashes. At the time of burning, fire is made at many spots around the field. Further, persons of different households, but with adjoining fields, necessarily cooperate in the burning activity. The starting of the fires at a time all around the podu site, is aimed to complete the burning process to

spread evenly to cover all the parts of the site **and** to **see** that all the fires eventually converge into a single large intensive fire destroying weeds and weed seeds completely. The ash, after burnig, also works as manure.

Later, when the **pre-monsoon** rains start, hoeing is undertaken to loosen the soil and mix the ash thoroughly with soil. Ploughing by using cattle is also preferred, particularly if the plot is not steep. If it is hoeing, adult female members participate more. But, only male members do ploughing.

After completion of hoeing/ploughing activity, seeds are broadcasted/dibbled. A mixed cropping of different millets is taken up on Pata konda. In the case of kotta konda, cultivation of single crop like red gram, turmeric, ginger, pine apple is grown.

No importance is given for the weeding operations in Podu cultivation. In fact, it is almost impossible to undertake weeding as the land becomes very slippery and also there will be thick growth of weeds during the rainy season. If weather permits, weeding may be done once or twice in rare cases.

During the flowering stage and also when the crop gets ready, the crop is prone to distruction from birds **and** wild animals. There is a great need to guard against them. The aged members of the family are assigned this job during

the day time- But the children aged below 12 years may follow them on their own or on the encouragement from the family members. When the damage of destruction from animals during the night time is severely **felt**, field houses may be constructed at the site. Usually, one male member from each household, aged between 18-35 years, spends the nights guarding the fields.

In the case of mixed cropping, after harvesting, the thrashing is carried out for each crop separately as and when it is ready. The households which did podu cultivation on the same hillock undertake thrashing collectively, not far from each other, at the same time.

Thrashing operations take a short time. The grain is carried home immediately after the thrashing is over. Once the thrashing of all the crops grown in different sites is completed, a sufficient quantity of good quality grain is separated and stored on attiks in baskets coated with cowdung to protect from insects. This grain is for future use as seeds.

The viability of birinda as an economic unit of production depends on complementary roles and tasks performed by the Savara men and women. The Savara pursue the need for pooling of labour and skill to undertake the podu cultivation. This necessity for collaboration is particularly a function of division of labour as conceived and practised by the Savara. Men and women must depend on

each **other**, because each sex is trained in certain skills and other is not. **Further**, many tasks not requiring special skills are, however, conventionally assigned to one sex or the other, as its particular duty. The conventions may not be followed sometimes. Persons when break conventions are not usually embarrassed, but resent such necessity. When the expectations of each sex to do the jobs meant for them are fulfilled, the relationships between the members of the birinda grow stronger. The dependency between the sexes will increase because of the specialized training and skills.

The Savara pool their labour and skill of males and females in their **domesitc** group in the practise of shifting cultivation and enjoy the resulting products of their joint efforts. In the case of a birinda of senior male, his married sons and their spouses work together to clear one or more plots of land at a given time. But sometimes, pairs of males and females within a domestic group take the responsibility of cultivation of a separte field. However, the crop thus harvested from each of such separate fields are pooled. Assistance is freely asked for and given within the domestic group regardless of separate field responsibilities. The domestic group is a food-pooling unit also. Not all members of the household necessarily cooperate in every productive activity. But whatever crop is produced by a single pair or collectively, is pooled together for consumption of all.

Coperation and help within the household is also

extended across the households and becomes an important feature of the Savara social organization. The description of the activities show that the help is extended to other members not just because of a particular kind of genealogical relationship. The married children of the same parents whether living in the same household or in separate household, may exhibit greater cooperation. But cooperation among the brothers usually lasts only till the death of their parents. When activities call for group activity, the groups are formed adhoc, for collective tasks are never based on kinship alone, but kin who do cooperate together may fall into any kinship category.

Land holding and returns from shifting cultivation;

The survey conducted in the three villages showed that the land under shifting cultivation is 2.48 acres on an average per household. A majority of the households, however, cultivated less than two acres under Podu. The distribution of households according to the size of the land is presented in the Table 3.8.

No preference to grow plantations like coffee, banana, and cashew which are long term perennial producers with delayed returns is observed. It is said, their serious cultivation would require greater labour force and involves greater risk. With regard to growing banana, Yenkati of Nadimiguda stated: " No one is sure of weather on hills. If there is a strong breeze just before the yield

TABLE 3.7

Distribution of households according to the size of podu land

Size of the Land holding (in acres)	No. of households			Total
	Manda	Manapuram	Mutyalu	
Less than 1	2	8	6	16
1.1-2	5	21	5	31
2.1-3	4		14	18
3.1-4	2	2	4	8
4.1-5	2	-	-	2
5.1 - 6	1	2	1	4
6.1-7	3	-	3	6
7.1-8	2	1	2	5
8.1-9	-	-	2	2
9.1-10	-	-	1	1
More than 10	1	-	-	1
Total	22	34	38	94

TABLE 3.8

Distribution of households according to the income from podu cultivation

Income (In Rs.)	No. of households			Total
	Manda	Manapuram	Mutyalu	
Less than 1000	4	22	8	34
1001 - 1500	3	8	8	19
1501 - 2000	5	-	14	19
2001 - 2500	2	1	2	5
2501 - 3000	4	-	1	5
3001 - 3500	2	2	2	6
3501 - 4000	-	1		1
4001 - 4500	1	-	3	4
4501 - 5000	-	-	-	
More than 5000	1	-		1
Total	22	34	38	94

is **ready**, the efforts of several years go waste. Why should we have too much of ambition? We are taught that "a bird in hand is better than two in the **bush**". This is the attitude of the Savara to grow such plantations.

Growing of perennial crops can be undertaken by the birinda with compound family structures in view of the greater labour force available with them. But **normally**, not all families of these types venture to take up cultivation of such crops. In spite of high returns from these cash crops, members of these households, by and large, hesitate to undertake their cultivation because of uncertainty involved in the composition of the birinda. The working relations between the wives of a man in case of polygyny are prone to breakdown resulting into dissolution of the compound family and reduction of labour force. Similarly, the married persons in the case of an extended family may form their **own birinda**, causing reduction of labour force of a birinda in which they were earlier living.

The data on income from Podu cultivation for different households is summarised in the Table **3.9**. The data shows that the income from Podu cultivation accounts for about 25% to 40% for 32 households and less than 25% in the case of 62 households.

2. Forest Produce:

Forest produce is a very important source of income for the Savara. All Savara settlements in Seethampeta Block are surrounded by a large number of tamarind **trees**, and as such tamarind is the most important of all the items of forest produce.

In the case of collection of **tamarind**, however, a different set of conventions are followed. The tamarind trees surrounding the village are treated as **community** property. Those trees are leased out to **non-tribals**, usually to relli caste men of near by town, for a period of three years. The money thus collected, is used for organising the vuri panduga (village festival), celebrated once in three years. However, in the lease agreement, a condition that only the local Savara men and women should be employed for collection of tamarind from these trees and that they should be given half of what they collect as cooli (wage) is made.

Besides tamarind, fruits like usiri, neradi, seethaphalam,, ramaphalam,, danimma,, dabba, nimma etc., vegetables like anqara, arati, chikkudi, mulaqa etc., fire wood, adda leaves (used for making leaf plates), ippa flowers, seeds of kaqu, rope made out of the bark of certain trees, broom sticks straw used for **thatching**, etc., are collected by the Savara men and women from forest.

For collecting the forest produce, Savara men and

TABLE 3.9

Distribution of households according to the income from forest produce

Income (In Rs.)	No. of households			Total
	Manda	Manapuram	Mutyalu	
Less than 500	2	8	8	18
501 - 750	5	13	14	32
751 - 1000	8	9	11	28
1001 - 1250	5	3	2	10
1251 - 1500	2	1	3	6
Total	22	34	38	94

women usually go in groups. In the case of married **persons**, the husband and wife and their female child/children go together. On the other hand, the unmarried men of different households go together in groups. Occassionally, the teen aged girls in the village may join to form small groups for collection of forest **produce.**

It is interesting to note that, the income from the sale of forest produce is considered as individual earnings. As such each individual is free to sell or exchange those items as he pleases. The unmarried adult members use their earnings for purchase of clothes, ornaments, cosmetics, tobacco etc., for their personal use or for entertainment. Some of them, may also invest on purchase of goats, sheep, fowl, pigs etc. to supplement their income.

As per the data presented in Table **3.10** the approximate earnings from sale of forest produce varies between Rs. 500 to Rs. 750 for a majority (38) of the households. The income is more than Rs. 1250 for only six households. It is Rs. .250 to **Rs.** 500 for 18 households. The share of forest produce in the total income constitutes 30% - 40% for 30 households, 20% - 30% for 28 households and 10% to 20% in the rest 36 households.

3. Hunting Trapping and Gathering

Hunting: Though hunting does not form a major activity of income to the Savara, it is considered as an important activity. The importance is evident from the following three observations: 1) The intensity of hunting operations; 2) The special desire that is generally expressed by the male members to possess the weapons used in hunting; and 3) The frequent admiration and **rememberance** of those who had shown '**excellence**' in hunting skills. The recreational aspect of hunting is overtly **expressed**, but its significance as economic activity is under played by the Savara.

Hunting is carried out only during leisure time. **However**, much of the hunting is said to be possible only during the months of January to May, when they are not busy with agricultural work. Even when they are busy with agricultural operations or collection of forest produce, members undertake some types of hunting during the late evenings. During the months of January and May, they will have more time to spend for hunting. For example, the first day on which different agricultural activities are initiated is observed as a work holiday. Similarly, many of the festivals take place during summer months. **When** a festival is celebrated, no agricultural work is undertaken. As such, those days are utilised for hunting expedition.

Types of hunting:

A) Roppudu veta: This is very popular, and is aimed at hunting of pedda iantuvulu (big animals) like deer, **antelope**, boar, wild pig, bear etc. It requires a big group, with a minimum of 8-10 members. There is no maximum limit. All the members who wish to join are accommodated. This is carried out during the day time. The group consists of three to six members specialised in shooting, throwing of spear (**balleem**) and other sharp edged weapons. Others are unskilled, . Though, one of the members act as a leader, he is guided by the advice and suggestions of others, particularly the other skilled persons.

All the members take an early breakfast and start before the day break. All the members carry some weapon or other. A few of the younger members are however, assigned the specific work of supply of water.

As soon as the group reaches a particular area, members search for foot prints or the excreta of the animals, in order to confirm the habitation of the animals in that area. Once the habitation of the animals is ascertained, the skilled persons take positions at different places. The unskilled persons from the other end chase the animals shouting loudly towards the place where **the** members of the team wait with different weapons. The animals are shot at or injured by throwing spears and other weapons. At the same time, dogs which accompany the team are also pressed into service. The dogs chase **the**

injured animals and further cause injuries resulting in the death of the animals.

B) Ratri veta: There are two types of ratri veta (night hunting). Usually persons with hunting skills, only take part in this type. **However**, youngsters trying to acquire the skills in shooting or throwing **ballems** (spears) may also follow the elders.

In any **case**, the night hunting groups will be small, consisting of 5 - 6 members. Unlike roppudu veta, this type requires silence and so it is desired that the group consists of very few members. If there are more members, they form small groups and go in different directions. However, no member is forced to join this group or that group. This sometimes results in unequal distribution of members. In case too many members opt to join one particular group, the activity is cancelled, as no one can displease any person who wishes to join the group by not allowing him to join. Since it is generally agreed that they will not be successful if the group is big, they would prefer to drop the hunting expedition altogether.

One type of game that is carried out in the night time is essentially for small animals like rabbits and birds like peacocks. The members do not go into the interior forest, but venture only where there is thin growth of forest. For shooting peacocks, early morning is preferred. At cocks crow, around 4 a.m. 3 to 4 persons go

in the direction that they hear the peacock's screech. Ultimately they wait under the tree on which the birds take rest. When the bird comes down in the morning, it is shot at or killed with some other weapon.

People take an early dinner and go for hunting expedition if it is intended to hunt rabbits. In this case also, a small group is preferred. **However**, no sharp weapons are needed for this game. Only guns are **used**, as rabbits run fast. The colour of the rabbits is usually white and their eyes strikingly glitter. This makes location of the animals easier. As and when they come across with the animal, torch lights are focussed. When the animal becomes steady due to the powerful light, it is shot immediately. If the target is missed, other members of the group try to chase and hit the animal with sticks. Sometimes, the animal may get injured with bullet, but may escape into a bush. In that case, dogs are pressed into service at day break. The dogs smell the blood sprinkled at the spot and lead the members to the place where the animals lie dead.

The other type of game, aimed at big animals, but carried out during the night time, is very risky and cumbersome. In this type, a pit of about four to five feet is dug at a place where the animals are supposed to frequently visit. Three to four members hide in the pit. The pit is covered with big logs, leaving, some space in between the logs to project the guns over the surface to

shoot the animals. Some water is stored in a trough at a distance of five to six feet from the pit. The water is a trap for the animals. The members observe the water level in the pot and **ascertain**, if any animal visited that place. Once they are sure, the following night three to four members wait in the **pit** and shoot the animals that come to drink the water. Two or three persons who accompany the team particularly the probationers, climb up the trees and watch carefully.

This type of game is very difficult because the members have to remain vigilant and sleepless throughout the night. But, this is more rewarding than other types.

Trapping of wild fowl; (Adavi kodi):- Unlike the other types of game, this is essentially the concern of the individual. Sometimes, two or more members may participate, but they belong to the same household. Moreover, unlike the other game where the members are mostly young, the trapping of forest cock is attempted under the guidance of an experienced person. This activity is carried out during the day time.

The essential requirements of this game are: a) a net, and b) a trained Adavi kodi (wild cock). The net is spread out in the forest inhabited by wild fowl. The inhabitation is ascertained by their cries in the early morning. If any egg or egg shell is found in that particular area, the habitation is further confirmed.

After spreading the net, the domesticated cock is directed to cry and invite its species. As and when the fowl approach, they are trapped in the **net**.

Hunting/trapping as a commercial activity:

Except the trapping of wild fowl, other games are not used for commercial purposes. In the case of trapping of fowl, the birds caught are usually sold in the weekly markets. Thus, it becomes a direct source of income. Atleast members in eleven households in the three villages are preoccupied with the activity during the summer. The average earnings from this activity during the three month period (February - April) is estimated to be Rs.80/- per month. But the maximum earning is observed to be 310/- for a total period of three months in Manda village.

Though it is economically rewarding, only a few individuals undertake this activity. This is because of two reasons: a) only a few possess the trained wild cock. The wild cock is captured only by accident and b) only a few persons know how **to make** the nets to trap the birds.

As mentioned earlier, the other type of game is more a **passtime** than of economic interest. The game assumes economic significance only when the meat of the animals is considered, a rich contribution to their diet. The meat is not consumed all at once, but preserved after drying it in sun, for future use. Moreover, the meat is never an

addition to their regular diet. It is used as a substitute for other items. As such, it economises the expenditure on some other food items.

In case of roppudu veta, the meat of the animal is equally divided among the members participating in the activity. If the group is small, some portion of it may be offered at a nominal cost to the members of the family who do not participate in the hunting expedition. The principle is not to earn money, but to have some rationale for distribution.

In case some big animal is killed in ratri veta the amount or share that each of the participants get is more. This is because, only a few members take part in this type of game. In such case, some quantity of meat is sold off to the villagers and the cash is divided equally among the members of the group. The meat is sold not with the motive of earning money, but the desire that everyone in the village must enjoy the rare food.

The hunting of big animals is not commercialized, though the meat of some of the animals has very good demand in the neighbouring towns. It is felt that they should enjoy the rare food. Further, it is risky to take the meat to the town for sale, as the police may book cases for killing the wild animals in the reserved forest area. Even then there is a growing tendency to sell the meat of the peacocks. Peacock meat is not considered by Savaras as a

rare delicacy.

Success rate in hunting and trapping;

Every hunting expedition is not rewarding. Success rate in 'roppudu veta' is particularly poor, compared to ratri veta. There are large number of beliefs associated **with** successful hunting expedition. The failure of the operation is mostly attributed to these beliefs, rather than to the skill of the individuals. The variations in the beliefs vary from village to village and are based on certain sentiments. For example, in the village Manapuram, once the people killed a bear by hitting on its head with an axe. The bear was earlier shot by a gun. After this incident, the hunting expeditions did not yield any results for two successive years. The person who was an expert in shooting became incapacitated. The members of the village from that time onwards are of the belief that once the animal is injured with a bullet, it should not be hit on the head with an axe. The only way to kill it, is to cut the neck with knife. A similar kind of story runs in Manda colony, it is believed by the villagers that if any member applies oil to his hair either on the day of hunting or a day before he would miss the aim.

In Manapuram village, in a period of five months in the year 1987 (January to June) 13 expeditioins of roppudu veta were undertaken. Only five times they were able to kill. They were fortunate to get a deer killed by a

chindava at one time. The chindava is believed to have disappeared when members of the group, shouted in loud voice leaving the dead animal near a bush. This rate of success was considered rare by the villagers. During the previous years, only eight animals could be killed, during the same period.

Ratriveta aimed at kill of pedda jantuvulu is more rewarding. During the period of five months from January to June, hunting activity of this type was carried out on nine occasions. The teams were successful twice. On one occasion, the team successfully killed two wild pigs. During the same period, in the same village, successful hunting of one rabbit and four peacocks was reported. The success rate in the case of rabbit hunting is by far poorer (one in 16 times) while it is maximum in the case of peacocks (four out of seven times).

Food gathering;

Savaras identify a great many number of tubers, roots seeds, and leaves as consumable. Some of them are relished. The native terms of the roots and tubers very much relished by them are tummanq, cado, babo, parv, kanda, doldi petka, ganuga, ganu, buti, asagai, petaka, adap etc.

The tubers, roots and leaves gathered in the forest are for their own consumption. They are not sold or exchanged though a few of them consumed by diquvallyu (people in the plains), have some demand from **non-tribals**.

The roots, tubers and leaves are not substitute to their staple food except in karuvukalam (famines). But their consumption as side **dishes**, help save expenditure indirectly.

Gathering of roots, tubers, leaves etc., is not exclusively taken up, except in few instances. The children and the aged men and women who would go for cattle rearing often undertake this. In such instances, they collectively work and divide what ever is gathered equally. All those tubers, roots which can be consumed raw are finished then and there only. Occassionally, the adolosent women from different households join to form a group and go exclusively for gathering. They may return with large **quantities**, and they are shared by all members of the household. Adult men and women when accidently come across some, while going for some other work, may also immediately dig the roots or tubers.

4. Settled

Some of the villagers acquired land in plains when the Government distributed land soon after the nauxalite movement in this area in the early seventees. As the leveling of the land was done using bulldozers at that time, it is being called buldoju bhoomulu in some of these villages. Some other villagers, however, reported of having purchased lands (less than three acres in each case) from the neighbouring Jatapus in the recent past. These lands

in the plains do not have irrigation facilities and depend upon monsoon rain. As such, only one crop, mostly paddy is grown in a year.

Unlike podu cultivation, the cultivation of plain land does not require help and cooperation from members outside the family. However, for supply of cattle and agricultural implements one may depend on others. These often are mostly from the circle of friends.

The Savara do not have the skills required for conducting of different operations involved in settled cultivation. The Extension Officer (Agriculture) at BDO's office informed me that the Savara are very poor agriculturists and neglect weeding operations. The use of fertilisers and pesticides is almost nil.

Men play an important role in the settled cultivation, as they perform specialised tasks. Ploughing (dunnadam), levelling of land, Nolla pattadam), lifting of manure (Gattam attadem), broadcasting of seeds (vittanalu jalladam), controlling of water supply (Neeru kattadam), etc., supposed to be all important tasks, are done by the men folk. In the case of activities like sowing, weeding and reaping of the crop, women's participation is more. The settled cultivation involves more inputs of capital and labour, as well as greater risks. As such, the Savara do not resort to settled cultivation and most of the time.

TABLE 3.10**Distribution of households according to the size of the land owned in plains**

Size of the land owned (in acres)	No. of households			Total
	Manda	Manapuram	Mutyalu	
Nil	13	9	21	43
Less than 0.5	2	6	6	14
0.6 - 1.0	1	9	2	12
1.1 - 1.5	1	2	-	3
1.6 - 2.0	1	6	2	9
2.1 - 2.5	3	-	3	6
2.6 - 3.0	1	-	2	3
Above 3.0	-	2	2	4
Total	22	34	38	94

these lands are left fallow.

The land ownership pattern in the three villages for settled cultivation is presented in the **Table 3.11**. As shown in the table, only 51 of the total 94 households owned land. Of these households, the extent of land **owned** by each household, is less than 1.5 acres for more than half of the households. As such the income from this source accounts for 12.0% on an average, to these households during the year of study.

5. Horticultural Plantations:

Private ownership of trees and orchards in the forest is absent among the Savara. However, usufruct rights are recognized for trees like drum **sticks, salpam** etc., grown in one's backyard and on podulands. As such any one **from** village is free to collect the produce from any tree around the villages and the forest.

The concept of private ownership is being introduced by the government by issuing pattas to the land that the Savara are cultivating. With the distribution of patta land by government, change seems to have taken place in the Savara economic organization. Claims of private ownership for the trees like chinta, **kaqu**, ippa etc., in one's patta land are now being made by individual households. In this process, some of them also became owners of certain orchards and plantations. Of late, with the support from Integrated Tribal Development Agency

(ITDA), some enterprising young Savara men planted trees and grew plantations on hill slopes. Claims of private ownership for such plantations were recognised by the people in the community and by government by issuing 'D' pattas to those lands.

Only **twelve** Savara households in the three villages reported owning plantations on hill slopes. The earnings from this source is quite significant for them. The earnings accounted for 15% - 20% out of the total income in case of three and 10% - 15% in the rest nine families.

6. Grazing and poultry keeping:

The Savara supplement their income by rearing **cattle**, goat, and sheep as well as poultry. This involves two practices:

1. Mepu bakkalu:

In this type, the owner of the cattle, goat or sheep or poultry approaches a Savara for taking care of rearing the animal or bird. Prior to handing over of the animal or bird for rearing, the price of the animal or bird as on that day is fixed. The owner is free to sell his cattle or bird at any time. If the selling price of the cattle or bird is more than the price fixed earlier, the excess amount is termed as profit. The profit is equally divided between the owner and the keeper. However, if the sale price is less, the loss is entirely borne by the owner.

Similarly, in the case of the death of the animal or the bird for any reason in the possession of the keeper, he is not held responsible. There is no need to pay any compensation to the owner. The risk is entirely taken by the **owner**.

The mepu transaction is not always profitable. Nevertheless, it does not cause any loss to the keeper. Hence, this is preferred. The Savara enter into such kind of agreements not only with his kin and non-kin members, but also with the neighbouring Jatapus. Due to the abundance of green foliage on the hill slope, mostly mepu agreements are favoured for goat and sheep by the non-savara owners. In the case of kin, mepu agreements are made more frequently with **affines**, rather than consanguines. When the young Savara man wishes to separate from his father's birinda and set up his own household, he is helped in the initial years with such favours by his in-laws. This is particularly true, if his wife is the only child to her parents.

Sonta **Bakkalu**:

In this type, an individual invests his money to purchase cattle, **goat, sheep**, or poultry. He rears them for some time and then sells for some profit.

Investment on cattle or goat or sheep or poultry is always encouraged among the Savara. It is commonly believed that it is the wisest investment to increase one's

wealth. The adult boys and girls are always encouraged to buy a fowl, a pig, a goat, or a sheep from their modest savings. Investment on female species is preferred because they multiply the numbers and increase one's wealth without further investments in cash.

The extent of profit from rearing of different animals in a year is difficult to estimate. Because, profits on the investment made in one year need to be distributed for several years during which the person reared. However, the approximate earnings for different households from this source in the year of study was found **out.**

The data shows that 20 households received additional income through this source. This income varied between, Rs.400 and Rs.600 for twelve households and Rs.200 and Rs. 400 for eight households. Further, the data shows that for three households, this income constitutes 8% to 10% of the total income, and 6% to 8%, for six other households.

8. Sale of timber;

A few households supplement their incomes by selling wood useful to make agricultural implements, household goods and those used in construction of houses, to non-tribals of nearby towns and villages. Only wood of particular trees like ippa, tumma, neredi etc., are used to make bullock carts, ploughs and other agricultural

implements. Quite regularly, the Savaras are approached for this wood. To use as beams while making roof of the houses also, they are asked to supply wood. Savara men select suitable trees, cut them into required sizes and shapes and supply for good amounts. As this task involves some carpentry skill, not all in the village choose this as a source of earning.

The demand for bamboos, and such other varieties which are tall, thin **but** strong and can withstand the damage from white ants, has also been reported. This material is used in the construction of the thatched roof or for making partitions with mud etc. Such items can be supplied by any person in the village. In spite of the demand, only twelve persons in ten households reported supplementing their incomes through this activity. The earnings from this resource constitute a negligible percentage for these households.

9. Wage Labour:

Earnings through wage labour also constitute an important source of income for the Savara. However, only eight households in the three villages, depended primarily on wage labour. The numerical strength of these eight households being less than three, the members could not undertake podu cultivation. Since almost all the households take up land for podu cultivation, in proportion to the labour force available at home, there is very little

opportunity for the members to go as wage labour. Only occasionally when they are not busy with agricultural **operations**, some Savara men and women participate in the construction work or any other agricultural work (such as land development, transplantation, weeding) of neighbouring Jatapus for daily wages.

10. The system of kamaritanam;

Some Savara boys join households of their kin as kambari to offer their services. These boys work only for the household in which they join throughout the year. Such a practice is called kambaritanam. The wages of kambaari are paid annually in the form of grain or money. The quantity of grain or the amount is fixed on the considerations of age, and the skills the boys possess.

When a boy joins as kambari, he takes his food in the household in which he joined. He has the obligation to attend to all the works assigned to him by the head of the household. He is **banned** to offer his services or earn money for his household during his tenure as kambari. When he has not been assigned any work, he may be allowed to collect forest produce. The earnings that he may make by sale of such forest produce are enjoyed by him. He may use this money for his personal expenditure on clothes, entertainment etc.

The institution of kambaritanam as the enquiries

reveal does not always result by voluntary **agreements**. **Sometimes**, boys may be forced to take to kambaritanam. For instance, when the parents of a boy fail to repay the loan they had taken from some one in his village, he may offer to leave his son as kambari in their household. In such a case, as long as the boy serves as kaambari no interest on the principal is calculated. Once the principal is paid, the boy's services as kambari are withdrawn.

In Mutyalu village, Basanna advanced a loan of Rs.500/- to his elder brother. His brother could not repay the amount, though two years have passed. In the mean time **Basanna's** son had left the home for higher studies. At that time, he approached his elder brother to leave his son as kambari, rather than pay interest on the amount he advanced. His brother agreed. Since then, Bangaru (**Basanna's** elder brother's son) is living in the household of Basanna as kambari. Similar is the case with Venkat Rao of Manapuram village. He has joined his father's sister's son's household.

In the three villages, a total of six boys have been reported as serving as kambari. All of them are in the age group of 12-15 years.

11. Business and Contract Works:

Some of the emerging leaders of the Savara villages have become enterprising these days. They are taking to business and contract work. In order to seek cooperation

from the Savaras and to avoid the middle men in the tribal areas, Government is encouraging the local Savaras to take up contract work for construction of school buildings, Anganwadi **buildings**, housing colonies etc. This is a new source of income for the Savara.

In all the **three** villages, the contract for school buildings were taken by the local Savaras. In Mutyalu and Manda colony, the local Savaras have also taken up the construction work of the Anganwadi centres. Atleast seven persons are engaged in such contract business.

Out of the 94 households surveyed, eight members in nine households informed of supplementing their income with small business and trade. They are mainly engaged in seasonal trading of red gram, turmeric and tamarind.

Systems of distribution:

The goods produced or collected in the forest by the Savara are consumed little by themselves. The same are in good demand outside their village. On the other hand, many an items/goods that they need for day to day living have to be acquired from outside. This makes **selling**, buying and exchange (**marakam**) of goods a serious business among the Savara.

These days economic transactions among **the** Savara largely involve cash payments. Sale in large quantities, involving cash payments is observed in case of turmeric,

ginger, cahsew nuts and red gram. **These** items fetch **him** good amount of money at a time. During the season, sale of **tamarind**, broom stick, grass (qaddi) (used for thatching a roof) ippa flower, (Mahuva) kaqu seeds fetch him considerable amount, at a time. Sale of other items, like vegetables grown in kitchen gardens and on podu, plots, a variety of fruits collected in the forest and forest produce like leaves (used for making leaf plates), firewood etc., fetch only a little money at a time. Banana, being a perennial crop fetches money throughout the year, but only a little at a time.

The above **classification** is useful. Because, all the items which fetch a Savara good money at a time are usually not exchanged but sold for cash. On the other hand, those which fetch him little at a time, may be sold for cash or exchanged for other items. But, usually when the quantity available is little, it is exchanged and not sold.

The Savara distinguish between two types of business people with whom they transact their goods mostly. They are: Konda vyaparulu and Konda sahuکارulu. The Konda Vyaparulu deal with small scale business and mainly entertain marakam (exchange of goods). The items with which konda vyaparulu usually deal are tobacco, chilli, dry fish, match box, salt, edible oil etc. Konda Sahukarlu deal with large scale business. Their transactions involve money. Neither the vyapurulu nor sahukarlu belong to any particular caste. However, members of relli caste dominate

the tamarind **business**, just as komati caste men dominate business of turmeric and cashew.

The adult Savara men and women leave for work quite early. So, most of the business transactions of vyaparulu as well as sahakarulu can take place only for a short time during the morning hours, between 6 A.M. and 10 A.M. The visit of a great number of vyaparulu or sahakarulu during these early **hours**, suddenly, more so in the tamarind season or harvest of red gram, cashew turmeric, ginger, disturbs the other wise quiet and calm environment in the village.

The important feature of the economic transaction of the Savara is that, for all items that they sell in bulk, the prices are decided much in advance, even before the grain/ crop is ready and a bayana (advance) is paid to them. The bayana so paid is very nominal, many a time one rupee. Bayana is a sort of agreement loaded with moral commitments for the Savara. Once the bayana is received, the Savara is obliged to sell to the same person for the same price once the crop is harvested.

The Savara also frequently indulge in qutta beram. In this, they receive cash for the estimated yields. For example, a sahukari inspects a kitchen garden when the plants are nearing the flowering stage. He makes an estimation of the yields from that plot. On the basis of his estimation, a contract is made with the owner of the plot. Accordingly, the Savara is paid cash at that time

itself and entire yield is enjoyed by the **Sahukari**. Later, the owner of the plot himself takes care of the crop. He himself takes the responsibility of handing over of all the produce to the Sahukari.

The transactions of the kind described above indicate two characteristic features of the Savara personality:

1) Honesty and **integrity**:-

"To be honest is to be a Savara". Gutta transaction is not possible unless the Savara are very **honest**, as in such cases, the non-tribal business men ask the Savaara himself to keep a watch over the crop and handover the produce collected in that plot. The non-tribal entering into such transactions come from far off places and so cannot keep a watch over the crop. Moreover, the same person may enter into such deals in different villages. Hence, it is not physically possible to be there at all places.

In the case of bayana payments also the integrity of the Savara is reflected. Once a bayana is received he would sell his produce to the same person and to the same rate.

2) Avoidence of **risk**:-

The Savara is aware of the profits the sahukalu make in the gutta transactions. Even then, some accept the transaction for a lesser price as they are in great need of **money** others repeat it because of their total

unwillingness to take risk. They think: "what if the crop fails due to some reason or the other. I will not get even this money. It is better to be satisfied with what I get rather than expect for more at a later date". This being the nature of the Savara, even those who are not badly in need of money also entertain such transactions.

The Savara may not sell all the produce or excess of the produce for cash or exchange for other items. Payment in terms of kind is made for services received by them by different professionals. Annual payments in terms of goods, as is found in case of **jajmani** system, occurs in the case of Panodu. The quantity of payment is fixed according to the extent of podu land and also the harvest. The paanodu receives one putti of grain for every pair of bullocks employed in the cultivation of land in the plains. Besides the grain, the panodu also receives some quantity of all types of forest produce from each of the households in the village. Payment in terms of kind is also made to the tailors, and barbers too, who render their services by visiting their villages occasionally.

Role of Girijan Co-operative Corporation (G.C.C) Depots:

About a dozen G.C.C. depots are functioning in the Block in different villages. The G.C.C. has the responsibility to collect forest produce like tamarind, broom stick, honey, mohuva flowers, adda leaves etc., from the tribals straight and avoid middle men. GCC outlets

also take care of **the** public distribution of subsidised rice, kerosene, cooking **oil**, clothes and other essential commodities. Though G.C.C has monopoly rights over the purchase of forest produce, it is observed that the Savara sell their goods mostly to the Sahukarlu. Because, G.C.C offers less price and the "sales men cheat them in weighing". However, the Savara depend on G.C.C run depots for the essential commodities like rice, kerosene, edible oil, sugar, matches, soaps etc.

Role of Weekly Markets:

With the improvement of communication facilities the Konda sahuKarulu visit the Savara villages most frequently these days, and so, they can sell their goods in the village itself. However, some Savara prefer to sell their goods in weekly markets in view of the slightly higher prices offered there. Others feel that it does not compensate for the physical strain involved in carrying the goods such far on the head. The role of weekly markets with regard to sale of goods has thus decreased. The Savara visit the weekly markets for purchases and to meet their kin and friends who would also visit them.

CHAPTER 4

SAVARA: SOCIALIZATION

Dallard John described the process of socialization as "an account of how a new person is added to the group and becomes an adult capable of meeting the traditional expectations of his society for a person of his age and **sex**" (1969: 720). It is a process by which individuals acquire skills and dispositions that enable him to participate as more or less effective members of groups and the society. The discussion of socialization essentially deals with the process of transmission of social survival skills to the younger generation through the indigenous cultural institutions. An account of socialization of Savara children is very relevant for a study with such objectives and nature as outlined in the earlier chapters. Such a discussion would reveal:

1. The extent to which the social survival skills required for the Savara children become obstacles for their effective **participation in** the school environment.
2. How the role and behavioural expectations of boys and girls of different age-groups clash with their expectations of the school.
3. To know the consistency or inconsistency of the procedures of learning, in the formal and informal **systems,**

of the same social survival skills required for the effective participation of children in school and society.

The process of socialization is believed to be continuous and takes place throughout the life of an individual. But, Fortes appears to hold that socialization can be regarded complete by the time of initiation ceremonies and/or sexual maturity. He says: "the basic educational tasks required to produce an adult person capable of transmitting the social capital seem to be complete by about the same time as the attainment of physical and sexual **maturity**"(1958: 10). Agreeing with Parson's observation that: "the problem of a clear delineation of the social structure in which socialization takes places is much more difficult than the earlier **level**" (1956: 125), Wilder (1970) thinks that what seems to be '**complete**' at around puberty is rather the family's role in socialization.

Thus, the process of socialization is believed to be a life long process. However, for descriptive simplicities, it is divided into a few stages. Out of all the stages, childhood socialization and adolescent socialization are recognized very important. Keeping in view the objectives of the study, a description of these two stages only has been attempted here.

Children are very much desired and welcomed in the Savara society as important additions to the maintenance

and functioning of the culture. The Savara adults say that they have the responsibility of 'child **care**' and grooming of the young into an adult Savara. **However**, neither can they describe the course of progress of boys and girls through different 'stages' nor can they be explicit about the ways and means for moulding one into a Savara adult.

Till about one **year**, no member of the Savara community would have any expectation regarding the child's learning 'to be a **Savara**'. The child actually spends little time with her parents. She will be under the care of yuyunji (grand mother) during that period.

The child's **mother**, though does not leave the home for any farm work, plays very little role in bringing up the child, except taking care of the feeding with her breast milk. It is the yuyunji who takes care of the child's bath, sleep, etc.

From about one to two years, the learning to be a Savara adult is initiated. The child spends most of his time with his/her parents since then. As the woman starts attending to farm work, the child is also taken to the work spot with them. He/she is either carried in a cloth, slung from the mother's neck or put to sleep in a make shift hammock. But while at home, the child is mostly in the company of the father. As the woman attends to the household work, the child's father engages it by carrying in a cloth, just like his/her mother. As they grow little

older, they may sit on their father's shoulders. The child picks up the Savara vocabulary with his/her **parents'** constant encouragement during this time.

As the child grows and attains an age of 3-5 years, the parents discourage children spending their time in their company, and encourage the child to enjoy the company of their age-mates.

Ennathu's four year old son wished to join their parents going into forest for collection of tamarind. Ennathu refused to take him. As the child started crying, he looked at him angrily and pretended to smack. The child crying, went to his mother. His mother said, "it is your father's will". **After** some time, Ennathu called his son again asked him to stop crying, **promissed** him to give 0.10 paise so that he could buy an ice cream. The child agreed to stay back. He explained how other children of his age remain at home when their parents go for work. He convinced him that in the company of other children of his age, he can play and enjoy.

Ennathu when enquired as to why he is not willing to take his child with him, immediately stated: "all children of his age stay back in the villlage, no one would go with their parents. This child should also stay back, join them and learn, learn what others of his age do."

The Savara boys in the age-group of three to six years are called wanger, while the girls are anchulu. During this stage, neither the parents nor the other members of the family would have any control over them. No demands are made on them to abide by any particular behaviour. The course of progress of the boys and the girls from childhood to adulthood seem to be of little significance for most Savara adults, as they assume that children in time behave as adults do. There are no controls on their food. They are fed on demand. No adult foods or ways of eating are forbidden for them. Little significance is attached to the matters of cleanliness or grooming in children. Adults give little specific attention to the beginnings of adult behaviour. It is said that a child unable to talk and understand, does not comprehend, and so no use in controlling his actions. The actions of wanger and anchulu are said to be neither good nor bad, but `childish'. They are treated with great indulgence, rarely scolded and never beaten.

Anapa, a three year old child picked up a bamboo stick of his elder brother. When his brother forcibly took away the stick, he started crying and while crying he abused his brother. The use of such filthy words against one's own brother is not at all tolerated. But Anapa's father and some other kin who were witnesses to this have not at all attempted to ask Anapa to stop abusing. On the other hand, they started laughing saying to each other,

"**this** fellow even learned these words. He has grown **up**, oh God".

There is no sexual segregation at the stage of wanger/anchulu. The boys and girls freely **mix**, roam around and play together. However, they would prefer spending their **day** time watching any such activity as construction of new house, carpentry, blacksmithy, tailoring, religious performances etc. They may also be present at adult gatherings including those of religious and social significance. They are not avoided by adults unless they are in a grave danger of physical harm. Very few attempts are made by adults to prevent behaviour by children that disrupts or interferes with adult proceedings.

When the children decide to play, all the children in the village join. They form a big group and leave to their usual place of play. While at play, there is some sort of division among them into `**seniors**` and `**juniors**'. The seniors suggest which game to play. The juniors accept. The seniors make decisions, as for example in the case of `**household** play', who would play the role of mother, who is father etc. The juniors follow. Similarly, while playing, in case of any work distribution, works are assigned to groups and not to individuals, as for example in the construction of a model house, a few boys and girls are given the job of collection of sticks, a few others, leaves and some others, preparation of mud. The notions of '**team-**

work' and **'helping each other'** and its advantages **are**, learned by Savaras quite early. If the children feel thirsty, they would go to the **'bore pump'** in a group. Three or four children pull the handle to get the water for others to drink.

The enculturation process of Savara children till the stage of wanqer and anchulu, as it has been **noted**, is without much of the interference of the adults. The **non-**interference of adults is guided by two important conceptions: (1) children unable to talk cannot comprehend and (2) children **unable** to comprehend cannot be expected to exhibit appropriate social behaviour.

The enculturation of children after the completion of wanqer/anchulu stage is guided by the conception that, the children will learn appropriate behaviour when they are ready and are capable of doing so. The boys get the designation of gopathangle and girls bhandheedhle as they acquire 6-7 years. Gopathangle and bhandheedhle are no more kids. They are old enough to know what they ought to know and how to know on their own. Thus, at this stage also the children are not formally guided by parents or any of their family members.

Gopathangle literally means shepard. So the boys as they reach this stage are old enough to take cattle for grazing. Bandheedhle is derived from bhandhi meaning **'pot filled with water'** and dhale meaning to **'bring'**. The

girls as they become bandheedhlee, are old enough to share household work with the female folk. The Soara not only believe that the gopathanqlee and bandheedhlee are old enough to take cattle for grazing and share the household **work**, respectively, they expect them to do so very soon.

As the boys and girls reach this stage, the segregation of sexes appear. The boys and girls come to know very soon what is appropriate to them with regard to dress, work and behaviour, much through ridiculing and teasing by their immediate seniors for any improper behaviour of them.

The boys roam around in gangs evincing keen interest to watch such activities which the adult males undertake. The girls spend time in the company of the women, particularly with their mothers. The girls, by and large, accompany their mothers every where. The boys are more liberated. The parents initially neither assign any work nor expect their sons to volunteer to help them. But the girls mostly limit themselves to home and voluntarily participate in the works which the female folk undertake at home. The elder members at home encourage their participation and often correct them, when they are wrong.

The boys while roaming around in gangs go into nearby forest and try to acquire such skills as climbing of trees, fishing, swimming **etc.** Such skills are learned with encouragement and also learning by their fellow team

members. The children do not bring to the notice of their parents any injuries to their body while trying for any adventures. The parents, even when they notice, show no great anxiety for their cure. It has often been stated: "it is quite natural for boys of that age to meet with injuries. But they have to learn those things. Otherwise how will he earn his livelihood. No one will feed him throughout his life".

As the children **grow**, their activities and interests change. By about 9-10 years, the boys like to be in the company of senior boys (who were in the verge of completing this stage). Such boys are away from village during day time grazing the cattle, collecting forest produce etc. The **gopathanglee** seek permission from their parents to go with them and gain acceptance easily. They volunteer to take the cattle for grazing. As all the cattle in the village are taken at one time and to one place for grazing, all the children can now spend most of their time in the company of their immediate seniors for long periods during the day time, away from the village in the forest. Those children who have just entered the **gopathanglee** get to know from their seniors during this time, many an interesting things that are of practical use to them. They learn such thing as: nomenclature and exact location of hillocks surrounding the village, the nature of soils, animals, birds, location of different fruit bearing plants, medicinal plants etc. The seniors would take the help of

thalaibia (old man) or dhukreebai (old woman) who would **also** join them very often. The thalaibia or dhukreebai also tell them stories of the hunting expeditions (undertaken by their elders), incidents of **floods**, cyclones in the past, the celebration of festivals in the past, the consequences one had to face when one **committed** theft or proved dishonest etc., because of the actions of the super-natural and many things.

The dominant aims of adolescent socialization, according to Parsons and Bales (1956) are, family of procreation and occupation. During this period, boys and girls more thoroughly prepare to undertake the productive and reproductive activities which are of paramount importance for the society at large. Thus, the important phase of life cycle among the Savara, as in any other community is the one preceding marriage.

Boys and girls as they reach adolescence i.e., from the age about 13-14 years are called dhanqada and dhanqidi respectively. This stage ends several years after marriage.

The verbal and age **classifications** are, however, very rough indications. They are either too narrow or too wide. The phases of **life** can **be** clearly delineated if they make public observance of events recognizing the physical maturation of boys and girls such as first steps, loss of teeth **etc.** Similarly, it would be easy to recognize the

age at which each stage begins if the adults exhibit any concern for the first social achievements by a child like learning of language etc. The transition from one phase to another is not easily noticeable among the Savaras with absence of any such social recognition of these stages. **However**, this is not so in the case of transition to **dhanqada** and **dhanqidi**.

In the case of girls, the transition from **bandheedhlee** to **dhanqidi** is more clearly defined. The transition is marked by observance of ceremony **assandale** at the time of their physical maturity in terms of first menstruation. For boys, the boundaries of **gopathangle** and **dhanqada** phases are far less clearly defined.

The entry to **dhanqada** and **dhanqidi** is externally marked by certain styles of dress. Boys and girls show greater concern for their dress. Boys acquire **lunqi** and fine shirts for their use in leisure time. If they came from well-to-do families, they acquire trousers and fine shirts to use when they go out of villages. There is also a desire to wear a watch, either of their own or one borrowed from their friends, when they go out, particularly to the town. The girls undergo less marked changes with regard to dress. They probably begin much earlier than boys to care for clothing. They cover the upper part of their bodies more consistently. But with social recognition of their 'adult hood', saree and the blouse that they wear become the culturally prescribed pattern.

The concern in the case of girls is more with regard to ornaments. A strong desire for ornaments, especially for the nose and the ear is expressed.

As the boys and girls enter into the phase of dhanqada/dhanqidi, the **adults'** expectations of their children to exhibit behaviour and knowledge acceptable to adult standards increases. By this age, the children assume some regular household duties. Both girls and boys make some contribution towards family income. Taking the cattle for grazing which the boys were doing off and on, becomes a regular duty.' Similarly, the girls take up such works as, getting drinking water from gedda (stream), cleaning of patralu (utensils), washing the clothes etc. However, these duties are not usually assigned to boys and girls. Most children take up chores without seeking an adult's direction.

As the boys and girls attain the age of around 14-15 years, they show disinterest in the works they were performing. Moreover, their younger brothers and sisters claim the status of their elder brothers and sisters and are ready to relieve them of their `duties'. At that age, the dhanqada and dhanqidi take more responsible work. The boys prefer to take up such works as cutting of forest on the hill slopes for podu cultivation, brining of povyi karralu (fire wood), plucking of forest produce like chintapadu, kaqu, mahuva etc. To undertake these works, boys in their teens, go into forest in small groups,

consisting of 5-6 individuals. Usually, the groups are formed with same individuals everyday. That leads to very intimate friendship amongst the persons in the same group.

The duties of the girls too undergo change. They participate in the work relating to Podu cultivation, collection of forest produce, collection of fire wood etc and also undertake works that are more harder as pounding of rice, grinding of raqi etc. The girls usually accompany their parents to participate in the works relating to podu cultivation. But, while going for collection of forest produce, they go in small groups, and whenever they go, the same girls join in such groups. Thus, amongst girls too, intimate relations develop between certain girls who are in the same group.

The boys and girls in their teens are guided by the notion that : (1) they can attract the other sex only when they are physically well built (2) they can grow attractive body shape by undertaking physically hard tasks.

The adult boys and girls as they concentrate initially mostly on activities that need more physical strength and only little 'skill', perfect them in due course and develop muscular bodies. The boys, for example, more often participate in activities like cutting of trees on hillocks for preparation of land for podu cultivation, digging of pits for plantations, preparing mud for use in the construction of house etc. But gradually, they learn

the skilled jobs as ploughing, broadcasting of seeds, making of agricultural implements etc, by observation and **experimentation**. Learning of such specialised tasks as fishing, carpentry, use of instruments in hunting etc., is also by experimentation. But, such skills are acquired by only an interested few and in these cases, they request the specialists for guidance and supervision. Such guidance and supervision is usually obtained from members other than their own family and from their immediate seniors rather than from an athungar (near old persons).

The girls would complete learning of all the tasks that the adult Savara woman undertakes at home and outside, earlier than the Savara boys. It is said, however, that activities of woman does not involve great amount of skill and so do not require longer periods of practice. Moreover, the woman would work in the company of her parents and so get direct or indirect guidance to perfect her skills.

The attainment of adulthood by Savara boys is not marked by any ritual observations. The Savara adults say: " when a child does an adult work, he is an adult". The public recognition of increasing responsibility by children is a long drawn process.

The treatment of a boy or a girl as an adult is observed within the family first and much latter in the community. The boys and girls are asked to take up certain

tasks **independently**, as they prove their increasing responsibility, by the **family** members. Such works are closely observed and evaluated. The adult family members in their usual discussion over the activities of the day may also advice the boys to make necessary corrections. Gradually, more and more tasks of complex nature are assigned to the boys. As they prove their maturity in their decisions and work, and exhibit adult behavioural forms of aggression, sex, cleanliness, modesty, they get the recognition of adulthood. The recognition of adulthood, particularly for boys, perhaps, is indicated by involving them in decision making process relating to all the household activities.

Public recognition of a boy's increasing responsibility, is also quite gradual. Many of the activities among Savara are completed in comparatively less time by the involvement of a large number of persons. (For example, in the construction of a new house, atleast one member from each household is sent to help the would be owner of the house. If hunting expedition is undertaken, one adult individual from each household normally **participates**). The boys waiting for public recognition of adult status, are normally asked by the elder members of their family to join such group activity. On such occassions, other elderly members of the community closely observe, evaluate and pass remarks over the boy's work and behavioural pattern. Once the boy proves **`good'**, they are

involved in much more responsible works, **such as** to go **as** messengers to invite people for marriage on behalf on their **kin**, or to go as a messenger to inform the news of death of someone of their **village**, to go with others to demand mocanalu etc. At a latter time, they are also accepted to attend meetings of the village elders (where decisions concerning the whole village, like auctioning of tamarind groves, celebration of oori panduga etc are taken). However, initially they attend such meetings but do not participate in **discussions**. When the boys prove on all points, that they can successfully exhibit adult behaviour standards, they are asked to speak as an adult in matters judged to be of concern to adults. This indicates the public recognition of '**adulthood**' of Savara boys.

The childhood among Savaras is thus, a critical **period**. It is a stage of preparation for adult roles and responsibilities. The children learn by themselves, the gender specific skills. They groom themselves for the activities of production and reproduction. The adult interference in the learning process is minimal. The gaining of status of adult hood, so important for any one, is based on careful evaluation over a long time by the adults according to the culturally prescribed standards.

Chapter 5

SCHOOL IN A SAVARA HAMLET : ORGANIZATION AND INTERACTIONS - THE EMERGING CULTURE

A descriptive account of the culture of the school is attempted in this chapter. This account is to serve as a background knowledge for an understanding of how the interplay between the culture of the school and the culture outside the school (as understood from the ethnographic profile of the Savara presented in the earlier chapter) determines the academic success of the Savara children.

As Jules Henry (1971) pointed out, the answer to the general question of what do we mean by culture of the school?' may be obtained by **finding** answers to a number of subsidiary questions. Henry's list of such subsidiary questions included, among others; (1971: 284-285)

a) what are the values, perceptions and attitudes of the people in the school ?

This question deals with the general value orientations of school personnel as well as the values they use in judging one another and their pupil. Similarly, it also deals with how pupil perceive their teachers and vice-versa, how the principals and the teachers perceive one

another?

(b) what is the internal structure of the school? what is the hierarchy of power in each school? Who are the pace-setters; the cultural **maximisers**, the arbiters of value judgements ? What are the roles of the teachers and the principal ? How much freedom of choice is there for a teacher ? What in general are the lines of formal and informal communication and organization ? Is it possible to evade the formal structure ? What processes determine turn over, advancement, and so on ?

(c) What is the relationship between the parents and the school system ?

(d) What goes on in the **class-romm** ?

Henry pointed out that the dynamic sum of answer to the questions as above constitute the ethnography of school. In this ethnography of school lies the answer to the question of, 'what is the culture of the school ?'

Some of the subsidiary questions Henry listed out are, perhaps, not applicable to the schools functioning in tribal areas in India. Majority of the schools in the tribal areas in India, being single teacher schools, the internal structure of schools is not complex, and so the set of questions directed for an understanding of internal structure of schools in the Henry's outline, particularly have no relevance.

Further, Henry's frame-work ignored the distinctions

made between different activities of the school in the studies of school as an **organization**. King (1973) for example mentioned three organizational variables in the discussion on how organization of people learning and behaviour in schools take place. They are (1) **Activity variables**, (2) **structural variables**, and (3) **contextual variables**. Activity variables are those concerned with activities of the school. The structural variables refer to those associated with organizing and structuring of activities of the school. The contextual variables deal with the relationship of organization of school activities and resources the school enjoys. With regard to activity variables, King (1973) distinguished between two principal activities of school: (1) transmission of educational knowledge and (2) the transmission of approved modes of behaviour. He used the terms instrumental and expressive to describe the processes used in transmission of knowledge and transmission of approved modes of behaviour, **respectively**.

The question of value orientations of school personnel that Henry raised, when discussed in relation to each of the two principal activities of school, as distinguished by king, separately make the presentation of observation on school culture more specific and systematic. Hence an attempt has been made here to follow this approach.

Schools: Locale and the **building**

As far as the physical structure is concerned, the schools in the Savara hamlets belonged to any one of the three categories: 1. the mud constructions built exclusively for the purpose of housing the school. 2. Pucca buildings constructed with Government funds and 3. the schools functioning temporarily in one of the vacant houses in the village.

The schools of the first two categories are usually located, in the front or rear of the main settlement area, a little away, in isolation, on the side of the main road going through the village. However, quite a few narrow foot paths too connect the school and the main settlement area. The schools in the third category are within the main settlement itself.

The mud constructions with thatched roof exclusively built for the purpose of school are very few. Such buildings are built on the initiative of the political leaders of the village with participation from the members of all the households in the construction work. The materials required for such constructions were provided by the political leaders, besides meeting the expenditure towards purchase of a buffalo whose meat was distributed to all those participants in the construction work.

The mud buildings consist of a varandah measuring roughly 20 ft x 20 ft in the front and a small room at the back. The varandah which is being used as class room is

half closed with about one ft. to two ft. mud wall around it marking its boundary. The roof of the building being at a very low **level**, denies of proper ventilation. The smaller room at the back will be used as **kitchen-cum-living** room by the teacher of the school.

The Pucca buildings with concrete roof, constructed with government funds, consist of a single hall measuring 30 ft x 30 ft. The hall is provided with atleast four windows (3 ft x 3 ft), and two doors for entrance, at the two ends of the wall, in the front. The flooring is made with cement and sand.

In the case of schools functioning in one of the vacant houses in the main settlement area, the open varandah in the front is used for conducting classes. The varandah on the back and the room in the middle are for use by teachers as kitchen and living room, respectively. The varandah meant for class-room being very small, would not **accomodate** all the students present, on some days. In such cases, the children would be asked to sit in the varandahs of the neighbouring houses, which are in fact contiguous **structures**.

The vacant space in the front, in the case of schools located away from the main settlement area, is used by the students as play ground. Similarly, some land on either sides and on the backyard is fenced **sometimes**, to grow

vegetables by the teachers. No such space will be available around the school, located in one of the vacant houses. The students in such **schools**, go to the vacant spaces in the outskirts of the village, when the teachers let them free for sports and games.

Furniture, teaching aids and SUPW (Socially useful productive work) items:

The stock registers of the schools, generally record the supply of a table, one or two chairs, a wooden box to keep the records, and the wooden planks used as seats for the children. However, in the physical **verification**, hardly any furniture was found in the schools. The teachers claimed that the furniture supplied to the school was either broken or damaged by white ants or stolen, and such items were never replaced. In a great majority of schools, a broken chair was all that constituted the furniture of the school. If there was a table and/or the wooden box by chance, it was traced in the **teachers'** residence if he lived in the same village, rather than in the school. The pucca buildings usually contain the black boards made of cement to the two side walls of the building. Otherwise, black boards are only occasionally found in schools. The wooden black boards supplied to schools functioning in thatched houses serve to close the main entrance to prevent cattle entering the building. In some schools, though the stock registers indicated supply of teaching aids like number cards, cards with alphabets, photographs of animals and birds etc.. the teachers were

unable to show any one single item during the physical **verification**. Similarly, the records indicated supply of items like Para, gunapam, gamla, water cans etc., useful in gardening, and tailoring material like scissors, measuring tapes, threads, needles etc, for engaging the students in socially useful productive work (**SUPW**). But none of the **itmes** were available during the physical **verification**.

Class room organization:

Seating arrangement: Strictly speaking, no specific seat was assigned to each of the child in the school. The children, however, are found taking to the same seats habitually each day. The teachers, made slight adjustment on some occassions. The children are found siting in two or more lines depending upon the attendance and availability of the space. The grown up girls avoided sitting next to grown up boys . Further, usually, the children of each ward/guda occupied adjacent seat. The children studying in different classes are usually mixed up. The teachers were observed to disapprove students taking seats as they wished, quite frequently. They interfered to make alternative arrangements according to the height of the child - the shorter boys and girls in the front and the taller ones in the back. In such an arrangement, boys and girls in different grades, of different sexes, and those belonging to **differnt gudas** are mixed up. However, the children were found to feel

difficult to stick to **the** seats allotted by **the** teachers. **They** violated the **teachers'** prescriptions to take seats adjacent to the boys and girls of the same **ward/guda** .

When the schools function temporarily in one of the vacant houses in the village, the children are asked by the teacher to use varandas of the adjacent houses. In such a case, preference for occupation of one varandah by **all** the children of the same guda/ward is conspicuous. On some other occasions, the teachers may make changes in seating arrangements while undertaking explanation of lessons from the text book.

School hours and teaching time: Officially, the school hours are from **9.00** AM to 12.15 PM and 1.00 PM to 3.00 **PM**. However, the teachers who do not reside in the same village are rarely found taking the afternoon sessions and as such the school functions only in pendile (morning). The observations further revealed that they do not maintain fixed timings as far as school hours are concerned. When the teacher is not a resident of the same village where he was working, the school started any time between 8.30 AM and 9.30 AM, when the teacher comes and opens the school. When **the** teacher lived within the village, the school is always open. The timing at which the children go to school, however, does not matter. **Adammi**, the mother of Appanna, a student who is studying second standard in the local school in Mutyalu village, has this to say regarding **the** school timings: "He will go to school when his father

leaves for **work**, the time when cattle are taken for grazing (bakkalu ippina vela) or when he has finished his pakala (morning food)".

The school does not function till 12.15 PM in the **morning**, irrespective of opening time, when the teacher **comes**. It is invariably closed when the children complain of aakali (hunger) at around 11.30 PM.

The great amount of time given for teaching - learning activity is observed to have been lost because of factors, such as: 1. closure of school on account of teacher absenteeism, 2. mass absenteeism of students 3. interactions of teacher with visitors to school during the school hours.

The loss of time out of the total teaching time available in a year, is estimated on the basis of observations made in the schools for a 90 day period during the field work. The data reveals that the teachers are quite irregular. On an average, about 880 hours (55% of the time) is lost in a year either because of **teachers'** total absence or because of temporary absence during the school hours (when teachers leave schools on some personal works). Many a time, much to the displeasure of the teacher, teaching time is also lost due to total absenteeism of the students. The mass absenteeism of the students, however, is not quite intentional. The adult members as well as the children attending the school have

put the blame on teacher for such incidents of the mass **absentism**. It is remarked by Mangalu, senior member and the village leader of **Manapuram**: "the children do not know when the teacher would turn up and when would he take a holiday. If he fails to arrive by the '**school time**' (which is the time of bakkalu ippina vela or pakala thinna vela) the children take for granted that he would not come that day and so disappear into the forest for collection of some fruits or roots etc".

Considerable teaching time is also lost because of disturbance caused by visitors to the schools. Several persons are observed coming to school to discuss personal matters with the teachers. When the school is located **centrally**, about 20.0% to 30.0% of the time is wasted in each day on this account. **Thus**, the schools when located within the village the disturbance on account of visitors is more than double the time lost when schools are located away from main settlement. When the school is located centrally, about 20% to 30% of the time is wasted in each day on this account.

Routine activity: No fixed set of activities are followed in the school by students. The students do not assemble as in the case of schools functioning in Seethampeta village, (The Block headquarters) or in Ashram schools and Residential schools, for a prayer, before the activity in class begins. The classroom activity commences when "sufficient number" (about six to eight) of students arrive

at school.

The teachers are found to be not following any fixed time table for either senior or junior classes. **But**, the initial hours of the morning session are usually allotted to mathematics. The lessons from the text books prescribed for social science, science and languages are usually neglected and will be dealt occasionally when the schools functions in the afternoon sessions on inspection days. **Similarly**, time for games and play is also not fixed. The students are let out any time during the school hours.

The teachers and students replied negative with regard to organization of any school festivals. On the days of national importance like August 15th (Independence day), the 26th of January (Republic day), November 1st (**A.P. Formation** day) and such other days, the school remains closed.

Student - Student interactions

The interaction among the children during the school hours within the class and outside (as for example during the games and play sessions) may be voluntary or involuntary. This distinction is necessitated in view of some deliberately created interactions by the teachers during the school hours. All interactions occurring between the children because of the **teachers'** interference are involuntary, while others are categorized as voluntary.

The voluntary interactions may be of the following types:

1) interactions for exchange of **slates, pencils,** books or other study materials, 2) interactions while seeking help from others in the classroom, to carry through and complete the assignments, and 3) interactions for group demands for games/play sessions etc,. The observations in the school reveal that interactions amongst children are influenced more by factors outside the school system, rather than inside. That is, the sex and age differences along with geographical proximity, assume more importance than those associated with school, like seniority in **school,**the class which the children are studying, the differences in performance levels etc. In the voluntary interactions, children tend to interact more with children of their own ward or quda. For example, children attending the school in Mutyalu village belong to three different qudas: Eguvaguda, **Nadimiguda** and Diguvaguda. These qudas are geographically, separated by about one Km. to two **Kms.** distant from each other. This geographical separation lead to restricted relations between children of each quda.

Within the restrictions imposed by geographical separations, the sex and age differences also play a great role in the interaction patterns. Girls approaching puberty (aged 10 years or more) are observed to have limited interactions with boys of the same age or above. The younger boys and girls though showed no hesitation to mix freely, prefer the company of persons of their own sex and age. The seating arrangement, (described earlier) of

the children attending **school**, too promotes such interaction systems within the class room. The genealogical ties and the socio-economic and political status of the birinda to which the children belong do not have any **relevance**, in their voluntary interactions.

The sex and age differences take a prominent role in the situations of involuntary **interactions**, resulting from teachers instructions. Before presenting the nature of some of the different contexts of involuntary interaction, we may observe that they are of two types, which are 1) interactions of academic nature and 2) interactions of non-academic nature. In the involuntary interactions of non-academic nature, the interactions take place between children of the same age and sex groups. The factor of geographic proximity interfered only indirectly, in some contexts. That is, within the situation of involuntary interaction, voluntary groups on the basis of geographical proximity are formed, leading to voluntary interaction amongst members of such groups. The above differences are observed in case presented below.

Being a mud construction, the school in Mutyalu village got badly damaged during the rainy season in the year 1986. The teacher assigned the work of repairing the floor and the 1 ft boundary wall around the open varandah where the classes are conducted, to senior boys and girls. While assigning the work, he had also divided work amongst the girls and the boys. The boys were to prepare the mud

and the girls to **plaster** the mud where ever there were damages.

The boys and the girls at once obliged to undertake the work as per the directions of the teacher. **However**, to complete this task, they readily got divided and formed into smaller groups. Each group was to undertake a different activity from the other. Seven senior boys formed into two groups; Sannai, Mangadu and Buddadu who belonged to Eguva Mutyalu were in one group. Chinna Mangadu, Addai, Appanna, Somayya belonged to another group. While the first group was to bring water for preparing mud, the later was to get the soil for preparation of mud. The five girls too, similarly got dividied into two groups. Padmaja, Ramamma and Gujjari in one group, while Papi and Ijjari formed the other group. All the three girls who belonged to the Eguva guda were to mix the soil with **water and** prepare mud, the other two were to apply the mud and undertake the **repairs**.

Thus, in the context presented above, the girls were separated from boys making no cross-sex interaction possible. However, within the larger groups formed on the basis of sex, smaller groups were voluntarily formed on the basis of geographical proximity. This separation led to restricted interaction between girls of different qudas as well as boys of different qudas. Similarly, in some situations of involuntary interactions of non-academic nature like games and plays under the supervision of the

teacher, too, the considerations of **sex**, age and geographical proximity assumed importance. In such activities girls are separated from boys. Within these larger groups based on sex, smaller groups are formed with children of the same -age group and physical growth. The factor of geographical proximity, also assumed importance **in** these contexts, as formation of teams representing each **ward/guda** is also frequently encouraged.

In involuntary interactions of academic nature, age and sex differences along with geographical proximity are totally ignored, as revealed in the following case:

Ramamma is a student of 5th standard in the school at **Manapuram**. She was aged about 13 years. She was considered by her teacher as sincere and hard working. She is academically very successful. She was fluent in her native language, the Savara and also in the regional language, Telugu. . The teacher very often takes her help to translate Telugu lessons to Savara language during the instruction in class. In view of her ability, the teacher very frequently used to ask her to carry on instruction on her own in the Savara language to her class mates and also to her juniors in the school. In this context, boys and girls are involved in cross-sex interactions, which do not take place in general. Such involuntary situations lead to inter **guda** and cross sex interactions.

Such patterns **of** interaction lead **us to infer** that

the tendency of the boys and girls to associate with persons of their own sex, age group, and territory tend to extend in general to other walks of life. In involuntary interactions of non-academic nature created in the school, this `natural' desire of the Savara boys and girls is accommodated

Teacher and the student: Status and role

The role expectations associated with the status of the teacher in the school in a Savara hamlet are many. The role expectations of the teachers, as the interviews revealed, are also different for the adult members of the community, the children studying in school and the teacher himself.

The school teacher is considered as a part of their own community by the Savara adults. The recognition of teachers as 'good' or `bad' is based on the acceptance and ability of the teachers to perform their roles within their community. The primary role responsibilities of the teachers include: 1) **impacting** knowledge to the children attending school, 2) participation in all community affairs and advise members of the community to take the right decisions, 3) maintain cordial relations with all the members of the village, 4) intervene in situations of conflict between members of the community and pass judgements as neutral candidate and 5) to help promote the

interests of all the members of the community in general.

The performance of these roles by teachers are judged on the basis of various factors. The performance is not judged independently for each of the above roles, but the judgements are passed by taking his performance in its totality. Neither the educational career of the teacher nor his teaching experience has any relevance in the performance of transmission of knowledge to the Savara. "All teachers have the same ability. Some perform the roles of imparting knowledge well and some do not", states Basanna, the Panchayat Presedent of Mutyalu village. Moreover, the judgenents over performance of this role is neither based on their personal observation of **teachers'** instruction within the class nor on the report of the children attending the school. The adult members of Manapuram judged Mr. Gopal Rao, the teacher who worked during 1983-84 as **'bad'** and Mr. Pentayya who worked during 1984-86 as **'good'** **becarmediate** and then acquired the teacher training certificate. His first appointment was at Mutyalu village itself. **Mr.Nagabhusham** lived in the village itself. He used the small room in the school building for his residence. He is very sociable and anxious to know the life style of the people amongst whom worked. He picked up the Savara vocabulary and spoke to the local villagers in broken Savara language. He established ficticious kinship relations and used the savara kinship terms to address all the adult members, particularly the

children from each household and bring them to the school.

c) **Mr.Pentayya** would never give tangible **punishments**, where as Gopal Rao is tough, would beat the children very hard with a stick.

d) Mr.Pentayya fulfilled his other role **expectations**, by involving himself in all community affairs. Mr. Gopal Rao **maintained** a distance with the members of the community. He is not even known to many members of the community.

The participation of teachers in the community affairs and advice is expected of him when he is approached. However, the teacher's involvement is not very much necessary in the decisions taken by members regarding celebration of rituals, selection of podu bhoomi (land for shifting cultivation) etc. His involvement is expected very much in decisions related to loans, subsidies, free distribution of seeds, seedlings etc. from the Government functionaries. Similarly, he is also expected to involve himself during the elections and advice for proper strategy to win the elections, if any one of the villagers is contesting. Like wise, he is expected to inform the members of the community with regard to the schemes of the government for their socio-economic development and also influence the **functionaries** for implementation of such programmes for their benefit. The teachers are also given the role of maintenance of accounts of expenditure incurred towards celebration of village festivals like ooripanduqa

as well as organizing the programmes successfully.

The judgements regarding his performance of **maintanance** of cordial relations with the villagers depend primarily on the **teachers'** personality. Mr.Nagabushana **Rao**, who worked as local school teacher during 1983-85 in Mutyalu village was a resident of Srikakulam town, the district head quarters about 40 **Kms.** from Mutyalu. He was aged 30 years and belonged to **Kalinga** caste. He was married and was a father of a child aged two years. He had studied upto Intermediate and then acquired the teacher training certificate. His first appointment was at Mutyalu village itself. **Mr.Nagabhusham** lived in the village itself. He used the small room in the school building for his residence. He is very sociable and anxious to know the life style of the people amongst whom worked. He picked up the Savara vocabulary and spoke to the local villagers in broken Savara language. He established ficticious kinship relations and used the savara kinship terms to address all the adult members, particularly the women folk in the village.

Mr.Nagabhushanam had received high appreciation, by and large, from all the members for maintaining cordial relations. The basis of this judgement for many of them was: He took part in the family functions whenever invited. He used to accept vegetables, fruits, tamarind etc. when offered and reciprocated in turn by giving them gifts like **clothes. eatables.** and toys liked by the Savara

children. Besides, he also used to supply **medicines**, and occasionally rendered financial assistance to them in times of need. He was at their side to console them whenever there was bereavement in the family.

The teacher in the Savara hamlet is **thus**, expected to play the role of a great friend for all the members of the community. In case of conflict amongst the members of the **community**, the villagers expected an outsider, to maintain neutral stand and render his judgement. It is also said, as the teacher is friend to all, and can not afford to be partial and support the interests of one against the another. In all contexts of conflict, the members of the community feel no necessity for formal invitation to the teacher. It is expected that he would voluntarily participate and settle the issues peacefully through negotiations.

The **teachers'** role in promoting the interests of all, in general, is linked to his other role **expectations**. On the other hand, when conflicts arise with outsiders, he is expected to support the villagers irrespective of the merits and demerits of the case. For example, during moqanalu, transactions the teacher joins other members of **'his'** village, and argues in the interests of members of the village. When conflicts arise with members of the other villages, he is even expected to give false evidence and protect the interests of members of **'his'** village. The following observations recorded in **Manapuram** village

during the fieldwork, illustrate this point:

Manikkamma is a relli caste woman, aged about 50 years. She belonged to the neighbouring Veeraghattam town. She and her family members have been undertaking sale and purchase of agricultural and forest produces from the members of **Manapuram** village since a long time. **Further**, she also used to offer loans to members of the village for weekly interest rates. In view of the dependance on her for financial help in critical times, the villagers were also obliging to lease out the tamarind grooves to her at a very cheaper rate.

Brothers of St. Gabriel have established a unit in Manapuram for social work under the name **Girijana** Seva Samiti in the year 1983. They have been successful to expose **Manikkamma's** exploitation of the villagers. With their interference, **Manikkama's** business of offering loan for high interest rates in the village came to an end by the year 1986. Further, the Brothers effectively organised a youth association within the village. This youth association with the help of loan from Bank could take the tamarind grooves for lease in the year 1986. **Manikkamama's** earnings were greatly hit with this. Since then, she developed **enemity** with the Brothers living in the village and also the members of the youth association.

One day in the month of February **1987**, Mannikamma picked up a quarrel with the local village youth. She complained that she had lost tamarind of about 35 kg. (one basket full of tamarind) in their village. According to her, it was stolen from the house of Sahukari. with whom she had to keep it the previous day. She attributed the theft to the President of the local youth association. This resulted in heated exchanges between her and the members of the household to which the President belonged. Other members of the village too joined in blaming Manikkamma for attributing the theft to some one without knowing the truth. **Later**, when other members of the village quietly **enquired**, it became known that three youth of the same **village**, have actually picked up the basket and sold away to some one for fun. But this fact was kept secret. At that particular time, teacher of the school came to know about what actually happened. He was informed about the theft and also how she implicated the president of the local youth association. They also informed him quietly who actually picked up the basket and sold away. During his discussions with other members of the village, it was decided that the truth should be hidden and Manikkamma be taught a lesson for her deeds in the past. The school teacher then went to Manikkamma and blamed her for creating the scene. He shouted loudly: "**People** of this village are not like you. They are honest and moreover no one would earn bad name for a pretty sum of **Rs.50** or Rs.60/. There

was no complaint of any theft in this village during my stay of 3-4 years now. You cannot blame somebody without knowing the truth. Police station is only nearby. Go and complain. Don't make a scene. Get out from this place".

He also added, "In **fact**, I have seen with my own eyes your two sons, Govindu, and Mukundu to visit **Sahukari's** house yesterday evening atleast three or four times. Who knows, they must have lifted the baskets and tried to put the blame on these boys".

The teacher received high appreciation for this act on that day, by all the villagers. "He saved the name of the village. He is really a good friend to all" stated Naidu, the senior most members of the village.

The role expectations of the teacher for the children studying in school are not clearly defined. The interviews with the senior boys and girls in the school, broadly indicated that their expectations are mostly related to the school related activities of teaching and learning. The teaching implies not strictly the teaching of lessons prescribed in text book, but teaching to become literates, an ability to read and write the regional language.

The expectations of teachers themselves of their role is different from that of the students and members of the community. Their role consists of imparting '**knowledge**' which includes teaching of lessons as prescribed in their

syllabus, and also teaching of **`ethics'**, and **`morals'** of **`high'** society, knowledge important for their health (included are hygiene, nutritious food, effects of alcohol consumption; disease causation etc), **`better'** behavioural patterns, "proper¹ dressing styles, eating habits etc. which would give them honour in the **`high'** societies.

Conducting of extra-curricular activities for children does not constitute an important element of their role responsibilities. The teacher of the school **Chinnamanguda** remarked: "Extra curricular activities are not important. Games and play sessions are not necessary for children, as many of their activities outside school involve physical exercise. We leave the children for play and games for a change, since teaching continuously is boring **for** them".

The role expectations involved with the status of student for the children, as observations reveal are not as complex as in the case of status of teacher. The student status, calls for acquisition of knowledge. However, as pointed out earlier, what constitutes, knowledge differed for the teachers, the students and the parents of the children. The **children** attending school, however, as the interviews with teachers revealed are expected to fulfill certain obligations towards the school and the teachers. The involvement of students in keeping the school premises clean and neat is one such important obligation. It is

also expected of senior students that they convince the younger brothers and sisters of school going age and see that they do not remain absent to school.

Moreover, just as how the **teachers'** role extends to the community **life**, of the Savaras, the **students'** role obligations extend into the **teachers'** personal life. The **teachers' expect,** the **students'** help in undertaking their activities purely of their personal nature. When the teachers live within the **village,** help is sought in a variety of situations. The students are obliged to get fire wood, get water for cooking, bathing, washing of clothes etc. Sometimes their help is also sought in cleaning the house, cleaning of the utensils etc.

The parents as well as the other adult members consider the time spent at school sufficient for learning. The failure to learn what is expected by a particular time by the wards, is attributed to the inefficiency of the teachers. The adult members see no necessity for the children to work at home for their success at school in their prime role of learning of school related activities.

Teaching - Learning process

The teaching learning process within the school covers what has been termed by King (1973), the instrumental activity. This process, as observations in the three schools over a period of three months reveal, is influenced by certain conceptions held by the teachers and the

children attending to school. The following remarks made by teachers during the instructional activity deserve to be noted in this regard.

Srilakshmi has been working as a teacher at Manda colony. She is aged about 50 years. By caste she is a Brahmin. But she is not an orthodox brahmin and eats eggs and chicken. She passed VIII standard and has undedrgone teacher training and works as a secondary grade **teacher**. She has put in more than 20 years service by the time of field work. She often passes remarks during the instruction against the Savara boys and girls: "why education for you? How can you learn? You eat the meat of buffalo, oxen, cow and pig. Your brain can never mature. It is waste of time teaching you?"

Pentaiah a **B.Ed.** teacher aged aout 36 years, has been working in **Manapuram** village ever since his first appointment in the year 1984. He was widely appreciated by the members of the community as 'good' teacher. When the boys studying IV grade failed to recollect what has been taught a few days earlier, he remarked: "that is why I ask you to apply oil to your hair. Unless you dress your hair with oil, you can not be expected to gain this memory power. Have you not seen people in diquva (plains lands)? They all apply oil to hair and so they are able to easily learn".

Mrs. Srilakshmi, teacher of the school at **Manda** colony believed in strict training. She strongly expressed that unless otherwise physically punished, the children do not show interest in their studies. She was observed saying in her regional **language**, while beating the savara boys for their failure to complete the assignments given in their class " Pithapuram barrellu peeta chakkalu ku gani lonqru (you are equalent to buffalo of high breed variety. You yield only to beatings with a hard stick).

Mrs. Parvati a middle aged senior grade teacher working in the school in **Chinnamanuguda** since 1985 belonged to Telaga caste. She has earlier worked in schools located in several Savara hamlets. She was heard commenting: "You are not an exception to the Savara "tikka" (stubbornness). You are very adamant. It is my foolishness to try to convinice you. I should have left you alone".

These teachers also believe that it is futile to impart education to them as, by the time some interest is generated in them, they become very old. At that age, it is believed, "even if one wants to learn, it is not possible; learning of alphabets, tables etc., is possible only at a younger age. If learned at younger age, one does not forget in his life time. At a later age, the children get attracted to other things than education. Naturally, their concentration is diverted and so fail to respond to **teaching**". The teachers consider that

their job is to impart instruction as per the syllabus and to teach the Savara boys and girls morals and **knowledge** appropriate to their society, as well as appropriate behaviour within **school**

The medium of instruction is Telugu, the regional language. The teachers are not proficient in the local, Savara language. The children aged below seven or eight years in the school are not proficient and possessed only a limited working knowledge of Telugu. The children above eight years are generally fluent in Savara and the regional language. The children acquire fluency in Telugu when their villages are nearer **to** market places and places with better communication facilities with the plains people. Their visits to Telugu cinemas in the near by towns also facilitate them to acquire fluency in Telugu.

The learning process of the children, through the regional language, instead of the mother tongue comes in the way of learning. The differences in the accent between the teacher and the student create communication hurdles. To over come these difficulties some teachers resort to take the help of the Savara boys and girls to translate, certain unfamiliar words to the children, into the Savara language for teaching. Sometimes, one of the senior boy/girl, who is able to teach the lesson in the Savara language, is asked to carry on instruction, in his/her language.

As is revealed by the observations, the **teachers spend considerable** time to teach approved modes of behaviour. The instruction regarding proper modes of behaviour are: the neatness, dressing, hair **style**, sitting postures, noneating and nonsmoking in the class, proper way of interaction with teachers and other officials, proper way of keeping the study material, sticking to seats throughout the school hours, avoidance of noise through interactions with others, talking to others, helping or receiving of help from others to complete the assignments given in class room, necessity of obtaining permission to go out of class room for toilet, drinking water or to meet any member who would visit school for them, or for any other purpose.

The teachers prefer to assign the students written work during the instructional activity. The boys and girls are usually seen engaged in reproducing what has been taught/learnt by them. Only occasionally oral instruction is carried out by the teachers in the class. The activity of teaching is by far individualistic rather than a group oriented approach. On the other hand, many a time, differences in the grades between the children are ignored during the oral instruction. Similarly, when the students in first and second standards are being taught to learn rhymes by repeating each line which **the teacher read out in** the class, the seniors who had already learnt those rhymes, too are asked to join the juniors in the activity.

The use of teaching materials supplied by the Management or which is indigenously prepared by the teachers themselves is observed to be almost nil. The stones, **leaves**, flowers, coloured chalk pieces **etc.**, collected then and there, served as teaching aids sometimes. Reference to animals, birds, flowers, crops, trees etc., which are more familiar to children are not used during the teaching, as examples.

The teacher resorts to rewards and punishments for the effective learning by children. The rewards and punishments are both tangible and intangible in nature. The tangible rewards include gifting of chalk pieces, biscuits, toffies etc. The punishments are directed to cause pain to the body. Some of the punishments include beating with a stick, or duster, asking to kneel down, or to stand under the sun. Sometimes, withholding a reward, as well as threatening to are also resorted to as punishments.

The intangible rewards constitute praising the children, and asking other students to clap for the correct answers. Children with running noses, are ridiculed as dirty and are separated from the others. Similarly, children who have undergone tonsure ceremony are ridiculed, by comparing them with monkeys. Other important observation in the context of teaching-learning process is that the teachers very often indulged in raising the issue of geographical proximity between children attending the

same school. The following statement of Mrs.Parvati, the teacher at **Manda** is self-explanatory in this regard:

Mrs.Parvati stated refering to one boy, who belonged to Marriguda hamlet: "Come on Appanna, you can tell the answer for this. I **know**, children of Marriguda are intelligent. They are not stupids like Manda colony children¹ Manda colony children are only fit for rearing cattle".

The teachers sometimes involve the children also while administering the punishments. They may ask one student, who had given the right answer, to beat the others who had failed. Similarly, one student may be asked to look after the class in his/her absence. During that time, the student so instructed, may administer punishments to others to maintain order and discipline.

Chapter 6

SAVARA LIFE STYLE, SCHOOL AND FORMAL EDUCATION

Against the background of the Savara cultural life style presented in Chapter 3, the socialization process of the Savara boys and girls discussed in Chapter 4 and the account of structure and functioning of the formal educational institutions in the Savara **hamlets** in Chapter 5, it is now possible to explain the poor response to formal education from the Savara boys and girls, in terms of attendance, performance, stagnation and drop-out rates in Chapter 2.

The life style of the Savara society, and its values, perceptions and attitudes seem to be in **disharmony** with the culture of the schools attended by the Savara boys and girls on many points. However, it is difficult to pinpoint any one particular aspect of their life as the determining factor impeding their school education. The academic failures of the boys and girls could only be understood as a result of the interplay of several factors. An attempt is made in this chapter, to identify some of these factors and discuss the interplay of such factors.

The childhood of the Savara is a phase in which the children prepare themselves for their adult roles in

future. The adult members of the community have a limited objective, in sending their children to the school. They think that school education is a means to acquire **'knowledge'**, that **is**, a knowledge to become **'wise'** enough to deal with the members of the outside world. The school education, therefore, does not help in the preparation of children to assume adult roles and responsibilities relevant to the community life. On the other hand, the socialization of children within the community would help them to play their roles successfully in future. The boys and girls are recognised as adult members, only when they acquire knowledge and skills and appreciate the values that help them to play the roles of **'husband/wife'** and **'responsible'** members of the community. Such an acquisition of **'adult'** status is important for the boys and the girls, as it leads to marriage, which is considered an important phase of an adult life of the Savara.

The knowledge and skills to be acquired are related to their life style. The knowledge concerns about the nature in which they live - about the characteristics of the soil, hill (konda), plants, trees, wild animals, seasons, consumable foods, medicinal plants, cattle, etc. The skills required are mainly: (1) those relating to agricultural activities, which include both preparation of tools required for agricultural operations and also those required to undertake agricultural tasks like ploughing, sowing, digging, cutting with axe, knife etc. (2) those

relating to other economic activities like hunting, fishing and collection of forest produce and (3) those relating to management of household activities, including house building.

The adult status also presupposes one's preparedness to appreciate values like, hard work, slow but steady approach, obedience to adults, simple living, mutual help, honesty, integrity, etc.

The values taught in the school, as revealed in the observations and the interviews with teachers, are not quite congruous with the values appreciated in the Savara community. The academic success of the students as per the teacher, depends on how clever he or she is, but not how much hard work one puts in. The hard work put in by the boys and the girls, rarely receives appreciation by the teachers. **Infact**, on many occasions, the teachers ridicule by comparing them with oxen or bullocks. Further, the teacher's make open statements that the Savara boys and girls cannot be '**clever**' because of their life style in general and the food habits in particular. This influences the aptitude and the learning process of the children which inturn influeces the quality of the teaching in the school.

In this context, three other features of the Savara socialization need a special mention for their negative influence on the school education. For the Savara, '**seeing**

is **believing'** and **`learning** is by **doing'**. As such, learning of skills and acquisition of knowledge takes place only during the day time, right in the forest. Taking cattle for grazing serves the purpose of both the children and the adult members of the family. The children learn from their peer group and the aged who join them in cattle rearing. The school hours being 9 AM to 4 PM do not suit the Savara boys and the girls. **Unfortunately,** when the Savara is free from cattle rearing in summer, the school remains closed. During April-May, the Savaras leave the cattle free, as no crop is grown during that time and so no fear of cattle grazing the crops grown in their podu fields. The Savaras leave the cattle free in summer which go longer distances for grazing and would return on their own. As taking cattle involves covering longer distances, the Savara refrains from going into forest in summer with the cattle.

Formal learning, as it occurs in the schools does not involve the two strategies of **`seeing** is believing¹ and **`learning** is by doing¹ which are part of their life-style, successfully used in the sphere of informal learning situations. The use of teaching aids is almost nil in the schools functioning in the Savara hamlets. The teaching-learning activity, as seen by the students is monotonous and mechanical.

Further, the learning by **experimentation**, and experience in the informal sector creates indirectly another hurdle for school education. In the process of acquiring skills without any supervision of the senior members of the community, the children very often meet with accidents. The physical injuries thus caused during this process are neglected initially, which turn into major health problems later, disallowing participation of them in any activity, including schooling. The data on **childrens'** absenteeism to school revealed that **`problems of health'** is one of the major causes.

The second notable feature of the Savara childhood socialization is that the males and females are segregated very early and are prepared for their respective adult roles. Children are not trained by setting time limitations for learning of different skills and knowledge, by the senior **members**. The children enjoy considerable freedom during the childhood. The participation of children in household activities is not expected. Such a participation, however, gives a great satisfaction to their parents, for they conceive that their children are getting **`matured'** fast. The Savara believe that children exhibit responsible behaviour only when they are ready, that is, when God prepares them for that. This results in a **`pampering'** attitude towards their children. They also believe that the childhood is taken care of by God and the ancestors. Hence, any action to control the child makes

the child 'cry' which leads to punishment to parents by God. The punishment caused by God and the ancestors is mostly in the form of disease or injury to the child affecting the reproduction of the society itself.

The Savara conceptions of childhood and their treatment of children is thus, incongruent with the children's life in school. The freedom that the child enjoys during his childhood does not comply with the values of 'discipline' and 'order' that are heavily emphasized within the school. The Savara children find it difficult in following such norms as 'sticking to seats **although**', **punctuality**, taking permission to leave the class room, maintaining silence etc. Violation of such norms in the schools, hence, invite punishment. The school education further suffers, when the teachers become unacceptable to the adult members of the community too. The Savara adults blame the teachers as "arrogant¹ and do not teach the Savara children as per their norms and beliefs.

The third feature of the Savara socialization is that of learning from members of their own sex and age-group which allows for a greater freedom for interaction between the learner and the learned. The learning in the school is by an interaction with the 'senior' person. The children while interacting with the "teacher¹ adopt the culturally prescribed speech styles and modes of expressing respect to age. Such an approach curtails their interaction with the teacher. The teaching-learning

process in school thus becomes '**teacher oriented**' than the much preferred '**child-oriented**' approach. Further, as observed earlier, the culturally valued behaviour patterns adopted by children often create a communication gap between the teacher and the student.

The academic failure of the Savara boys and girls, particularly the incidence of drop out from the school may also be partially attributed to the nature of the institution of marriage, family and social organization among the Savara.

The family among the Savara is not stable. It continuously undergoes changes and demands its members to continuously readjust to these changing familial environments. While adjusting and redefining their relations with other members of the family, the children's attention on education is diluted and this has a negative influence on their performance. The institution of marriage does not unite man and woman permanently among the Savara. Marriage is more or less a contract which can be dissolved at any time. The data presented earlier revealed the fragility of the marital relationship and the incidence of divorce and remarriage rates. Similarly, the adult mortality rate also is high, resulting into remarriages in view of death of their spouse.

The events such as death, divorce and remarriage of **the** parents create serious emotional setbacks for the

children and demand very drastic adjustment to the social situations that follow such incidents. The emotional problems of the children vary according to the different familial situations in which they are placed. But more serious problems arise when one or both of the parents die or divorce while living in a nuclear family.

Though the child belongs to the **father**, no obligation is felt by the kin to look after the needs of the children when the father is dead due to absence of birinda organisation. **Similarly**, when woman remarry, leaves her children and the children are left with no guardian. The children, if young may be invited by their near kin such as, **fathers's** brothers, mother's brothers', sisters etc. to join their birinda. Such children settle themselves early and establish their own households soon. The status of the children in the birinda in which they join is very marginal. As such, they suffer from economic dependence and develop strained relations with some members of that family soon. This also compels them to make decisions for early settlement, which means a decision to acquire the skills and knowledge required to perform their economic roles fast.

The different situations in which the children are placed on the event of death or divorce of their parents are presented below.

Case 1: - **Lakkai** got married to **Sumbari** at the age of about 20 years. Soon after his marriage he separated from his parents and established his birinda. Lakkai and Sumbari were blessed with three children - Somaih, **Padma** and India in the next five years. However, Padma died just after attaining two years. The family, **however**, experienced a major tragedy when Lakkai died in the year 1980. By that time, Somaih and India were aged about six years and ten years, and were studying first and second standard, respectively. Sumbari, though was invited by her brother to join his family with her children, refused to do so, as, she decided to continue to live separately with her two sons. She earned bread for her family by working as a wage labourer. **Ofcourse**, her two brothers supported her financially at times.

When everything seemed working better, the two brothers - India and **Somiah** had to face another serious tragedy, in the death of the mother. The two who were then aged about eight and twelve years, respectively, were literally on the streets because of this.

Considering that they were too young to make a living on their own, the father's brothers of the children, as well as mother's brother asked them to join their respective birindas. Somiah, being the eldest made the decision to move into his father's brothers' family (Mangulu), along with his younger brother.

Somaih was particularly upset psychologically. He dropped out of the school immediately. India, **however**, continued his studies with encouragement from the local school teacher.

While living with their father's brother, **Somiah** and India did not feel quite happy. They developed strained relations with their cousins, when they were blamed of laziness and theft. Soon they had decided to leave that house and join their father's other younger brother. There also, they faced '**illtreatment**' and discriminatory treatment. Just after six months of joining that family, again they returned to join the family of their uncle with whom they lived earlier.

Somaih and India realised that their position in any family other than their own is only very marginal and would not be able to enjoy love, affection and freedom. They found themselves helpless when they suffered from disease. It was in these circumstances, they decided that they should soon become independent and that they should plan for an early settlement, meaning an early marriage. This attitude compelled India to drop-out of the school to acquire the skills and knowledge required for undertaking the traditional occupations.

Mangulu with whose family Somaih and India lived for a long time also remarked: "I brought these boys because they are too young to make a living on their own.

But I cannot afford to keep them long. They should realise that they need to leave my house as early as possible. They should settle down. How can they afford to go to the school and waste their time there? First, they should participate in all activities relating to podu cultivation, acquire skills, earn money for their marriage and settle in the life. Education is secondary. They cannot earn ... make a living on that....."

Case 2 : Addai of Mandaguda married **Budamma** of the same village at the age of about 20 years. A daughter, Ramamma was born to them about a year after their marriage. Ramamma was admitted to the school with encouragement of the school teacher at the age of about six years.

Problems of schooling began very early for Ramamma with her father's second marriage. **Addai's** second wife joined them when Ramamma was studying second standard. Budamma, the first wife of Addai was unhappy with her husband's second marriage, divorced him, a few months later and joined her parents living in the same village. Ramamma continued to live with her father and step mother, for a few days, but later joined her mother in her grandfather's house. A few months later, when Ramamma was about eight years old, her mother eloped with Sannai of the neighbouring village. Ramamma, after a few days of living with her grandfather again returned to her father, Addai. However, she could not quite cope up with her step mother's

temperament. She ran away to her grand father's place once again, as she was beaten up by her step mother when she dropped, causing a head injury to her step sister.

Meanwhile her mother and her husband migrated to their village. So, **Ramamma** preferred to join the **famly** of her mother and her husband after her grand mother's death. **Ramamma's** attendance in the school suffered in view of her shuttling from one place to the other and also due to emotional setbacks of the divorce and remarriages of her father and mother. However, she did not completely withdraw from the school. More serious problems began for her when she approached puberty. Her father Addai wanted her to return to his home, for it is his responsibility to settle her marriage. **Ramamma's** mother declined to send her for fear of illtreatment by **Addai's** second wife. Ramamma had to suffer from mental strain as her father visited them frequently to ask Ramamma to return to his home. When she refused to do so, he used to abuse her and even threathned to kill her. Her mental agony reached a maximum when her step father asked Ramamma to leave his home in view of the nuisance from her father.

Ramamma had realized that the solution for her problems is an early marriage. As she attained puberty at the age of about 13 years, she approached her father's sister's son and proposed her marriage with him, which was accepted by him. Soon they eloped and got married. Thus,

Ramamma's school education came to an end even before completing IV standard..

Case 3: Bugadu aged about 45 years by **april** 1985 is head of an extended family in Gadidapai. His family consisted of a married **son**, his spouse and children, two unmarried sons, one unmarried daughter, besides his wife and one Mangadu, son of his deceased son.

Bugadu's deceased son married his mother's brother's daughter, Varalu. **Mangadu** was born to them a year after their marriage. **Papanna**, father of Mangadu died in an accident. At the time of his father's death Mangadu was only four years old.

After the death of Papanna, his wife, Varalu, was requested to marry **Papanna's** younger brother, Sannai. She obliged this proposal and continued to live with the same family along with her son, Mangadu. Mangadu was admitted to school, in the same year.

About two years after her marriage with Sannai, Varalu divorced him, when he married again a distant relative on his father's side. Varalu left his son Mangadu and joined her parents in the neighbouring village. Mangadu was then six years old. The developments at home gave rise to serious psychological problems. He became very irregular to the school. None of his family members advised him to attend the school. Mangadu, who was

particularly close to his grand parents, used to follow them whenever they went out.

Infact, Mangadu's grandfather Bugadu beleived that the boy needed a different treatment altogether. He quoted: "**Mangadu** had lost both father and mother. Who will take care of him after my death? Definitely he can not trust his uncles and their wives to give him a place in their **family**, when their own children are born. He better grow to live on his own as early as possible. I wish he gets married before my death".

As the above case reveals, Mangadu is looked as one who cannot loose his time attending to the school and neglect learning skills and knowledge essential for early **settlement** by taking up the traditional economic **activities**.

The migrations of the Savara families from one village to another, too, cause dislocation and serious adjustment problems for the children. In case of migration, the children are removed to a different social environment which necessitates the child to **establish** relations with other children of his own age-group and sex. This takes a long time. During this process of readjustment, the child's attendance to the school suffers and this negatively influences his or her performance.

The migrations of the Savara families are common. Migrations take place due to several reasons. The

important factor for migration is scarcity of 'good' land for podu cultivation.

In recording the culture-school incongruence, we have to emphasize the cultural values cherished by the Savara. As it has been observed earlier, Savaras place a great **emphasis** on the value of cooperation in all the aspects of their life. All the members of the household join hands and organise themselves as team to undertake the economic activities relating to podu cultivation, collection of forest produce, etc. Joint living of the brothers together till the youngest of their brothers gets married and disapproval for the division of parental property as long as the father is alive, are the basic cultural norms of the Savara, which recreate and emphasize the spirit of cooperation. This spirit of cooperation is conspicuous in the life of a Savara. For example, when the labour force available within the family is inadequate for podu cultivation, help is sought from members outside the family. Activities like fishing, hunting etc are group activities with participation of members from all the households of a quda. Many rituals and ceremonies concern the whole village and hence participation of all members in the village. At the time of marriage or death of any member in the village, members of all households volunteer to contribute necessary help. In the case of negotiations relating to amount paid/received as moqanalalu (marriage payment) atleast one member from each household in the

village will join the group. All decisions whether relating to festivals in agriculture, collection of forest produce or presentation of petition to the authorities for grant of a loan, bore well, for patta lands or imposing of fine for bad conduct of any member in the village or allowing a family to migrate or settlement of dispute and the like, are all" collectively taken with the participation of atleast one adult member from each household in the village.

Throughout one's childhood, the Savara learns and deeply internalizes the value of **cooperation**. The folk tales and the events of the past, where in a group activity leads to success are narrated to children **often**. The games the children play will all help to pick up the values of cooperation and also to internalise it deeply.

The Savara discourages competition as undesirable. The children are discouraged to compete with each other both within in the members in the family and with the members outside the family. The lands for podu cultivation, the trees whose produce is of **commerical** value or whose produce is delicious food item are no one's property. Every member has access to them. Yet, competition to generate more incomes from such resources of earning is avoided by following the '**conventions**'. On the other hand, the '**competitive spirit**' expressed by the

members attract sanctions like **ridiculing**, social boycott etc.

Within the school, the Savara children encounter new set of value system in **which**, '**dependency**' and team work deserves discouragement in preference to individualism. The school environment emphasizes the values of individualism, competitive spirit in which the student is made to complete his grades with better score than the others.

The values of cooperation result into a network of reciprocal relationships in which each Savara finds himself dependant on the other and his group at large. As such they always desire to be in a group, work in a group and cannot think of working alone without company. These groups are formed on the basis of sex, age, and neighbourhood. Men and women form groups whenever they go out, for example, for the collection of forest produce, to visit to shandy, or to go to movie. Many a time, they postpone or cancel such visit due to lack of companions. The children, in general will come to the school in groups. Each of such groups comprise of members belonging to the same ward/quda and persons of the same sex and age group. When one or two members of such a group stay back at home, others also follow them and do not go to the school. Similarly, when one or two boys or girls drop out of the school, all others of his/her age-group and of the same ward/quda drop out gradually.

Another significant feature of the Savara culture, which seems incongruent with the school education is the emphasis placed on value of **'freedom'**. The children enjoy considerable freedom during the childhood. There are few controls on the children in their activities like, **'eating', 'sleeping', 'toilt and bathing'** habits, and **'roaming around'**. The boys and girls enjoy considerable freedom during early adolescent stage. The boys and girls are left free to earn for themselves and enjoy the fruits of their hard-work. The youngsters earn money by collection and sale of different minor forest produce and spend as they desire. Some invest their incomes on cattle to multiply their money. This economic freedom is also further extended in joint family life. The married couple are free to undertake activities of their own for enhancing their economic interests. The boys and girls enjoy considerable freedom in choosing their life partners for marriage. The married men and women are free to divorce when it is necessary. Similarly, the children whose parents are dead or divorced make the decision by themselves as to whose household they should join.

In view of the general appreciation of the value of freedom and self decision making in general, the parental involvement in **childrens'** education is almost nil. The children are left free to make decisions to withdraw from the schoiol at any time. Such decisions will be generally

accepted by the parents for they believe that one cannot compel their wards to work against their wish or desire.

In general, the Savara adopts an attitude of **'one in hand is better than two in the bush'**. They tend to avoid **'risk taking'** and look for an early return to an investment¹ which influences the decision making process of the Savara. As a consequence of this value **orientation**, the Savara prefers to lease out the kitchen garden or any other **tree**, at the flowering stage itself, whose produce has a commercial **value**, to the Sahukarlu. (traders), though they are well aware that these lease transactions are profitable to Sahukarulu. The savara would like to play safe and prefer to get early return to his investments of money and labour. Further, such an act ensures him against his fear that he may not get anything if the crop fails at a later stage for some reason or the other. The similar considerations are at work in the decision of the Savara to continue with podu cultivation (inspite of efforts by Government Agencies to convince them to stop such practise), which involves relatively little or no risk.

The Savara believes that a mixed crop cultivation on hill slopes, in podu cultivation, atleast one or two varieties of millets, of the four or five mixed in such cultivation, give satisfactory yields and eliminates the possibility of total crop failure.. It is even asserted

that they resort to mixed crop-cultivation of millets more than the cultivation of mono crop **cultivation**, such as **ginger**, or turmeric as there is a risk of crop failure in the later.

The Savara attitude towards risk taking and the tendency to look for an early returns to their investments may be attributed to the failure of coffee plantation scheme and the marginal success achieved in cashew plantations scheme, introduced by the ITDA as a measure of economic development of tribals living in and around the village Donubai in the year 1979. The coffee plantation scheme was a total failure as it is new and involved a high degree of risk for the Savara. The risk involved is based on the following assumptions: 1. the returns in case of cultivation of coffee plantations would come to hands only after five or six years and 2. they cannot allocate their time and labour for podu cultivation, as they are preoccupied with coffee plantations, which results into their failure to produce grain needed for consumption throughout the year. Any shortage of food, the Savara assumes, would lead to more and more indebtedness.

The cashew plantation scheme also was not received with any enthusiasm. The fact that the late returns of the labour invested on growing cashew plantations discouraged the Savara.

This tendency to compromise for lesser but early returns to the investments of labour and money also influences the education of the Savara children. Money and effort put in for education is not first of all considered as investment. When convinced that it is an investment, it is not believed as a wise **investment**, for such an investment does not guarantee returns, let alone early returns. Another important cultural attribute of the Savara is the tendency to work continuously on a project and complete it. Any break in the working would end up as incomplete. The Savara themselves are aware of this nature of them. They have sited the following cases of works undertaken by them which remained half complete because of the suspension of the work in the middle.

Mangulu of Manapuram village intended to rebuild his house with fire proof arrangement. His being an extended family, had sufficient labour force available at home to undertake construction of the house. However, he decided to involve a large number of persons and complete the construction work in one day, rather than take a weeks time with the participation of the members of his family. He distributed the meat of two buffaloes to all the households in the village and requested for participation of atleast one member from each of the households. The two buffaloes, whose meat he had distributed costed him about Rs. 500/-.

He explained, when asked why he had incurred so much of expenditure, when the task can be undertaken by the participation of his household members themselves as:

"I wanted to see that the work is completed on the same day we begin. It is always wise to do so. If only members at home participate it would take about eight days. If the work gets suspended for one reason or the other.....the pending work never gets completed.....". The local youth association of **Manapuram** village planned to construct a community hall to organize their meetings. The construction work was commenced in May 1986. The members of the youth organization rendered their services in the **consturction** work. The work was carried out for three days during which time the leveling of the plot as well as foundation for the building was completed. After that, they **had** to suspend their activity in view of rains which followed the activities related to Podu cultivation. The building could not be completed forever. Addai, the president of the **youth** association remarked: "I very much guessed on the same day when we decided to suspend the activity that this project will never be completed."

Members in different households similarly cite instances where a work remained incomplete, because of suspension of **work** in the middle. This tendency of the Savara also influences the attendance of the children to the school. The attendance of the children, is observed

to be thin for a few days after the re-opening of **the** school after continuous holidays for two to three days. **The** attendance remains very poor for a long time after re-opening of school after a long vacation such as Dashara and Shankranti holidays and summer vacation. As the school is closed on the Sunday, the attendance on Monday and Tuesday falls down the average attendance of boys and girls in other **days**.

The problems of culture-school concordance which arise due to the Savara conceptions of `good' school and `good teacher'¹ and the **teachers'** conceptions of the same, also need a serious attention in the explanation of poor response to formal education from the Savara children. The role expectations of the teacher are different for the parents of the Savara children and the teachers working in the Savara hamlets. The **teachers'** refusal to accept the roles assigned to them in the community results in non-cooperation by the parents of children attending the school. This negatively influences interest evinced by the parents in their **childrens'** education, which in-turn also influences their performance in the school.

The teaching-learning process, as it takes place in the school too exhibits the features of culture-school incongruence. The interaction patterns observed in the school reveal a preference by the boys and girls to interact with persons of their own sex, age-group and village/hamlet. In the situations of involuntary

interactions initiated by the teachers, the boys and girls are involved in cross-sex interactions besides being involved in interactions with children of other hamlets/villages. In such interactions, the children turn inattentive, and invite punishment from the teachers. This phenomenon being a recurrent activity, the punishments would have a cumulative effect on childrens' response to schooling.

STUDENT SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND SCHOOL DIFFERENCES AND
RESPONSE TO FORMAL EDUCATION

As has been stated earlier, the differences in the social background of the Savara boys and girls may influence their response to formal education. The influence of some of the important characteristics relating to children and their family background on the school attendance is discussed below. The differences in the formal education could be discussed concretely from the differences in school attendance of the boys and the girls observed during the period of field work. For the purpose of this analysis, the boys and the girls who had attended a minimum of 15 out of the 45 working days during the field-work are considered as 'attenders' and the others as 'non-attenders'. The data presented in the Table 7.1 shows the number of boys and girls in school going age and also the 'attenders' and the 'non-attenders' out of the total school going age children in the three villages. As observed in the Table, only 36.6% of the children are 'attenders'. The percentile difference between the boys and the girls is marginal (38.6% and 34.4%, respectively).

The following factors relating to the social and familial background of the children are discussed in relation to their attendance to the school.

1. Type of the family and attendance

Two principal types of families have been distinguished for the purpose of understanding the attendance of the children according to the differences in the family structure. They are: 1) nuclear and 2) extended. The extended families are, however, further subdivided into : 1) nuclear extended 2) joint family and 3) joint extended.

It is interesting to note that more number of boys as well as girls from nuclear families than extended families attend the school. More than half of the boys and one-third of the girls belonging to households with nuclear family structure are reported attending the school. The data further reveals that attendance of the boys and the girls from households with joint family structure is better than the nuclear extended type families. About 30.0% of the boys and 37.5% of the girls from households with joint family structure are attending the school. In contrast to this, only 25.0% of the boys and 20.0% of the girls from households with nuclear extended family structure are reported attending the school.

As has been noted **earlier**, households of nuclear or joint extended type are formed when a child (or some children) join some other household in view of the death or divorce of his or her parents for some other. Such children enjoy less freedom and evince less interest in

Table 7.1

School going age children, attenders and non-attenders in the three selected villages.

Name of the village	School Going Age Children			Attenders			
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boy
Mutyalu	28	26	54	11	5	16	1
Manapuram	19	20	39	9	12	21	1
Manda	23	18	41	7	5	12	1
Total	70	64	134	27	<u>22</u>	49	4

Table 7.2

Genealogical composition of the household and attendance of the chi to school

Type of household	No. of households	School Going Age Children		No. of Attenders	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Nuclear	47	31	34	16 51.6	13 38.2
Extended	47	39	30	11 28.2	9 30.0
Total	94	70	64	27	22
Extended					
A. Nuclear extended	17	8	5	2 25.0	1 20.0
B. Joint family	19	17	16	5 29.4	6 37.5
C. Joint extended	11	14	9	4 28.5	2 22.2
Total	47	39	30	11	9

school education. This may be the reason for the poor attendance of the children from the extended families. **Further,** when two or more children from the same household **are enrolled,** there is a tendency among all the children **to remain** absent when any one of them stays back at home for some reason. The enrolment of two or more children from the same household is more likely to occur in case of households with extended family structure. Hence the observation of low attendance of children from such **households.**

2. Size of the household and attendance

The data on the size of the household and attendance of the children to school shows almost similar trends for the boys and the girls. The households are categorised into four types: a) small (less than three members); b) medium (between four and six members); c) large (between seven and nine members); and d) very large (more than nine members). It is observed that more number of boys attend the school when the size of the household is either less than three or more than ten. In the households with less than three members, one out of the two boys in the school going age, is attending the school. Similarly as many as 43.8% of the boys are attending the school when the size of the household is more than ten. Contrary to this, only 33.3% of the boys **from** among the households with seven to nine members are attending the school.

The data on girls attendance to school points out that the medium sized households are more favourable to school attendance. As many as 43.5% of the girls from such households are attending the school, as against 28.6% and 33.3% of the girls from large and very large **households**, respectively.

The above relationship between school attendance and size of the household seems to be related to the podu cultivation by the Savara. As has been noted earlier, the Savara consider that the services of **atleast** five to six persons are required for selection of more than one site for podu cultivation. So, the medium sized households can opt for one site for podu, and as such no help need to be sought from **children** of those households. Hence, there is greater incidence of children of these households attending the school. When the size of the household is seven to nine, the members invariably opt for cultivation of more than one podu site. This, in turn, influences attendance of the children to the school. If the numerical strength of the household exceeds ten, some children may be encouraged to participate in agricultural and allied tasks and the rest are encouraged to attend the school. Thus, attendance of children from these households also tends to be better.

Table 7.3**Size of the household and attendance of the children to school**

Household	No. of households	School Going Age Children		Attenders	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Small (Less than 3) *	24	2	2	1 50.0	-
Medium (4 - 6)	44	22	23	9 40.9	10 43.5
Large (7 - 9)	10	30	21	10 33.3	6 28.6
Very Large (10+)	16	16	18	7 43.8	6 33.3
Total	94	70	64	27	22

* Figures in brackets indicate number of persons in the household.

TABLE 7.4**Age of the head of the household and attendance of the children to school**

Age group (in years)	No. of households	School Going Age Children		Attenders	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Less than 30	21	9	4	5 55.5	2 50.0
31 - 40	39	37	28	13 35.1	10 35.7
41 and above	34	24	32	9 37.5	10 31.2
Total	94	70	64	27	22

3. Age group of the head of the household and attendance

The data with regard to the attendance of the boys and the girls with differences in the age of the head of the household to which they belong, shows almost a similar trend. The percentage of attenders both amongst the boys and the girls is **significantly** high in the case of households whose heads are aged less than 30 **years**. As many as 55.5% of the boys and 50.0% of girls belonging to such households are attending the school. The attenders amongst the boys and the girls belonging to the households, whose head belongs to the age-group of **31-40** years, constitute about 35.0%, only. The percentage of attenders amongst the girls belonging to households headed by persons aged above 40 years further decreased to **31.2** percent. However, the percentage of attenders amongst the boys of such households being 37.5%, is slightly more than the percentage observed in case of the boys belonging to the households headed by persons falling under the age-group of 31-40 years.

The data, thus, reveals that the Savara men and women have continued to possess the negative attitude towards formal education for a considerably long period. The change in this attitude is recent, as only those aged less than 30 years seems to be evincing greater interest in their **wards'** education.

4 Status of the children and attendance

A considerable number of children in the Savara hamlets live with other than their own parents in view of death or divorce of their parents. Data is collected to observe whether there is any difference in response between children living with parents and those living with others, to formal education.

A majority of children of school going age (73.9%) are living with their parents. Of the **rest**, 15.0% are living with a guardian, and the remaining are living with a single parent or a **step** parent.

The data shows that the children living with both the parents attend school more regularly than the others. As many as 45.6% of the boys and **38.4%** of the girls living with both the parents are attending the school. In contrast to this, a much lower proportion (about 25.0%) of the boys and the girls living with a single parent or a step parent or with a guardian are attending the school. Amongst the boys, those living with a step parent or a single parent (27.3%) are responding slightly better than those living with a **guardian(23.1)**.

The data, thus, confirms the earlier observation that boys and the girls living with other than their own parents tend to give priority to learning of skills and knowledge useful for undertaking the traditional occupations which

TABLE 7.5

Status of the children and attendance to the school

Status of the children	School Going Age Children		Attenders		Non-attende	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Gir
Children living with both parents	46	44	21 45.6	17 38.4	25 54.4	2 6
Children living with guardians	13	8	3 23.1	2 25.0	10 76.9	7
Children living with step/ single parent	11	12	3 27.3	3 25.5	8 72.7	7
Total	70	64	27	22	43	4

enable them to establish their own households. As a result, the response of such children to formal education tends to be poor.

5. Filial position and attendance

The data on the attendance of the children according to their filial position is presented in the Table 7.6 and the Table 7.7. As the data shows, the filial position of a majority of the boys (28.6%) and the girls (34.4%) is two. The boys rarely reported their filial position as four, while the girls rarely reported to belong to the filial position of five or more.

The data on attendance shows that, the attendance of the boys and the girls whose filial position is three is better than all others. Out of the 18 boys and 14 girls whose filial position is three, nine boys and seven girls are attending the school. On the other hand, the attenders amongst both the boys and the girls whose filial position is one, constitute 25.0%, only.

The data shows a gradual increase in the percentage of attenders both among the boys and the girls with the increase in the filial position upto three. But the percentage of attenders gradually decreases with further increase in the filial position. The percentage of attenders amongst those whose filial position is four being 37.5% in the case of girls, this decrease is more apparant.

TABLE 7.6

Filial position out of the total children and attendance to the school

Filial position	School Going Age Children		Attenders		Non-attenders	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
One	16	12	4 25.0	3 25.0	12 75.0	9 75.0
Two	20	22	9 45.0	8 36.4	11 55.0	14 63.6
Three	18	14	9 50.0	7 50.0	9 50.0	7 50.0
Four	7	8	3 42.9	3 37.5	4 57.1	5 62.5
Five	4	5	1 25.0	1 20.0	3 75.0	5 80.0
Above five	5	3	1 20.0	-	4 80.0	3 100.0
Total	70	64	27	22	43	42

Table 7.7**Filial position among children of the same sex and attendance to the school**

Filial	School Going Age Children		Attenders		Non-attenders	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
One	26	24	8 30.8	5 20.8	18 69.2	19 79.2
Two	20	14	8 40.0	6 42.9	12 60.0	8 57.1
Three	21	18	9 42.9	9 50.0	12 57.1	9 50.0
Four		5		20.0	1 -	4 80.0
Five	3	-	2 66.6		1 33.4	
Above five		3		66.6	1 -	2 33.4
Total	70	64	27	22	43	42

TABLE 7.8**Economic status of the household and attendance of the children to the school**

Economic Status	School Going Age Children		Attenders		Non-attenders	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Above average	14	16	5 35.7	4 25.0	9 64.3	12 70.0
Average	17	8	6 35.3	3 37.5	11 64.7	5 62.5
Below average	39	40	16 41.2	15 37.5	23 58.8	25 62.5
Total	70	64	27	22	43	42

The data has been analysed to see if the filial position of the boys and the girls amongst the children of the same sex would have a bearing on their attendance. As the data **shows**, the percentage of attenders among the boys gradually increase with the increase in the filial position. More number of boys and girls whose filial position is five or more among the children of the same sex attend school, than the others. The attendance of the boys and the girls particularly suffer when they belong to the filial position number one. This is more so for girls, as only 20.8% of them are observed attending the school. 6.

Economic status and attendance

Data has been analysed to find out if any correlation exists between the economic status of the household to which the children belong and attendance to the **school**.

For the purpose of this study economic status is observed on the basis of the per capita income from all resources. The households have been classified into: a) above average, b) average and c) below average. The households with a per capita income of more than **Rs.125/-** are classified as **`above average'**¹, while the households whose per capita income varied between **Rs.100/-** and **Rs.125/-** are classified as **`average'**. On the other hand, those with an income of less than Rs.100/- are termed **`below average'**. The data shows that majority of **the Savara**

children belong to the households of below average economic status. As **manys** as 39 boys and 40 girls out of the 70 boys and 64 girls in school going age, belong to such households.

Contrary to the other studies, the present study reveals no definite relationship between economic status and the school education of the children. Further, more boys whose family economic position is below average are attending the school than the boys whose economic status is average or above average. Out of the 39 boys whose family economic status is below average, 16 (41.2%) are attending the school. On the other hand, the percentage of **of attenders** is about 35.0% amongst the boys whose family economic status is above average or average.

The percentage of attenders amongst the girls whose **familiy's** economic status is average or below average is same with 37.5 per cent. The percentage of attenders amongst the girls whose economic status is above average is less by more than 10.0%, compared to the attenders in the other two categories.

The data, thus, shows that the economic status of the household has only little significance for the school education of the Savara boys and girls.

7. Educational status of the household and attendance

It is assumed that the presence or absence of educated or literate members within the household lead to positive or negative attitude towards schooling by the members of the household and this would in turn influence the attendance of the children to the school. The data has been collected to determine the educational status of the **families** to which the children in the school going age belong. According to the level of educational attainments of the members of the household (other than the one attending to the school) the educational status of the households has been classified as: 1) **nil**, 2) low, 3) average and 4) high.

The data shows different trends for the boys and the girls. The percentage of attenders amongst the boys increased with the increase in the level of the educational status. On the other **hand**, irrespective of the educational status of the **household**, almost similar percentage of girls are observed attending to the schools.

The data, thus, reveals that the Savara men and women irrespective of their education take similar attitude towards the education of the girls. But, the differences in the educational attainments of the members of the different households lead to differences in their attitude towards formal education for the boys. As such, the boys belonging to the households in which atleast one member has

TABLE 7.9

Educational status of the household and attendance of the children to school

Educational Status	No. of households	School Going Age Children		Attenders	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Nil	75	46	45	14 30.4	16 35.5
Low	7	8	6	3 37.5	2 33.3
Average	8	8	7	4 50.0	2 28.6
Above average	4	8	6	6 75.0	2 33.3
Total	94	70	64	27	22

TABLE 7.10

Political and social status of the household and attendance of the children to the school

Political/ social status	School Going Age Children		Attenders		Non-attende	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Gir
No status	57	46	14 24.6	11 23.9	43 75.4	3 7
At village level	10	8	6 60.0	5 62.5	4 40.0	3
Above the village level	9	11	7 77.8	6 54.5	2 22.2	4
Total	70	64	27	22	49	

received education beyond V standard are likely to have better attendance record.

8. Political and social status of the household and attendance

Some members in each of the Savara villages enjoyed higher socio-political status, by virtue of their position or membership in some socio-political **body**, like Gram Panchayat, **Yuvajana** Sangham, Mahila **Mandali**, Political Party **etc.** Data has been analysed to find out if the social or political status of the household members has any influence on the response to school education. For the purpose of this study, the households have been classified into three types according to the differences in the levels of socio-political status enjoyed by any of the members of the household. When the head of the household or any other member was elected for any position in a non-official organization like Yuvajana Sangham, Mahila **mandals** etc., the level of the status has been designated as '**village level**'. On the other hand, if any member from the household possessed membership in official political organization, like Village Panchayat, Panchayat **Samithi**, **Zilla** Parishad, Cooperatives etc., the level of **socio-political** status has been recognized as '**above** village level'. When none of the members of the household possessed higher status, they are called '**no status**'.

The data presented in the Table **7.10** shows that the socio-political status of the households to which the children belong has a significant influence on the school education of the children. Only about 24.0% amongst the boys and girls whose family members did not possess any socio-political **status**, are attending the school. When any one member of the household possessed status at village level, 60.0% of the boys and 62.0% of the girls of such households are attending the school. On the other **hand**, the attenders amongst the boys and the girls whose family members possessed status above the village **level**, constitute 77.8% and **54.5%**, respectively.

The data, thus, shows a strong positive relationship between the attendance of the Savara boys and the girls and the socio-political status of the household. This association may be due to two reasons: 1) The members who possessed a position in a social or political body, are likely to have better exposure to urban centres and also to mass media and 2) They may be under more pressure from extension **functionaries** and school teachers to evince greater interest on their **wards'** education and send them to school regularly.

SCHOOL DIFFERENCES AND RESPONSE TO FORMAL EDUCATION

1. Schools; Status of the teacher and response

The status of the teacher working either as secondary grade or higher grade teacher is an important factor

influencing the response to formal education of both boys and girls in all **its** aspects.

In the villages having school with a higher grade **teacher**, 100.0% enrolment has been reported both in the case of boys and girls, while it is not the same in the case of villages having school with secondary grade teacher. The variation in the case of enrolment of boys between a higher grade teacher school and secondary grade teacher school is 10.0%. The variation with regard to girls enrolment is much more, with an enrolment of 79.8% only in case of secondary grade school.

The attendance of boys and girls also differed according to the grade of the teacher working in school. But grade of the teacher did not have any particular influence on the attendance of any one sex. The attendance of boys in the schools with higher grade teacher is more by over 15.0% than in secondary grade teacher school. The average number of girls attending the higher grade teacher school on a day accounted for 70.5%. On the other hand, only 57.6% of the girls attended school on an average in a secondary grade teacher school.

The influence of the grade of the teacher on attendance is not, however, carried over to influence the performance levels of pupils. Both in the higher grade teacher school and the secondary grade teacher school, the percent of boys and girls who scored more than 50% of marks

TABLE 7.11

Schools by the status of the teacher and response to formal education from the girls

Teacher's Status	Girls in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent			
Higher Grade	78	78	55	30	34	10	4	23	2	
		100.0	70.5	38.5	43.6	12.8	5.1	29.5	2.6	
Secondary Grade	213	170	98	82	41	20	27	94	14	
		79.8	57.6	48.2	24.1	11.8	15.9	55.3	8.2	
Total	291	248	153	112	75	30	31	117	16	

TABLE 7.12

Schools by the status of the teacher and response to formal education from the boys

Teacher's Status	Boys in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent			
Higher Grade	87	87	68	33	35	10	9	22	4	
		100.0	78.1	37.9	40.2	11.5	10.4	25.3	4.6	
Secondary Grade	300	270	167	134	47	33	56	168	31	
		90.0	61.8	49.6	17.4	12.2	20.8	62.2	11.5	
Total	387	357	235	167	82	43	65	190	35	

is more or less the same. The boys whose performance is poor (less than 30%) accounted for 49.6% in secondary grade teacher schools, while in higher grade teacher schools **also**, it constituted as high as 37.9%. Similarly, as many as 38.5% of the girls in a higher grade teacher school and 48.2% girls in the secondary grade teacher school fell under the category of poor performers. The percentage of average performers both among the boys and the girls is significantly high in case of schools with higher grade teacher. But this difference may be due to the absence of more number of boys and girls in secondary grade teacher schools on the days of examinations than the boys and girls in higher grade teacher schools.

The lower rates of attendance in case of the secondary grade teacher school naturally led to higher rates of stagnation and drop outs. About two-thirds of the boys enrolled in schools with secondary grade teacher failed in the examinations and repeated the same grade in 1985-86. On the other hand, in higher grade teacher school, only 25.3% are recorded to have failed in the same year. The percentage of stagnation among the boys in secondary grade teacher schools is thus, more than double the percentage recorded for higher grade teacher school. The difference in stagnation rates between higher grade and secondary grade teacher schools for girls is not as great as observed in case of boys. The percentage of girls failed in the secondary grade teacher schools is 55.3%,

where as it is 29.5% in higher grade teacher school, showing a difference of 25.8%.

The percentage of drop outs is also more in secondary grade teacher schools. Only four boys and two girls are reported to have dropped out in the higher grade teacher schools, where as, in the case of secondary grade teacher schools, the drop outs among the boys and the girls constituted 11.5% and 8.2%, respectively.

It would be wrong to interpret on the basis of these findings that the higher grade teachers are efficient or that they approximate the ideal type teacher among the Savara. The bio-data particulars of the teachers working in the block shows that there are more secondary grade teachers than higher grade teachers in the block. The secondary grade teachers are relatively younger, belonging to **30-35** years age group. Where as, the higher grade teachers are within the age group of 35 or more years, less qualified and more experienced. Majority of the higher grade teachers belong to this district and their native places are within a radius of 20 Km. from their place of work, whereas the secondary grade teachers belong to other **districts.**

The indepth interviews with teachers reveal that the secondary grade teachers are more dissatisfied over their working conditions and often expressed frustration

regarding their pay. They remarked: "**We** are **more** qualified than **the** higher grade teachers, but draw less pay".

The lower levels of achievement in the **enrolment**, attendance, performance etc. in the case of secondary grade teacher schools may be related to indifferent attitude of the teachers, resulting from general dissatisfaction of the job.

2. Teacher turnover and response

The frequent change of teachers in primary schools in tribal villages has a profound influence on the educational responses of tribal children. The tribal children by nature are suspicious, exhibit a great degree of shyness and are generally very much afraid of interaction with strangers. Only after a prolonged effort, an outsider can win their confidence.

The newly appointed teacher in a tribal school takes a long time before he establishes the necessary rapport with the tribal children, and convince them to attend school. If frequent transfers of the teachers are effected, the rapport establishment which would have taken about a year for the teacher go waste. The new appointee shall have to make a fresh beginning. In view of this, the greater the rate of teacher turn over in a school, the greater would be the response to school education.

TABLE 7.13**Teacher turnover and response to formal education from the girls**

No. of years each teacher worked/teacher turnover	Girls in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent			
Less than two (High)	82	65 79.3	33 50.0	20 30.7	25 38.5	14 21.5	6 9.2	23 35.4	8 12.3	
Two-less than four (Average)	91	74 81.3	46 62.2	44 59.4	16 21.6	3 4.1	11 14.9	37 50.0	0 0.0	
Four-less than six (Low)	69	60 86.9	44 73.3	19 31.7	24 40.0	12 20.0	5 8.3	25 41.7	5 8.3	
More than Six (Very low)	49	49 100.0	30 61.2	29 59.2	10 20.5	1 2.0	9 18.3	32 65.3	3 6.1	
Total	291	248	153	112	75	30	31	117	16	

The rate of teacher turnover, for the purpose of this study, is operationally defined as the average number of **years/months** each teacher had worked in the school. This is calculated by dividing the total number of years since the establishment of the school by the number of teachers who worked since the establishment.

The data obtained from school records indicate an enrolment of only 76.8% of boys in the schools where each teacher worked for less than two years on an average. In other schools, the enrolment of boys varied between 94.4% to 100.0%. In schools where the average number of years each teacher worked exceeded six years, the enrolment is 100.0%. In case of girls also, the same trend has been recorded. While 79.3% of the girls are enrolled in schools where the teachers worked for less than two years on an average, those enrolled in schools where teachers worked for two to four years accounted for **81.3%**. When the average number of years each teacher worked varied between four and six years, **the enrolment** of girls further increased to 86.9%. A 100% enrolment is recorded in schools where the teachers continued to serve the same school for more than six years.

The attendance of the boys and the girls to schools also showed significant differences, particularly in case of **girls**, with **differences** in teacher turnover. As many as 72.6% of the boys and 73.3% of the girls reported to

TABLE 7.14**Teacher turnover and response to formal education from the boys**

No. of years each teacher worked/teacher turnover	Boys in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance				Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent		
Less than two (High)	95	73 76.8	47 64.4	24 32.9	14 19.2	19 26.0	16 21.9	41 56.2	11 15.0
Two-less than four (Average)	133	130 97.7	84 64.6	75 57.7	21 16.1	10 7.7	24 18.5	82 63.0	6 4.6
Four-less than six (Low)	89	84 94.4	61 72.6	28 33.3	27 32.1	9 10.8	20 23.8	34 40.5	15 17.9
More than Six (Very low)	70	70 100.0	43 61.4	40 57.1	20 42.9	5 7.1	5 7.1	33 47.1	3 4.2
Total	387	357	235	167	82	43	65	190	35

have attended on any day on an average in school with a low turnover of teachers. On the other hand, the schools with high turnover of teachers, the average number of boys and girls attended accounted for only 64.4% and 50.8% respectively. Thus, there is almost 25.0% increase in the attendance of girls with low turnover of teachers.

However, a **fall** in the percentage of attenders in schools is also observed in the schools of very low turnover of **teachers**. both in case of boys and girls. Such teachers who worked continuously for a considerable period in the same village successfully establish strong rapport with the villagers. These relationships would have also got transferred to bond freindship (**Nestarikam**). . As such the villagers do not complain against them even when they are continuously absent for months. The teachers take liberty to remain absent unauthorisedly. The teacher **absentism** thus, may be the real reason influencing the children's attendance in such schools. Sometimes, when a disciplinary action is initiated and enquiry is conducted about the unauthorised absentism, the villagers willingly come forward and give false evidence and protect the **teachers**.

3. Inspection visits and response

The Directorate of Education of the State coordinate the functioning of the school educatio At the district level, the District Educational Officer (DEO) coordinates

and supervises the functioning of formal education through schools. He is, however, assisted by the inspecting officials at different levels.

The schools covered in the present study come under different managements. The functioning of the schools is scrutinized by the various authorities under whose management they function. But the Deputy inspector of schools and Extension officer (education) at the office of the B.D.O. have the specific assignment of visiting the schools, periodically, and record their observations with regard to their functioning and suggest measures to rectify the problems. The Tribal Welfare Ashram schools and Residential schools in the Block are an exception.

The Deputy Inspector of Schools stationed at Seethampeta and Extension Officer (Education) in the Block office at Seethampeta are distributed with the work load, so as to inspect each school in the Block atleast four times in a year.

The data on inspection visits reveal that very often the inspecting officials fail to visit the schools for the required number of times. For example, the schools in the villages, Antikonda and Tothadi, have been functioning since the last 16 years. But only 20 visits were paid to these schools during the last 10 years. Similarly, schools in three other villages, namely, Kottakota, Manda and Manda colony have been functioning for more than 15 years. The

number of inspection visits to these schools were less than 30 during the last 10 years. **It** was observed that only in the case of four schools, the minimum number of four inspection visits were carried out by the officials on an average in the last seven years.

The average number of visits per school per year has increased due to frequent visits in a few schools. Such schools are comparatively at a shorter distance from the block head quarters and better placed with regard to communication facilities.

To find out relationship between number of inspection visits to schools and different aspects of formal education, the schools have been categorized into '**less often type**' and '**more often type**' according to the number of inspection visits to schools during the last seven years. For operational convenience the schools which were inspected less than 20 times during the last seven years (1979-86) are classified as '**less often**' and those inspected for more than 20 times during the same period are categorized as '**more often**'.

The data reveals that there are no significant differences with regard to enrolment of boys and girls with differences in the number of times the schools have been inspected. A total of 90.1% of boys and 86.4% of girls are reported to have been enrolled in schools inspected very often. About 98.0% of boys and 81.0% of girls are reported

TABLE 7.15

Inspection visits and response to formal education from the girls

No. & frequency of inspection visits	Girls in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance				Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent		
Less than 20 (Less often)	70	57 81.4	25 43.8	27 47.3	16 28.0	5 8.8	9 15.9	27 47.3	2 3.5
More than 20 (Very often)	221	191 86.4	128 67.0	85 44.5	59 30.9	25 13.0	22 11.5	90 47.1	14 7.3
Total	291	248	153	112	75	30	31	117	16

TABLE 7.16

Inspection visits and response to formal education from the boys

No. & frequency of inspection visits	Boys in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance				Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent		
Less than 20 (Less often)	104	102 98.1	60 58.8	40 39.2	27 26.5	14 13.7	21 20.6	56 54.9	8 7.8
20 to 29 ore than 20 (Very often)	283	255 90.1	175 68.6	127 49.8	55 21.5	29 11.5	44 17.2	134 52.5	27 10.5
Total	387	357	235	167	82	43	65	190	35

to have been enrolled in the schools which were less often inspected. Thus, the enrolment percentage is slightly more in the case of schools less often visited by inspecting officials.

The frequency of inspection visits, as the data reveals has some influence on attendance, more particularly the attendance of girls. The average number of boys attended on any day accounted for 68.6% in the case of schools very often inspected, where as in schools which are less often visited their percentage is found to be 58.8% only. The difference of percentage of average attenders among girls between the schools more often visited and the less often visited is 23.2%. Frequent visits of inspecting officials helped to see that more than **two-thirds** of the girls enrolled attended on any day. The improvement in attendance of boys and girls in '**often** visited' schools is a result of the pressure on the teachers which controls and reduces the absenteeism of the teacher. The interaction of the inspection officials with the parents of the children helps to make the parents to adopt a positive attitude and contributes to the higher percentage of attendance to the schools.

There seems to be no impact of **frequency** of inspection visits on stagnation rates and **performance** of children. Both in **the** schools less often visited and also more often visited, more or less similar percentage of boys and girls scored more than 50.0% of marks. Similarly, about

47.0% of the girls and 55.0% of the boys are detained **in the same** grade in both the categories of the schools. **The** percentage of drop outs also is more or less the same in the two categories of schools.

4. Management of the School and response

In the study **area**, six categories of schools are functioning. They **are**: 1) Schools under the management of Panchayat **Samithi**; 2) Government Primary Schools; 3) Schools under the management of ITDA; **4)Ashram** Schools under the management of ITDA; 5) Andhra Pradesh Residential Tribal schools (A.P.R.T.S), and 6) Aided schools. Majority of the schools are under the management of Panchayat Samithi. There is only one Aided school in the block.

The data reveals no significant differences in response to school education with differences in the management. The enrolment percentage of boys is higher by 5.0% in Government schools and 10% in Aided schools, than the Panchayat Samithi schools. In case of Panchayat Samithi schools also as many as 89.5% of boys are reported to have been enrolled.

The proportion **of** boys who attended to school on an average on any day is more or less the same in all the categories of schools. They account for 65.3%, **66.8%**, and 60.0% in Government schools, Panchayat Samithi schools, and

TABLE 7.17

Management of the school and response to formal education from the boys

Management	Boys in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent			
Government	158	150	98	88	30	7	25	81	17	
		94.9	65.3	58.7	20.0	4.7	16.6	54.0	11.3	
Sa>lthl	209	187	125	72	42	36	37	99	15	
		89.5	66.8	38.5	22.3	19.3	19.9	52.9	8.0	
Aided	20	20	12	7	10	0	3	10	3	
		100.0	60.0	35.0	50.0	0.0	15.0	50.0	15.0	
Total	387	357	235	167	82	43	65	190	35	

TABLE 7.18

Management of the school and response to formal education from the girls

Management	Girls in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent			
Government	143	134	96	64	43	13	14	68	6	
		93.7	71.6	47.8	32.1	9.7	10.4	50.7	4.0	
Sa>mithi	133	99	52	39	29	17	14	38	9	
		74.4	52.5	39.4	29.3	17.2	14.1	38.4	9.1	
Aided	15	15	5	9	3	0	3	11	1	
		100.0	33.3	60.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	73.3	6.7	
Total	291	248	153	112	75	30	31	117	16	

Aided schools, respectively. A similar percentage of boys (approximately 50.0%) are recorded to have been failed in the same grade in which they were enrolled, in Government, Panchayat **Samithi** and as well as in Aided Schools.

The performance of the boys, in the Panchayat Samithi schools is found to be better than in other schools, especially with regard to higher scores, and less drop outs. About 20.0% of the boys in these schools scored more than 50.0% of marks. As against this, not even a single boy is reported to have scored 50% or more in aided school. In Government schools, the boys who scored more than average marks constitute a negligible 4.7%. The boys who dropped out, being 15.0% is almost double in an aided school than in schools under the management of Panchayat Samithi. As many as 11.3% of the boys enrolled are recorded to have been dropped out in the Government schools.

The data reveals that the girls respond differently with differences in school management. The enrollment of girls is 100.0% in villages where an aided school is functioning. In contrast to this, in villages with a school under the management of Panchayat Samithi, 74.4% of the girls are enrolled. However, in the case of attendance, exactly an opposite trend is observed. As against the 33.3% of girls attendance in aided schools, 52.5% of the girls attended on an average in Panchayat

Samithi schools. The rate of attendance is highest (71.6%) in Government schools.

The data shows that the academic performance of the girls is also better in Samithi schools than others. About 30.0% of the girls scored average marks and another 17.2% scored more than average marks in Samithi schools.

The better academic performance of Samithi schools resulted in lower rates of stagnation in such schools. The stagnation is 73.3% in Aided schools, as compared to 38.4% in Samithi schools.

The percentage of girls dropped out in Samithi schools is more or less the same, as observed in case of boys. But, interestingly, the percentage of drop-outs among the girls in Government and Aided schools is less than half of the percentage observed in case of the boys. Thus, the data reveals that the number of girls dropped out in Aided and Government school are not only less than those dropped out in Samithi schools, but also less girls than boys, drop out in the very same schools.

5. Type of school building and response

The quality of building, as the data shows has a profound influence on every aspect, except on the drop out behaviour. The differences observed with regard to enrollment, attendance, performance and stagnation between schools housed in pucca buildings and schools functioning

TABLE 7.19

Schools by the type of the building and response to formal education from the boys

School type	Boys in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent	Number failed	Number dropped out
Pucca Construction	251	244 97.2	175 71.7	112 45.9	56 22.9	39 15.9	37 15.3	105 43.0	20 8.2
Mud Construction	136	113 83.1	60 53.1	55 48.7	26 23.0	4 3.5	28 24.8	85 75.2	15 13.3
Total	387	357	235	167	82	43	65	190	35

TABLE 7.20

Schools by the type of the building and response to formal education from the girls

School type	Girls in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent	Number failed	Number dropped out
Pucca Construction	187	171 91.4	119 69.6	81 47.4	46 26.9	24 14.0	20 11.7	78 45.6	10 5.8
Mud Construction	104	77 74.0	34 44.2	31 40.3	29 37.7	6 7.8	11 14.2	39 50.6	6 7.8
Total	291	248	153	112	75	30	31	117	16

in temporary mud constructions, are very much in consistence with peoples' conceptions of 'ideal school'. The quality of building may also have influenced the teachers' performance and it in turn would have contributed to the other differences.

The interviews with teachers reveal that the teachers working in villages where there are no school buildings, are less motivated, have no or little commitment to their jobs, and derived no job satisfaction.

Almost a 100% enrolment of boys is observed in case of villages with pucca buildings. In other villages, only 83.0% of the boys are enrolled. The difference in enrollment with difference in the quality of school building is more glaring in case of the girls. While 91.4% of the girls are enrolled in villages with pucca building, in others, less than 75.0% of girls are enrolled.

The average attendance of the Savara children to the school, particularly that of girls, is much less in villages where the schools are functioning in the open varandahs of the tribal huts. As against 71.7% of attendance of boys in pucca school buildings, only 53.1% of boys are reported attending, on an average, in villages where there is no pucca school building.

The academic performance of the boys and the girls is also better when they studied in pucca school buildings, compared to those studying in schools that functioned in

huts or open varandahs. A significant number of boys (15.9%) and girls (14%) scored more than average marks when there is a pucca school building in the village.

In view of better attendance to school and better **performance**, more number of boys and girls successfully completed their grades in villages with pucca school building, than in villages with no buildings of their own. That, the stagnation is more in schools functioning in temporary accommodations, is clearly illustrated by the fact that as high as 75.2% of boys and 50.6% of girls enrolled in the schools repeated the same grade in the next year in such schools. As against, this, about 45% of the boys and also the girls among those attending in pucca school buildings repeated the same grade.

The quality of school building has, as the data shows, no significant bearing on the drop out behaviour. This is more true in case of behaviour of drop out girls, as more or less similar percentage of girls (7.0%) dropped out in case of schools housed in pucca buildings and also those functioning in the tribal huts.

6. Female teacher and response

Many studies conducted in tribal areas recommended the appointment of female teachers in schools to assure satisfactory functioning of them. This recommendation is, perhaps, based on the assumptions that female teachers

maintain **better** attendance records than male teachers and that female **teachers'** understanding of the child psychology is better.

The data on the enrollment, attendance, performance, stagnation and drop-out records of the schools with a female teacher and schools with no female teacher has been presented below.

In this study, the schools in which the length of service of female teachers is 25.0% or more of the total duration since the establishment of the school, have been designated as 'schools with female **teachers'** and others as '**school** with no female **teacher'**. Accordingly, school in Sarangi, Manda colony, Goidi, Kuddapalli, Chinnakamba villages have been categorized as '**schools** with female **teachers'**.

The data shows significant differences in response to school education with **differences** in the sex of the teacher in the school. A near cent percent enrolment of the girls and the boys is recorded in schools with **female teachers**. In contrast to this, the percentage of boys and girls enrolled in schools with no female teachers is 81.2% and 90.8%, respectively.

The attendance of the boys and the girls is also better in schools with female teachers. In such schools, the attendance of the boys and the girls is 66.6% and 70.4%, respectively, as compared to the 53.9% and 64.5% in

TABLE 7.21

Female teachers and response to formal education from the girls

School type	Girls in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent			
Schools with no Female teacher	219	176	105	75	52	26	23	86	14	
		81.2	53.9	43.2	34.6	14.7	13.6	48.3	7.3	
Schools with Female teacher	72	72	48	37	23	4	8	31	2	
		100.0	66.6	51.3	31.9	5.5	11.1	43.0	2.7	
Total	291	248	153	112	75	30	31	117	16	

TABLE 7.22

Female teachers and response to formal education from the boys

School type	Boys in school going age	Number enrolled	Average number attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
				-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent			
Schools with no Female teacher	304	276	178	120	63	39	54	164	29	
		90.8	64.5	43.5	22.8	14.1	19.6	43.6	10.5	
Schools with Female teacher	83	81	57	47	19	4	11	26	6	
		97.6	70.4	58.0	23.5	4.9	13.6	32.0	7.4	
Total	387	357	235	167	82	43	65	190	35	

the schools with no female teachers. However, the services of the female teachers in schools did not significantly reduce the stagnation rates among the girls. In schools with female teachers, 43.0% are reported to be repeating the same grade. In schools with no female teachers, 48.3% are repeating the same grade.

The sex of the teachers has influenced the stagnation rate among the boys significantly. The percentage of boys failed being 43.6% in schools with no female teachers, is more by about 10.0% in **comparision** to schools with a female teacher. Similarly, the percentage of drop outs among both the boys and the girls is less in case of schools with female teachers. Only 2.7% of the girls and 7.4% of the boys are reported to have dropped out in such schools.

The data, thus, indicates that the schools with female teachers relatively function better with regard to enrollment, attendance, stagnation and drop-out. but, the performance of the boys and the girls in schools with female teachers is poor compared to other schools. The boys and the girls who scored more than 50.0% is only about 5.0%, in schools with no female teachers. This difference can probably be attributed to other factors relating to **teachers'** characteristics like educational qualifications, job experience etc. of the male teachers.

7. Number of years since establishment and response

It may be assumed that the very presence of school within the village for a long time would induce more number of boys and girls to attend to schools and perform better. As the juniors would have observed their seniors attending **school**, they would develop interest to attend school and hence respond better to formal education. Further, it has been argued in many studies that the elder tribal children have a social responsibility of looking after the younger ones. In such a case, when the elders enroll their names in schools and attend, they may take these younger brothers and sisters to **school** along with them. In such case, the younger tribal children develop a positive attitude towards schooling and education. The exposure of more and more number of persons to education in the village, year by year, would also lead to better response to education. Similarly, over the years, the teachers and inspecting officials would have built better foundations to make tribals realise the usefulness of '**education**' through their personal meetings or otherwise. Such factors as above, result, in better response from tribal children to schooling.

In this study, the schools are categorized into two:

1. Schools functioning since 15 years and less (Recent);
- and 2. Schools which are functioning for 15 years or more (older). Out of the 16 villages selected for the study,

TABLE 7.23

Number of years since the establishment of school and response to formal education from the girls

No. of years	Girls in school going age	Number enrolled attended	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
			Average number -30	30 - 50	50+	Absent	---		
Less than 15 (Recent)	174	131	74	58	29	19	25	78	14
		75.3	56.5	44.3	22.1	14.5	19.1	59.5	10.7
More than 15 (Older)	117	117	79	54	46	11	6	39	2
		100.0	67.5	46.2	39.3	9.4	5.1	33.3	1.7
Total	291	248	153	112	75	30	31	117	16

TABLE 7.24

Number of years since the establishment of school and response to formal education from the boys

No. of years	Boys in school going age	Number enrolled	Average performance					Number failed	Number dropped out
			Average number attended	-30	30 - 50	50+	Absent		
Less than 15 (Recent)	262	233	137	114	38	25	56	150	31
		88.9	58.8	48.9	16.3	10.7	24.0	64.4	13.3
More than 15 (Older)	125	124	98	53	44	18	9	40	4
		99.2	79.0	42.7	35.6	14.5	7.2	32.2	3.2
Total	387	357	235	167	82	43	65	190	35

schools in Jonaga, Seedi, Mutyalu, Sarangi, Tadipai, Goidi, **Kusumuru**, Manda colony, Gadidapai fell under the first category and the rest in the second **category**.

The percentages of enrollment, attendance, drop-outs and the rates of stagnations are significantly different for the two categories of schools. The percentage of enrollment of girls is 100.0% in older schools. But in recently established schools their enrolment is about 75.0% and less by as much as 25.0%. The average number of the boys and the girls attending schools is almost the same, accounting for about 58.0% of total school going age boys and girls in the recently established schools. In schools of the other type, the average attendance of the girls and the boys is 67.5% and 79.8%, respectively.

The data on stagnation reveals that about **one-third** of the boys and the girls repeated the same grade in the older schools. But, the percentage of boys repeating the same grade is slightly more than that of the girls, with about 65.0%, in schools recently established. The boys and girls who dropped out of schools is as high as 10.7% and 13.3% in the recently established schools. On the other hand, in the case of older schools, a negligible 1.7% of girls and 3.2% of the boys are reported to have dropped **out**.

The performance of the boys and the girls, however, is more or less the same in both the categories of schools.

As high as 46.2% of the girls and 42.7% of the boys scored less than 30.0% of marks on an average in schools older by 15 years or more. Similarly in the recently established schools too, about 45.0% of the boys and 33.0% of the girls scored less than 30.0% marks.

The **data**, thus reveals that the teacher turn over in schools, as well as the status of the teachers (secondary grade or higher grade) have a profound influence on all aspects of formal education like enrollment, attendance, performance, stagnation and drop out behaviour of the children. The characteristics like the number of years since the establishment of school, the services of female teachers, and the type of school building influence the enrollment and attendance of the boys and girls, but not the performance and stagnation rates. The number of inspection visits to schools, on the other hand, would not make any difference on the response of the boys and the girls to school education.

Chapter 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I

Tribals in India constitute 7.85% of the total population. The quality of life of these people is poor. The Government of **India**, ever since independence, has been emphasizing on rapid educational development to bring them into the mainstream of its population. The formal education - the institutionalized - graded and hierarchically structured education system among the primary, secondary and tertiary levels has been adopted as the most suitable mode for achieving educational development.

The Government allocated considerable amounts in the successive Five Year Plans to provide the infrastructure and also to offer incentives like, scholarships, free boarding and lodging, free distribution of clothes, books, stationery etc. for the better educational attainments by the tribals. But, the educational **attainments** of these people have not improved to any one's **satisfaction**. The tribals have not responded to formal educational programmes with atleast half the enthusiasm with which they have been introduced.

Anthropologists and others realized the need for studies on formal education among the different tribal communities. The studies have been conducted to find out differences in the enrolment, **attendance, performance,** stagnation and drop-out behaviour between different tribal communities and between the tribals and the non-tribals. The survey of the literature on these studies reveals that no indepth studies are carried out, in different tribal communities to explain the differences observed in enrollment, attendance, performance, stagnation and drop out behaviour between tribal communities, and tribals and non-tribals.

The studies on tribal education during the years 1950-1960, as well as those conducted as recently as in 1986-90 pointed out the lack of infrastructural facilities as one of the main factors for the poor educational attainments of the tribals. However, some studies pointed out that many other factors are responsible for the poor response to formal education from the tribals. The poverty of the tribals, the medium of instruction, the early **marriage, the** lack of motivation and educational aspirations of the tribal boys and their parents are discussed by many as factors hindering acceptance of formal education. Some scholars felt that the teacher's attitude to tribal students, the failure of the teachers in performance of their role in the tribal villages and teacher absenteeism

as significant in the explanation of academic failures of tribal students. On the other hand, some studies which made a close examination of the reasons for the failure of the tribal students in utilising the facilities for education **revealed**, factors like tribal **beliefs**, with regard to the location of the school, unsuitable school hours, vacation time, cumbersome admission procedure and the inferiority complex of the tribal boys and girls.

Several authors largely adopted quantitative methodology in their indepth studies on formal education amongst the tribals. Such studies, by and large selected the **'variables'** which were identified in other countries, as influencing the academic performance of the children and tested in the Indian context. As such, these studies tried to establish correlations between such factors as family size, family type, land holding, occupation, economic status, and socio-political status of the family to which the children belong, with enrolment in the school. Similarly, the interests, aspirations and attitudes of the tribal boys and girls, their parents and the teachers, were quantified and an attempt was made to see how they influenced the education of the tribal boys and girls. The contribution of these studies lies in the **'trends'** they have indicated, with the attempt to explain these trends.

The indepth study of formal education using qualitative approach can be said to be a recent phenomena. Only on very few occasions, the descriptive analytical

approach, using case study method, has been adopted in the study of educational process. The scholars who advocated the qualitative **studies** realised the importance of taking a holistic perspective for the understanding of academic failures of children of certain ethnic groups and the tribals. The need for an indepth understanding of the culture of the community and the culture of the school to which the children belong to, has been felt.

The qualitative studies revealed as to how the disharmony between the culture of the school and the culture of the community to which the child belongs result in his or her academic failure. That is, it is showed that the degree of home-school concordance determines the success or failure of the children in school education.

Bourdieu (1971) referred two important concepts in his account of the role of schools in transforming social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next. They are '**habitus**' and '**culture capital**'. The '**habitus**' is "the culture of particular social group and class that provides the basis for the durable disposition - the ways of seeing and making sense of the world of the child". He also observed that certain habituses constitute culture capital in relation to the process of schooling while others do

Jules Henry (1970) suggests that the failure of the student is not just because of the absence of culture capital, but because the problem is compounded due to certain factors obtaining at the school. The model he advocates is:

$$O = F (E + S + P)T$$

'O' stands for the total educational **experience**, 'E' for his experience at home, 'S' for experience in school culture, 'P' for peer group influences and 'T' for time. This model suggests that the education of the children being a function of school, home and the peer group, a negative role by any of these may lead to school failure. This also suggests that the longer any process continues the greater its effect will be.

In the present study it is attempted to make an intensive ethnographic study of a tribal community and the school the tribal children attend, to understand the incongruences, if any, between them which would result in the poor response to formal education from the tribal children. Further, as some boys and girls of the same community attend the **school**, it is assumed that some differences in the social background of the students and/or the schools they attend overcome the disharmony between the culture of the school and the community. That is in some cases, the negative influence of culture could be overcome by maximizing the other factors. Hence, it is attempted to identify the socio-economic and other differences between

the attenders and the **non-attenders** and also the differences with regards to enrolment, **attendance, performance**, stagnation and drop-out behaviour of children with differences in schools they attend.

II

Keeping in view the objectives of the study, a case study of the Savara, a primitive Tribal group (PTG) inhabiting the Seethampeta **Block**, of Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh, was made.

For the purpose of the study, three villages have been selected for intensive field-work. Similarly all the 16 primary schools functioning in villages predominantly inhabited by the Savara have been identified for collection of secondary data from school records on enrolment, attendance, performance, stagnation and drop out behaviour.

The field-work was carried out for about 18 months during the years January, 1985 and November, 1986. About five months had been spent in each of the three selected villages for collection of qualitative and quantitative data on the culture of the community and the **school**. The data was collected using traditional anthropological tools. Three different semi **structured** interview schedules were designed for collection of data, besides resorting to observations, interviews and case studies.

III

The school records show that during the last 10 **years**, more than 90.0% of the boys and 85.0% of the girls of school going age have been enrolled in schools in every year. The enrolment percentage also shows a gradual increase from the year 1976-77 till 1979-80. But the enrolment decreased from 1979-80. The enrolment as well as the increase in the enrolment is however, more than satisfactory compared to the figures observed for the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The data obtained from school records is observed to be not based on **facts**. It is found that, the teachers under the pressure from officials enrol the children in school without the involvement of the parents or the children. Further, the teachers and inspecting officials show fictitious enrolment, with the object of pocketing the scholarship amount sanctioned to each student, forging the signatures of parents of the children, thus enrolled.

In this study, an **estimation** of spurious enrolment has been made on the basis of the estimates made by Jain (1984) for the state of Andhra Pradesh. **The** extent of spurious enrolment is found to vary between 23.05% (1984-85) and 54.03% (1981-82) in the case of girls in the ten years period of 1976-86. However, the spurious enrolment considerably decreased from the year 1982-83. The average estimated spurious enrolment in case of girls for the four

year period from 1982-83 to 1985-86 is 29.8%. The spurious enrolment in the case of boys varried between 40.0% (1976-77) and 46.1% (1984-85) during the last ten years. Thus, the extent of spurious enrolment in 1985-86 is almost as much as it was ten years ago.

The attendance of pupil to school is also poor. Only about 50.0% to 65.0% of the boys and 50.0% to 60.0% of the girls are reported attending the school. The percentage of attenders increased by only 8.0% in the case of girls and 14.0% in the case of boys in the last ten years. **However,** the percentage of attenders did not increase gradually over the years. After a gradual increase from 1976-77 to 1982-83, the attendance gradually decreased thereafter.

The data obtained from inspection visit record and visit records reveal that only 30.0% to 35.0% of the boys and girls enrolled, attend the school. Further, the attendance records of individual pupils is also not satisfactory. The percentage of pupils who had more than 90.0% attendance constitute, 20.0% in 1975, where **as, in** the year 1985-86, their percentage is 24.02%. Majority of the pupils in both 1975 and 1985 had an attendance of less than 50.0%.

The performance levels of the Savara boys and girls was observed from the average percentage of marks scored by them in the annual examinations conducted in the school. The data reveals that less than **15.0%** of the girls and less

than 20.0% of the boys scored more than 50.0% marks on an average during the last ten years. The percentage of girls who scored more than 50.0% , however, marginally increased from 2.0% in 1976-77 to 12.1% in the year 1985-86.

The most serious problem relating to formal education among the Savara is failure in the class, resulting in stagnation. Till the year 1978-79, more than 70.0% of the girls and more than 60.0% of the boys repeated the same grade in the next year. In the next four years also, more than 60.0% of the girls failed to go to the next grade. In the year 1985-86 also, a little less than half of the total strength failed to qualify to go to the next grade.

The data in the present study, contrary to the findings of others amongst other tribal groups does not show high drop-out rates. It is observed that a majority of the children enrolled are also retained in the school. Further, the data shows that the problem of retention in the case of both the boys and the girls has got gradually narrowed over the years.

IV

To find answers to the poor response of the Savara boys and girls to formal education, the socio-economic, political and religious organization of the Savara has been intensively probed. An attempt to understand the cultural goals of the Savara, the values

they cherish and the institutional means they adopt in the organization of their life and in meeting their goals, is made.

The Savara with about 4.92 lakhs are one of the most populous tribes of the country. Their population is mostly concentrated in Ganjam and **Koraput** districts of Orissa and Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh. They are believed to be a very ancient tribe and at one time were inhabiting a large part of the country. They speak a distinct language of their own.

The Savara in the area of study live on hill slopes and distinguish themselves as belonging to konda (hill) Savara. They also claim that they are descendants of **Bhima**, one of the five pandava brothers.

The most distinguishing feature of the Savara is the absence of named lineages or clans. Their social organization is based on the principles of: guda and birinda. Birinda refers to the domestic unit. The members of the birinda belong to two to three generations and are tied together by close kinship ties.

The guda refers to the Savara settlement consisting of 25-35 birinda. The members living in a guda are all genealogically related. Majority of them are related **consanguineously**. They consider themselves as related through a common ancestor.

The birinda. emerges as the most important unit of social organization, as membership in birinda calls for certain loyalties, obligations and responsibilities towards other members in the birinda. Each birinda functions as independent unit of not only production and consumption, but also in the organization of several rituals, particularly in life cycle rituals. Further, the **birinda**, as a whole is held responsible for the wrong conduct of any of its members.

The birinda solidarity is promoted by cultural prescriptions as: (1) not allowing the married persons to separate from their parents till the youngest of their brothers gets married and (2) not allowing division of parental property as long as the parents are alive.

The principle of guda assumes importance as it calls for reciprocal relations amongst the members of each guda. Members of a birinda seek help from others for organization and completion of tasks for which labour force in the birinda is not sufficient. The principle of guda is also used in the organization of their religious activity. A number of festivals are organized with participation of all the members of the birinda in a guda. The quar ceremony, the most important of all the religious rituals for the Savara is celebrated at a time by all the birinda in a guda. The principle of guda assumes importance with

regard to observation of pollution in the case of death of any member in the **quda**.

The numerical and genealogical composition of the birinda show considerable variation. **Further**, the numerical and genealogical composition frequently **changes**, with **marriage, divorce**, and death of the members.

Marriage is a very important phase in the life of the Savara. A significant percentage of men and the women enter into wedlock at an early age of 15 - 19 years.

Marriage for a Savara is possible only with another Savara. The identity of one as Savara is made on the basis of language spoken, the food habits followed and the rituals performed. However, for marriage, the Savara distinguish between two categories: (1) marriageable category and (2) non-marriageable category. Marriageable category consists of all those with whom one cannot trace common ancestry. In view of the difficulty in tracing out ancestry with the absence of named lineages or clan groupings, they consider it safe to marry some one who is definitely known to be belonging to marriageable category. The marriage, thus, leads to an exchange of women between a limited number of **birinda**, restricted to a limited number of villages.

Polygyny is culturally approved and also frequently followed. However, as second marriage with a distant kin or an unrelated woman involves payment of **moqanalu** (marriage

payment) it is also closely associated with the economic status of the family.

The **Savara** allow remarriage of men and women in the event of death or divorce of the spouse. The study shows that remarriage is quite usual for them. As many as 29.1% of the men and 35.1% of the women are reported to have married twice. Another 5.0% married more than twice.

The Savara religion is very complex. They have as many as 21 dieties. They perform a large number of pandugalu (festivals/ceremonies) both, at the level of guda and at the level of the birinda. All the activities are commenced with celebration of some ritual/festival. On the day of celebration of any **festival/ritual**, the members of the guda/birinda observe a total work holiday and also avoid any economic transaction.

The religious life of the Savara reinforces the values of collectivity, cooperation, mutual help, reciprocity, honesty, integrity, hard-work etc. of the Savara and play a great role in the production and reproduction of their culture, unique in many ways.

The Savara mainly depend upon podu (shifting) cultivation, and collection of minor forest produce for their livelihood. It is believed by them that, " Savara are those born in rocks, make a living from rocks and die in rocks". The strong association between them and the

hills and the forest is manifest in other aspects of their **life**, as in their drawings on walls, **art**, folk tales etc.

The forest and the hills **arround** each settlement are considered as communal property. The plots for podu cultivation are selected through discussions and meetings of the heads of all the households in the quda. A number of ecological and social considerations are made in the selection of plots. One important social consideration is that of availability of company. No household selects a plot on a hill, unless two or three other households join them to select plots adjacent to their plots.

The extent of land selected by a household depends upon its numerical strength. It is considered that the services of atleast five to six adult members are required to undertake cultivation of two plots (each plot is usually 1.5 acres, in size).

The shifting cultivation on hill slopes involves a series of activities. The Savara men and women need to perform many complementary roles and tasks. The men and women, hence, pool their labour and skills to undertake the cultivation. This necessity of collaboration is particularly a function of division of labour as conceived and practised by them. Men and women must depend on each other, because each one of them is trained in certain specialized skills.

The Savara undertake mixed crop cultivation on hill slopes. They mix about five to six varieties of millets. Some households take up mono crop cultivation of ginger/red gram, turmeric and perenneal crops as banana.

Besides shifting cultivation, Savara depend upon forest produce. A variety of forest produce is collected by the Savara men and women. For collection of forest produce, men and women go in groups. In the case of married persons, the husband, wife and the female child/children go together. On the other hand, unmarried men and women prefer the company of their own sex and age when they go for collection of forest produce.

The earnings from the sale of forest produce are considered as individual earnings. As such, the boys and girls and the men and the women are free to spend the money obtained by sale of forest produce as they desire.

Some Savara households in the selected villages owned lands in the plains and have horticultural plantations. The earnings from such sources for some of those families form a significant percentage of the total income from all sources.

The Savara men and women identify some other sources to supplement their incomes. Some of these sources include: wage labour, supply of agricultural and house

building materials, poultry **keeping**, grazing of other's cattle, small business and contract work.

Hunting and gathering is also undertaken by them frequently. These two are group activities. Members of different households form into groups for undertaking these activities. Hunting * is not stated as a commercial activity. Only occasionally the meat of the animals is sold for cash.

The Savara involves in two types of transactions. When he undertakes sale or purchase of items in large quantities, transactions involve cash payments. On the other hand, when the items for sale are in little quantities, they desire a marakam (barter) transaction.

The important feature of the economic transactions of the Savara is that, the prices for all the items that they sell in bulk are decided much in advance. They receive a bayana (an advance), even before the grain/crop is ready, from the konda sahuvarlu (the business men who involve in bulk purchases). The price is decided on the day he receives the bayana and he is obliged to sell all the crop/grain produced by him at that price. The element of mutual trust is evident, in such transaction.

V

The Savara boys and girls acquire the skills and knowledge required for their effective participation in the community gradually over the years. The values that the

Savara cherish and the behavioural expectations for the men and the women in different social contexts are slowly learned and internalized as they pass through different stages of thier life.

The children start learning to be a `Savara' from about one to two years. Till about three to five years, the child spends most of his/her time in the company of his/her parents. The parents carry the child to the work spot. While at home, the child is mostly in the company of his/her father. The child picks up the Savara vocabulary with encouragement of its parents during this time.

From about five years, the parents do not encourage their children to spend their time with them. The children are made to stay back at home when the parents go for work. By applying mild admonishments and rewards, the children are taught to enjoy the company of other children in the village.

However, the adult Savara would make no other demands on the child and try to control their behaviour. It is assumed that the children behave as the adults do in the course of time. The children are treated with great indulgence. They are rarely scolded and never beaten.

The children roam around the village and the forest around the settlement. They spend most of their day time

watching keenly activities in the village, such as construction of a new house, black smithy, religious performances etc. They also attend and closely observe the proceedings of the adult gatherings, including those of religious and social **significance**.

The children enjoy group games, they imitate adults in their play sessions. They undertake the activities relating to their games by distributing the work and helping each other. The appreciation for the values of cooperation and team work is realised quite early.

As the children attain six to seven years of age, they show interest, on their own, in the learning of skills and knowledge, that the Savara adults possess. The segregation of sex roles appear at this stage. The boys and girls come to know what is appropriate to them with regard to dress, work and behaviour. The girls, now onwards spend time in the company of their mothers and closely observe her activities at home and outside, as well as helping their parents.

The boys, however, continue to spend their time in the company of their age groups. They roam around in gangs and try on their own to acquire such skills as climbing of trees, fishing, swimming etc.

As the boys and girls grow up in age, their interests change. The boys like to be in the company of the senior boys. They wish to join their seniors who would have gone

for grazing the cattle or collecting the forest produce. This phase is crucial for them as they learn the knowledge which is of practical use to them. They learn the nomenclature and location of plants trees, animals and hills. The thaliabia and dhuknecbai (the aged men and women) who accompany them tell them the nature of **plants**, trees and **animals**, they teach them organization of activities. This stage is **important**, for the values the Savara cherish are also deeply internalized. During this state the boys and girls thoroughly prepare to undertake the productive and reproductive activities which are of paramount importance for the society at large.

The boys and girls as they reach adolescence undergo marked changes in their dress and behaviour. At the same time, the **adults'** expectations of their children to exhibit behaviour and knowledge acceptable to adult standards increases. By this age, the children assume some regular household duties and contribute to family income. Gradually, they acquire the knowledge and skills of the adult Savara.

The boys and girls receive the "**status** of adults" first at home. The recognition of adult status is marked by assigning tasks to be completed on their own, involving them in decision making process etc. The public recognition of the adult status for the boys and girls too is made gradually.

The organization of the activities and the interaction pattern between the pupils and the personnel in the schools which the Savara boys and girls attend is studied to discuss the school culture. This study of organization of the school activities and interaction patterns necessitated the study of **values**, perceptions and attitudes of the pupils in the school.

The schools are located either in the: (1) mud constructions built exclusively for the purpose of school and (2) the pucca buildings constructed with Government funds or and (3) open varandahs of the tribal huts.

The stock registers of the schools show supply of a few wooden furniture, and also teaching aids and items useful for Socially Useful Productive Work (SUPW). However, except for a table and a chair, no other item is found on physical verification.

The organization of the class room and the activities of teaching-learning process in the school are not rigidly defined. The patterns emerge as the teachers and the students habitually undertake the tasks.

The children are not assigned specific seats in the school. The children, take same seats habitually each day. One significant feature of the sitting **pattern** is that

girls and boys of **the** same **ward/quda** and of the same sex **and** age are mixed up. The teachers may involve in assigning seats to the children. On such occasions, much to the displeasure of the students, the children of different **quda** and of different ages are mixed up. Similarly, boys and girls are also mixed **up**.

Neither the teachers nor the students maintain any punctuality with regard to school hours. The school is opened at the convenience of the teachers, if they do not reside in the village. Neither the students nor their parents are aware of the school timings. The school is closed in the morning anytime the children complain of **aakkali** (hunger) or when the teacher desires to close. The school is often closed in the afternoons.

A great amount of teaching time is wasted on account of: 1) teacher absenteeism, 2) mass absenteeism of students and 3) indulgence of teachers with visitors to school during the school hours. It is said that many a time children take it for granted that the teacher would not come, when he fails to reach the village one or two hours later than his usual time. On such occasions, they disappear into the nearby forest leading to mass absenteeism.

It is estimated that as high as 55.0% of the total time is lost in a year on account of the **teachers'** absenteeism.

The teachers do not adhere to a fixed time to undertake the academic and non-academic activities in the school. The children are taught only Telugu and **mathematics**, neglecting other subjects. The children are not at all involved in **SUPW**, and no, school functions are organized.

The interactions between the students during **the** school hours are voluntary or involuntary and initiated by the teachers. The voluntary interactions may be again, of academic or non-academic in nature. The children show a strong tendency for interactions with persons of their own **ward/guda**, sex and age than with others. This tendency is not accommodated in the involuntary interactions at many a times.

The role expectations associated with the status of the teacher in the school in a Savara hamlet are not clearly defined. The role expectations are different for the adult members of the community, the students, and the teachers.

The adult members consider the teacher as part of their community. Accordingly, certain roles are assigned to him. Based on the performance of these roles, **the** teachers are judged as good or bad. The primary role responsibilities as conceived by the adults are: 1. imparting knowledge to the children 2. participation in all community affairs and advise the members 3. maintain

cordial relations with all and 4. pass judgements in conflicting situations as neutral candidate and 5. to **help** promote the interests of all the members of the community in general.

The performance of any of these roles is not independently **judged**, but the judgements are passed by considering his performance of all the roles in totality.

The judgements regarding the role of imparting knowledge are assumed to be not related to teachers educational **qualifications** and the teaching experience. Further, the transmission of knowledge, for the adults means **'imparting ability to read and write'**, a **'knowledge sufficient to deal with the non-savara wisely'**.

The **childrens'** expectations with regard to the role of the teacher are not very clear. But, broadly, their statements indicate that their expectations are related to the activities of teaching and learning. For them also, teaching implies not strictly teaching of lessons prescribed in text book, but acquainting them with reading and writing of regional language.

The teachers consider that their role consists of imparting knowledge, which includes teaching lessons as prescribed in their syllabus and also teaching of ethics and morals of high society (non-tribal society), knowledge important for their health (included are hygiene, nutritious food, effects of alcohol consumption, disease causation

etc), better behavioural patterns, proper dressing styles, eating habits etc. which would give them honour in the high society.

The teachers and the students similarly do not share same views with regard to the role expectations of the students. Though student's status calls for acquisition of knowledge, what constitutes knowledge differed for the teachers, the students, and the parents of the children. The teachers also expect the students to help them in the activities of personal nature.

The teachers conceptions about the Savara greatly influence their teaching activity within the school. The food habits and personal hygiene of the boys and girls is assumed to be related to the ability of the children to learn reading and writing.

The teachers consume considerable time to teach approved modes of behaviour within the school and outside the school. The failure to learn the approved modes of behaviour is more seriously taken than the failure to learn what is called, the instrumental activity (teaching of different subjects) of the school.

The teachers adopt individualistic approach in their teaching activity, by assigning more written assignments. Similarly, the teachers only rarely make use of teaching aids during these instructions.

The teachers more often resort to punishments directed to cause pain to the **body**, for mistakes of the students, rather than rewarding for the correct behaviour. **Similarly**, teachers often resort to ridiculing on the basis of their physical appearance.

VII

The study reveals that the culture of the Savara and the culture of the school to which the Savara boys and girls go are not in harmony with each other. The points of disharmony are many. The following are more glaring:

1. The childhood of the Savara is a phase in which the children prepare themselves for their adult roles that they have to play in the future. The adult members as well as the children give priority to learning of skills and knowledge required to undertake traditional occupations. Learning of such knowledge and skills becomes a prerequisite for the children to be recognized as adults. The acquisition of adult status is important for the boys and **girls**, as it leads to marriage, which is considered an important phase, both to the individual and to the Savara society.

The Savara have a limited objective in sending their children to school. The school education is meant to acquire knowledge i.e., knowledge of reading and writing

the regional language, a knowledge to become wise to **deal** with members of the outside world.

2. The Savara adults expect the children to appreciate the values like hard work, slow but steady **approach**, honesty, mutual help etc. Such values do not find a place in school culture. Success in the school education, as conceived by the teachers, is based, on how clever the child is, rather than how hard working one is. The hard work, put in by the Savara boys and girls rarely receive appreciation by the teachers.

3. The teachers carry certain preconceived notions with regard to the ability of the Savara boys and girls. It is held by them that the intelligence of the Savara boys and girls is **'low'** in view of their life style in general and food habits in particular. This belief affects their attitude towards teaching. **Further**, the teachers make open statements ridiculing the food habits, the physical appearance, the personal hygiene of the **children** etc,. Such negative remarks influence the aptitude and learning process of the Savara children.

4. The Savara are **adopted** to learning through two strategies used outside the school. They are: 1) seeing and believing and 2) learning by doing. Formal education as it occurs in the schools does not involve these two strategies. The teaching -learning activity without any

use of teaching aids is seen by the students as monotonous and mechanical.

5. The children by necessity spend most of their day time right in the forest, for learning of skills and knowledge required for undertaking traditional occupations, using the two strategies of seeing and believing and learning by doing. The school hours being 9 AM to 3.30 PM are unsuitable for the Savara children.

6. The "learning **by doing**" strategy leads to physical injuries to the children quite often. The children feel shy to express the **pain**, as it would lead to ridicule by others in the group. The parents also, show negligence, as it is part of the game - learning to live. These physical injuries turn into major health problems due to negligence in proper treatment. The physical injuries, thus, lead to irregular attendance and poor performance.

7. The Savara believe that the boys and girls are taken care of by the God during the childhood. The parents are punished if they try to control the child and make him/her cry. In view of such belief, the Savara adopt a pampering attitude towards the children. The children are given absolute freedom.

The children are not trained to have a disciplined and orderly life. They find it difficult to follow the approved modes of behaviour followed in the school. The children's fear of punishment by the teacher for their

failure to follow **the** approved **modes of** behaviour, leads to irregular attendance. Any attempt by the teacher to control the childrens' actions by awarding punishments is **not** appreciated. The teachers become unacceptable to the parents for such failures. This leads to immediate withdrawal of children from the school.

8. The Savara learns, out side the school, from the members of his own sex and age group. Suich a situation allows greater freedom for interaction between the learner and the learned.

Within the school, the children are faced with learning from a senior person. They feel hesitant, shy and so maintain a distance from them. Further, as the children adopt culturally prescribed speech styles while interacting with a teacher (an elderly person), they are misunderstood. They are punished.

9. The structre of the Savara household among the Savara is not stable. It undergoes continuous change. These changes compel the children to constantly readjust and redefine their relationships with others in the household. Such a pressure on the children dilutes their attention on education, resulting in gradual loss of interest, poor performance and finally withdrawal from the school.

10. A considerable number of children in the Savara community suffer from seious emotional set backs, because

of the death and divorce of their parents. The children are forced to make hard decisions and sacrifice their **school** education for an early marriage and establishment of their own household.

11. The frequent migrations of the Savara families from one village to another cause dislocation and serious problems of adjustment for the children. During the process of readjusting oneself with the social groups in a new village, the attendance of the children to school suffers and it also negatively influences his/her performance.

12. The organization of the activities by the Savara both at the level of the birinda and at the guda is undertaken with a great emphasis on the value of cooperation. The children internalize the values of cooperation, mutual help and team work very early in their life.

Within the school, the values of competition and individualism are appreciated. The attempts of the children to help each other in the assignments given to them is viewed as violation of proper modes of behaviour. Such acts invite punishment from the teachers.

The children attending to schools, thus, face a conflict of focal values and are left in a state of confusion. The children face problems of adjustments to the demands made within the school. The children's failure

to **meet** such **demands** results in their poor response to school education.

13. The Savara is **groomed** to develop a strong desire to be in a group and work in a group. These groups are **formed** on the basis of sex, age-group and neighbourhood. This strong desire adversely affects the attendance of all the Savara children to the school and leads to greater rates of drop out. This is so, because, when one or two members of the group stay back at home, others also remain absent to school. When one or two boys or girls drop out, all others of his/her age group and of the same ward/quada drop out gradually.

14. The Savara appreciate the values of freedom and self decision making. The attitude of **non-interference** of the parents of the Savara boys and girls contributes to the irregular attendance of the children to the school. The children are left free to make **decisions** on **their** own with regard to continuation or withdrawal from the school.

15. Expectations of early returns for the investments and the tendency to avoid risk taking are integral to the Savara personality. As such the Savara considers any investment of time and money on education is not worthwhile. For the Savara, investment on education does not guarantee returns, let alone early returns. This attitude discourages the Savara boys and girls and also their parents to respond positively to school education.

16. The Savara is prone to postpone indefinitely the completion of any task left unfinished in the middle. This attitude of the Savara boys and girls influences their attendance records. **Because,** whenever the school is closed consecutively for three to four **days,** the children donot show any more interest to attend the school unless the teacher makes special efforts. Some of the children withdraw from the school at that time.

The children's attendance is mostly affected because of the above factor, as there would be many occassions on which the school remains closed for more than three to four days in a year.

17. The role expectations, associated with the status of the teacher, are different for the teacher and the Savara adults. As the teachers fail to accept the roles assigned to them by the community, they become unacceptable to the Savara adults. They become non-cooperative with the teachers by withdrawing their wards from the school.

VIII

The data reveals significant differences in response to formal education with some differences in the **students'** social background and also with differences in schools they attended. The most important **findings are:**

(1) Children from households, with genealogical composition of nuclear families attend more regularly than the children from extended households to the school. Similarly, the attendance of boys and girls from households with **jont**

family structures is better than the boys and girls of **the** other types of extended **families** (nuclear extended and joint extended families).

(2) Boys belonging to households of smaller size (less than three numbers) and of larger size (more than ten) attend the school. But for girls medium sized households are more favourable to school attendance.

(3) The percentage of attenders, both amongst the boys and the girls, is **significantly** high in the case of households whose heads are aged less than 30 years.

(4) The children living with both the parents attend more regularly than those living with a guardian and than those living with a single parent/step parent. For instance, while 45.6% of the boys and 38.4% of the girls living with both the parents reported attending school, only 23.0% of the boys and 25.0% of girls living with guardians are reported attending school.

(5) Boys and girls whose filial position is three keep better attendance records than all others. The attendance of the children, more so in the case of girls, particularly suffers when they belong to the filial position one of the same sex.

(6) Unlike other studies, the present study reveals no definite relationship **between** economic status of the households to which the children belong and their attendance to school.

(7) The percentage of attenders amongst the boys increases with the increase in the level of educational status of the household. But educational status of **the** household has no impact on **girls'** attendance to school.

(8) **The** socio-political status of **the households** to which **the** children belong has a significant influence on the school education of Savara children. The more **the** socio/political status of the **household**, the better is the percentage of attendars from such households.

(9) There are no significant differences in the performance levels of boys and girls with differences in the grade of teacher in the school. The attendance of boys and girls is better and the stagnation rates are low in the higher grade teacher schools than secondary grade teacher schools. The poor attendance to school education in the case of schools with secondary grade teachers may be more because of indifferent attitude of the teachers resulting from general dissatisfaction of their job.

(10) The response to education, particularly in terms of enrollment attendance and drop-out rates, is better for schools with low teacher turnover than a high teacher turnover.

(11) The inspection visits and the management under which the school functions were found to have no bearing on the boys enrollment and attendance to **school**. **However**, the performance of the boys in Panchayat **Samithi** schools is

better than the **other** schools. On **the** other hand, the **girls'** attendance is better in the aided school. But performance wise, **Samithi** schools are better than the others for both boys and girls.

(12) The quality of the school and the sex of the teacher have a profound influence on the response of Savara boys and girls to school education. They favoured schools functioning in pucca building than open varandahs. Similarly, in schools with women teachers, the enrollment is high, attendance records are better and the stagnation and drop-out rates are low.

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STUDY ON FORMAL EDUCATION AMONG THE SAVARA

Household Census Schedule

I.1 Name of the village :

I.2 Address :

I.3 Date and time of survey :

II.1 Name of the person responded :

II.2 Respondent's relation with
the head of family :

III.1 Household members:

Sl. No.	Relation with head	Age	Sex	Marital status	Education	Occupation	Membership in political/social bodies
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IV. Economy

IV.1 Do you own a house ? - Yes/No

IV.2 If yes, **Thatched/semi pucca/pucca**

IV.3 Land owned: a) Dry :
b) Wet :
c) Podu :

IV.4 Details of crops grown and the **yeild** last year:

<u>Crop</u>	<u>Area of cultivation</u>	<u>Yeild</u>	<u>Income</u>
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IV.5 Details of horticultural Plantations:

<u>Plantation</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Income</u>
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IV.6 **What** are the different forest produce you collect for sale?

<u>Item</u>	<u>quantity</u>	<u>Income</u>
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IV.7 Can you specify other sources of income for the members of household?

Source Estimated income

IV.8 Live stock:

Number Sale price

- a) Bullocks :
- b) Cows :
- c) Goat/sheep :
- d) Pigs :
- e) Any other :

IV.9 Do you own :

- a) Radio
- b) Watch
- c) Bullock cart
- d) Bicycle
- e) Any other valuble

Marketing and Credit:

IV.10 Where do you buy the following items ?

When you have ready cash If no ready cash

Rice

Oil

Kerosene

Dress material

Others (specify)

IV.11 How do you transact the **goods/grain/forest** produce that you grow/collect:

Type of goods/grain/forest produce Type of transaction

IV.12 Did you take credit from any source during the **laast** two year

Amount Source Interest Purpose

IV.13 What is your present debt position?

Amount Source Interest

V. Health, Fertility, Mortality, & Demographic Record:

V.1 Details of persons died in the family:

Sl.No.	Relation to head	Sex	Age at death	Reasons	Persons contacted for cure
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V.2 Type of prolonged illness with which members of your family suffered during last three months :

Sex	Age	Disease	Duration	Persons contacted for cure
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A STUDY ON FORMAL EDUCATION AMONG THE SAVARA

Schedule for the **Parents** /Guardian of the school going age **children**

I. Reference: Name of the village :
Household Schedule No. :

II. Particulars of the respondent:

Name:
Sex : **Age:**

III

a) Please give details of the boys and girls in school going age:

Name	Sex	Age
------	-----	-----

b) Please give the following details of children attending school*

Name	Age	Sex	School	Class	Remarks
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c) Please give details of persons not attending school?

Name	Age	Sex	Class studied	Year of discontinuation	Reasons for withdrawal
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d) What **are** your **aspirations** with regard to your **wards'** attending the school) education and occupation?

V

a) Do you think Government is helping you to educate your wards education?

Yes/No

b) If **yes**, how ?

VI

a) Do you incur extra expenditure on your **wards'** education ?

Yes/No

b) If **yes**, how much ?

c) Have you taken any loan for the education of your wards?

Yes/No

d) If **yes**, please **give** details

Source	Amount	Interest
--------	--------	----------

VII.

a) Do you make any effort to know about the performance of wards in school ?

Yes/NO

b) If yes, how ?

VIII. What kind of punishment/action do you take if your children skip classes without any reason ?

IX

a) Are you satisfied with your ward's performance ?

Yes/No

b) If no, give reasons:

c) What reasons you attribute to your ward's failure (if so)?

- a) School related
- b) Teacher related
- c) Student related

X. What is your opinion on school in which your wards' are studying (Give reasons)

- a) Bad
- b) Not bad
- c) Good**
- d) Very good

XI. What is your opinion with regard to the teacher(s) in the school

- a) Teaching ability
- b) Teaching methodology
- c) Relations with students**
- d) Relations with the community members
- e) Any other

STUDY ON FORMAL EDUCATION AMONG THE SAVARA

Schedule for the teacher

I. Personal data:

- I.1 Name
- I.2 Present address
- I.3 Age & Sex
- I.5 Religion & Caste
- I.6 Marital status
- I.7 Native village/Town
- I.8 Place where educated

- a) Primary
- b) Secondary**
- c) High School
- d) College
- e) Professional training

II. Educational career

	Division	Percentage	Scholarship if any
a) Secondary			
b) High School			
c) College			
d) Professional training			

III. Family data:

III.1

His own family

Relation	Education	Occupation	Income
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III.2	<u>Parental</u>	<u>family</u>		
	Relation	Education	Occupation	Income

IV. Present job:

IV.1 Type of school where working:

- a) **Government/ashram/aided/P.S./Zilla** Parishad
- b) Primary/Secondary

IV.2 Designation:

IV.3 Since how many years have you been engaged in teaching ?

IV.4 Since how many years have you been teaching in this **institution**

IV.5 Please give details of the schools you worked prior to joining here

Village	Duration	Pay	Reasons for leaving
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IV.6 What do you think of your role as **'teacher'** in the village **you** worked/working ? (Please list the activities)

IV.7 Do you think you are able to perform your roles **satisfactorily**

IV.8 If **yes**, how do you justify ?

IV.9 If no, why ?

IV.10 Do you adopt any special **method/approach** to make your teaching effective ?

IV.11 If yes, please describe:

IV.12 What is the medium of instruction you adopt ?

IV.13 How do you overcome the language problem while teaching in the language that is not a mother tongue of the tribal students ?

V Performance of the tribal students:

V.1 How do you find performance of the tribal students in your school

V.2 If you think poor, what could be the reasons ?

- V.3 What in view are the assets and drawbacks of the tribal students for their education through schools ?
- VI. Contact with students and parents;
- VI.1** Do you interact with students out side the school ?
- VI.2** If yes, how ?
- a) to help in their learning ?
- b) to give moral support ?
- VI.3** Do students come to you with personal problems ?
- VI.4** If yes, name the students who contacted you during the last 7days
- VI.5** Do parents contact you at the school to learn about their children's education ?
- VI.6** If yes, please name the parents contact you more frequently:
- VII. Relations with the **community:**
- VII.1** Are you invited by the villagers for any of their festivals/ ceremonies ?
- VII.2** If yes, what festivals/ceremonies ?
- VII.3** Do you participate ?
- VII.4** What was your role in the organisation of any festival ?
- VII.5** Are you requested by the villagers for any other favours ?
(Please specify)
- VIII. **Others:**

