

**UTILIZATION
OF
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
BY
TRIBAL STUDENTS**

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PREFACE

The Government of India, the State governments and the Union Territory administrations have been, as a part of their general programmes of educational development of the tribes, spending a considerable amount of money to give various types of financial assistance to tribal students. Naturally they would be anxious to know how far the assistance is being utilized for the purpose for which it is given. It is the general impression that the funds allocated are not being properly utilized, that the recipients do not spend the amount of financial assistance on educational purposes, and that there are many lacunae in the schemes. In order to have a thorough study of these and other allied aspects of the financial assistance given by the governments to tribal students, the present study was undertaken.

In order to cover as big an area as possible, and to bring within the purview of the study as many tribes and tribal students as possible, the study was conducted in three States and one Union Territory, namely, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura. Seven major tribes with 44.6 per cent of the total tribal population of India were covered in this study. The reasons for selecting these States and Union Territory are given in the first chapter.

The types of schemes, the criteria of implementation, the benefits accruing to the tribal students and the impact of financial assistance vary from State to State. After studying each of the schemes in all the sample States and Union Territory, the basic common denominator among the schemes, and such schemes which are typical in any particular State have been presented in the study. It would thus give a fairly comprehensive idea of the different types of schemes operating in the sample States and the Union Territory of Tripura.

It was considered desirable to give a cultural background of the tribal students covered under this study. Hence a short ethnographic note on each of the tribes studied has been given. Those who are conversant with the life and culture of the tribes concerned may skip this chapter.

The initiative for this work came from Shri N. Sundaram, the then Director-General, Backward Classes Welfare, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude and thankfulness to him for the interest shown and encouragement given by him. In the sample States we received invaluable help and cooperation from many persons without whom it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to complete this study. My special thanks go to Shri B. R. Kachari, Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Assam, and the Development Commissioner and Deputy Development Commissioner (Planning), Tripura. Thanks are also due to all the District Education Officers, District Inspectors of Schools and District Organizers of the sample districts; and to the Block Development Officers and Block Education Extension Officers of all the sample blocks. I am also appreciative of the help and cooperation given directly or indirectly by all other persons in the area of our study.

I also take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of thankfulness and gratitude to Professor S. V. C. Aiyar, Director, NCERT, for his keen and continued interest in the programmes of the Tribal Education Unit and for his concern for the educational development of the tribal people of India.

The field work for this study was done by Dr S. Prasad, Lecturer, in Ranchi district of Bihar; Shri S. V. Gupta, ex-Technical Assistant, in Singhbhum district of Bihar, in Assam and Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh; and Shri P. Lal, ex-Technical Assistant, in Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh, in Assam and in Agartala in Tripura. They have done their work with sincerity and devotion.

Tribal Education Unit
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION for the tribal people has today become a matter of great importance. Ever since India gained Independence a considerable amount of money has been spent so that the tribal people, who are undeveloped and neglected, could get a fair deal. It has been generally recognized that India, being a welfare state, cannot afford to leave a particular section of its population behind in the field of education. This would be against the principles of democratic development of the country. There is hardly any necessity, therefore, to emphasise the need and importance of education for the tribal people of India.¹

Constitutional Safeguards

Prior to Independence, the scheduled tribes were socially, politically, economically and educationally at a lower plane as compared to their neighbouring communities. Due to various socio-economic and other hinderances the tribesmen could not come at par with the latter unless some protection was provided to them. The disparity that continued to exist in the socio-economic conditions between the advanced section of the population and the tribal communities compelled the framers of the Constitution of India to make provisions for the tribal people with a view to protecting their interests and fostering their all-round development.

The spread of education among the weaker sections of society was considered an essential pre-requisite to the all-round development of the tribal people. Since education is an important tool for socio-economic development, special provisions were made for meeting the educational needs of these people. With this aim in view, the Constitution made it one of the directive principles of state policy to promote with special care, the educational interests of the weaker sections of the people, particularly of scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. Article 46 of the Constitution lays down that, 'The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.'²

The Constitution further provides that in the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister incharge of

tribal welfare who may in addition be incharge of the welfare of scheduled castes and backward classes or any other work.

Article 338 provides for the appointment by the President of a special officer for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (now designated as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) to ensure that the scheduled tribes and castes are properly covered by the safeguards provided by the Constitution. The article runs as follows:

“There shall be a Special Officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and report to the President upon working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament. In this article, reference to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other backward classes as the President may, on receipt of the report of a Commission appointed under clause (1) of article 340, by order specify and also to the Anglo-Indian Community.”³

The Constitution has made a specific mention of the educational safeguards of tribal people in Article 29 and 30. Article 29 lays down that, ‘No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.’⁴

Article 30 mentions that, “All minorities, whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice and that the State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.”⁵

Grant is provided to States by the Government of India to meet the cost of developmental schemes for the welfare of the scheduled tribes or raising the level of administration of the scheduled areas. Article 275 of the Constitution lays down that, ‘Such sums as Parliament may by law provide shall be charged on the Consolidated Fund of India in each year as grants-in-aid of the revenues of such States as Parliament may determine to be in need of assistance, and different sums may be fixed for different States.’

'Provided that there shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of a State such capital and recurring sums as may be necessary to enable that State to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the State with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that State:

'Provided further that there shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of the State of Assam sums, capital and recurring equivalent to—

(a) the average excess of expenditure over the revenues during the two years immediately preceding the commencement of the Constitution in respect of the administration of the tribal areas specified in Part A of the table appended to paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule; and

(b) the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by that State with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of raising the level of administration of the said areas to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that State.*

Under the Sixth Schedule the District Council of the autonomous districts of Assam may establish, construct or manage primary schools.

There is provision of matching grant of 25 per cent by the State governments to meet the expenditure on education. In case of Assam, the Government of India gives 100 per cent grant. In pursuance of the above constitutional provisions the State governments have been implementing the programmes of tribal development, including education, in their respective States.

Need and Importance of the Study

It is an accepted fact that so long as the majority of our tribal people remained uneducated, the enormous efforts made by the government for the economic development of the tribes will be of no avail. Hence the success of the schemes of tribal welfare largely depends on the degree of educational awareness, literacy percentage, capabilities of withstanding the external exploitation by non-

tribal people and the awareness of their rights and responsibilities among the tribal people.

'One way of finding out the impact of literacy (and much more of the educational awakening) on the development is to examine the historical experience of the developed countries in particular. Such studies have been conducted with a view to finding out in general the relationship between literacy and economic development and in particular whether literacy has acted as a causative factor in promoting development. A comparison on a world-wide scale of a number of countries has been made. The per capita levels of income and the levels of literacy have been correlated. It has been found that countries which had more than 90 per cent literacy were among those which had more than \$500 per capita income. Countries which had \$100 and less as per capita income had only 30 per cent literacy. However, in the group of countries which had between 30 and 90 per cent literacy, the relationship between literacy and economic development has not been clear. Countries at the top most ladder were having higher rate of literacy while those at the lowest rung of the ladder had only low levels of literacy. From this a tentative hypothesis has been put forward that 40 per cent literacy of the population is a threshold which will enable the transistion of developing society to a developed one when other conditions are fulfilled.⁷

'The progress of modernization will, therefore, be directly related to the pace of educational advance and the one sure way to modernize quickly is to spread education, to produce educated and skilled citizens and train an adequate and competent intelligentsia.⁸

From what has been mentioned above, it becomes evident that there exists a close relationship between literacy and economic development. Since the literacy percentage of tribal communities in India is only 8.45, to take the tribes to the take-off stage is, for the present, a distant goal.

Yet, 'every forward step that we take in this direction takes us nearer to the achievement of our goal. All safeguards provided in the Constitution for making reservations in the Government services and posts for the members of backward classes will not take them very far unless steps are taken to equip the members of these classes with the necessary qualifications.⁹ Thus it is evident that 'there is urgent need to develop a system of education which can meet the requirements of economic and social development.¹⁰

Prior to Independence 'whatever little progress was made in the education of tribal people.....was mainly due to the efforts of the voluntary agencies. In this connection special mention is to be made of the Christian missionary organizations. Since the later part of the last century they started setting up schools in the most outlying tribal areas. Among some tribes, for instance, the Nagas, Lushais etc. they succeeded in generating social pressure for the children of the converted families to go to schools. Later on some indigenous organizations also got interested in the education of the tribes. One important aspect of the activities of the missionary and other organizations in that period is that the activities in the educational field were not generally taken in isolation. These were undertaken alongwith activities covering other aspects of the lives of the tribal people.'¹ Among these aspects the proselytization of the simpler tribal people had been the underlying motivating factor to a very large extent.

However, 'though main credit for spreading education among the tribal people in pre-Independence period goes to the Christian missionaries and other voluntary agencies (like Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh etc.) it would be wrong to consider that the then government was completely indifferent about their education. Though at a much smaller scale compared to the present, special allocations were made for setting up schools in tribal areas and for giving stipends, bookgrants etc. to tribal students. It is not infrequently that financial support was rendered by the government, mainly to the Christian missionary organizations for carrying on educational activities among the tribal people.'²

Since Independence, the Government of India and the State governments have been trying to improve the educational standards of, and the facilities provided to, the scheduled tribes. A substantial amount of money is earmarked and spent annually for the welfare of these communities in general and for educational progress among them in particular. 'In post-Independence period, education among the tribal people has progressed with rapid stride.'³ This progress can be gauged in terms of the financial assistance given to them. 'About 35 per cent of the total provision for backward classes was meant for educational advancement. During the First Plan a sum of Rs. 3.38 crores was spent on tribal education.'⁴ During the Second Plan, out of Rs. 8.16 crores spent on tribal education, Rs. 6.37 crores were spent on pre-matric education, and similarly, during the Third Plan out of Rs. 14.9 crores allocated for tribal education, Rs. 12.8 crores were earmarked for pre-matric education.

Thus it is clear that the schemes for imparting education to tribal children have been abundantly emphasised during the first three Five-Year Plans. However, if we take stock of the whole situation, we find that, 'it is encouraging that of all the welfare schemes undertaken during the first two Five-Year Plans for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the most successful had been the scheme for their educational development. Even in the Third Five-Year Plan, this scheme is found to be equally popular and successful.'¹⁵ 'The above assessment of the progress made in the field of education is based on financial achievements only.'¹⁶ 'Taking into account the considerable amount of money and manpower being utilized for the purpose, one could naturally expect that the tribal people would be able to shorten the gap in the educational levels which exists between them and their neighbouring communities within a very short period. But the reality of the situation tells a different tale.'¹⁷ One is greatly discouraged when one looks at the percentage of literacy among the tribal people. 'While these figures (as mentioned above) would indicate an impressive record of the progress, the impression is not sustained in the examination of the implementation of the scheme.....It may not, therefore, be possible to conclude with any measure of certainty whether or not educational schemes have progressed satisfactorily. It does not, however, seem to be commensurate with either the provision or the expenditure.'¹⁸

The above view as held by the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes of 1959 is further corroborated when we analyse the figures of literacy percentage of the tribal people. This percentage according to 1961 census varies from 3.98 per cent to 29.08 per cent. Out of the many States and Union Territories having a very high percentage of tribal population only four (three Union Territories and one State) have tribal literacy percentage more than 20. Further, 11 (two Union Territories and 9 States) have literacy percentage less than 10. The overall literacy percentage among tribal communities is 8.45 as against the general literacy percentage of 24 for the entire country.

An endeavour has been made in the present study to locate some of the loopholes in the educational schemes operating in the tribal areas, particularly those of financial assistance and support given by the government to the scheduled tribe students.

One of the ways for combating the problems connected with the spread of education among the tribes has been the provision for

award of scholarships, stipends, bookgrants, hostel grants, free distribution of slates, pencils and textbooks, exemption from tuition fee and examination fee, free supply of dresses and midday meals. The basic reason for initiating these schemes of financial assistance is to provide a sort of incentive to tribal pupils for getting education while taking into consideration the poor economic condition of their parents.

Prior to Independence, though the then Government of India rendered financial assistance to scheduled tribe students, yet it was on a restricted scale. After Independence, the Government of India in 1948-49 instituted a scheme for the grant of scholarships to the scheduled tribes students at the post-matric level. Simultaneously the State Governments were provided with finances to start schemes for the benefit of pre-matric tribal students. While autonomy with regard to planning, execution and disbursement of the schemes has been given to the State Governments and Union Territories, a major part of the expenditure on these schemes continues to be borne (to the tune of 100 per cent in case of scheduled areas and 75 per cent in the rest) by the Government of India.

So far there has been no systematic attempt on all-India level to find out as to how the schemes of financial assistance for pre-matric tribal students are operating since their inception.

In order to study the problems discussed above in a concrete manner, the pattern of financial assistance by the Central and State governments needs to be mentioned.

In the First Five-Year Plan, Rs. 15 crores were provided for welfare schemes for the scheduled tribes and for development of scheduled/tribal areas under Article 276(i) of the Constitution. At the end of the Plan it was found out that the progress had not been satisfactory largely due to the delay in the formulation of schemes and the time taken in setting up the necessary administrative machinery in the states. Moreover, there was no clear-cut formula laid down for disbursing the grants to State Governments which was given on an ad hoc basis.

The Second Plan started with a clearer picture of the needs of the backward classes in different states and regions and the resources available for the purpose in terms of funds and technical personnel. The programme of Centrally-sponsored schemes was a new feature in the Second Plan. It has been stated that the need for these schemes has arisen as there are certain problems particularly those relating to the scheduled tribes which need to be tackled in a more

intensive manner. These schemes cover a wide range of subjects including rehabilitation of the scheduled tribes in 43 special multi-purpose tribal blocks spread over the entire country, construction of new roads and improvement of existing means of communication in scheduled areas, opening of medical and health units, construction of drinking water wells, improvement of economic condition and the like.

The expenditure on Centrally-sponsored programmes is met fully by the Government of India. For all other schemes including schemes of financial assistance for pre-matric tribal students, the expenditure in the beginning was shared by the Central and State governments on a 50:50 basis with the exception of the schemes in the autonomous hill districts of Assam and in the Union Territories which are financed entirely by the Centre. In the case of schemes for financial assistance sponsored by the State governments, now, 75 per cent of the total expenditure is disbursed by the Central government. (It is understood that from 1969-70 the assistance is given in the form of a block grant—60 per cent of the expenditure incurred by the State governments is reimbursed by the Central Government).

Having discussed the pattern of expenditure and administration of finance with regard to the welfare schemes for tribal people, the responsibility and authority of the Central and State Governments may be examined.

The authority and responsibility of the Central Government is mainly in the following fields: .

- (a) Formulation of schemes;
- (b) Approval of schemes;
- (c) Financial assistance; and
- (d) Authority in terms of ensuring compliance of the conditions of grants.

There have been, however, certain important changes in the above procedure. For example, except for certain specified categories of schemes the State governments have been authorised to sanction the schemes in the State Plans.

The responsibilities of the State governments may be categorized as under:

- (i) Formulation of schemes;

- (ii) Approval and sanction of schemes; and
- (iii) Execution.

Different Aspects of the Study

In the present study, an endeavour has been made to find out the utilization of financial assistance given by the governments to pre-matric scheduled tribe students. The different aspects of the study are as follows:

(i) To study the machinery responsible for granting and disbursing financial assistance.

- (a) The objectives and goals set by State governments for giving financial assistance to the pre-matric students.
- (b) Disbursement at different levels.
- (c) Basis on which the financial assistance is given to the students, the quantum and the frequency of financial assistance.
- (d) Follow up machinery, if any, for the schemes of financial assistance.

(ii) Relative usefulness of the two categories of financial assistance.

There are two broad categories of financial assistance—those which aim at providing benefits to students in cash, for example, schemes for grant of scholarships, stipends and hostel and boarding grants; and those which aim at providing benefits in kind, for example, provision of midday meals, free supply of books and stationery, school uniforms and the like.

(iii) Extent of utilization of financial assistance.

Execution of the schemes of financial assistance is primarily the responsibility of the State governments. Hence it is intended to find out the percentage of pre-matric students getting financial assistance out of the total number of tribal students enrolled, and number of tribal students getting financial assistance at different educational levels and how many of them are covered under different schemes.

(iv) Impact of financial assistance on the initiative and self-reliance of the students for getting education.

The following factors have been studied under this aspect.

- (a) Whether the schemes of financial assistance have been able to create and sustain interest among the students in their education.
- (b) Whether the students have become totally dependent on the financial assistance and are not able to prosecute their studies unless financial assistance is given to them, or they have been helped to rely on their own resources and capacities for prosecuting their studies.
- (v) Factors responsible for misutilization and non-utilization of financial assistance given to the tribal students.

Under this aspect, the factors responsible for misutilization, and non-utilization of assistance by the students have been studied.

Objectives

The following are the main objectives of this study:

- (i) To study the different schemes which come under the purview of financial assistance undertaken by the State governments and Union Territory administrations;
- (ii) To study the relative usefulness of the two categories of financial assistance—cash and kind—meant for pre-matric tribal students;
- (iii) to gauge the extent of utilization of schemes of financial assistance given by the governments to the scheduled tribe students; and
- (iv) to study the factors responsible for non-utilization or misutilization, if any, of financial assistance.

Scope

The scope of the study has been limited to the following:

- (i) All those schemes of financial assistance whose benefits accrue exclusively to the scheduled tribe students.
- (ii) All those tribal students who are getting financial assistance and are studying at post primary and pre-matric levels of schools in the sample States and Union Territory.

Hypotheses and Propositions

We now proceed with the following hypotheses and propositions which we will test and try to prove while analysing the field data in the subsequent chapters.

- (i) Schemes of cash and kind are complimentary and supplementary to each other;
- (ii) Proper criteria for selection of students is essential prerequisite for the successful implementation of the schemes.
- (iii) Timely disbursement of benefits rules out to a large extent the possibility of misutilization.
- (iv) Adequacy of the amount and quantum of benefits are important factors for the success of the schemes, and
- (v) Followup of the schemes is essential for the success of the schemes of financial assistance of both the types.

Research Methodology

The present study is exploratory and diagnostic in nature. It is exploratory in the sense that it explores the whole field of financial assistance given to the tribal students, and diagnostic in the sense that it endeavours to find out the causal factors for non-utilization and misutilization, if any, of the financial assistance. The following methods of research have been adopted in the study.

(i) THE UNIVERSE

The universe of the study comprises of the beneficiaries under various schemes of financial assistance, that is, the pre-matric tribal students who are benefited under the schemes, and the officers connected with policy making, planning and implementation of the schemes and also the heads of the educational institutions and boarding houses of the sample States of Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and the Union Territory of Tripura.

(ii) SAMPLING

(a) *Sampling of States.*

On the basis of stratified sampling method, three States and one Union Territory have been selected for study. The strata adopted for sampling are: the highest enrolment figures of pre-matric tribal students and the highest expenditure incurred on the schemes of financial assistance for pre-matric tribal students. Thus on the basis of stratified sampling, the following States and Union Territory have been selected.

- (A) Assam
- (B) Bihar
- (C) Madhya Pradesh
- (D) Tripura (Union Territory)¹⁸

(b) Sampling of Districts.

A sample of two districts each from the sample States and one from the Union Territory having the highest percentage of tribal population has been taken. The basis of selection of the districts should have been the same as that of States, but since district-wise figures of enrolment and amount of expenditure on schemes of financial assistance were not available at the time of preparing research design, the basis in the case of districts has been chosen as the highest percentage of tribal population. Besides, it is presumed that the districts having the highest percentage of tribal population might also have the highest enrolment and thus the highest expenditure on schemes of financial assistance. The districts selected for study are as follows.

<i>Sample States/Union Territory</i>	<i>Sample Districts</i>
(A) Assam	1. United Khasi and Jaintia Hills ²⁰
	2. Garo Hills
(B) Bihar	3. Ranchi
	4. Singhbhum
(C) Madhya Pradesh	5. Bastar
	6. Jhabua
(D) Tripura	7. Agartala

(c) Sampling of Sub-divisions.

The criterion for selecting the sub-divisions has been to include all the sub-divisions in the sample districts. The sample sub-divisions are as follows.

<i>Sample Districts</i>	<i>Sample Sub-divisions</i>
(A) United Khasi and Jaintia-Hills	1. Shillong
	2. Jowai
(B) Garo Hills	3. Since Garo Hills has no sub-divisions but has ten mauzas which are not equivalent to sub-divisions, direct sampling of blocks was done in case of this district.

- (C) Ranchi
4. Ranchi Sadar
5. Khunti
6. Gumla
7. Simdega
- (D) Singhbhum
8. Singhbhum Sadar
9. Dhalbhum
10. Seraikella
- (E) Bastar
- In madhya Pradesh, the equivalent of sub-division is called tehsil and as such all the tehsils were included in the sample.
11. Naraipur
12. Bhanupratappur
13. Konta
14. Kondagaon
15. Jagdalpur
16. Dantewada
17. Bijapur
18. Kanker
- (F) Jhabua
19. Alirajpur
20. Jhabua
21. Jobat
22. Thandla
23. Petlavad
- (G) Agartala
24. Agartala Sadar
25. Khowai

(d) *Sampling of Blocks.*

A sample of 36 blocks was further drawn from the sample sub-divisions. Out of the total number of blocks in each sample sub-division, 20 per cent of blocks having the highest percentage of tribal population with a minimum of one block from each sub-division have been included in the sample. Less than 0.5 per cent has been ignored and more than 0.5 per cent has been taken as one block. The list of the sample blocks is as follows.

<i>Sample Sub-divisions</i>	<i>Sample Blocks</i>
(A) Shillong	1. Bhoi
(B) Jowai	2. Mawkyrwat
(C) Garo Hills (district)	3. Mynsoralling
(D) Ranchi Sadar	4. Rongram
	5. Resubelpara
	6. Lapung
	7. Senha
	8. Namkum
(E) Khunti	9. Erki/Arki
	10. Murhu
(F) Gumla	11. Bishunpur
	12. Chainpur
(G) Simdega	13. Thethaitangar
(H) Singhbhum Sadar	14. Goikera
(I) Seraikella	15. Kuchai
	16. Chandil
(J) Dhalbhum	17. Dhalbhumgarh
	18. Mosabani
(K) Narainpur	19. Narainpur
(L) Bhanupratappur	20. Burgkondal
(M) Kanker	21. Charana
(N) Kondagaon	22. Makdi
(O) Jagadalpur	23. Bastar
	24. Darbha
(P) Dantewada	25. Katekalyan
(Q) Bijapur	26. Usoor
(R) Konta	27. Konta
(S) Alirajpur	28. Kathiwada
(T) Jobat	29. Bhabhra
(U) Jhabua	30. Rama
(V) Thandla	31. Meghnagar
(W) Petlavad	32. Petlavad

- (X) Tripura Sadar 33. Mohanpur
 34. Jirania
 35. Bishalgarh
- (Y) Khowai 36. Teliamura.

(e) *Sampling of Schools.*

Out of the total number of middle, high and/or higher secondary schools in the sample blocks a sample of 20 per cent of middle, high and/or higher secondary schools was drawn with a minimum of one middle, one high and/or one higher secondary school from each sample block. The following table gives the number of schools selected in the sample districts.

Table 1.1. Total number of sample middle, high and/or higher secondary schools in the sample districts.

Name of sample district	Number of middle schools	Number of high schools	Number of higher secondary schools	Total No. of schools
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills	4	3	x@	7
Garó Hills	4	1	2	7
Ranchi	2	6	13	21
Singhbhum	10	3	3	16
Bastar	9	x@	13	22
Jhabua	4	x@	5	9
Agartala	8	x@	5	13
Total	41	13	41	95

(f) *Sampling of Students*

Since the policy and coverage with regard to the disbursement of benefits under various schemes of financial assistance vary from state to state, no uniform criteria with regard to selection of students for the purpose of interview could be adopted. The system of giving weightage was followed so as to make a representative sample of pre-matric tribal students out of the universe. A total number of 660 tribal students were thus selected and interviewed. The methods adopted for the different States and Union Territory for sampling of students is given below.

@—Such category of schools were not available hence not included in sample.

Assam: After calculating the percentage of pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance out of the total number of pre-matric tribal students in the year 1962-63, it was found out that only 10.41 per cent were getting benefits. As such, all those, that is, 100 per cent tribal students in sample schools in Assam were selected for interviewing.

Bihar: In the State of Bihar approximately 20 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students were getting the benefits under the schemes of financial assistance and hence 50 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance in the sample schools were selected for interviewing.

Madhya Pradesh: Since the policy of the State government is to cover all the pre-matric tribal students under the schemes of financial assistance, 10 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students in the sample schools were selected for interviewing.

Tripura: In the Union Territory of Tripura, approximately 12 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students are covered under the exclusive schemes of financial assistance. Hence all those tribal students getting financial assistance in the sample schools were selected for interviewing.

It was intended to interview 10 per cent of the total number of tribal students. The percentage to be interviewed varied in different States because percentage of those getting financial assistance also varied.

(g) *Sample Tribes.*

The students thus selected for interviewing belonged to the following tribes: The Khasi, Garo, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Gond, Bhil, and Tripuri.

(iii) **TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES.**

Interview guides, schedules, questionnaires, participant and non-participant observation and study of different kinds of data were the tools and techniques used for this study.

(iv) **DATA COLLECTION.**

The following data have been collected in the present study.

(a) *Primary data.*

For the collection of primary data, two types of schedules were constructed, one for interviewing the sample pre-matric tribal students and the other for interviewing the officers.

Tribal students who were selected in the sample and those studying at middle, high and/or higher secondary levels were interviewed. Their reactions and observations regarding the adequacy or inadequacy of the amount of financial assistance, the different ways in which they utilize the amount, relative usefulness of the various schemes, their preferences for either type of assistance, that is, cash or kind, and their degree of dependence on financial assistance were studied.

Since only the reactions and observations given by the sample students would not have sufficed for either validating or invalidating the propositions formulated for the study, it was felt that the officers who were intimately connected with the policy making, planning and execution of the various schemes of financial assistance might also be interviewed. Hence, two types of officers were interviewed: those who were dealing with the schemes in the administrative set up and those heads of the schools who remained in touch with the students and were also responsible, in most cases, for disbursement of the funds at the school level. A total number of 63 such officers were interviewed and their views were ascertained on the different aspects of the schemes. Their views and opinions pertained to the policy, coverage, criteria, disbursement, utilization, relative usefulness of the two types of schemes, degree of dependence on financial assistance and the like.

(b) *Secondary data.*

Relevant secondary data were also collected from the official records of the sample States, districts, sub-divisions, blocks and schools during field visits in order to have a clear picture of the schemes. The sources from which secondary data were collected were the Ministry of Education, Department of Social Welfare, Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and Tribal Welfare and Education Departments of the States. The nature of data collected pertained to enrolment figures of pre-matric tribal students, state-wise, district-wise, sub-division-wise and block-wise number of schools, number of pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance, various schemes of financial assistance, the criteria, machinery for disbursement, allocation and expenditure and other necessary details.

(v) LIMITATIONS

The study was conducted under certain limitations. To start with, the first handicap with which the study suffered was the non-

availability of relevant secondary data. Difficulties in the collection of data were also encountered. As has been mentioned earlier, two types of schedules for data collection were used. While executing the schedule on students, at times, the necessity of interpreters for effective communication with the tribal students was felt. This was mainly due to language difficulty. Since none other than the teacher of the sample schools could be available for the purpose, we had to heavily rely upon them for interpretation. Necessary precautions, however, were taken to avoid the factor of bias creeping into the responses given by the students. But there is no denying the fact that the very principle of keeping the information given by the informants confidential was not always easy to maintain which is so important in the process of interview. Nevertheless, to a considerable extent the effect of this was minimized by establishing rapport with the students at the initial stages, by resorting to counter questions and by letting the students express more freely irrespective of the presence of the teachers.

Besides, there were the usual difficulties faced while working in tribal areas. Considerable time was spent in covering long distances in remote tribal areas. This caused delay in the completion of the project. And then, on top of it, was the varying degree of cooperation and help rendered by the State, district, sub-division and block officials.

However, in spite of all the limitations and difficulties mentioned above, the project has been successfully completed, and its results given in the succeeding chapters to which now we turn, after giving a brief account of the tribes to which the sample students belonged.

CHAPTER TWO

A BRIEF ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTE ON THE TRIBES STUDIED

THE tribal students selected for study were drawn from four different areas and represented different traits of culture. No aspect of the life of a tribesman can be studied in isolation. Each aspect has its bearing on the other, and it is only when we study all aspects of his life that we get an integrated and complete picture of his life-ways and thoughtways. It is necessary, therefore, that before we go into the details of the financial assistance given to the various tribes to promote and improve their educational performance, we should know not only about the formal and informal education imparted to them, but also something about their cultural traits. Cultural backgrounds of the tribes may also provide us the reasons for the different degrees of progress made in the field of education by the different tribes studied. Altogether seven major tribes were covered by the present study. A brief note about each of them is given in the succeeding paragraphs.

The Khasi¹

The Khasi inhabit the western half of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. The Khasi villages are built on hill tops and vary in size, the number of houses ranging from 20 to 1,000. The villages are all strongly fortified with stockades, deep ditches and massive stone walls, and the hill sides thickly studded with *panjis*—sharp, pointed bamboo spikes planted in the ground. The original Khasi houses are oval shaped, low, thatch-roofed and dark.² Many of such houses have disappeared now and modern houses with walls of stones, roof of corrugated iron sheets and with windows and a chimney to let out smoke are increasingly being built.

The dress of the Khasi consists of a dark blue or black kilt ornamented with rows of cowrie shells and thick cloth of home manufacture thrown loosely over the shoulders. Strings of various coloured beads ornament their necks in front, a conch shell being suspended behind.....As ear-ornaments they use the tusks of the wild boar with tufts of goats hair dyed red. They also wear earrings of brass wire. Above the elbow they wear armlets, either of ivory or plaited cane, prettily worked in red and yellow. Between the calf and knee they bind strips of finely cut cane dyed black, the calves being encased in leggings made of fine cane, similar to that of armlets.....'

"The building materials usually consist of wood, stone, bamboo reed, cane thatch slate and palm leaves. Previously there existed a taboo against building a house with stone walls on all four sides and against using nails in building but today the force of the taboo has disappeared."⁴

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the people and they are good agriculturists. They practise shifting and terrace cultivation. According to Mills, the introduction of potato, which is a cash crop, has profoundly affected the agriculture of the Khasi area. Orange cultivation is also done on a large scale.

The Khasi tribe is composed of a number of clans, important being the royal clans, the priestly clan, the minister clan and the plebeian clan. The Khasi are an endogamous tribe divided into exogamous clans. They are matriarchal and attach importance to female descent and female authority. The wife is regarded as the head of the household. Marriage is usually arranged by parents or their agents and no bridewealth is paid. The Khasi are 'matrilocal at the time of marriage, but later on when a husband shows evidence of his ability to support himself, his wife and children, he may set up an independent household of his own."⁵

Property is inherited by women from their mothers. The Khasi are passing through a transitional stage of maternal-paternal descent. 'Inter-marriage with non-Khasis of Khasi women has complicated the Khasi system of inheritance. The children of a Khasi woman by a non-Khasi are eligible to inherit the property of the former but under particular rules, the property of the non-Khasi husband is equally transferable by law to the children."⁶ 'If the man abandons the woman and his children or leaves her a widow, she will in due course take their shares from what she leaves according to Khasi custom. If, on the other hand, the man sees through the upbringing of the children, they will grow up non-Khasis and inherit according to his custom. Or, as not infrequently happens, death or other causes may part the couple when some children are grown up and some are still small and in such cases half the family will grow up Khasis and the other non-Khasis."⁷

Ceremonials and religious rites are mainly the affairs of women. Ancestor spirits are mainly female and are worshipped.

"The power of sickness, death, protection of the household are associated with goddesses. Priestesses assist at all sacrificial ceremonies and male priests only deputize."⁸

Rama Krishna Mission and Christian missions run schools to impart education to the Khasi. Christian missions have been active in providing educational facilities not only in towns but also in rural areas where means of communication are extremely difficult. With the coming of Independence the Central and State governments came forward and accelerated the growth of formal education. Financial assistance to the voluntary organizations was made available and liberal scholarships were granted and educational facilities were extended. Hostel facilities also helped in promoting education among them. The efforts made by the voluntary organizations, Christian missions and by Central and State governments have resulted in social awakening among the Khasi.

The Garo

The Garo are chiefly found in Garo Hills and Goalpara districts of Assam. They constitute about 80 per cent of the population in the Garo Hills district. According to 1951 census the Garo population in Assam was 2,34,799 of which 1,31,537 were men and 1,13,262 were women. The number rose in 1961 to 2,58,122 of which 1,30,636 were men and 1,27,486 were women.

The Garo prefer to live at the foothills because there water can be easily obtained. Their houses are often constructed at the river's bank and are long and thatched and often without windows. Houses of some of the headmen are provided with a balcony.

The people speak the Garo language. 'The language is one of a well defined sub-group known as 'Bodo' or more recently 'Baric,' of the Sino-Tibetan languages.'⁹

The principal source of their livelihood is agriculture and they practise shifting cultivation. Economically, the Garo are poor. They also supplement their income by making baskets, ropes and the like.

The Garo are matriarchal. The 'property once owned by a motherhood can never pass out of it.'¹⁰ Women are important members of the family. The youngest daughter is the legal successor to the property. The daughter who inherits property has to marry her maternal brother. The earnings of the Garo men are treated as the property of their mothers and sisters.

There is a great degree of sexual license to the unmarried young men and girls. 'It is an uneven law that young girls and men sleep together after the entertainment is over, and the partnership of one

night is expected to precede a life long union. It is not absolutely necessary that they should thereafter live as husband and wife, and no obloquy is incurred by the girl on account of her lapse from the path of virtue, unless she is found later to be an expectant mother."¹

Myths, folklores, behaviour pattern and customs are transmitted mostly by words of mouth to the younger generation by parents and other elder members of the community. In all these the village dormitory also plays important roles.

In the field of education the Christian missions started their work long before and opened some schools. Many educational institutions are even now run by them. Ramakrishna Mission is running higher secondary, middle and primary schools in the area. The Central and State governments have also put in much efforts for the expansion of education among them. In Assam, percentage of literacy among the Garo, as per 1961 census, is 18.

The Munda

The main concentration of the Munda is in the southern, south-western and eastern part of Ranchi district though they are also distributed in Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Dhanbad, Purnea, Shahabad and Santal Parganas districts of Bihar. According to 1901 census report, the population of the Munda was 3,44,373 which increased to 5,19,743 in 1941 and further rose to 6,28,931 in 1961. The population of the Munda in the sample districts of Ranchi and Singhbhum is 4,65,093 and 1,18,932 respectively according to 1961 census figures which is 73.9 per cent and 18.9 per cent respectively of the total population of the Munda in Bihar. They speak the Mundari dialect of the Austro-Asiatic family and also the local dialect called Sadani.

They live in a mixed village inhabited by other people namely, the Ghasi, the Lohra, the Chik Baraik. The materials used in house construction are mud, tiles, thatch grass and wood. Their village has three important sites—the *sarna*, a sacred grove where the village gods reside, the *akhara*, an open space at the centre of the village where panchayats are held and young folks assemble in the evening to dance and sing, and the *sasan*, the burial ground where stone-slabs are kept over the grave to commemorate the dead.¹²

Munda women wear a piece of cloth—*paria*—round the waist. Men wear a loin cloth—*botoi*—and another piece of cloth to cover up the upper part of the body.

Traditional musical instruments consist of a small drum of goat skin, a *nagara* made of buffalo or ox skin, brass cymbal, banjo and flutes. Women are fond of ornaments. Their ornaments include hair pin, earring, necklace, armlet, wristlet and rings. These are generally made of brass. Those who can afford also wear silver and gold ornaments. The material possession of utensils and furniture are meagre and earthenwares are generally used for cooking.

The Mundas exclusively depend upon agriculture for their livelihood.....about 96 per cent of the Munda population are directly connected with agriculture, out of which about 20 per cent are agricultural labourers and only about 4 per cent of their population is engaged in other occupations.¹³ Another source of the Munda livelihood is occasional labour for wages. They work as labourers in the fields, lac factories and also in tea gardens of Assam. Their economic condition is rather poor and they are largely in debt. The poverty of the Munda is brought out by the extent of indebtedness. Thirty to forty per cent of the Munda families show grain debts. The average amount in Munda villages varies from 2 to 4 maunds. Cash debt is also not small. In short, it may be said that average amount of debt comes to be equivalent to one or two months of food.¹⁴

The Mundas are an endogamous tribe practising clan exogamy. Many clan names bear the name of articles of food. The clans are mostly totemistic. The Munda family is nuclear in character. Inheritance and descent are patrilineal. Marriage is regulated by the totemic clan and bridewealth is paid before the marriage. Among the Christian Mundas of Birhu the social aspect of marriage is kept distinct from the religious aspect. The marriage ceremonial is held at the church. This is followed by a social ceremonial at the house of the bride and the bridegroom without which a marriage is not considered complete.....Among the unconverted Mundas also certain changes have occurred in the marriage ceremonial. One informant said that though a Mandap (a rectangular shed erected for the marriage ceremony) is necessary for a marriage, he had done away with it for the fear of witchcraft. According to him a room was a better place for marriage ceremony.¹⁵

The Mundas have an organized village panchayat and a *parha* panchayat. S. C. Roy pointed out that *parha* panchayat emerged because of spread of population from one village to other neighbouring villages. *Parha* usually comprises of about a dozen villages, and is vested with enough political authority. But in the recent years this panchayat has been on the decline.

The youth's dormitory—*gitiara*—of the Munda imparts training in traditional customs and laws, agricultural methods, hunting and in other aspects of their community life.

Christian missions and voluntary organizations like Adivasi Sewa Mandal are responsible to a great extent for running a number of educational institutions in the Munda areas. Central and State governments are also doing much for the promotion of education, and liberal scholarships, bawokgrants and other financial assistance are given.

In comparison to others, the Mundas are more educated. Education and post Independence facilities combined have led them to take employment in government services, they now work as peons, drivers, lawyers, magistrates, clerks etc. The independence of the country has made them politically conscious.¹⁶ The percentage of literacy among the Munda as per 1961 census is 13.8.

The Oraon

The Oraon live mostly in the western, north western and central part of Ranchi district. They are scattered in other districts of Bihar and also in the neighbouring states of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Their population in Bihar according to 1941 census was 6,47,444 which increased to 7,35,025 according to 1961 census. According to 1961 census, their population in the sample district of Ranchi is 5,64,777 which is 76.8 per cent of their total population in Bihar.

An Oraon village consists of 20 to 200 houses. It is generally marked by five characteristic features—*akhra* (a place where young men and women collect to dance in the evening and where important matters concerning the village are settled); *bathan* (a place where the cattle are tethered to rest and where people sit and gossip); *sarnd* (the sacred grove), *khali* (threshing ground); and *tusa* (spring). The house is built of mud and the roof of tile or thatch.

Both nuclear and extended families are common among the Oraon. The number of the patrilineal extended families is almost equal to, and in some cases, even larger than that of the nuclear families.....However, the extended families are more in number in areas under the influence of Christianity and Hinduism.¹⁷

The Oraon men and women are fond of ornaments. Women are fond of sticking flowers in their hair and also wear brass or silver ornaments. The agricultural implements used by the Oraons are

many and interesting. Some of the important implements are plough, harrow, spade, pitch-fork, sickle, axe, rice pounder, and grain-measure.¹⁸

Agriculture is the most important occupation of the Oraon. Agriculture is done both by men and women. The most important crop is rice. The Oraons are mainly an agricultural community. Occupations such as hunting, fishing and cattle rearing and crafts are subsidiary to agriculture.¹⁹

The Oraon tribe is divided into a number of clans. A clan is again sub-divided into major lineages which are further sub-divided into smaller units.

The boy's parents approach the girl's parents for marriage. Among the Christian, 'Even though the actual marriage is performed at the Church, negotiations between the prospective in-laws are completely in accordance with the traditional system of Oraon marriages.'²⁰ Monogamy is the general rule of marriage. Bridewealth is paid and generally settled by negotiation between the parents of the boy and the girl before marriage. Widow re-marriage is permitted. Divorce is also frequent among the Oraon, the final decision of which is usually taken by the panchayat.

The Oraon generally cremate their dead. It is taboo to cremate a dead body while the crops are still in the fields. In such cases the body is temporarily buried and is cremated after the harvest is over. The spirits of the departed soul are regarded as forming one family or clan group with their descendents.

The Oraons recognise ten different classes of supernatural powers. Their supreme being is called Dharmes, the Creator of the universe, whose visible symbol is the sun. The Dharmes is supposed to control all other deities and is able to see all the actions of both spirits and mortals.²¹ Through rituals good relations with the supernatural powers is maintained. They have strong belief in ghosts, spirits and witchcraft. The Oraon observe a number of festivals, the most important being Sarhul and Karam.

The village affairs are managed through the panchayats. The traditional *parha* panchayat exists only in few places. It is almost dead due to the advent of the statutory gram panchayat.

Traditionally, *dhumkuria* is one of the institutions which fulfils the need of informal education, which is imparted by it right from the day the child enters it to the day when he retires from it. Girls

and boys are required to sleep in their respective *dhumkuria*. Senior members of the *dhumkuria* impart instructions to the members in folklore, codes of behaviour and ethics, sexual instruction, dancing and communal activities. *Dhumkuria* essentially aims at creating group solidarity, self discipline, obedience and respect to the elders and readiness for mutual help. The institution of *dhumkuria* is now in decay because of propaganda carried on against it by many agencies. The establishment of schools in villages has also adversely affected this institution.

Christian missions are running a number of educational institutions among the Oraon. Adimjati Sewa Mandal is another important agency responsible for spread of primary education. Schemes of educational development launched by the Central and State governments also help promote education among them.

The life of the Oraon has greatly been affected by the contacts with the outside world, modern economic and political developments.*² Community development is another important agency for social and economic changes among the Oraon. Increasing urbanization and industrialization are the main factors for the migration of the educated Oraon to the towns. Many educated Oraon are employed in urban jobs. The Oraon realize the importance of education better today than they did a few decades ago. The percentage of literacy among them is 12.7.

The Ho

The Ho are mainly concentrated in the Singhbhum district of Bihar. The population of the Ho as per 1961 census is 4,99,144 in India and 4,54,746 in Bihar. Their population in Singhbhum district alone is 4,53,988 which constitutes more than 99 per cent of their total population in Bihar. They speak Ho language which is akin to Mundari.

A Ho village is generally divided in *tolas* and usually situated near the bank of a river or by the side of a spring. The village is characterized by three distinctive features: The *akhara* (dancing and meeting place); the *sasan* (burial ground); and *jahera* (village grove). The house is built with mud and roof is thatched or tiled.

The main source of their livelihood is agriculture and with the increase of industrialization and urbanization industrial labour has become the principal means of livelihood for many people.

The Hos are primarily agriculturists. However, they do not depend solely on agriculture. They supplement their food from

forests which supply them roots, fruits, flowers, leaves and games. They also work in the mines and factories as seasonal labourers. In fact industrial labour has become the principal means of livelihood for many, and today many Hos are found working in Jamshedpur and other industrial town and mines as permanent labourers.²³

The Ho are patrilineal and patrilocal. The rate of bridewealth among the Ho is high. Incidence of late marriage is high because parents find it difficult to get their girls married due to heavy bride-wealth which varies from 10 to 70 cattle. Widow re-marriage and divorce are permitted. Divorce requires approval of the village panchayat. On death, the corpse is either buried or cremated. The Ho show much reverence to the dead. The bones of the dead are buried in the graveyard and a tombstone is placed over them.

The principal gods of the Ho are the sun, moon, rivers and the mountains. Singbonga is their Supreme Being. Spirits protecting the house and the ancestors are worshipped. *Desauli*, the protecting spirit of the village, is also worshipped. 'All these spirits require continuous propitiation by means of sacrifices and the belief is that unless such offerings are made to these, they are a power for evil. Illness, for instance, is usually regarded as due to influence of some *bonga* and the more serious and continuous the disease, greater the value of the animal that must be sacrificed. First they sacrifice a fowl and hen, if this offering does no good, a goat. If a goat fails to procure relief, they increase the size of the sacrifice one after the other, for example, a sheep, a calf, a cow and a buffalo to appease the ill will of the spirit.'²⁴

A village is an important political unit. The Ho area is divided into groups of villages called *pir*, each having a headman. A village also has its own headman. The Ho are fast changing due to increasing urbanization and industrialization and better means of communication, still they have not been completely detribalized. They are adjusting themselves to a new pattern of life. Education has also been a great instrument of change. Among them the percentage of literacy is 9.5.

The Gond

The Gond are the largest among the Indian tribes and are mainly confined in the Satpura plateau, Bastar, a portion of Nagpur plateau and the valley of the Narmada river. They are also the largest tribe of Madhya Pradesh and are distributed all over the State. Their population in Madhya Pradesh is 30,94,613 which is 46.3 per cent of the total tribal population. They are concentrated mainly

in Bastar (7,23,040), Mandla (3,35,284), Surguja (2,37,885), Chhindwara (2,27,889), Shahdol (2,06,019), Bilaspur (2,03,393), Betul (1,21,748), Durg (1,19,933), Balaghat (75,785) and Raigarh (68,630) districts.²⁶

Many villages of the Gond are situated on small hillocks in the forests. The village priest plays an important role in selecting a site of the village. The villages are generally located near about charming spots with views of undulating hills, dense with forest.²⁶ The village huts are usually tiled in the plains and thatched in the forest. The roof is supported by a *baderi* (roof tree) which rests on a pair of upright beams: it is built of *tattis* with a kind of thatching grass carelessly thrown on it. The *oria* or the front eaves at the door are only about 3 to 4 feet high so that a fully grown up person has to stoop low to enter the hut. The walls which stand on the ground without a plinth are generally made of wattle and plastered with a thin layer of mud and then rinsed with a solution of cow-dung. One of the peculiarities of a Gond house is that admission can be gained only by one entrance leading from the high street of the village.²⁷

Gond men wear a loin cloth or a longer strip of cloth, wrapped around the waist. *Dhoti* is also worn. Women usually wear *lugra*. The male ornaments consist of *chura* (tin or silver bracelet) *mundari* (ring of silver or brass), *bari*, *bala* and *lurki* (ear-rings) and *chutka* (single ring on the big toe of either foot). Women's ornaments consist of necklaces, *hasli* (a silver neck-ring) and *chandi ka sutiya* (a necklet about as thick as a finger but thinner towards the end). Many women wear a *pola* (a thick round piece of wood to keep the hole in the lobe open) and *genda* (an ornament worn in the ear). *Bichha* is worn in the toe. The art of tattooing also finds favour with them.

Agricultural produce forms the main source of their livelihood and practice of shifting cultivation is followed. The Gond living in forest areas also make much use of fruits, flowers and other forest produce to supplement their diet. They also go for occasional labour, particularly in slack season on daily wages. The primary occupation of the Gonds was hunting and fishing in former times but the opportunities in this respect have been greatly circumscribed by the rules of conservation of game in forests. Their principal occupation now is cultivation but a great number of them work as farm servants and forest labourers.²⁸

However, nearly all of them are dependent on agriculture either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers. In forest areas, collec-

tion of forest produce plays an important part in their economy. Of the total number of Gond workers (19,17,000), about 77 per cent (14,67,926) are cultivators and about 18 per cent (3,40,165) are agricultural labourers. In Bastar, Surguja and Mandla, the percentage of agricultural labourers among Gonds varies between 13 to 14. In Balaghat, Chhindwara, Betul, Raigarh, Bilaspur and Durg, the percentage of Gond agricultural labourers to total workers is between 17 to 20. In Seoni, Shahdol and Raipur, the number of agricultural labourers is the highest, the percentage of agricultural labourers being 23 in Seoni and 28 in Raipur. In Betul, Chhindwara, Balaghat, Shahdol and Surguja, a significant number of Gonds have started working in mines.²³

The Gond observe clan exogamy, Cross-cousin marriage which is known as *dudh lautawa* is not only allowed but preferred. Monogamy and patrilocal residence are followed but polygyny is also widely prevalent among the Gond. Bridal procession generally starts from the house of the bride with the bride and the main ceremony takes place at the bridegroom's residence. Widow remarriage is commonly practised. Divorce is allowed on grounds of alultery, carelessness, quarrelsome nature, barrenness etc.

The Gond cremate their dead. Announcement of death is made by beating of drum. Mourning is generally observed for three days, and a feast is also given on the third day to honour the dead. A stone is also set up in memory of the deceased. Each clan has its own gods. Their Supreme Being is Bura Deo.

A Gond village has its own council (panchayat), which settles land and other disputes, cases of divorce, illicit relations and crimes against religion and society. Panchayat is considered the supreme organization and its decisions are binding on the parties concerned.

The village dormitory called *ghotul* is a useful institution serving a great social necessity. Here members of the dormitory acquire learning in folk-tales, traditions, laws, agricultural practices, hunting and mystries of sex. In his account of the dormitory life among the Muria of Bastar, Grigson says that, 'Boys and girls of an age to visit the dormitories are known as "Leyur" and "Leyas" respectively. All the boys assemble at the dormitory in the evening for dancing, games and social and sexual training, sleeping on there after the departure of the girls to their homes late in night. The girls attend at the dormitory in the evening, each girl is being paired off with a boy of an "Awomana" clan. The girls have to comb their boys' hair and massage their arms and legs, to dance with them and to be ini-

tiated into the mysteries of sex with them. Marriage frequently follows these dormitory unions, but by no means it always does.³⁰

Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and Christian missions run schools and hostels in the Gond areas. The Central and State governments have also done much for the promotion of education in these areas. As a result of this importance of education is being realized by the Gond. Increasing education, industrialization and urbanization are some of the factors which are responsible for the changes in social, economic and political institutions of the Gond.

The Bhil

The Bhil are one of the oldest tribes and are numerically only second to the Gond. They are also found in the neighbouring States of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan, and together with the Bhil of Madhya Pradesh, they form the third largest tribe of India. The name Bhil is derived from the Dravidian word for bow which is their characteristic weapon.³¹

Their population including that of the Bhilala, Barela and Pate-
lia and other sub-tribes is 12,29,930 in Madhya Pradesh. In the
sample district of Jhabua, their population is 4,35,707.

The Bhil are fond of wearing silver earrings and silver or golden finger rings. They have a number of musical instruments like cymbals, bamboo flute etc. Their weapons are bows and arrows. According to Sherring the dress of the men is exceedingly scanty; but that of the women is more decorous.

The Bhil villages are generally dispersed. 'On the approach to the village, tied to the trees on the roadside are grass bundles showing the boundary of the village. This boundary is demarcated by the forest guards in order to enable the hired wood cutters or *kabadi*s to know if they are out of bounds. On the outskirts of the village will be shrines of two or three of the gods Gopehohan, Himaria and Hanuman.³² Commemoration stones are also found on the outskirts of the village. Generally houses of the Bhil are scattered. The Bhil houses, *koo*, are rectangular buildings, raised above two to three feet off the ground on a layer of earth and stones with walls, *khappedo*, rising upto four to six feet from the ground. The roof, *Chhevajju*, rises at an inclination of 45 degrees from the two length sides, a house at its highest point being not more than fifteen to twenty feet. The houses are made up of bamboo thatch, mud and cow-dung plaster.'³³

The main source of livelihood of the Bhil is agriculture. They grow mostly maize, millet and pulses. They also work as labourers in order to supplement their income. They also prepare drinks, collect fruits, make ropes and basket etc. apart from agriculture. According to 1961 census, 85.21 per cent of the Bhil are classified as cultivators and 11.03 per cent as agricultural labourers. A great majority of the Bhil live at below subsistence level due to poor fertility of the soil and lack of irrigational facilities.

A majority of Bhil families are indebted as revealed in a recent indebtedness survey which showed that respectively 83 per cent, 66 per cent, 69 per cent and 69 per cent families are indebted in Ratlam, Jhabua, Dhar and Khargone districts. The average debt per surveyed family ranges between Rs. 343.93 and Rs. 645.19.³⁴

Though some changes for the better are noticed amongst them, yet they are educationally backward and are still not conscious of the advantages of education. The number of tribal children in the sample district of Jhabua was 4,403 in primary, 87 in middle and 30 in higher secondary classes. The educational level among the Bhil was found to be very low in the 1961 census. Literacy was 1.9 per cent only as compared to the State figure of 17.1 per cent. There were 62.3 persons per lakh of population who had passed the primary class. The number of persons who had passed higher secondary or higher examination or any technical examination not equivalent to a degree was only 55, that is, 4.4 persons per lakh of population.³⁵ A great majority of the children drop out before completing their primary education and relapse into illiteracy.

CHAPTER THREE

SCHEMES OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

THE modern system of education in India may be said to have begun in 1813. For several years, however, very little was done to educate the scheduled tribes, mainly because their education presented very difficult problems. Most of the tribes lived in remote, inaccessible and forest areas. Their poverty was extreme. The villages in which they lived were generally small and widely separated from each other.....It is therefore, no surprise if the Education Department did not turn their attention to the education of the scheduled tribes for a very long time.¹

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 is a very important landmark in the development of tribal education. This Commission 'examined the problem of the education of the scheduled tribes in some detail and made several recommendations. They suggested that tribal children might be exempted from payment of fees and also that, additional grant might be given to private schools on account of the tribal children attending them.'² These recommendations of the Commission thus formed the basis of the policy underlying the subsequent development of tribal education in India till 1947.

Though efforts were made by the then Government of India in the pre-Independence period to tackle the problem of tribal education, yet nothing substantial was achieved and the progress made was not satisfactory as reported by the Quinquennial Review of the progress of education in India 1897-1902. This is also supported by the analysis of enrolment figures of 1936-37 of tribal children made by Shrikant who concluded that, 'on the eve of the attainment of Independence, therefore, it may be said that very little had been done to develop education among the scheduled tribes. It was only in Assam that good results had been obtained mainly owing to the zest of missionaries. In the rest of India only a beginning had been made.'³

As a matter of fact it was only after Independence that concerted and determined efforts began to be made to ameliorate the social and economic conditions of the scheduled tribes. As a part of this broader programme, attention was paid to develop the educa-

tion of the tribes. The existing programmes of tribal welfare and development include a variety of activities under the broad heads of economic development, communication, education, public health and housing.

The spread of education among the scheduled tribes is an essential and important pre-requisite to their all-round development. In order to educate the tribal people the first and foremost step is to investigate into the main causes of their educational backwardness.

To begin with, 'the fundamental problems of education in the tribal areas are not very much different from those in other rural areas,'⁴ but are similar to a great extent to those problems faced in the case of other backward classes. The investigation into the main causes of educational backwardness among backward classes constituted an important part of the work undertaken by the Backward Classes Commission of 1955. According to this Commission, the main causes of educational backwardness have been the following.

1. Traditional apathy for education on account of social and environmental condition on occupational handicaps.
2. Poverty and lack of means of a large number of communities to educate their children.
3. Lack of educational institutions in the rural areas.
4. Living in inaccessible areas and lack of proper communications.
5. Lack of adequate educational aids in the form of freeships, scholarships and monetary grants for the purpose of books and clothing.
6. Lack of residential hostel facilities in places where educational institutions are situated.
7. Unemployment among the educated acting as a damper on the desire of some of the communities to educate their children.
8. Defective educational system which does not train students for appropriate occupations and professions.⁵

Keeping these causes of educational backwardness of the tribes in view the Central and the State governments have launched several schemes for the educational development of the tribes. These schemes are briefly discussed in the following few pages. As schemes of financial assistance are part and parcel of the general schemes of educational development, before discussing the various schemes of financial assistance some of the general schemes of educational development of the tribes have been discussed below.

A. Schemes of Educational Development

Education has an important place and a special role to play in a social system. It is a basic technique of socialization and has been in existence in one or the other form from the very beginning in the human society. 'Education is to be thought of as that part of the enculturative experience that, through the learning process, equips an individual to take his place as an adult member of his society.'⁶

With the development of science and technology, formal education in a school situation has assumed greater importance in developing and integrating the communities. A sizable population of India (6.89 per cent of the total population) is constituted of persons belonging to 212 scheduled tribes who live in relative isolation of hills and forests.⁷

'Their partial isolation has kept them apart from the main stream of Indian society and culture. Isolation, a limited world-view and a lack of historical depth make them tradition-oriented. They are integrated in terms of certain themes rooted in the past. Their distinct cultural focus gives them a separate identity. Their latent or manifest value-attitude and motivational systems are different from those of other people. All this raises for them difficulties in social, economic and cultural adjustment. Their low, technological development and general economic backwardness has made them a special concern of the nation.'⁸

Tribal education in India is of utmost importance atleast for two major purposes, firstly, of their economic development, and secondly, of their integration with the main stream of Indian society and culture. It goes without saying that education is a factor in the economic growth of the country. But the tribes in India are,

by and large, educationally backward compared to the rest of the population which is evident from the following table.

Table III.1. Education among the scheduled tribes (1961).

State	Percentage of scheduled tribes population to total population of the State	Percentage of enrolment of scheduled tribes to total enrolment					Total
		Lower Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Higher Education	Vocational & Professional Education	
Andhra Pradesh	3.7	2.3	0.7	0.6	0.4	1.8	1.9
Assam	17.4	24.0	16.2	9.3	9.8	22.9	20.9
Bihar	9.1	8.7	7.4	3.7	2.4	7.1	7.6
Gujarat	13.3	12.4	7.5	1.9	0.2	12.0	8.1
Kerala	1.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	...	0.1	...
Madhya Pradesh	20.6	12.3	6.5	2.2	2.2	5.0	9.0
Madras	0.7	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.4
Maharashtra	6.1	6.6	0.1	1.0	0.6	2.6	3.4
Mysore	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.6
Orissa	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Punjab	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1
Rajasthan	11.5	2.3	0.9	0.6	0.5	4.5	1.9
West Bengal	5.9	3.5	3.2	1.4	0.3	8.5	3.4

(Source: Ministry of Education)

It is evident from the table given above that the percentage of tribal enrolment is less than the corresponding tribal population in the States except in Assam and Mysore. Even in these States, the tribes are at different levels of development. This state of affairs justifies the special attention the education of the tribal people needs.

In accordance with this special position, the Constitution makes specific provisions for their educational promotion. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has also been making recommendations from time to time for the promotion of their education. The various Commissions and Committees set up to go into the details of tribal welfare measures, have also made suitable recommendations for this purpose.

The problems of tribal education were also discussed in seminars organized by the Planning Commission in New Delhi and by the Tribal Education Unit of the National Council of Educational

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Research and Training at Udaipur in 1965. The Education Commission broadly agreed with the recommendations made in these seminars. But many of the recommendations made by these commissions, committees and seminars are still to be implemented. The Central and State governments are however making efforts to promote the education of the tribal people. More and more schools are being opened and provisions of special facilities for the spread of education, such as, scholarships and stipends, free studentships, hostel grants, book grants, reservation of seats in educational institutions etc. have been made available. The various educational schemes operating in the States and the Union Territory of Tripura selected for the present study are briefly discussed below.

SCHOOLS

Many tribal children were denied education in the past mainly because schools did not exist in their villages or nearby areas. There are many villages in the tribal areas where we find no primary school, not even within a radius of four or five miles.⁹ The National Seminar on Tribal Education in India, held at Udaipur, also realized the inadequacy of schools in tribal areas.¹⁰ Though during the second and the third plans, a large number of primary schools were opened, the inadequacy of schools in tribal areas is still felt. Importance of school in spreading education, and particularly, its role in bringing tribesmen at par with the rest of the population needs no emphasis. During the second five-year plan the number of schools established under welfare programmes for the scheduled tribes in the sample States is given in the table below.

Table III.2. Number of schools in sample States*1

States	Number of schools
States	Number of school
Assam	NA
Bihar	223
Madhya Pradesh	430
Tripura	85

ASHRAM SCHOOLS

In the last few years, many States have opened Ashram schools in tribal areas. The basic concept of Ashram school is to solve problems of education of the scheduled tribes by providing for their education in residential schools and intensive vocational training under supervision and guidance of specially trained teachers. The main objective of these institutions is to turn out pupils with sufficient knowledge of agriculture and other useful crafts like carpentry

and weaving, to enable them to attain a reasonable standard of living and to be pioneers in social uplift of their own people. An Ashram school is not just like any other school; it is also a cultural centre for creating a new outlook among the tribesmen. Its vocation-biased curriculum differentiates it from other general schools. It not only prepares the children for higher general education but also prepares them for practical life.

Out of the four sample States and Union Territory, Ashram schools are functioning in the States of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and in the Union Territory of Tripura.

In Bihar, in the third five-year plan Rs. 21 lakhs were allocated for the scheme. The following progress was made during the years 1961-62 to 1963-64 in respect of Ashram schools.

Table III.3. Expenditure on Ashram schools and targets achieved in Bihar¹²

Year	Expenditure (Rs. in lakhs)	Physical targets achieved
1961-62	3.02	5 schools
1962-63	1.59	9 residential schools and 2 buildings
1963-64	2.07	9 schools maintained 1 building under construction

During the first two plans no Ashram school was sanctioned in Bastar district in the state of Madhya Pradesh. During the third plan, the achievements against the targets fixed by the government were as follows.

Table III.4. Expenditure on Ashram schools and targets achieved in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh

Year	Target		Achievement		Expenditure incurred
	No.	Capacity	No	Capacity	
1961-62	1 (girl)	50	1	—	15,800.00
1962-63	—	—	—	50	12,319.00
1963-64	—	—	—	50	13,835.00
1964-65	1 (girl)	—	—	—	—
	2 (boys)	85	3	135	94,964.70
1965-66	1 (girl)	—	—	—	—
	1 (boy)	55	2	219	94,411.62
Total at the end of the third plan	6	190	6	454	2,31,330.32

In Tripura, during the third five-year plan Rs. 0.93 lakh were provided for the scheme and the target fixed was opening of one school. Rs. 0.19 lakh and 0.18 lakh were spent during 1961-62 and 1963-64 respectively. The school is functioning in Belonia sub-division. In the school there were 66 tribal students out of the total of 162 as on 31-3-65.

HOSTELS

One of the important schemes for the educational advancement of the scheduled tribes is the establishment of hostels. In many cases upper primary, middle and high schools are far away from their villages and the tribal children cannot go to school and come back to the village everyday. Hence there is a great need for hostels. Besides, the hostels are useful in creating interest for studies and also to check absenteeism. With these purposes in mind hostel facilities are gradually being provided by the State governments. Tables given below summarise the expenditure incurred on opening and maintaining hostels in the sample States.

Table III.5. Expenditure incurred on hostels during the second plan¹³

States/Union Territory	Expenditure (Rs. in lakh)	No. of hostels opened and maintained
Assam	29.72	215 hostels maintained.
Bihar	18.92	85 hostels opened and maintained.
Madhya Pradesh	137.10	74 hostels and 19 boarding houses together with 530 schools maintained.
Tripura	1.99	42 boarding houses constructed.

Table III.6. Allocation made and expenditure incurred during 1961-62 to 1964-65 under the schemes of hostels for scheduled tribes during the third five-year plan¹⁴

	(Rs. in lakh)			
	Assam	Bihar	Madhya Pradesh	Tripura
Allocation made during the third five-year plan		41.00	113.50	2.50
1961-62				
Allocation made	nil	4.00	20.38	0.70
Expenditure incurred	nil	4.70	6.65	0.09
Physical targets achieved	nil	1 hostel	2 ashrams, 2 boarding houses, 5 hostels, 4,145 stipends and equipments	

(Continued)

1962-63

Allocation made	nil	2.67	22.90	0.50
Expenditure incurred		0.87	10.33	0.91
Physical targets achieved	nil	16 hostels maintained & 4 buildings constructed	2 ashrams, 177 hostels maintained, 3 new ashrams and 5 hostels	25 wings completed

1963-64

Allocation made	nil	0.21	13.54	0.35
Expenditure incurred	nil	0.20	13.72	0.25
Physical targets achieved	nil	16 hostels maintained	Maintenance of 183 hostels and 5 ashrams	3 boarding houses

1964-65

Allocation made	nil	2.50	25.00	0.50
Expenditure incurred	nil	2.50	24.06	nil
Physical targets achieved	nil	not available	183 hostels maintained and 21 ashrams and 160 hostels organized	nil

Progressive

Provision	nil	9.38	81.82	2.05
Expenditure incurred so far during the third plan	nil	8.27	54.76	1.25

From the above tables, it is clear that the expenditure was less on the schemes for hostels for scheduled tribes during the third five-year plan as compared to the second five-year plan.

MIDDAY MEAL

A need for providing cheap and nutritious midday meal to all the tribal students was felt with a view to fighting the problem of malnutrition among them and attracting more tribal students to schools. The school hours are generally long and the students have to come from longer distance and hence such a scheme could prove

to be a boon for the tribal students. However, only Madhya Pradesh has a scheme for midday meal, which is mainly confined to primary classes.

The scheme of midday meal was started in Madhya Pradesh in the year 1961. Four years later, the State government approached the Indian branch of CARE (Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere) to provide additional nourishment. CARE officials agreed to the proposal and by the end of 1965 a CARE Regional Office was opened in Bhopal.¹⁵ This far flung midday meal programme according to tribal welfare authorities, has played a major role in encouraging tribal children to attend schools and to remain there. This, of course, is the aim of the authorities, who in the past five years have doubled the number of tribal schools.¹⁶

The importance of midday meal scheme in attracting tribal children to educational institutions has been recognized by the Commission for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas which in its report has made a recommendation in its favour.¹⁷

Along with these schemes for the educational development of the tribesmen, the Central and State governments have launched several schemes of financial assistance, in form of cash and kind, to a detailed discussion of which we now turn.

B. Schemes of Financial Assistance

EARLY BEGINNINGS

As far back as 1882, the Indian Education Commission, while examining the problems of the education of the scheduled tribes, made recommendations regarding the financial assistance to tribal students. Among its numerous recommendations one pertained to the suggestion that tribal children might be exempted from payment of fees. Now, due to paucity of information it is not possible to ascertain the extent of implementation of the recommendations made by the Education Commission of 1882. However, a humble beginning was made in this direction by the then Government of India and the recommendations of the Commission formed the basis of the policy underlying the subsequent development of tribal education in India till 1947. After Independence, in the year 1949-50, the schemes of financial assistance were revitalized and executed afresh on all-India basis. The scholarships cover tribal students both at the school as well as at the college level. While at the school stage all students do not get scholarships, it is ensured that

all tribal students studying in colleges and technical institutions get scholarships. Tribal students both at schools and colleges receive free tuition. This loss in income from the fee to the respective educational institutions is reimbursed by the State government. The same arrangement applies to the examination fee payable to the School Examination Boards or the Universities. In some States, students, additionally, receive book grants and hostel grants. Besides pre-matric and post-matric scholarships, stipends are available in Public schools and provision has been made for scholarships for overseas study by the Government of India and some of the State governments.

The schemes of financial assistance for pre-matric tribal students lie under the jurisdiction of the respective State governments and Union Territory administrations. Except the financial aspect of the schemes, the policy, planning and execution is looked after either by the State Education Departments or by the Tribal Welfare Departments. Almost invariably there is a machinery in each State and Union Territory which is mainly concerned with the disbursement of the assistance. This machinery is assisted, in the States of Assam and Bihar, by the Scholarship Distribution Committees specially constituted for the purpose of selection of tribal students for the award of scholarships and stipends taking into consideration the criterion of merit-cum-means. However, there is a wide variation in the formulation of schemes, criteria for disbursement and the machinery responsible for disbursement by the different States and Union Territories. All these have been dealt with in the subsequent pages.

NEED FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The need for providing financial assistance to the tribal students arises from the willingness and desire of the governments to bring the tribal communities educationally at par with their neighbouring non-tribal communities. It goes without saying that the tribal people are educationally under-developed, the general percentage of literacy among them being 8.54 according to 1961 census. In the general programme of development of the country for the establishment of an egalitarian society, it is necessary to lay due emphasis on the improvement of educational standards of the masses of which the 30 million tribal people constitute an important segment. Among the various measures for improving the educational standards, the provision of financial assistance to the tribal students is of paramount importance.

This need is mainly due to the acute poverty of the tribes. Generally the tribal parents are not in a position to send their children to schools for education. For them, quest for food is more important than quest for knowledge. Close to Nature as they are, the very vagaries of Nature are insufferable for the best part of the year. Day in and day out the entire family is busy with the quest for food. "Thus each child is an economic asset.....if the child is taken away to school, the family is deprived of the little income he brings and the parents have to feed him out of their meagre income which puts severe strains on the family."¹⁸ How severe an economic strain the family has to bear if the children are sent to schools without giving them any financial assistance for prosecuting their studies, is not too difficult to imagine. Therefore it is very essential to provide the tribal children financial assistance so that they may not be deprived of education merely because of their poor economic condition.

It is also necessary to give financial assistance to the students in order to provide them a suitable incentive to attend the schools in larger number and thus achieve an educational level equal to that achieved by their non-tribal counterparts.

The deprivation of the family of the economic benefit the child would have brought had he not gone to attend the school further explains the traditional apathy and indifference of tribal parents towards education. Besides, 'the lack of interest in education may be traced to other causes. Tribal parents have not yet been made conscious of the need for education and the change it will bring to them for their material well being.'¹⁹ Modern system of education presupposes a substantial amount of investment the dividends of which can be reaped only at a later date. The tribal parents are not endowed with such farsightedness in this particular aspect, and hence they are not easily motivated to send their children to schools and also do not like to spend on their education. Here comes the role of financial assistance to the scheduled tribe students in the shape of scholarships, stipends, bookgrants and the like.

The need for financial assistance for tribal students has also a bearing on their way of life. Tribal communities differ from each other in social and cultural set up. 'Human society, like the individual organism possesses great potential powers to absorb from the environment all that is beneficial and through this process ensures its survival. But there are things that have also lethal effects. Neither of the two, however, act in the same way on every group

of people differing in their environmental and socio-political conditions. In other words what is good for the gander may not be good for the goose.²⁰ Hence it may be postulated that different tribal communities may react differently towards the schemes of financial assistance.

A pertinent question which arises is whether different groups of tribal communities are likely to show different degrees of response to the schemes of financial assistance, and whether they are likely to derive varying degrees of benefits from these schemes. Since there are two types of schemes of financial assistance namely, schemes providing assistance in cash and in kind, those tribal communities who are at the lowest level of economic development are likely to derive relatively more benefits out of schemes which provide assistance in kind. In their case, as the money economy has comparatively little importance, the assistance in cash in the shape of scholarships and stipends will, more often than not, be misutilized. Whereas in the case of tribal communities among whom money economy has gained ground, or who have migrated to urban or semi-urban areas, the assistance in cash may be more conducive as far as the educational needs are concerned, for they are accustomed to cash transactions. Here it may be argued that almost all the States with tribal population have tribal communities which are at different levels of economic development and it may not be possible for the State governments to dovetail their schemes of financial assistance with the educational needs of different communities. Further, it is also likely that if the above propositions are put into practice, it may involve a good deal of extra expenditure to be met out of the States' resources.

Though the situation discussed above is only hypothetical, yet it needs careful consideration of the State governments. If the governments are keen to solve the problems of tribal education in a scientific manner, then it is imperative that differential approach with regard to the schemes of financial assistance are adopted. This can be done by remodelling the existing machinery responsible for such schemes. Besides, a careful planning based on the survey of the existing educational needs of tribal people will go a long way in solving the problems. It is possible for the States to locate areas where most backward tribal communities are living. Certainly, such communities would need different types of schemes of financial assistance than those needed by tribal communities which are relatively more developed.

The differential approach may also bring in its fold such tribal communities which due to various reasons have been able to derive more benefits out of the developmental schemes, which are out of proportion to their population. There can be no doubt that an enlightened and progressive leadership plays an important part in this respect. During field visits to the sample States, it was learnt that wherever and whenever a particular tribe was endowed with a leader whether political or religious, the community tended to get more than its share of financial assistance. In Bihar and Assam the Christian tribes are getting a lion's share of the financial assistance and, as a consequence, are educationally and economically more progressive than the unconverted tribes. The problem is more acute for the tribes who, for one reason or the other, have lagged behind. Obviously, their need is greater than that of the other tribes who are far more developed. Several instances came to notice during field work in which it was found that tribal students hailing from well-to-do families were getting financial assistance under the schemes. 'The Central Advisory Board of Education had earlier objected to the award of scholarships to all scheduled tribe students irrespective of the consideration of financial status as it held that all scholarships in the country, except merit scholarships, should take into consideration the economic condition of parents.'²¹ This indiscriminate award of financial assistance needs to be checked. A criterion can be evolved to mop up such cases so that other students who are deserving may be helped.

It follows from what has been discussed above that the tribal students' need for financial assistance is very genuine. The need arises not only out of their poor economic condition and their traditional apathy for education but also from the very principles of socialistic pattern of society to which the Government is committed. While formulating the policies and plans and implementing the schemes, it is also important to ascertain the educational needs of the tribal communities which may vary according to the different levels of development. Therefore, in order to make the schemes a success, a differential approach needs to be given due consideration. Having discussed the need for financial assistance, we switch on to a discussion of the schemes of financial assistance operating in the sample States.

TYPES OF SCHEMES

The concept of financial assistance has been used in this study to denote any scheme initiated by the State governments for providing financial assistance to tribal students in order to encourage

them for education and also to help them in prosecuting their studies further. These schemes fall under two broad categories namely, those providing assistance in cash and those providing assistance in kind. Although there can be no compartmentalization as far as assistance under these two categories of schemes are concerned, yet this categorization has been resorted to in order only to examine the various schemes. Included in the first category of financial assistance are schemes of scholarships, stipends, bookgrants, free studentship, exemption from examination fee and hostel grants. The second category of schemes includes provision for midday meal, supply of free books and stationery, provision of school uniforms and some of the ancillary facilities provided in the hostels for tribal students.

CRITERIA AND EXECUTION OF THE SCHEMES OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

In the following pages the various criteria of awarding financial assistance to the tribal students and their execution in the sample States are discussed.

Assam

Schemes of Financial Assistance. In the state of Assam three major schemes of financial assistance are operating.

1. Special scholarship scheme,
2. Merit scholarship scheme, and
3. Free studentship scheme.

Besides these three schemes the State government had also undertaken to provide midday meals and bookgrants. But these had to be abandoned as, according to the State authorities, these did not meet with success.

Out of the three schemes which are in vogue in Assam, only the scheme of special scholarship needs special mention, as the rest of the schemes are not confined to tribal students alone but applicable to students of all the communities.

Criteria of the Schemes. The special scholarship is meant for pre-matric tribal students studying in schools recognized by the State government. Such scholarships are not awarded to students studying in unrecognized schools. Thus those tribal students reading in unrecognized proposed high or higher secondary schools are left out of the scope of special scholarship.

In case of the rest of the tribal students, special scholarships are awarded to those who fulfil the criterion of merit-cum-means.

Under the first part of the criterion, a tribal student whose guardian's or parent's annual income does not exceed Rs. 3,600 is eligible for the award. Under the second part of the criterion, a prospective candidate needs to pass the annual school examination in all subjects.

Because of this stricter criterion laid down and adhered to by the State government, not all the pre-matric tribal students are able to get special scholarships. Those who are selected for the award of special scholarships get it as per following rates. Students of IV to VI classes—Rs. 5 per month, students of VII to XI classes—Rs. 7 per month.

There are no schemes of financial assistance for students studying below class IV. Besides, the tuition fee of the students is also deducted out of the amount of special scholarship in case of those who receive it. Thus, after deduction the amount of special scholarship is reduced to Rs. 2 only for tribal students of IV to VI classes and Rs. 3 only for students of VII to XI classes. The special scholarships are tenable for a full year, that is, for 12 months. The amount is disbursed in two half-yearly instalments.

For the award of merit scholarships to the pre-matric tribal students, a competitive examination is held every year. This examination is open to all categories of students. In case a tribal student qualifies in the competitive examination, and also gets selected for the award of special scholarship, he may only get either of the two.

Pre-matric tribal students in Assam are obviously in a disadvantageous position in comparison to their counterparts in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Tripura as far as schemes of financial assistance are concerned. Firstly, they get lower rates of scholarships, secondly, the stricter criterion of merit-cum-means weeds out a majority of tribal students, and thirdly, there are no schemes for students below class IV.

Bihar

Schemes of Financial Assistance. There are four distinct schemes of financial assistance operating in Bihar which are as follows.

1. Stipends and hostel stipends,
2. Stipends in technical schools,
3. Bookgrants in general schools, and
4. Exemption from payment of tuition fee.

None of the above schemes is exclusively for the benefit of scheduled tribe students. The benefits accruing from the above schemes are also shared by students belonging to other backward classes including the scheduled castes and the Muslims. As far as the exclusive nature of the schemes is concerned, there is a view prevalent among the tribal people that of the two religious sections of the various tribes namely, the Christian and the Saunsar (the unconverted), the former, who are numerically less in number than the latter, are enjoying a larger share of privileges. This may be because of the enlightened leadership available among the Christians. They are assertive and educationally advanced. Because of these reasons the students belonging to this religious group are able to get the lion's share of the assistance. The Saunsar, who have not been able to throw up powerful leaders, have to remain entirely at the mercy of others.

The criteria governing the schemes are based on the broad principles of merit-cum-means. The schemewise criteria for award of financial assistance are discussed below.

Stipends and Hostel Stipends in General Schools. A mention has already been made that stipends and hostel stipends to scheduled tribe students are awarded on the recommendations of the District Stipend Award Committee in case of students reading in high and/or higher secondary schools, and on the recommendations of the Block Welfare Committee to the students of middle and primary schools. The recommendations of such committees are based on the following principles.

- (a) Only bonafide residents of State are entitled to the stipends,
- (b) Students of well-to-do families are not entitled to the stipends,
- (c) Stipends are paid subject to good conduct of the student in and outside the institution and his regular attendance,
- (d) Stipends are not awarded to students of proposed or unrecognized institutions.
- (e) Stipends awarded in class I are renewed for subsequent years up to class V if the student has passed the annual examination after securing at least 30 per cent marks.

Similarly, stipends awarded in class VI are renewed up to class VII and those awarded in class VIII up to class XI or XI special. Fresh cases for award are considered only when funds are available

after making renewals. While making automatic renewals, the satisfactory progress and conduct of the student concerned are taken into account. It is thus obvious that all students reading in classes VI and VIII are treated as fresh candidates for the award and their applications are considered by the respective Committees.

The rates of stipends and hostel stipends are as in the table given below.

Table III.7. Rate of stipend and hostel stipend in Bihar

Classes	Rate of hostel stipend	
	per month	per month
I to V	Rs. 4	nil
VI to VII	Rs. 10	Rs. 20
VIII to XI or XI special	Rs. 15	Rs. 20

Stipends in Technical Institutions. Such stipends are awarded to scheduled tribe students reading in technical institutions. These are awarded by the District Welfare Officer on the recommendations of the head of the institutions recognized or managed by the government at the rate of Rs. 25 per month. Here again the students of well-to-do families are not entitled to the stipends. Fresh stipends are awarded only when funds are available after making renewals.

Bookgrants in General Schools. These are generally awarded to those students who could not be awarded stipends and hostel stipends. This is a lump sum grant awarded as per rates given in the table below.

Table III.8. Rate of bookgrant in Bihar

Classes	Rate per annum
I to V	Rs. 7
VI to VII	Rs. 10
VIII to XI or XI special	Rs. 15

Other conditions applicable in the case of stipends are also applicable to this scheme.

Exemption from Payment of Tuition Fee. All scheduled tribe students are exempted from payment of tuition fee. But, unlike Assam, the amount of exempted tuition fee is not deducted from the other stipends. Thus the tribal students of Bihar receiving benefits are comparatively better off than their counterparts in Assam.

It may be mentioned here that the two committees recommend students only for award of stipends and hostel stipends. All other assistance are awarded by the District Welfare Officer. Another point worth mentioning is that the State authorities have not defined the concept of 'well-to-do families' in the criteria as has been clearly laid down by the Assam government. This leaves much room for exercise of discretion by the two committees and the District Welfare Officer.

Procedure of Disbursement. The school session in Bihar starts from January. Applications for award of stipends are invited from the students right in the beginning. Along with the application a tribal student is required to furnish a certificate about his being a scheduled tribe and about the annual income of his parents or guardian. Applications from the students of the primary and middle schools are forwarded to the Block Welfare Committee and those from students of high and higher secondary schools to the District Stipend Award Committee.

After all the applications are received by the committees, their meetings are convened. As per directions issued by the State government, such meetings ought to be called during the month of February each year for making selections of students for the award of stipends. It has also been stipulated that payment be made from the month of March. Further, it is also stipulated that in case of primary and middle schools the award of stipends, book-grants and other allied grants should be finalized by 15th March each year and payment be made in two instalments: the first instalment in April for the months of January to June and the second instalment in October for July to December.

For the award of stipends in high and higher secondary schools, the selection of stipendiaries is to be made by the District Committee latest by the end of February and payments are to be made as per schedule given in the following table.

Table III.9. Period of stipend and the month when it is due in Bihar

Period	Month in which it is due
January and February	March
March to June	April
July to September	August
October to December	November

Bookgrants are to be given in one instalment.

What has been written above is only the official policy. As regards its implementation, it is noticed that the District Committee takes its own time in convening its meeting and deciding upon the applications. In case the meeting is convened a few months after the scheduled time, the whole schedule for the disbursement of financial assistance is disturbed, and, consequently, the payment of assistance to students is delayed.

Madhya Pradesh

Schemes of Financial Assistance. In Madhya Pradesh both types of schemes of financial assistance, that is, those in cash and in kind are in operation. Schemes in kind in the shape of free distribution of textbooks, slates and pencils are confined to primary level. Schemes in cash are meant for students of middle, high and higher secondary schools.

Scholarships and hostel stipends are admissible to all the scheduled tribe students. Here we find a clear-cut departure from the norm that exists in Assam, Bihar and Tripura. Madhya Pradesh has no criterion like merit-cum-means. Still, not only the scheduled tribe students entitled to the scholarships and stipends but also students belonging to the 'left out' tribes are covered under the scope of the schemes. The 'left out' tribes are those tribes which, due to one reason or the other, could not be included in the list. This is a very generous approach adopted by the Madhya Pradesh government. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned earlier, not more than 45.01 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students get financial assistance. Obviously, there must be some snag somewhere, either in the machinery responsible for disbursement or in students themselves.

As far as the rates of scholarships and hostel stipends are concerned, tribal girl students get comparatively a higher rate of scholarships than the tribal boy students get. The rates are as given in the table below.

Table III.10. Rate of scholarship for boys and girls in Madhya Pradesh

Classes	Rates per month for boys	Rates per month for girls	Period in a year for which scholarship is tenable
VI to VIII	Rs. 10	Rs. 15	for 10 months
IX to XI	Rs. 15	Rs. 22.50	for 10 months

Hostel stipends are awarded at the rate of Rs. 30 per month for a period of 10 months to all pre-matric tribal students putting up in hostels at the district headquarters. For students residing in hostels at tehsil headquarters the amount of stipend awarded is at the rate of Rs. 25 per month for a period of 10 months. The difference in the rates of scholarships in case of boys and girls is because of the State government's anxiety to attract more and more tribal girls to schools. This is a sort of extra inducement. The higher rate admissible to students living in hostels at district and tehsil levels is because of the higher cost of living there.

Criteria of Disbursement. While describing the procedure of disbursement in the previous pages, a mention was made that all scheduled tribe students are eligible for the award of scholarships and hostel stipends. We will now make an attempt to describe the criteria underlying the schemes.

- (a) Scholarships and hostel stipends are admissible to all scheduled tribe and 'left out' tribal students.
- (b) Scholarships and hostel stipends are available to students reading in government and non-government recognized schools.
- (c) No student who failed in the last annual examination is awarded scholarship subject to the exception that one failure on the part of scheduled tribe students, in each class of the higher secondary stage, is condoned.
- (d) While recommending the applications of the tribal students for the award, the school authorities also take into account the regularity and the satisfactory progress of the students.

Tenure of Scholarship and Hostel Stipends. (a) Scholarships are tenable for 10 months from June to March. Although schools do not remain open in June, the scholarship for that month is payable in July so as to enable students to purchase books and stationery.

(b) The scholarship is tenable for a period of 10 months in a year subject to good conduct and satisfactory progress. Scholarships of students absenting themselves for more than fifteen days in a month is suspended for that particular month. Scholarships of students absenting from studies continuously for more than two months except on medical grounds is cancelled. These rules also apply to students reading in primary schools.

(c) If a student joins the institution after a lapse of three months counted from the opening day after vacations he is not entitled to scholarship. However, in special cases award of scholarship may be made but in such cases students are eligible for scholarships only from the date of joining.

Thus, from above, it can be safely deduced that the criteria governing the schemes are comparatively more pragmatic in Madhya Pradesh than in Bihar and Assam. Whereas in Madhya Pradesh one failure in each class of the higher secondary school is condoned, in Assam not even a failure in one subject, even though the student is promoted, is condoned for the purpose of award of any kind of financial assistance. Besides, in Madhya Pradesh one thing which is conspicuous by its non-existence is the Committee for the award of scholarships. Another striking characteristic is the comparatively wider coverage of tribal students under the various schemes of financial assistance in Madhya Pradesh. Still more, although the State has comparatively lesser number of schemes, these have both intensive and extensive coverage. However, in spite of initial advantages to the tribal students as far as schemes of financial assistance are concerned, there are some inherent limitations. First is the unwillingness and unpreparedness of tribal students in remote areas to come forward and avail of the assistance. This is substantiated by the fact that out of the total number of 17,65,104 children of school-going age (6 to 17 years) in 1961, only 3,24,015, that is, only 18.35 per cent were enrolled in the schools. Whereas, in Assam, out of 6,11,185 children of school-going age, 3,53,448, that is, 57.82 per cent were enrolled in schools. In Bihar out of 11,77,335 children of school-going age, 3,25,217, that is, 27.62 per cent were on the rolls. In case of the Union Territory of Tripura, out of 1,01,107 children of school-going age, 27,057, that is, 26.73 per cent were in the schools. Thus it is evident that out of the three sample States and one Union territory, Madhya Pradesh had the lowest percentage of children of school-going age in schools in 1961-62. The table given below gives the details of children of school-going age, pre-matric enrolment of tribal students, financial assistance to tribal students, and tribal literacy in the sample States.

It is clear from the table given below that of all the sample States, Madhya Pradesh has the lowest percentage of literacy among the tribal people. Though 45 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students are getting assistance under the schemes

of financial assistance, it is counterbalanced by the lower percentage of enrolment of tribal students.

Table III.11. Tribal children of school-going age, pre-matric tribal enrolment, tribal students getting financial assistance and literacy of tribal people in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura during 1961-62.

	Assam	Bihar	Madhya Pradesh	Tripura
Total No. of tribal children of school-going age (6 to 17 years)	6,11,185	11,77,335	17,65,104	1,01,107
Total enrolment of pre-matric tribal students	3,53,448	3,25,217	3,24,015	27,057
Total No. of pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance	36,819	30,308	1,45,824	1,538
Percentage of tribal enrolment of total No. of children of school-going age	57.82	27.62	18.35	26.73
Percentage of tribal students getting financial assistance out of total tribal students	10.41	09.31	45.00	05.65
Percentage of literacy among the tribal people according to 1961 census	23.57	09.26	05.11	10.01

Tripura

The Schemes of Financial Assistance. In the Union Territory of Tripura, there are a total number of eight schemes of financial assistance which are as follows.

1. School stipends
2. Bookgrants
3. Boarding house stipends
4. Merit scholarships
5. Supply of free dress to tribal girls
6. Free books for tribal students
7. Reimbursement of examination fee
8. Attendance scholarships.

Probably no other State or Union Territory has such a large number of schemes with so low a coverage under these. In 1961-62 only 10.01 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students were getting financial assistance. Reasons for such a situation can be found in the criteria which govern the schemes.

Criteria Governing the Schemes. The Union Territory administration have passed bye-laws framed under clause (a) of sub-section (1) of section 55 of the Territorial Council's Act 1956 (103 of 1956), to provide for grant of stipends and scholarships. The information given below has been taken from the official records of the Union Territory of Tripura.

Bye-laws Governing School Stipends (a) School stipends may be given to meritorious and diligent students of indigent circumstances by the Committee on the basis of the results of a scholarship examination at the end of the course in class VIII.

(b) The number of school stipends to be granted in any year to students in class IX and such stipends which may be renewed for students in classes X and XI under bye-laws 9 may be determined by the Council or by the Chairman, if authorized in that behalf by a formal resolution of the Council. Provided that the total number of stipends granted to students in all the three classes shall not be increased beyond 300 without the prior approval of the Administrator.

(c) The value of school stipend shall be Rs. 10 per student per month.

(d) The stipend shall be awarded on merit-cum-means basis subject to the following stipulations relating to the income of the parent or guardian, as the case may be, of the student:—

Full Stipends. (i) Income upto Rs. 200 per mensem irrespective of the number of children.

(ii) Income between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 per mensem with two or more children.

(iii) Income between Rs. 300 and Rs. 400 per mensem with three or more children.

(iv) Income between Rs. 400 and Rs. 500 per mensem with four or more children.

Half Stipends. (i) Income between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 per mensem with one child.

(ii) Income between Rs. 300 and Rs. 400 per mensem with two children.

(iii) Income between Rs. 400 and Rs. 500 per mensem with three children.

'(7) (i) Out of the total number of stipends fixed for any year not less than 50 per cent shall be reserved for students belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes.

'(ii) Out of the remaining 50 per cent, one-third shall be reserved for girls and the remaining two-thirds awarded to other eligible students.

'(8) In case the required number of students eligible for grant of stipend is not available from any particular class of students specified in clause (1) or clause (2) of bye-laws (b) in any year, the remaining stipends may be diverted for award to other eligible students.

'(9) Payments of stipends shall be made through the Head of the School concerned. School stipends, including those granted before the commencement of these bye-laws, may be renewed from year to year by the Committee subject to good conduct and satisfactory progress in the schools of the recipient and provided they do not otherwise become eligible for a school stipend under bye-laws.

'(10) (i) An application for permission to appear at the scholarships examinations may be addressed to the Principal Officer, Education Department and submitted through the head of the school in such form as may be prescribed for this purpose by the Education Department of the Council together with a certificate prescribed in bye-laws, before the 31st January every year.

'(ii) The Principal Officer, Education Department, shall cause a scholarship examination to be held before the end of February every year and shall place his recommendations before the Committee for orders for the award of school stipends.

'(iii) No application shall be necessary for a renewal stipend. The Committee may renew stipends at its discretion under bye-laws.'

'(11) An application for school stipend shall be accompanied by a certificate from a Member of Parliament or of the Council, or an officer of the Council serving in a post carrying a minimum monthly salary (exclusive of allowances) of rupees two hundred or more, or of a Municipality or the Chairman or President of a Panchayat in Tripura as to the conduct of the student and the monthly income of the student's parent/guardian and also as to

the tribe, caste or class he or she belongs to in the case of an applicant belonging to the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes or other backward classes.

(12) A candidate for a school stipend must have passed in all subjects in the annual examination immediately preceding the scholarship examination and secured in the aggregate at least 40 per cent marks in the case of girls and students belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes, and 50 per cent marks in the case of other students.

(13) A student shall not be eligible for a school stipend if he or she is in receipt of a boarding house stipend.'

The bye-laws governing the scheme of school stipends have been mentioned above. Now certain observation may be made. To begin with, the school stipends are meant for all categories of students. Although some obvious relaxations have been made in case of scheduled tribe students, yet hardly any tribal student is ever able to get the school stipend. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, because of educational backwardness, a tribal student fails to obtain the required percentage of marks at the competitive examination held for this purpose. The statistics reveal the actual position. In the year 1965-66 only 5 tribal students out of 299, that is 1.67 per cent got school stipends, though more than 16 per cent should have got these stipends as per conditions laid down. Secondly, if a tribal student gets school stipend, he is not entitled to get boarding house stipend. Incidentally, it may be said that a tribal student gets from Rs. 30 to Rs. 37.50 per mensem as boarding house stipend. This stipend is definitely more attractive to tribal students than the meagre sum of Rs. 10 per mensem as school stipend which a tribal student may get in case he gets 40 per cent marks at the examination. As such a tribal student would not like to work hard to get 40 per cent marks to get Rs. 10 per mensem because he would not consider the amount worth the effort when he can get Rs. 30 to Rs. 37.50 per mensem as boarding house stipend without putting in any labour. Thus it may safely be said that the scheme of school stipends is not of any great advantage to tribal students.

Bye-laws for the Scheme of Bookgrants. '14. A bookgrant may be given by the Committee to a diligent student of indigent circumstances if specially recommended in that behalf by the Head of the School concerned.

'15. The amount of bookgrant shall be awarded on the following scale:—

Primary classes	Rs. 10 per annum
Middle classes	Rs. 25 per annum
classes IX, X, XI	Rs. 40 per annum

'16. An application for bookgrant may be made in such form as may be prescribed for this purpose by the Education Department of the Council.'

The scheme of bookgrant is the only scheme which has the largest coverage of pre-matric tribal students. Out of 3,761 pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance during 1965-66, 2,303, that is, 61.2 per cent were getting only bookgrants.

The scheme of bookgrants is not exclusive to the scheduled tribe students. One of the important relaxations in their case is that they need to secure only pass marks at the annual examinations for the entitlement of bookgrant. However, in spite of this relaxation, not many pre-matric tribal students are able to get this assistance. This is because unless a tribal student passes in all the subjects, he may not be considered for the award. Thus a student who literally gets promoted to next class may not get bookgrant if he fails in any one of the subjects. This is the reason why out of 35,000 tribal students in 1966-67 only 3,135, that is, 8.9 per cent got bookgrants.

Another point which may be mentioned here is the rate of bookgrants. This is low and needs to be raised so as to enable the students to make purchases of books.

Criteria for the Scheme of Boarding House Stipends. '17. (1) Boarding house stipends may be given by the Committee to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students and the same may be renewed by the Committee from year to year on the basis of the recommendation of the Head of the School concerned regarding satisfactory progress and conduct of the student. These stipends shall be awarded to the students coming from the mofussil areas provided there are no suitable educational facilities available within 3 miles from the residence of the students.

(2) An application for admission to a boarding house shall be made through the Head of the School to the Principal Officer, Education Department of the Council. Such application shall be

placed by the Principal Officer with his recommendations before the Committee for orders.

18. (1) A boarding house stipend may be granted at the following rates to a student admitted to a boarding house:

- (a) Rs. 1.25 paise per day per boarder for actual number of days of residence in a boarding house at sub-divisional headquarters.
- (b) Re. 1 per day per boarder for actual number of days of residence in a boarding house at places other than sub-divisional headquarters.

(2) The rates of boarding house stipend as specified in clause (1) may be increased or decreased by the Council with the prior approval of the Administrator. Every resolution of the Council in this behalf shall be published in Tripura Gazette.

(3) The list of boarding houses may be altered, by the addition of a new name or omission of any existing name or names, from time to time by the Council with the prior approval of the Administrator. Every resolution of the Council in this behalf shall be published in the Tripura Gazette.

From the above criteria laid down for the execution of the scheme of boarding house stipends it is evident that this scheme too is not exclusively meant for the benefit of tribal students. Out of the total number of 1,262 boarding house stipends granted, 937, that is, 74.2 per cent were awarded to tribal students with a total expenditure of Rs. 2,45,898.50 in 1965-66. The general problem faced by the tribal boarders pertained to the inadequacy of the amount. Students felt that due to increasing prices it was difficult for them to meet all the expenses in boarding houses at the meagre rate of allowance given to them.

In a boarding house, the tribal students are provided with a cot, an almirah shared by two or more students and a lantern shared by the inmates. In some of the boarding houses bedding is also provided. As far as the board of the students is concerned, they have to meet their own expenditure. Usually, this work is looked after by the hostel superintendent with the assistance of boarders. The daily programme is chalked out by the incharge of the boarding house according to which the boarders lead their day-to-day life. Further details about the reactions of the students who received boarding house stipends towards various aspects of schemes have been given in a later chapter.

Criteria for Scheme of Merit Scholarships. '19. Ten merit scholarships of Rs. 20 per month each shall be awarded at the post-primary stage on the basis of the results of the primary scholarships examination to encourage meritorious students. Payment of merit scholarships shall be made through the Inspector of Schools or by any other officer as may be authorized in that behalf from time to time by the Council.

'20. Primary scholarship examination shall be conducted by the Education Department of the Council at such time and in such manner as may be directed by the Committee from time to time.'

Most of the observations made earlier in connection with the schemes of school stipends are also applicable in this case. However, out of the 10 stipulated merit scholarships for tribal students, not even a single tribal student got this in 1965-66. In order that tribal students may also get benefit out of this scheme, it is necessary to reserve certain percentage of the total scholarships for them. The percentage may be decided upon on the basis of population. For tribal students, a separate merit list may be prepared and those who come within the reserved number may get the scholarships.

Criteria for the Scheme for Supply of Free Dresses to Tribal Girls. Since this scheme is a newly initiated one, not much details were available. However, the Administration has approached the Government of India for financial sanctions for this scheme. For the year 1967-68 the Government of India have accepted a provision of Rs. 0.15 lakh for the implementation of this scheme. The cost of each set of dress has been calculated for the girls reading in classes III to V and VI to VIII at Rs. 14 and Rs. 18 respectively. If this scheme is introduced, then this will be the first scheme in Tripura providing assistance in kind. The success of the scheme will depend upon the way in which it is implemented. The liking of tribal people for colourful dress is well known. They have their own individual tastes and choices for colour and quality and texture of clothes. If dull and drab dresses, without taking into consideration the liking of tribal girls, are provided, the scheme may create adverse psychological reaction and the girls may not prefer to use such a dress. Hence it is very important to give serious thought to it so as to begin the scheme on a sound footing.

Criteria for the Scheme for Supply of Free Books. It is reported that Tripura also proposes to start another scheme in kind. Under

this scheme, it is proposed to distribute free books to tribal students of classes I and II at the rate of Rs. 3 per student. For the year 1966-67, the Government of India have accepted a provision of Rs. 0.1 lakh for implementation of this scheme.

Criteria for the Scheme for Exemption from Payment of Examination Fees. (a) The students belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who are bonafide residents of the Union Territory concerned will be eligible for the concession even if they study in a college or institution outside the Union Territory or appear in an examination conducted by any Board/University in the country provided their parents reside permanently in the Territory concerned.

(b) This concession will not be admissible in respect of examinations conducted by Universities/Boards outside India.

(c) If the scholarship amount granted to the student under any scheme of award of scholarships includes the examination fees then such students will not be eligible for this concession.

(d) The candidates who fail at the examination in the first attempt by less than 5 per cent marks may be granted the fee concession for appearing at the examination at the second time but not oftener.

Candidates who could not sit in their annual examination due to illness and give proof thereof together with a certificate from the head of the institution that had they appeared they were likely to have passed the annual examination may also be granted this concession for appearing at the next examination.

(e) This concession will be eligible only in respect of examinations whether annual or quarter conducted by the University/Boards and not for local examinations.

(f) This concession will not be eligible to students who offer as private candidates.'

Since the above scheme is not exclusively meant for scheduled tribe students, other categories of students also share the benefits. In 1965-66, out of 339 students who were exempted from paying examination fees 199, that is, 49.8 per cent belonged to the scheduled tribes.

Criteria for the Scheme for Attendance Scholarships. (1) The attendance scholarships will be tenable for girl students only reading in classes II to V.

(2) Any girl student reading in classes II to V of any recognized primary/junior basic school situated outside sub-divisional headquarters in the Union Territory of Tripura, maintaining at least 90 per cent attendance in the previous academic session will be eligible for the scholarship, provided that—

(i) If in the current session, adequate number of candidate maintaining the requisite percentage of attendance in the previous session is not found, the cases of candidates who maintained 80 per cent attendance in the previous session may be considered.

(3) The value of scholarship shall be of the following order—

(a) for students of class II @ Rs. 1.50 paise per month each

(b) for students of classes III & IV @ Rs. 2 per month each

(c) for students of class V @ Rs. 2.50 paise per month each.

(4) Each such scholarship shall be tenable for 12 months.

(5) Applications for attendance scholarships shall be addressed to the Principal Officer, Education Department, Tripura Territorial Council and be submitted through the Inspector of Schools of the respective areas.

(6) An application for the scholarship must be accompanied by a certificate from the head of the school in which the applicant studied in the previous year testifying that—

(i) Her conduct was good

(ii) Her progress in the class was satisfactory.

(17) If a scholar fails to attend school continuously for a month or more the scholarship will be liable to be discontinued, provided that

(i) She may be allowed to enjoy the scholarship if she can show sufficient and satisfactory reason for her failure to attend school.

(ii) If a scholar discontinues her studies, she will not be eligible for the scholarships.

(8) The scholarship is liable to be discontinued if the progress and conduct of the scholar is found unsatisfactory.

(9) Holding of attendance scholarship will not debar a candidate from enjoying other scholarships, stipends or grants etc.

(10) 50 per cent of the scholarships will be reserved for pupils belonging to the scheduled tribes/castes and other backward communities, provided that if the requisite number of pupils is not available from among pupils belonging to these communities, the remaining scholarships reserved for them only be given to the others.'

Though the attendance scholarships are open to all categories of girl students, yet certain reservations have been made in case of scheduled tribe girl candidates. More and more tribal girls of not only primary and junior basic levels, but also of middle, senior basic, high and higher secondary level students need to be provided with this scholarship. This is necessary for spreading girls' education among the tribes.

For this scheme, it may be noted that unlike the scheme of school stipends, the recipient of attendance scholarship is also entitled to get other benefits in case she fulfills the required conditions. This is a welcome clause.

As far as the implementation of this scheme is concerned, in 1965-66 out of 2,977 attendance scholarships awarded to students, 327, that is, 10.9 per cent were awarded to scheduled tribe girl students.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE : PROGRESS MADE AND MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF SCHEMES

A. Progress made by the Schemes of Financial Assistance

FOR measuring the progress made by the schemes of financial assistance it is essential to take into account the general progress made in the field of tribal education. There are two approaches for reviewing the progress: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Since it is difficult to measure the qualitative progress, efforts have been made to measure the quantitative progress. The table given below gives the total expenditure incurred on tribal education, and the enrolment of tribal students during the first three plan periods.

Table IV.1. Expenditure incurred on tribal education including expenditure on schemes of financial assistance, and total number of tribal students getting assistance during the plan periods

Plan	Total number of tribal students getting financial assistance	Total expenditure
First five-year plan	4,50,000	5,10,33,518
Second five-year plan	3,94,738	6,37,96,552
Third five-year plan	6,88,447	11,78,61,000 (estimated)
Total	15,33,185	23,26,91,070

There has been a decline in the figures of the tribal students getting financial assistance during the second five-year plan though the expenditure on education has increased. By the end of the third plan period, the total expenditure on tribal education was more than the total combined expenditure during the first and the second five-year plans.

Having examined the expenditure and enrolment figures we may now analyze the assistance rendered to tribal students under the various schemes of financial assistance during the period 1956-61.

Table IV.2. Assistance rendered to tribal students by way of scholarships and bookgrants at the middle and high school stages during the period 1956-61

State/Union Territory	Physical targets proposed for financial assistance during 2nd Plan (No. of scholarships)	Physical targets achieved during 2nd Plan		Total of cols. 3&4	Enrolment of pre-matric tribal students during 1960-61	Tribal students receiving financial assistance during 1960-61
		No. of scholarships granted	No. of freships & bookgrants granted			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Andhra Pradesh	12,775	12,835	17,733	30,568	67,640	2,020
Assam	6,681	8,740	2,444	11,184	3,09,373	9,559
Bihar	12,900	15,000	2,500	17,500	3,17,138	8,000
Kerala	31,150	22,426	N.A.	22,426	14,738	1,650
Madhya Pradesh	1,12,971	1,34,189	N.A.	1,34,189	2,46,055	28,072
Madras	1,370	330	N.A.	330	15,684	90
Maharashtra	6,905	26,129	N.A.	26,129	1,79,857	25,755
					(including Gujarat)	
Mysore	1,065	2,519	10,195	12,714	17,821	250
Orissa	4,000	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	40,199
Punjab	N.A.	6,704	N.A.	6,704	2,132	N.A.
Rajasthan	28,890	68,852	2,139	70,991	24,012	8,488
West Bengal	12,360	1,639	53,937	55,576	1,10,919	14,673
Himachal Pradesh	475	922	399	1,321	4,918	300
Manipur	125	440	58	498	N.A.	440
Tripura	N.A.	N.A.	4,608	4,608	23,628	399
Total	2,31,667	3,00,725	94,013	3,94,738	13,33,915	1,39,895

The table given above indicates that the targets of schemes of financial assistance were achieved. Whereas it was proposed by the States and Union Territories to extend benefits to 2,31,667 pre-matric tribal students, the actual achievements exceeded by 1,63,071, that is, by 70.3 per cent. Except in the case of Kerala and Madras, all the States and Union Territories for which the figures are available seem to have made satisfactory progress. The progress made by the schemes of financial assistance during the second five-year plan period would in itself be meaningless unless it has made any impact on the progress of education during the

corresponding years. The available enrolment figures of tribal students for the States of Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Mysore and West Bengal show that in the case of Assam the enrolment figures registered an annual increase of 13.10 per cent during the period 1956-57 to 1958-59. In case of Bihar the percentage increase was 13.71. In case of Maharashtra the increase was 4.77 and in West Bengal it was 10.44. Since enrolment figures for the rest of the States and Union Territories are not available, it cannot be conclusively maintained whether the schemes showed any impact on the rise of enrolment figures of scheduled tribe students.

As far as the third five-year plan is concerned, the table given below shows the progress made by the schemes.

Table IV.3. Allocations for education during third plan, physical targets proposed for financial assistance to tribal students, enrolment of tribal students during 1961-62 and 1962-63 and the number of students benefited during 1961-62 and 1962-63

States/Union Territories	Allocation for education Rs. in lakhs	Physical targets proposed for financial assistance to scheduled tribe students during 3rd Plan	Enrolment of pre-matric tribal students during 1961-62	Tribal students getting financial assistance during 1961-62	Enrolment of tribal students during 1962-63	Tribal students getting financial assistance during 1962-63
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Andhra Pradesh	41.56	1,200	83,716	16,571	83,974	
	(Midday meals)					
Assam	135.00	30,500	3,53,448	36,819	3,86,273	
Bihar	261.00	1,36,375	3,25,217	30,308	2,77,702	
Gujarat	77.25	2,285	2,28,566	15,252	2,53,308	
Kerala	11.63	9,268	15,529	12,330	N.A.	16,588
Madhya Pradesh	318.22	3,97,975	3,24,015	1,45,825	3,35,623	
Madras	10.00	600	7,406	414	16,476	
Maharashtra	49.63	7,100	1,98,552	26,287	1,54,478	
Mysore	13.00	6,055	13,920	1,382	N.A.	
Orissa	152.47	1,25,008	2,59,527	1,40,189	2,75,057	
Punjab	N.A.	N.A.	4,673	2,049	6,932	1,326
Rajasthan	77.50	50,000	31,217	1,847	74,401	19,635
West Bengal	85.69	26,000	1,32,368	15,331	1,26,592	
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	02.25	5,638	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	
Himachal Pradesh	09.00	8,500	4,927	581	5,081	708
Manipur	19.00	N.A.	49,385	6,332	52,631	1,474
Tripura	10.84	2,080	27,057	1,538	29,357	1,684

Figures given in Tables IV.2 and IV.3 are inter-related. The benefits to students under schemes of financial assistance continued during the second five-year plan could be expected to create an impact on the enrolment figures of tribal students. If the figures of 1960-61, that is, the last year of the second five-year plan and those of 1963-64, that is, the second year of the third five-year plan are compared, it is seen that there has been a fall in the percentage of enrolment in the case of Bihar. There were 3,17,138 tribal students in 1960-61. This figure came down to 2,77,702 in 1963-64. When the enrolment figures of 1960-61 and 1961-62 are compared, it is found that in case of Madras the enrolment figures of 15,684 during 1960-61 came down to 7,406. Similar is the case of Mysore. There has been a decrease of 21.8 per cent in the enrolment figures of tribal students during the year 1961-62.

The progress made by the various schemes of financial assistance in the sample States and the Union Territory of Tripura may now be discussed.

ASSAM

According to 1961 census the population of tribal communities in Assam was 20,68,364 which constituted 17.42 per cent of the total population. The general percentage of literacy in the State was 23.58 and that of the tribes 27.4. During the same year there were 5,95,905 children of school-going age (6 to 17 years) out of which 3,53,448, that is, 59.3 per cent were in schools. In 1963, the pre-matric students were 29.5 per cent of the total population, 18.0 per cent in case of boy students and 11.5 per cent in case of girl students. The pre-matric tribal students constituted 37.2 per cent of the total tribal population, 23.2 per cent in case of boy students and 14.0 per cent in case of girl students. In 1964 pre-matric students were 31.3 per cent of the total population, 19.3 per cent in case of boy students and 12.0 per cent in case of girl students. Similarly in case of pre-matric tribal students they constituted 39.7 per cent of the total tribal population, 24.3 per cent in case of boy students and 15.4 per cent in case of girl students. Thus it can be said that the percentage of literacy of the tribes in 1961 was more than that of the non-tribal population. Again, comparatively more tribal students out of tribal population were in schools than non-tribal students out of non-tribal population in 1963-64.

Table IV.4. Enrolment of tribal students during the years 1960-61 to 1963-64

Type of institutions	1960-61*			1961-62			1962-63			1963-64		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total		
Nursery	1,599	903	1,022	1,925	949	974	1,923	970	1,091	2,061		
Primary		1,34,026	88,490	2,22,516	1,48,383	93,399	2,41,782	1,54,958	1,03,421	2,58,379		
Junior Basic	2,51,392 (including primary)	34,146	23,829	57,975	33,552	23,851	57,403	38,560	24,030	62,590		
Middle		24,280	10,206	34,486	31,915	12,259	44,174	28,809	14,132	42,941		
Senior Basic	32,697 (including middle)	3,620	1,916	5,536	4,946	3,086	8,032	4,219	2,250	6,469		
High		19,465	7,005	26,650	21,185	8,102	29,287	24,346	10,827	35,173		
Higher Secondary	21,210 (including high)	3,326	1,034	4,360	2,724	948	3,672	2,724	1,037	3,761		
Total	3,06,898	2,19,766	1,33,502	3,53,268	2,43,654	1,42,619	3,86,273	2,54,586	1,56,788	4,11,374		

(*Sexwise figures not available for 1960-61)

The table shows that there has been an increase in the enrolment figures during 1961-62, 1962-63 and 1963-64 if 1960-61 is taken as the base year. Increase in enrolment in 1961-62 was 15.1 per cent, in 1962-63 it was 9.2 per cent, and in 1963-64 it was 6.4 per cent.

Table IV.5. Total number of tribal students getting scholarships and free studentships and total expenditure on both schemes during the years 1960-61 to 1965-66.

Years	Total No. of tribal students getting scholarships	Total expenditure on scheme of scholarships	Total No. of tribal students getting free studentships	Total expenditure (in rupees)	Total of columns 2 & 4	Total of columns 3 & 5
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1960-61	5,856	3,86,080	24,178	8,24,400	30,034	12,10,480
1961-62	6,494	3,95,000	41,545	8,50,000	48,039	12,45,000
1962-63	6,481	4,62,000	40,140	12,75,000	46,621	17,37,000
1963-64	6,733	4,75,000	55,256	16,60,000	61,989	21,35,000
1964-65	7,118	5,05,000	67,701	24,10,000	74,819	29,15,000
1965-66	5,300	3,75,000	N.A.	N.A.	5,300	3,75,000
Total	37,982	25,98,080	2,28,820	70,19,400	2,66,802	96,17,480

It may be noticed from the above table that there has been a decrease in the number of recipients during the year 1962-63 though the expenditure has maintained an upward trend. It is also clear from Tables IV.4 and IV.5 that out of 3,06,898 pre-matric tribal students in 1960-61, 30,034, that is, 9.7 per cent received assistance under the schemes of financial assistance. In 1961-62, 13.5 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students received assistance under the schemes. In 1962-63 the percentage of tribal students getting financial assistance came down to 12.06. In 1963-64 the percentage again showed an upward trend. During that year 15.06 per cent out of the total pre-matric tribal students received assistance.

Allocations for the schemes of financial assistance were also made by the State for the period 1966-67 to 1970-71.

Table IV. 6. Allocations made for the period from 1966-67 to 1970-71 for the schemes of financial assistance for hill tribes and plain tribes (Rs. in lakhs)

Periods	Allocation for scholarships scheme		Allocation for free studentships	
	Hill tribes	Plain tribes	Hill tribes	Plain tribes
1966-67	3.00	3.00	9.00	13.00
1967-68	3.50	3.50	10.00	14.50
1968-69	4.00	4.00	11.00	16.00
1969-70	4.50	4.50	12.00	17.50
1970-71	5.00	5.00	13.00	19.00
Total	20.00	20.00	55.00	80.00

The above table provides an interesting reading. To begin with, Rs. 135.00 lakhs have been allocated in the State budget for the five-year period mentioned above for meeting expenditure on schemes of free studentships. For schemes of scholarships this allocation is only Rs. 40 lakhs. This means that the State government as a matter of policy will give more emphasis on scheme of free studentships than on scheme of scholarships for tribal students. Rs. 100 lakhs have been allocated for schemes of financial assistance for tribal students of plain districts. This amount is more than that planned to be spent on these schemes for hill tribes students, which is only Rs. 75 lakhs. The census figures of 1961 of Assam reveal that there are 9,56,858 tribal people in the plain districts and 11,11,506 in hill districts. This shows that for comparatively smaller tribal population of plain districts more amount has been allocated and for comparatively larger tribal population of hill districts less amount has been allocated.

A few conclusions can be drawn from the tables given on previous pages. To begin with, a striking feature of the schemes of financial assistance has been an overall emphasis on those schemes which provide benefits in cash only. Secondly, it is also noted that not all the tribal students are getting assistance from the schemes. Thirdly, the policy of the State government with regard to schemes of financial assistance is also reflected in the allocations made and Expenditure incurred on the schemes.

As far as the first observation is concerned namely, that overall emphasis is given on schemes which provide assistance in cash, the official explanation in this regard is that cash schemes are more practical in nature and can be executed easily and speedily. It is because of these presumptions that the State government has

formulated the existing policy of providing benefits in cash only. Efforts were made to ascertain whether the presumptions underlying the policy were correct or not. Though detailed analysis has been given in chapters V and VI, yet for the time being it may be said that there have been delays in disbursement of financial assistance under the schemes.

The second observation relates to coverage and shortage of funds. It has already been noticed that the coverage of tribal students under the schemes varied from 9.7 per cent in 1960-61 to 15.06 per cent in 1963-64 with an annual average coverage of 12.5 per cent of the total tribal students. This low coverage of the schemes is in spite of the fact that 100 per cent grants are given by the Government of India for financing the schemes of tribal welfare in Assam. Therefore, the low coverage of tribal students under the schemes of financial assistance may not be due to shortage of funds. It may be because of the very policy of the State government and because of the diversion of funds allocated for tribal education to other schemes.

Another aspect of the policy is the provision for merit-*cum*-means test. Since all the pre-matric tribal students are not awarded scholarships and stipends, a merit-*cum*-means criterion has been laid down. Any tribal student studying in a school recognized by the government, and whose father's or guardian's income does not exceed Rs. 3,000 per annum is considered for the award of scholarship provided he fulfills the merit criterion. On this criterion, a committee known as the Scholarship Distribution Committee makes the final selection of students for the award. Further details about the constitution have been given in a subsequent chapter.

BIHAR

According to 1961 census the tribal population constituted 9.05 per cent of the total population. The percentage of literacy of the total population was 13.4 and that of tribal population 9.16. There were 11,50,845 tribal children in the school-going age (6 to 17 years) out of whom 3,25,217, that is, 28.20 per cent were on the rolls of the schools.

Enrolment of Pre-Matric Tribal Students

During the first year of the first five-year plan there were 1,35,363 pre-matric tribal students and during the year 1955-56

there were 1,84,739 tribal students, which means an increase of 36.50 per cent or an annual increase of 7.3 per cent in enrolment of pre-matric tribal students during the first five-year plan period.

During the first year of the second plan, the enrolment figure of tribal students was 1,99,768 and during 1960-61 it was 3,15,270 which means an increase of 57.9 per cent or an annual increase of 11.75 per cent during the total period of the second five-year plan.

During the first year of the third five-year plan, that is, 1961-62, the enrolment figure of the pre-matric tribal students was 3,25,217 which rose to 4,08,268 during 1963-64. Table IV.7. gives the details, which shows that there has been a decrease of 14.6 per cent in the enrolment of pre-matric tribal students in 1962-63 as compared to the enrolment figures of 1961-62.

Progress of the Schemes of Financial Assistance

Due to non-availability of facts and figures, it is difficult to point out the progress made by the schemes of financial assistance during the first plan period.

For the second plan period, the State government fixed a physical target of providing scholarships to 12,900 tribal students. At the end of the plan, 14,818 stipends were awarded which means the target was exceeded by 14.8 per cent and in absolute figures, 1,918 more tribal students were rendered financial assistance than the target planned to render.

For the third plan period, the State government fixed a physical target of providing stipends to 76,375 tribal students, book-grants to 4,000, exemption of tuition fee and provision of educational aids to 52,500 and exemption from examination fee to 3,500 students.

Table IV.8. shows that the largest proportion of the total allocation for schemes of financial assistance went for the scheme providing stipends to high school tribal students. This is followed by scheme for exemption from tuition fee to secondary students.

Table IV.9. shows the number of scheduled tribe students getting financial assistance during 1961-62 according to educational stages and the total expenditure incurred on the schemes. Now, if we analyse the figures of tribal children of school-

Table IV.7. Enrolment of pre-matric tribal students for the years 1960-61 to 1963-64.

Types of Institutions	1960-61 Total	Boys	1961-62 Girls	Total	Boys	1962-63 Girls	Total	Boys	1963-64 Girls	Total
Nursery	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	14	13	27	10	8	18
Primary	2,35,584 (including Jr. Basic)	1,62,154	57,446	2,19,600	1,55,250	49,263	2,04,513	1,95,606	60,750	2,56,356
Junior Basic		14,726	6,023	20,749	12,450	4,052	16,502	14,477	4,885	19,362
Middle	60,113 (including Sr. Basic)	39,454	11,798	51,252	4,971	15,284	20,255	69,017	19,939	88,956
Senior Basic		9,768	1,698	11,466	10,347	1,602	11,949	12,994	2,085	15,079
High	19,573 (including Hr. Secondary)	14,126	3,649	17,775	14,140	3,511	17,651	16,846	3,641	20,487
Higher Secondary		3,794	581	4,375	5,822	983	6,805	7,176	834	8,010
Total	3,15,270	2,44,022	81,195	3,25,217	2,02,994	74,708	2,77,702	3,16,126	92,142	4,08,268

(*Sexwise figures for 1960-61 not available)

Table IV.8. Allocation made for various schemes of financial assistance during the third plan (Rs. in lakhs)

Schemes	1961-62	1962-	1963-	1964-	1965-	Total
		63	64	65	66	
Stipends to high school students	18.00	19.80	21.60	23.40	25.20	108.00
Stipends to students in technical institutions (except post-matric)	0.75	0.77	0.80	0.83	0.85	4.00
Bookgrants to high school students	0.30	0.35	0.40	0.45	0.50	2.00
Exemption from payment of half tuition fee to secondary school students (for non-govt. schools)	8.00	8.50	9.00	9.50	10.00	45.00
Re-imbusement grants to School Examination Board to compensate for loss in examination fee income	0.30	0.35	0.40	0.45	0.50	2.00
Educational grants to primary and middle school students	7.00	7.25	7.50	7.95	8.30	38.00
Total	34.35	37.02	39.70	42.58	45.35	199.00

Table IV.9. Number of tribal students getting financial assistance and the total value thereof during 1961-62

Type of institution	Students getting financial assistance			Total value (in rupees)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	7,701	1,351	9,052	4,08,661	84,210	4,92,871
Junior Basic	1,561	339	1,900	1,06,337	15,907	1,22,244
Middle	6,556	1,220	7,776	7,05,851	1,19,147	8,24,998
Senior Basic	1,242	161	1,403	1,16,598	26,113	1,42,711
High	7,692	1,056	8,748	17,04,715	1,73,453	18,78,168
Higher Secondary	1,297	132	1,429	2,43,638	24,172	2,67,810
Total	26,049	4,259	30,308	32,85,800	4,43,002	37,28,802

going age (6 to 17 years), enrolment of and financial assistance received by pre-matric tribal students, under schemes of financial assistance during 1961-62, a clear picture of the coverage and extent of the scheme would emerge.

1. Children of school-going age	..	11,77,335
2. Enrolment of pre-matric tribal students	...	3,25,217
3. Students getting financial assistance	...	30,308

As mentioned before, 27.62 per cent of the total tribal children of school-going age were on the rolls of schools in 1961. Out of

this total pre-matric tribal students only 9.31 per cent received financial assistance during 1961-62. This percentage did not include those tribal students who were exempted from payment of tuition fee.

In 1965-66, a revised allocation of Rs. 33,02,306 was made for the schemes of financial assistance and the same was spent on providing educational grants to 40,578 tribal students of primary and middle schools, stipends to 57,671 students in higher secondary school and stipends to 653 students in technical institutions. In addition, 3,941 high school students were given bookgrants.

From the facts and figures given above, certain conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, not all the scheduled tribe students are benefited under the schemes of financial assistance which are in vogue in Bihar. Secondly, there has been no initiation and execution of the schemes which provide assistance in kind.

The policy of the State government with regard to the schemes of financial assistance is to encourage and help the tribal students in prosecuting their studies. Accordingly, the schemes of financial assistance are formulated which provide a sort of incentive to the students for receiving and prosecuting education.

As, according to the State authorities, it is not feasible to cover all the pre-matric tribal students under the schemes of financial assistance, the policy thus far has been to select only those tribal students for the award of stipends who qualify under the merit-*cum-means* criterion. The District Scheduled Tribes' Stipends Award Committee ensures that the criterion for giving financial assistance is followed. This Committee recommends the students for the award of stipends and bookgrants.

A pertinent question which may arise is: why is it not possible for the State government to have a wider coverage under the schemes? That it is due to shortage of funds, as explained by the State authorities, appears to be a reason, which, in view of the facts, cannot be accepted on its face value. The Government of India now provides 60 per cent of expenses incurred on the schemes of tribal education to the States. Perhaps the funds for education get diverted to non-educational schemes.

MADHYA PRADESH

According to the census report of 1961, the total tribal population constituted 20.63 per cent of the total population of the

State. In the age group of 6 to 17 years, that is, children of school-going age, the population was 17,12,545. Out of this, 3,23,915, that is, 18.91 per cent were pre-matric tribal students. There were 1,45,824 pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance during 1961-62. This forms 45.01 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal enrolment during the same year.

The above figures pertain to the beginning of the third five-year plan. Before examining the progress made by the schemes of financial assistance during the first and the second five-year plans, the enrolment figures of pre-matric tribal students need to be analysed.

Table IV.10. Total enrolment and enrolment of pre-matric tribal students.

Years	Total enrolment at pre-matric stage			Total enrolment of pre-matric tribal students		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1951-52	7,86,448	2,10,289	9,96,737	22,326	3,782	26,108
1955-56	11,31,702	3,38,085	14,65,787	63,812	30,113	93,925
1956-57	14,55,272	3,18,788	17,74,060	49,630	27,708	77,338
1957-58	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	55,809	7,557	63,366
1960-61	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	2,11,919	34,136	2,46,055
Total				4,03,496	1,03,296	5,06,792

The table given above shows that in 1951-52 enrolment of pre-matric tribal students was 2.61 per cent of the total enrolment at pre-matric level. In 1955-56, of the total pre-matric enrolment, tribal pre-matric enrolment was 6.40 per cent. During 1956-57 pre-matric tribal enrolment was 4.37 per cent of the total enrolment. As for the percentage of increase in the total pre-matric tribal enrolment, the table indicates that there has been an increase of 259.73 per cent during 1955-56 as compared to tribal enrolment figures of 1951-52, that is, an annual average increase of 53.94 per cent. The increase during the year 1960-61 as compared to 1956-57 has been 218.1 per cent with an average annual increase of 43.62 per cent. Thus it is evident that the annual average increase during the second plan period in the enrolment of pre-matric tribal students has been less than the annual average increase in pre-matric tribal enrolment during the first five-year plan. As a matter of fact, there was a decrease of 18.06 per cent in pre-matric tribal enrolment during 1957-58 as compared to that of 1956-57. Similarly, it is also noticed that there was a decrease of 17.65 per cent during 1956-57 as compared to 1955-56. It is only during 1960-61 that there was a tremendous increase of 288.3 per cent as compared to enrolment figures of 1957-58.

Table IV.11. Enrolment of pre-matric tribal students from 1961-62 to 1963-64

Types of institutions	Enrolment during 1961-62			Enrolment during 1962-63			Enrolment during 1963-64		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Pre-primary	216	16	232	151	131	282	215	212	427
Primary/Junior Basic	2,08,584	42,765	2,51,349	2,17,403	43,909	2,61,312	2,64,548	58,873	3,23,421
Junior Basic	19,635	4,287	23,922	21,851	4,787	26,638	22,915	5,343	28,258
Middle/Senior Basic	28,628	3,022	31,650	26,700	2,951	29,651	27,640	3,088	30,728
Senior Basic	6,935	656	7,591	6,221	111	6,332	6,102	664	6,766
High	3	—	3	82	—	82	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Higher Secondary	8,445	723	9,168	10,503	823	11,326	11,916	1,288	13,204
Total	2,72,446	51,469	3,23,915	2,82,911	52,712	3,35,623	3,33,336	69,468	4,03,804

The above table shows an increase of 31.63 per cent during 1961-62 in pre-matric tribal enrolment as compared to enrolment in 1960-61. The increase was only 3.61 per cent during 1962-63 as compared to 1961-62. During 1963-64 the increase again showed an upward trend to the extent of 20.01 per cent over the enrolment in 1962-63.

Progress made by the Schemes of Financial Assistance

According to the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1960-61, the State of Madhya Pradesh fixed the following physical targets (for the second five-year plan) for the schemes of financial assistance.

Scholarships to	75,401 tribal students
Midday meals to	37,570 tribal students
Total	1,12,971

As far as the achievement of the targets is concerned, it is learnt from the report that 32,767 scholarships were awarded during 1956-61. In 1960-61 alone 22,254 students were awarded scholarships.

Physical targets proposed for the third five-year plan for schemes of financial assistance were as follows:

Scholarships to	3,67,000 students
Stipends to	21,225 students
Dresses to	6,000 students
Educational tours	3,750 students
Total	3,97,975

From the physical targets proposed for the second and third plans, it is evident that, while during the second plan financial assistance for 1,12,971 students was planned, during the third plan it was for 3,97,975 students. Thus while enrolment of pre-matric tribal students rose by 31.63 per cent during the first year of the third plan, that is, 1961-62 as compared to the last year of the second plan, that is, 1960-61, the physical target of financial assistance during the corresponding period rose by 131.1 per cent. This shows that the State of Madhya Pradesh has increased assistance to tribal students more than the increase in their enrolment.

Table IV.12. Pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance and the total value thereof during 1961-62

Types of institutions	Tribal students getting financial assistance			Total value (in rupees)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	98,932	16,661	1,15,593	9,41,521	1,72,324	11,13,845
Junior Basic	10,509	812	11,321	97,476	9,809	1,07,285
Middle	10,854	421	11,275	7,35,731	25,600	7,61,331
Senior Basic	1,865	60	1,925	63,092	3,782	66,874
High	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Higher Secondary	5,237	473	5,710	5,08,625	53,647	5,62,272
Total	1,27,397	18,427	1,45,824	23,46,445	2,65,162	26,11,607

In 1961-62, out of 3,23,915 pre-matric tribal students 1,45,824, that is, 45.01 per cent received financial assistance. At primary level 53.16 per cent, at junior basic level 47.3 per cent, at senior basic level 25.3 per cent, and at higher secondary level 54.36 per cent of the total tribal students received financial assistance. Thus more than 50 per cent of the total tribal students at primary and higher secondary levels received financial assistance. Less than 50 per cent of the total tribal students received financial assistance at junior basic, middle and senior basic levels of education. The probable reason for awarding financial assistance to a comparatively higher percentage of tribal students at primary level is perhaps because of the efforts of the State government to attract more tribal children to schools. The fact that more than 50 per cent of the total higher secondary students were awarded financial assistance may be due to the policy of encouraging higher secondary students for further higher studies. Why less than 50 per cent of the total tribal students at junior basic, middle and senior basic were getting financial assistance is hardly understandable. These categories of tribal students, as a matter of fact, need as much financial assistance as those at primary and higher secondary levels in order that their interest in education could be sustained and encouraged.

Another conclusion drawn from Tables IV. 11 and IV. 12 is that more tribal boy students received financial assistance than girl students. 35.8 per cent of the total tribal girl students at pre-matric level and 46.7 per cent of the total boy students at pre-matric level received financial assistance in 1961-62.

In the light of what has been said above, the policy governing the schemes of financial assistance in Madhya Pradesh needs to be discussed. Madhya Pradesh is the only State out of the four sample States included in the study which provides that all the pre-matric tribal students are eligible for the award of financial assistance

without taking any merit-*cum*-means test as is the case in Assam, Bihar and Tripura. If 1961-62 enrolment figures and figures of tribal students getting financial assistance are any indicators of the trend, the provision by the State of Madhya Pradesh that all the pre-matric tribal students are eligible for financial assistance is not being implemented fully as only 45.01 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students in 1961-62 received financial assistance.

The tribal students in the primary schools are provided with free books, slates and pencils. Those at the middle or higher secondary level are covered under the schemes of scholarships and hostel grants. It may be an interesting point to note that unlike Assam and Bihar, Madhya Pradesh does not face the problem of shortage of funds as far as the schemes of financial assistance are concerned. Another striking departure from the policies adopted by Assam and Bihar, in case of Madhya Pradesh is, that there is no apparent adherence to merit-*cum*-means criterion while awarding financial assistance. The pre-matric tribal students send their applications on the prescribed forms duly filled in and recommended by the school authorities to the District Tribal Welfare Department. The school authorities also certify regular attendance of candidates. Alongwith the application a certificate declaring that the candidate belongs to a scheduled tribe is also enclosed.

Another notable difference is that in Madhya Pradesh there is no Committee like the Stipends Award Committee as is the case in Assam and Bihar. Since the State has fixed no criteria for the award of stipends and also has a provision that all pre-matric tribal students are eligible for the award, it has not felt the necessity of constituting a Stipends Award Committee.

TRIPURA

According to 1961 census the tribal population of the Union Territory of Tripura constituted 31.53 per cent of its total population. The tribal population in the age-group of 6 to 17 years was 98,182 out of which 27.5 per cent were in schools.

Before examining the progress made by the schemes of financial assistance, the enrolment figures of pre-matric tribal students need to be analysed.

Table IV. 13. Enrolment of pre-matric tribal students from 1955-56 to 1960-61

Years	Boys	Girls	Total
1955-56	11,407	2,073	13,480
1956-57	15,651	3,384	19,035
1957-58	14,186	3,745	17,911
1960-61	17,611	6,015	23,626

Table IV. 14. Enrolment of pre-matric tribal students during the third plan period

Types of institutions	1961-62			1962-63			1963-64			1964-65			1965-66		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Pre-Primary	999	954	1,953	1,127	999	2,126	1,624	1,419	3,043				1,792	1,480	3,252
Primary	12,477	4,227	16,704	12,108	4,130	16,238	11,820	3,903	15,723	18,260	6,118	24,378	19,750	6,741	26,491
Jr. Basic	4,465	1,411	5,876	6,229	2,022	8,251	6,394	2,156	8,550						
Middle	573	154	727	585	161	746	632	244	876	1,192	332	1,524	2,029	550	2,579
Sr. Basic	622	108	730	673	117	790	746	84	830						
High	584	118	702	492	115	607	356	130	486	38	53	91			
Higher Secondary	264	101	365	440	159	599	605	169	774	1,332	296	1,628	577	114	691
Total	19,984	7,073	27,057	21,654	7,703	29,357	22,177	8,105	30,282	20,822	6,799	27,621	24,148	8,865	33,013

Table No. 15. Pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance and the total value thereof

Types of institutions	1960-61				1961-62				1963-64				1964-65				1965-66			
	Boys	Girls	Total	Total value (Rs.)	Boys	Girls	Total	Total value (Rs.)	Boys	Girls	Total	Total value (Rs.)	Boys	Girls	Total	Total value (Rs.)	Boys	Girls	Total	Total value (Rs.)
Pre- primary	N.A.	N.A.	1,217	48,081	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.												
Primary	189	51	240	1,451	344	73	417	2,356	607	223	830	7,503	1,081	548	1,629	21,618	1,205	665	1,870	23,460
Jr. Basic	153	45	198	3,194	164	43	207	1,212	517	170	687	5,513								
Middle	112	17	129	8,262	79	13	92	3,502	106	37	143	3,449	157	72	229	4,979	274	101	375	11,686
Senior																				
Basic	182	6	188	4,436	196	25	221	16,928	71	29	100	2,021								
High	335	6	341	22,384	345	22	367	34,726	109	36	145	9,931	673	117	790	120,067	1,116	173	1,289	171,832
Higher																				
Secondary	97	24	121	8,414	206	27	233	33,488	404	40	444	73,671								
Total	1,068	149	2,434	96,222	1,334	203	1,537	92,212	1,814	535	2,349	102,088	1,911	737	2,648	146,664	2,595	939	3,534	206,972

There was 41.2 per cent increase in the enrolment figures of pre-matric tribal students during 1956-57 over the enrolment in 1955-56. But in 1957-58 there was a decrease of 5.9 per cent as compared to the figures of 1956-57. In 1960-61 the enrolment figures showed an upward trend and increased by 26.3 per cent.

The enrolment of pre-matric tribal students rose by 8.5 per cent in 1962-63 over the enrolment in 1961-62. The enrolment of boy students increased by 8.4 per cent. In 1963-64 it rose by 3.1 per cent as compared to the enrolment in 1962-63. During 1964-65 there was a decline in the enrolment by 8.7 per cent as compared to enrolment in 1963-64. In the year 1965-66 again there was an increase of 19.5 per cent in the enrolment compared to the enrolment in 1964-65. Thus there has not been a steady increase in the enrolment from 1961-62 to 1965-66.

Having analysed the enrolment of pre-matric tribal students, the progress made by the schemes of financial assistance needs to be considered.

The above table shows the number of pre-matric tribal students getting financial assistance. Financial assistance in Tripura is given to pre-matric tribal students under various schemes. These are: schemes of bookgrants, stipends, hostel grants, merit scholarships and exemption from tuition fee for higher secondary students. The following table shows the percentage of tribal students getting financial assistance out of total pre-matric tribal students.

Table IV. 16. Percentage of tribal students getting financial assistance to the total pre-matric tribal students during the years 1960-61 to 1965-66

Years	Remarks to the total financial assistance	Percentage of tribal students	Percentage of tribal boy stu- dents getting fin- ancial assistance to the total tri- dents	Percentage of tribal girl stu- dents getting financial assist- ance to the total tribal girl stu- dents	tribal boy stu-
1960-61	10.3		6.06*	2.04*	*These figures do not include pre-primary tribal students as sexwise figures of preprimary students getting financial assistance were not available
1961-62	5.6		6.6	2.8	
1962-63	N.A.		N.A.	N.A.	
1963-64	7.7		8.1	6.6	
1964-65	9.5		9.1	10.8	
1965-66	10.7		10.7	10.5	

It is evident from the table that the lowest percentage of total pre-matric tribal students, that is, 5.6 per cent received financial assistance during 1961-62. In 1965-66, 10.7 per cent of the total tribal students received financial assistance. During the five year period an average of 8.76 per cent tribal students got financial assistance under the various schemes. On an average, 8.11 per cent of the total tribal boy students got financial assistance. In case of tribal girl students the average was only 6.5 per cent. This shows that more tribal boy students than tribal girl students out of total tribal boy and girl students respectively received financial assistance.

For the fourth five-year plan, the Union Territory Administration has earmarked Rs. 6 lakhs for the educational schemes for tribal students. Outlays for various schemes of financial assistance are given in the table below.

Table IV. 17. Plan outlay for various schemes

(Rs. in lakhs)	
Schemes of financial assistance	Outlay
Free books to students of classes I and II	0.45
Bookgrants to students reading in classes III to V	0.75
Dress for tribal girls of classes III to VIII	0.75
Bookgrants to students reading in classes VI to VIII	0.45
Total	2.40

The table given above shows that out of Rs. 6 lakhs allocated for tribal education for the fourth plan, Rs. 2.4 lakhs, that is, 40 per cent of the total outlay was ear-marked for the schemes of financial assistance. Half of this amount accounts for the schemes which would provide assistance in cash to tribal students and the other half in kind. How far the Administration will put into practice this very balanced approach of providing equal amount for schemes providing assistance both in cash and kind will be interesting to watch.

In the final analysis it can be said that in Tripura less than 10 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students are getting financial assistance. This low percentage is due to the stricter criteria of disbursement fixed by the Administration. The merit-*cum*-means criterion is followed scrupulously, as a result of which a majority of the tribal students are weeded out of the scope of the schemes of financial assistance. The Administration has in the past laid emphasis on providing assistance in cash only, though the allocations

made for the fourth plan show that it has gradually recognized the importance and desirability of introducing schemes providing assistance in kind also.

B. Machinery for Implementation of the Schemes of Financial Assistance

Different States have different organizational set up for the execution and implementation of the schemes of financial assistance. This organizational set up may be called as machinery for implementation of policy and criteria for the schemes. Attempt has been made in the following pages to give a brief description of the same in the three sample States and the Union Territory of Tripura.

ASSAM

In Assam there is a Tribal Areas Department which looks after the welfare of the tribal communities. At the secretariat level, the Directorate of Public Instruction is entrusted with the task of carrying out the policies laid down by the Tribal Areas Department. The Deputy Director incharge of planning in the Directorate of Public Instruction is the officer who is in charge of tribal education as well as the schemes of financial assistance. Under him are inspecting officers at the district and sub-division levels. It is through these inspecting officers, that is, Inspector of Schools, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Sub-Inspector of Schools and Assistant Sub-Inspector of Schools that the schemes of financial assistance are put into operation in the field.

As far as laying down the criteria for the disbursement and the selection of candidates for the award of financial assistance are concerned, there is a committee known as Scholarship Distribution Committee. It is understood that this committee is constituted to select candidates hailing only from the hill districts. For the plain districts, no such committee exists and the Directorate of Public Instruction directly finalizes the cases for the award of assistance under the various schemes. Probably it is because of the fact that there is a larger concentration of tribal population in the hill districts than in the plain districts. Nevertheless, the situation seems anomalous and a similar committee should have been constituted for the plain districts also, or the same committee could look after the schemes of financial assistance for both hill and plain districts.

Since the study is concerned with the pre-matric tribal students and since the hill districts of Assam have larger concentration of

tribal population because of which only two hill districts have been chosen as sample districts for the study, we need to have a detailed analysis of the Scholarship Distribution Committee.

This Committee has the following eight members

1. Minister of State for Tribal Welfare—Chairman
2. Parliamentary Secretary in the Tribal Welfare Ministry
- 3-6. Four tribal members of the Legislative Assembly belonging to the four autonomous hill districts
7. One representative of the Tribal Areas Department
8. Deputy Director (Planning) of the Directorate of Public longing to the four autonomous hill districts

The members of the committee are of two types: official and non-official. The four M.L.A.s from the autonomous hill districts are known as non-official members and the remaining four are known as official. The meeting of this committee takes place once in a year at Shillong. The following are the functions of this committee.

1. To consider fresh applications of the pre-matric tribal students recommended and forwarded by the various school authorities.
2. To lay down procedure for the manner in which the financial assistance should be given.
3. To make recommendations to the State government with regard to sanctioning of more funds for the scheme.

So far as the function described at (1) above is concerned, it may be said that the committee while taking action about the selection of candidates for the award of scholarships is, by and large, guided by the availability of funds. Since the committee meets once in a year, it is a matter for consideration whether it is in a position to give careful consideration to each and every case. More often than not the committee may consider the summarized list of the candidates and give its assent. The Directorate of Public Instruction keeps ready the preliminary details for the consideration of the committee. Moreover, the convening of the committee largely depends upon the convenience of the members. All members may not attend the meeting. And if the quorum is not complete the meeting might be postponed. Here may lie one of the causes of delay in disbursement of financial assistance.

BIHAR

In Bihar there is a Welfare Department at the State level which is exclusively entrusted with the welfare of the backward classes including the welfare of the scheduled tribes. In each district, the District Welfare Officer executes the welfare schemes with the help of subordinate staff.

The Welfare Department lays down the policies governing the various aspects of the welfare of the scheduled tribes. Besides, it decides the allocation of funds for schemes and the same are earmarked to different districts.

From district level the execution and implementation of the schemes of financial assistance goes down to the block level. For this there are two committees at district and block levels. There is a District Scheduled Tribes Stipends Award Committee which decides about the selection of tribal students reading in classes VIII to XI for the award of stipends taking into consideration the criterion of merit-*cum*-means. This committee consists of the following official and non-official members :

1. Deputy Commissioner—Chairman and Convener
2. District Welfare Officer—Secretary
3. District Education Officer
4. District Inspector of Schools
5. All Sub-divisional Officers
6. All Scheduled Tribe M.L.A.s, M.L.C.s and M.P.s from the district
7. Secretary of Adimjati Sewa Mandal (in case of Ranchi district only).
8. Inspector of Catholic Schools (in case of Ranchi district only).
9. Secretary of Adiwasi Samaj Sudhar Sabha (in case of Ranchi district only)

A committee on similar lines at the block level is also constituted. The members of this committee are :

1. Block Development Officer—Chairman
2. Welfare Inspector of the block
3. Headmasters of middle and primary schools
4. Representatives of tribal communities
5. Tribal M.L.A. of the area

With regard to the functions of the committees, it is noted that they meet once in a year and consider fresh cases for award of stipends. As far as the procedure is concerned, applications from tribal students are invited and a notice to this effect is issued to the school authorities. The filled-in applications are forwarded by the school authorities to the block headquarters in case of tribal students studying at primary and middle levels and to the District Welfare Officer in case of students studying at high and higher secondary levels. The block authorities after preparing preliminary details send the list to the Block Committee as and when it meets. Similarly the lists are sent to the District Committee by the District Welfare Officer.

The following case study shows how the Stipends Award Committee functions.

In Singhbhum, the District Committee is comprised of 18 members. Like other such committees, it is supposed to meet once in a year during January to March at Chaibassa, the district headquarters. In 1964 it met on 4th September, 1964, that is, after a delay of six months. Out of 18 members only seven—one more than the number required to form the quorum—attended the meeting. The committee had to scrutinize and decide about 1,962 cases. In case of only 483 candidates, it reached unanimous decision. Other committees also could not be expected to function differently. Functioning of the committees in such a way naturally causes considerable delay in disbursement of financial assistance.

MADHYA PRADESH

In Madhya Pradesh there is a secretary in charge of tribal welfare at the state level. He is also *ex-officio* Director of the Directorate of Tribal Welfare and Research.

The Directorate of Tribal Welfare and Research is entrusted with the planning, execution and follow up of all the welfare activities for the tribal communities. Besides, all the policies are laid down by the Directorate and it also provides funds to the district authorities.

At the district level, the District Organizer incharge of tribal welfare functions under the supervision of the District Collector. Formerly, the educational activities of tribal people were looked after by the Education Department. Now this work has also been brought under the jurisdiction of the District Organizer who is

also known as District Tribal Welfare Officer. Under the District Tribal Welfare Officer are Area Organizers. The Area Organizer is usually at the sub-divisional level and supervises the work of Circle Organizers. Both these categories of officers have duties to perform which are multifarious in nature. Every block has one Circle Organizer. He deals with all the schemes of financial assistance. As his role is many sided, he usually feels burdened with work. And as he is lowly paid and has to deal with financial matters, he is psychologically insecure to take the required initiative resulting in delays in execution of the welfare schemes.

In contrast to other sample States, in Madhya Pradesh, the machinery for disbursement of financial assistance is simple with lesser number of bottlenecks. All the rules and regulations regarding schemes of financial assistance are routed through Circle Organizer. At the beginning of the academic session the school authorities are requested to invite applications from tribal students for consideration for award of scholarships and bookgrants. After the applications are received they are forwarded to the district authorities who, in turn, take their own time in selecting the candidates. The final lists of selected candidates are submitted to the Circle Organizer who draws the sanctioned amount and disburses to students in presence of the principal or headmaster as the case may be. During the field visits it was noticed that the tribal students found it difficult to understand completely all the columns of the application forms and that is why in many cases, due to incomplete entries in the forms students were not awarded scholarships. It would facilitate matters if the authorities personally supervised the filling in of applications by the tribal students, specially at the middle level.

TRIPURA

In the Union Territory of Tripura, the Department of Education is responsible for the implementation of the schemes of tribal welfare. This Department is headed by a Secretary who is the Director of Education. The Director is assisted by an Additional Director of Education and by Deputy Directors.

At the sub-divisional level there are Inspectors of Schools assisted by Sub-Inspectors of Schools. The Sub-Inspectors of Schools look after the implementation of the various schemes of education including those for the welfare of tribal people and of financial assistance.

As far as the functioning of the machinery responsible for the implementation of schemes of financial assistance is concerned, the school authorities are supplied with application forms to be filled in by tribal students at the beginning of each academic year. The filled-in applications are then forwarded to the inspecting staff of the sub-division which, in turn, send them to the Administration for selection of candidates for the award of financial assistance. During field visit some cases were noted in which the students were ignorant about intimation for submitting applications for the award of bookgrants. This needs to be improved upon and the school authorities may ensure that each and every tribal student knows about the schemes and also about the date by which applications are to be submitted. This is all the more necessary in view of the criterion of merit-*cum*-means rigorously followed by the Administration. Already only less than 10 per cent of the total pre-matric tribal students get assistance under the schemes. And, if, due to lack of information, some deserving candidates are not awarded stipends, bookgrants or hostel grants, the coverage of the schemes would be further reduced.

So far, we have discussed about the machinery responsible for implementation of schemes of financial assistance in the three sample States and one Union Territory. Now, a comparative analysis of the same is attempted below.

To begin with, Bihar is the only state which has comparatively a more complex machinery for the schemes of financial assistance. Unlike Madhya Pradesh and Tripura it has Stipends Award Committees at the district and block levels. The State of Assam has only one Committee known as Scholarships Distribution Committee for the tribal students of hill districts only. Madhya Pradesh and Tripura have comparatively simplified procedure for the execution of schemes of financial assistance.

In Bihar, the District Committees have larger number of members than the Block Committees. Since both the committees have official and non-official members, it is difficult, specially for the District Committee, to meet on a date convenient to all the members. This results in delay firstly, in convening the meeting and secondly, as a consequence of the first, in discharging speedily the business. The case of Singhbhum district has already been mentioned. Though, on its basis, generalizations cannot be made, yet it can be assumed as to what might be the condition with regard to other committees. Therefore, doing away with the committees could help finalize mat-

ters speedily. This is also applicable in case of Assam because there too exists a committee. If a simpler procedure is followed, the State governments would be able to avoid unnecessary wastage of time, money and energy.

Although the machineries of disbursement in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura are comparatively simpler, yet in case of Madhya Pradesh, the Circle Organizer, who at the block level looks after the implementation of schemes alongwith other multifarious duties, needs to be provided with additional help. More officers at the block level independently dealing with schemes need to be provided for achieving success in implementing the schemes of financial assistance. But more of it will be discussed in the last chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE : GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Policy Behind the Schemes of Financial Assistance

ANY scheme of financial assistance whether in cash or in kind involves four major components namely, policy and purpose, finance, administration and the recipients. The success of the schemes depends upon these factors put together. The quantum and availability of financial allocations would alone be meaningless and of little purpose unless right policies are drawn up taking into consideration the actual and felt educational needs of the recipients. Again the policies and the knowledge of needs of recipients would be of little value so long as snags exist in the implementation of the schemes. Similarly, effective implementation of schemes depends upon, and involves the study of, the problem, tentative diagnosis, possible solutions and follow up.

Presently, we need to examine the policies governing the schemes of financial assistance. Due to paucity of information regarding the policies pursued by the States, other than those included in the sample of the study, it is difficult to make any generalization on this score. However, one obvious policy which is more or less applicable in all the States where schemes of financial assistance for tribal students are in operation, is to encourage and help such students in prosecuting their studies.

It is also the policy of the State governments to help tribal students meet a part of the expenditure on education. Though free primary education is gradually being provided by more and more States, yet for most of the tribal students it is difficult to meet the expenses on middle, high and higher secondary education. Therefore, the assistance which the students get under the schemes of financial assistance goes a long way in helping them meet these expenses.

Up to this extent, the similarity in the formation of policies governing the schemes of financial assistance as pursued by the State governments is evident. But in implementing the policies, there is a divergence of approach and emphasis from State to State. This is because different States have different types of schemes of financial assistance.

ASSAM

Out of the three sample States and one Union Territory, Assam has, as a matter of policy, decided to pursue three schemes namely, special scholarship, merit scholarship and free studentship schemes. There is no scheme of hostels for tribal students. The report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has also observed that the State government has not provided any facilities for hostel accommodation for the tribal students during the first, second and third five-year plans. Though the government earmarked Rs. one lakh for the scheme, yet it has been reported that there has been no serious attempt to pursue the scheme.

Regarding other schemes mentioned above, the government, it appears, has followed the policy of restrictive approach in the sense that the coverage under the schemes of financial assistance during the past years has been low. This is because of the policy of pursuing strictly the criterion of merit-*cum*-means.

The State government has also appointed a Scholarship Distribution Committee consisting of eight members for the hill districts. This committee does the final selection of recipients under various schemes taking into consideration the criteria fixed by the government.

It is also a policy of the State government to confine the schemes of financial assistance to middle, high and higher secondary levels of education. Tribal students reading in unrecognized schools are outside the scope of the schemes of financial assistance.

As far as disbursement of financial assistance is concerned, the policy of the government is to award the benefits for one full year, that is, for twelve months. This is a departure from the normal policy adopted by the States of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and Tripura.

BIHAR

In case of Bihar there are four distinct schemes of financial assistance. Unlike Assam, Bihar has a schemes of hostel stipends. The other schemes are: stipends in general schools, bookgrant, and exemption from tuition fee.

The scheme of bookgrant is operating both in Bihar and Tripura though scheme of free distribution of text-books at the primary level is also operating in Madhya Pradesh.

In Bihar too, the criterion of merit-*cum*-means is adopted and

followed as a policy. But while examining the implementation of the said criterion, it was observed that the scheme was not pursued with the same severity as in Assam. However, in this State, there has been no clear-cut definition of the term 'means.' No income limit of the guardians/parents has been set. Only the tribal students hailing from 'well-to-do' families are not awarded benefits under the schemes. This obviously leaves more room for exercise of discretion by the Committees responsible for award of financial assistance.

For disbursement, Bihar has also constituted committees at district level known as District Stipends Award Committee. There is much similarity in organization, constitution and function between the committees in Assam and Bihar.

Policies regarding rates of stipends and bookgrants also need to be mentioned. The rates of stipends in Bihar are higher than in Assam but lower than in Madhya Pradesh. Also, as a policy matter, the State government has covered the tribal students of the primary classes under the schemes of stipends and bookgrants. The scheme of hostels, however, does not cover students of primary classes.

MADHYA PRADESH

In this State the tribal students at primary level also are given financial assistance in kind, mostly in the form of free text-books. Of all the sample States this is the only State which has, as a policy, decided to implement a scheme providing assistance in kind.

For tribal students at middle and secondary levels, scholarships and hostel stipends are available.

No criterion has been fixed for disbursement of financial assistance except that of good conduct and of regular attendance for the recipients. The scholarships and stipends are awarded for 10 months in a year.

Unlike Assam and Bihar, the machinery for disbursement in Madhya Pradesh is comparatively simpler. There is no committee like the one existing in Assam and Bihar.

TRIPURA

Though the authorities in Tripura claim to have covered a majority of tribal students under the schemes of financial assistance, yet the coverage is not what it is stated to be.

One policy which accounts for the above fact is the adherence to the comparatively stricter criterion of merit-*cum*-means test which weeds out a large number of students, and in spite of there being an impressive number of schemes of financial assistance, the number of beneficiaries is very small.

The school stipends are at a flat rate of Rs. 10 per month irrespective of the educational level. The rates of bookgrant in Tripura are higher than in Bihar. Similarly, the rates of boarding house stipends too are higher than the rates of hostel stipends in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

The Tripura Administration has also decided as a policy matter to launch schemes in kind. These are free dresses for tribal girls reading in classes III to VIII and free books to tribal students in classes I and II.

Purpose of the Schemes of Financial Assistance

The table given below gives the aims and objectives of the various schemes of financial assistance.

Table V.1. Aims and objectives of schemes of financial assistance as reported by officer respondents

Respo. (No.)	Assam N = 11 [@]	Bihar N = 22	Madhya Pradesh N = 24	Tripura N = 6	Total N = 63
Spread of education and educational advancement	6 (54.54)	8 (36.36)	11 (45.83)	6 (100.00)	31 (49.21)
To help tribal students purchase books, stationery etc.	4 (36.36)	4 (18.18)	8 (33.33)	2 (33.33)	18 (28.57)
To bring tribesmen at par with others as far as standard of living is concerned	3 (27.28)	6 (27.27)	11 (45.83)	2 (33.33)	22 (34.92)
To remove backwardness	2 (18.18)	3 (13.63)	7 (29.16)	3 (50.00)	15 (23.81)
To help tribal parents send their children to schools	—	3 (13.63)	5 (20.83)	—	8 (12.70)
To wean them away from their primitive habits (including criminal habits)	—	—	2 (8.33)	—	2 (3.17)
No response	1 (9.09)	—	1 (4.16)	1 (16.66)	3 (4.76)

[@] N is the number of respondents

(Figures in brackets in this and all other tables indicate percentages.)

The officer respondents were asked to spell out the aims and objectives of the schemes of financial assistance. Only 3 respondents did not give any response. Of the rest, some of the respondents gave more than one response. 31, that is, 49.21 per cent respondents were of the view that the aims and objectives of the schemes of financial assistance was the spread of education and the educational development of the tribal people. All the respondents in Tripura considered this as an objective. In Madhya Pradesh 45.83 per cent reported the objective being spread of education. This particular aim and objective got less percentage of responses, that is, only 36.36 per cent in Bihar but the largest, that is, 54.54 per cent in Assam. One interesting fact which emerges from the table is that the respondents who considered that the main objective of the schemes was to bring the tribal communities at par with others were more from Madhya Pradesh than from other States. This means that there the schemes of financial assistance have been perceived by the government as essential for meeting the need for raising the standard of living of tribal people. Also, 20.83 per cent respondents felt that the aims and objectives of the schemes of financial assistance were also to help the tribal parents send their children to schools. In other words, it can be said that a number of students in Madhya Pradesh have to depend on the will of their parents for taking admission in schools. Another point needs to be mentioned regarding the 8.33 per cent respondents in favour of weaning the tribal people away from primitive habits including criminal habits as an objective of the schemes. This speaks of the prevailing conditions in the district of Jhabua.

Efforts were also made to find out whether the aims and objectives of schemes of financial assistance have been fulfilled. Table given below gives in detail the responses of the officers.

Table V.2. Fulfilment of the aims and objectives of schemes of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Yes	Partly	No	No response
Assam N=11	5 (45.46)	—	6 (54.54)	—
Bihar N=22	11 (50.00)	5 (22.73)	6 (27.27)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	13 (54.18)	9 (37.50)	1 (4.16)	1 (4.16)
Tripura N=6	3 (50.00)	2 (33.33)	1 (16.67)	—
Total N=63	32 (50.79)	16 (25.40)	14 (22.22)	1 (1.59)

The above table shows that 50.79 per cent of the officers felt that the aims and objectives of the financial assistance were being fulfilled. 54.18 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, and 50 per cent in Bihar and Tripura were of the opinion that the aims and objectives were completely fulfilled. It was only in the case of Assam that only 45.46 per cent felt so. Rest of the respondents, that is, 54.54 per cent were of the view that the aims and objectives were not being fulfilled. 27.27 per cent of the respondents in Bihar shared this view. Those who opined that the aims and objectives were partly fulfilled were 25.40 per cent of the total respondents. In the final analysis, it can be said that according to the officer respondents the aims and objectives of financial assistance were not being fulfilled to a larger extent in Assam than in Bihar, Tripura and Madhya Pradesh in that order.

Table V.3. Reasons for the aims and objectives not being fulfilled

Reasons	Assam N=6	Bihar N=11	Madhya Pradesh N=11	Tripura N=3	Total N=31
Shortage of funds	6 (100.00)	7 (63.63)	3 (27.27)	2 (66.67)	18 (58.06)
Because aims and objectives are not realistic	2 (33.33)	1 (9.09)	—	2 (66.67)	5 (16.13)
Lack of awareness among tribal people for education	—	10 (90.90)	11 (100.00)	3 (100.00)	24 (77.42)
Delay in disbursement of financial assistance	6 (100.00)	9 (81.81)	9 (81.81)	2 (66.67)	26 (83.87)
Lack of supervision and follow up	5 (83.33)	8 (72.72)	10 (90.90)	2 (66.67)	25 (80.64)
Lack of co-ordination among various departments	4 (66.67)	4 (36.36)	3 (27.27)	1 (33.33)	12 (38.71)
Low rates of financial assistance	3 (50.00)	—	—	3 (100.00)	6 (19.35)
Miscellaneous	3 (50.00)	2 (18.18)	1 (9.09)	—	6 (19.35)

The above table shows the reasons given by those officer respondents who had earlier maintained that the aims and objectives of schemes of financial assistance were either not fulfilled or partly fulfilled. Reasons were also given by one respondent who had earlier not given any response. Thus a total number of 31 respondents gave more than one reason which have been shown in the

above table. That the aims and objectives had not been fulfilled due to delay in disbursement was the reason given by 83.87 per cent of the total number of respondents. This is the largest single reason given by the respondents. All the respondents in Assam considered delay as one of the reasons. In Bihar and Madhya Pradesh also 81.81 per cent each of the respondents considered delay as one of the reasons. Lack of supervision and follow up was considered another major reason by 80.64 per cent of the total number of respondents. This reason was advanced by 90.90 per cent of the officers in Madhya Pradesh, 83.33 per cent in Assam followed by 72.72 per cent in Bihar and 66.67 per cent in Tripura. Thus it can be said that majority of the officer respondents in all the sample States and Union Territory considered lack of supervision and follow up as another important reason. The third major reason for not achieving the aims and objectives was given as lack of awareness of education among the tribal people. It is interesting to note that not even a single respondent in Assam considered this reason whereas in Tripura and Madhya Pradesh all the respondents gave this as one of the reasons. This means that students in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura are not aware of their educational needs. Therefore, it is very important to propagate the value of education among the tribal communities more in Tripura and Madhya Pradesh than in Bihar and Assam. It is also obvious from the table that in Assam the tribal people are conscious of their educational needs. Shortage of funds was reported as one of the reasons by 58.06 per cent of the respondents. This shortage of funds is negligible in case of Madhya Pradesh whereas it is very acute in case of Assam, Bihar and Tripura. It may be pointed out here that the shortage of funds could not be a reason for not achieving the aims and objectives because the Government of India used to give 100 per cent grant for tribal education in Assam and 75 per cent in other States till recently. Even now it is 60 per cent. The possible explanation for this contradiction is due to the fact that the officer respondents in Assam have based their views regarding shortage of funds on the basis of conspicuously low coverage of tribal students under the schemes of financial assistance. It is also presumed that this reason has found credence among the respondents in Assam because the funds allocated for tribal education might have been diverted to other purposes.

Efforts were made to invite suggestions from officers regarding the measures to be taken for achieving the aims and objectives of financial assistance.

In Assam, the 9 respondents, who suggested some measures, gave more than one response. Four suggestions each were made for avoiding delay in disbursement and for raising the rates of stipends. Two suggestions each came for a thorough overhaul of the schemes of financial assistance for having coordination among various departments of the state and for supervision and follow up of the schemes. One suggestion each was for associating the voluntary agencies with the execution of the schemes, opening of more residential schools and bringing to the notice of the authorities cases of delays whenever they occur for prompt action.

In Bihar, one of the most important measures suggested by 40.9 per cent officer respondents pertained to follow up and supervision of the schemes. This was followed by the suggestions for avoiding delay in disbursement, for raising the rates of scholarships, for having intensive contacts with tribal communities and for making the tribal people educationally conscious, and for introducing schemes both in cash and kind at all levels of education. Suggestions were also made for making more provision for schemes in kind, for overhauling the schemes of financial assistance, for having proper selection of recipients for the award of financial assistance and for associating the voluntary agencies of the State in the execution and planning of the schemes.

The officer respondents of Madhya Pradesh gave more weightage to the intensive community contacts and spread of educational consciousness among the tribal communities. This is understandable because students were not coming forward in sufficient number to schools. Suggestions were also made for follow up and proper supervision. Besides this, it was also suggested that the existing delay in disbursement may be avoided, more provision may be made for hostels, proper instructions may be given at the time of disbursement to the students so that they could utilize the amount properly, coordination among various departments of the State may be maintained so as to have proper implementation of the schemes and the rates of scholarships and hostel stipends may be increased.

In Tripura too, the officer respondents suggested for the spread of educational consciousness among the tribal people. They also suggested that the rates of scholarships and bookgrants may be increased and specific instructions may be issued to the recipients for the ways in which they should use the amount of financial assistance.

Types of, and Preference for, Schemes of Financial Assistance

TYPES OF SCHEMES

Financial assistance in form of cash or kind are being given to pre-matric tribal students in most of the states including the sample States of Assam, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and in the Union Territory of Tripura. Schemes of assistance in cash include scholarship, hostel stipend or hostel grant and bookgrant, while schemes of assistance in kind include midday meal, free books and stationery, free uniform and free lodging. Out of a total of 660 students interviewed, 460, that is, 69.70 per cent were in receipt of financial assistance in cash only, 29.69 per cent students received both in cash and kind. Only 4 students, that is, 0.61 per cent received only in kind. The following table gives the details.

Table V.4. Form of assistance received by students

Forms of assistance	Assam	Bihar	Madhya Pradesh	Tripura	Total
Cash	137 (100.00)	182 (83.10)	106 (59.55)	35 (27.78)	460 (69.70)
Kind	—	4 (1.83)	—	—	4 (0.61)
Both (Cash and Kind)	—	33 (15.07)	72 (40.45)	91 (72.22)	196 (29.69)
Total	137 (100.00)	219 (100.00)	178 (100.00)	126 (100.00)	660 (100.00)

The financial assistance is generally made available to students right from the primary classes. Assistance in cash is given from class VI onwards in Madhya Pradesh. The existing provisions have been discussed in detail in chapter four. The following table shows the distribution of students who started receiving financial assistance from different classes in the sample States.

Table V.5. Number of students receiving financial assistance from different classes

Class from which students started receiving assistance	Assam	Bihar	Madhya Pradesh	Tripura	Total
I—V	44 (32.12)	85 (38.81)	13 (7.30)	69 (54.76)	211 (31.97)
VI	27 (19.71)	79 (36.07)	160 (89.89)	28 (22.22)	294 (44.55)
VII	20 (14.59)	21 (9.58)	3 (1.69)	17 (13.49)	61 (9.24)
VIII	29 (21.17)	22 (10.05)	2 (1.12)	6 (4.76)	59 (8.94)

(Continued)

IX	12 (8.76)	10 (4.57)	—	5 (3.97)	27 (4.09)
X	3 (2.19)	1 (0.46)	—	1 (0.79)	5 (0.76)
XI	2 (1.46)	1 (0.46)	—	—	3 (0.45)
Total	137 (100.00)	219 (100.00)	178 (100.00)	126 (100.00)	660 (100.00)

Assistance in cash is rendered to tribal students in different forms. 66.31 per cent student respondents stated that they received financial assistance in form of scholarship/stipend; 25.15 per cent received hostel grant/stipend; 61.56 per cent received bookgrant; and only 1.98 per cent received both stipends and bookgrants. A few variations were noticed in the different States. In Assam all the students received scholarship/stipend. In Madhya Pradesh they received both scholarship/stipend and hostel grant/stipend. In Bihar they received either scholarship/stipend or hostel grant/stipend or bookgrant, while in Tripura assistance was given in form of hostel stipend or bookgrant or both. The following table gives the details.

Table V.6. Form of assistance in cash received by students

Forms of assistance in cash	Madhya Pradesh				
	Assam N=137	Bihar N=215	Madhya Pradesh N=178	Tripura N=126	Total N=656
Scholarship/stipend	137 (100.00)	168 (78.14)	130 (73.03)	—	435 (66.31)
Hostel grant/stipend	—	38 (17.67)	48 (26.97)	79 (62.70)	165 (25.15)
Bookgrant	—	8 (3.72)	—	35 (27.78)	43 (6.56)
Stipend and bookgrant	—	1 (0.47)	—	12 (9.52)	13 (1.98)
Total	137 (100.00)	215 (100.00)	178 (100.00)	126 (100.00)	656 (100.00)

Financial assistance in kind was received by only four students of residential ashram school, Chandil in Bihar where free board and lodging facilities were provided. In 1966-67 Rs. 2,000 at the rate of Rs. 20 per student was earmarked for 100 students. It is clear from the allotment of funds that the amount of Rs. 20 was not sufficient to meet the needs of the students. The minimum expenditure incurred was to the tune of Rs. 25 per month per student to cover all expenses.

190 student respondents who were living in hostels were not charged any rent for lodging and also received financial assistance in cash for their maintenance. An effort was made to study the existing facilities, atmosphere, food arrangement etc. in the hostels.

Accommodation in Hostels

It was observed that hostels were not spacious and also not well maintained. In a hostel in Singhbhum district, the condition was the worse. As many as 24 students were living in a hostel which was hardly sufficient for 5 to 6 students. Dormitory-type accommodation is provided to students who are admitted in hostels. The following table gives an account of accommodation available in hostels in the different States.

Table V.7. Accommodation in hostels

No. of hostellers living in dormitories	Assam N = 4	Bihar N = 38	Madhya Pradesh N = 57	Tripura N = 91	Total N = 190
2	—	1 (2.63)	—	1 (1.10)	2 (1.05)
3 to 5	—	8 (21.05)	—	10 (10.99)	18 (9.47)
6 to 10	1 (25.00)	11 (28.95)	22 (38.60)	25 (27.47)	59 (31.05)
11 to 15	3 (75.00)	8 (21.05)	21 (36.84)	33 (36.26)	65 (34.21)
16 to 20	—	7 (18.42)	14 (24.56)	21 (23.08)	42 (22.11)
21 to 25	—	3 (7.89)	—	1 (1.10)	4 (2.11)

The above table shows that 34.21 per cent hostellers lived in dormitory where 11 to 15 students lived together. On the whole 89.48 per cent hostellers lived in dormitory where from 6 to 25 students lived together. There are not much variations in the different States.

Existing Facilities

Generally, furniture which mainly consist of cot, table, chair, and almirah, are supplied in hostels. It was observed that at some places students were not even provided individual cots but two

of them shared one cot. Similarly, chairs, tables, almirahs, where provided, were shared by more than one student. The State governments gave from time to time ad hoc grants to purchase furniture for students. Sometimes, beds or blankets were also supplied.

In addition to the above, kitchen utensils were also made available free to the hostellers. Other facilities included assistance for medical, recreational, social and religious purposes.

It was observed that food arrangements in the hostels were not up to the mark and far from satisfactory. Except in Assam and Bihar, many students at other places expressed their dissatisfaction with the food arrangements and the quality of food. However, 60 per cent of the total number of hostellers expressed their satisfaction with the food arrangements.

Table V.8. Opinions of hostellers about the food arrangement, and quality and quantity of food

States/Union Territory	Food arrangement, quality and quantity	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	No response
Assam N=4	Food arrangement	4 (100.00)	—	—
	Quality of food	4 (100.00)	—	—
	Quantity of food	4 (100.00)	—	—
Bihar N=38	Food arrangement	28 (73.68)	8 (21.05)	2 (5.26)
	Quality of food	27 (71.05)	9 (23.68)	2 (5.26)
	Quantity of food	32 (84.21)	4 (10.53)	2 (5.26)
Madhya Pradesh N=57	Food arrangement	34 (59.65)	23 (40.35)	—
	Quality of food	28 (49.12)	29 (50.88)	—
	Quantity of food	53 (92.98)	4 (7.02)	—
Tripura N=91	Food arrangement	48 (52.75)	43 (47.25)	—
	Quality of food	42 (46.15)	49 (53.85)	—
	Quantity of food	72 (79.12)	19 (20.88)	—
Total N=190	Food arrangement	114 (60.00)	74 (38.95)	2 (1.05)
	Quality of food	101 (53.16)	87 (45.79)	2 (1.05)
	Quantity of food	161 (84.74)	27 (14.21)	2 (1.05)

Here food arrangement means adequacy of utensils for cooking, timely serving of food, supervision etc. The table given above indicates that 60 per cent students were satisfied with the food arrangement. However, the observations made in this regard differ from the responses of the students. It was observed in many hostels that the above arrangements were not satisfactory. It may be because the students live in hostels out of necessity and were unwilling to criticize the arrangements, or because, looking at their limited needs and expectations, they might not have been in a position to realize what better food arrangement could have been provided.

Regarding quality of food there are variations in different States. In Madhya Pradesh and Tripura majority of hostellers reported their dissatisfaction while in Assam and Bihar majority of them reported satisfaction. It was however observed that the quality of food served in the hostels was far from satisfactory. The amount that the hostellers receive is not adequate to meet their expenses on board and lodging. So far as the question of quantity of food is concerned, majority of the hostellers reported their satisfaction. In Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura, 10.53 per cent, 7.02 per cent and 20.88 per cent respectively expressed their dissatisfaction. It may be pointed out here that students generally run a co-operative mess in the hostel under the supervision of the hostel warden. The hostellers' dissatisfaction with the quantity of food may be due to inadequacy of financial assistance in cash due to which they may not be in a position to buy the required quantity of food. It may also be due to the liking of students for a particular type of food. In Bihar students were given rice less than wheat which they did not like.

In spite of the fact that hostels are not so well maintained and cared for, students like the atmosphere there for they can study there better than in their homes. In Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura 50 per cent, 56.14 per cent and 45.06 per cent students respectively stated that proper atmosphere was available in the hostels, while in Bihar as many as 57.90 per cent reported that they did not find proper atmosphere for study as is clear from the following table.

Table V.9. Atmosphere for study in hostels

States/Union Territory	Proper	Partly proper	Not proper	No response
Assam N=4	2 (50.00)	—	1 (25.00)	1 (25.00)
Bihar N=38	13 (34.21)	—	22 (57.90)	3 (7.89)
Madhya Pradesh N=57	32 (56.14)	2 (3.51)	23 (40.35)	—
Tripura N=91	41 (45.06)	15 (16.48)	35 (38.46)	—
Total N=190	88 (46.31)	17 (8.95)	81 (42.63)	4 (2.11)

It is a matter of great convenience for the tribal students to get admission in hostels as it is difficult for them to come to school from distant places. They get an opportunity in hostels to lead a co-operative life and a feeling of competition is generated among them to show better performance in their examinations.

Though both types of schemes are supplementary to each other, yet in all the sample States considerable emphasis is being given on the schemes providing assistance in cash. The administrators, teachers, and others interviewed were of the same opinion. 81.81 per cent of such respondents in Assam, 72.73 per cent in Bihar, 37.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 66.67 per cent in Tripura felt that the emphasis was on such schemes in their respective States. The study of responses revealed that nowhere emphasis was given on assistance in kind only, and that emphasis on both the types of schemes was given in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura. 18.18 per cent of the respondents in Bihar, 62.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 33.33 per cent in Tripura reported that the emphasis was given on both types of financial assistance. The following table shows the emphasis of the States on the types of financial assistance.

Table V.10. Emphasis on schemes of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Cash schemes	Kind schemes	Both cash and kind schemes	No response
Assam N=11	9 (81.81)	—	—	2 (18.19)
Bihar N=22	16 (72.72)	—	4 (18.18)	2 (9.09)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	9 (37.50)	—	15 (62.50)	—
Tripura N=6	4 (66.67)	—	2 (33.33)	—
Total N=63	38 (60.32)	—	21 (33.33)	4 (6.35)

Many reasons of placing such emphasis by the State government were given by the respondents. 36.52 per cent considered that it was to meet the educational needs of the tribal students; 31.75 per cent because it was a matter of State policy; 15.87 per cent because it was convenient to execute such schemes and because they provided a sort of inducement to tribal students; and 7.94 per cent because it ensured proper utilization.

PREFERENCE FOR SCHEMES

An attempt was made to find out the preferences of students for the schemes of financial assistance in cash or kind. Out of 660 sample students, as many as 400, that is, 60.61 per cent showed their preference for both the types of schemes. On State-wise analysis of responses it was noticed that both the schemes were preferred by 73.02 per cent students in Tripura, 65.75 per cent in Bihar, 56.17 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, and 46.71 per cent in Assam. Financial assistance only in cash was preferred by 45.26 per cent students in Assam, 32.59 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, 28.77 per cent in Bihar and 22.22 per cent in Tripura. Financial assistance only in kind was generally not preferred. Only 10.68 per cent students in Madhya Pradesh, 8.03 per cent in Assam, 5.48 per cent in Bihar, and 3.97 per cent in Tripura preferred schemes of financial assistance only in kind. The following table shows the preference of students for the type of financial assistance.

Table V.11. Preference of students for the types of financial assistance.

States/Union Territory	Financial assistance in cash only	Financial assistance in kind only	Financial assistance both in cash and kind	No response
Assam N=137	62 (45.26)	11 (8.03)	64 (46.71)	—
Bihar N=219	63 (28.77)	12 (5.48)	144 (65.75)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=178	58 (32.59)	19 (10.68)	100 (56.17)	1 (0.56)
Tripura N=126	28 (22.22)	5 (3.97)	92 (73.02)	1 (0.79)
Total N=660	211 (31.97)	47 (7.12)	400 (60.61)	2 (0.90)

The above table also indicates that financial assistance in cash was preferred over financial assistance in kind in all the sample States. To sum up, it may be said that both types of financial assistance given together were preferred by students in all the States.

Opinions of the officer respondents were also sought on this aspect. 47.62 per cent of them thought that students would prefer to get assistance in cash only, only 3.18 per cent thought that they would do so in kind only, while 44.44 per cent thought that they would prefer to receive assistance both in cash and kind simultaneously. However, there were some variations of opinion in the different States. In Bihar, Assam and Tripura, officer-respondents thought that both types of financial assistance given simultaneously may be preferred over the schemes of financial assistance in cash only, while in Madhya Pradesh as many as 75 per cent respondents thought that only schemes providing assistance in cash would be preferred by students.

On comparing the responses given by students and officers it is noticed that there is a great similarity in the response patterns obtained in the States of Assam, Bihar and Tripura. Both categories of respondents thought that financial assistance in kind only would not be preferred. Variation was great only in case of Madhya Pradesh where 56.17 per cent students preferred schemes of financial assistance both in cash and kind at the same time, whereas 75 per cent officers thought that students would prefer

only schemes providing assistance in cash. It thus appears that schemes of financial assistance in cash found much favour in Madhya Pradesh, and financial assistance both in cash and kind at the same time was preferred in Assam, Bihar and Tripura.

The officers were also asked as to what type of assistance they themselves would prefer. 63.64 per cent officers in Assam, 70.83 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 66.66 per cent in Tripura were in favour of both types of assistance given at the same time up to primary level. In Bihar 40.19 per cent preferred assistance only in kind. Only 36.36 per cent respondents in Bihar preferred both types of assistance at the primary level. Nowhere in the sample States assistance in cash was preferred at the primary level. Many of the officers thought that cash at this stage would be misutilized as the students were not matured enough to spend money wisely to meet their educational needs. The same was true of the students at the middle level with slight variations of opinions. Schemes of both cash and kind at the same time were preferred by 54.55 per cent respondents in Assam and by 45.83 per cent in Madhya Pradesh. It was noticed that in Bihar half of the respondents stated that assistance in kind would be useful to the students at the middle level, whereas in Tripura 33.33 per cent favoured assistance exclusively in kind, and 33.33 per cent again favoured both types of assistance. It is thus clear that in Assam assistance in cash was preferred over that in kind, while in other States assistance both in cash and kind was preferred. In Tripura assistance in kind was equally preferred by the respondents. The general trend thus seemed to be in favour of giving assistance to students both in cash and kind at the primary school level.

At the high and higher secondary levels majority of the respondents preferred assistance in cash. In Assam, Bihar and Tripura majority of the respondents favoured assistance in cash at both the levels. But in Madhya Pradesh 58.33 per cent respondents favoured both types of assistance at high school level and 41.67 per cent at the higher secondary level. 41.67 per cent also favoured assistance in cash only at the higher secondary level. The majority of respondents in Assam, Bihar and Tripura were of the view that students were quite matured at the high and higher secondary levels and they could utilize the amount of financial assistance according to their educational needs. In Madhya Pradesh, many respondents thought that the amount of financial assistance at present was misutilized. Hence they were opposed to

any kind of such schemes which provided assistance in cash. However in Madhya Pradesh again many respondents favoured both types of schemes at the high and higher secondary levels. The table given below gives the detail.

Table V. 12. Educational levels at which particular schemes of financial assistance in cash/kind/both be introduced

Educational levels	Assam N=11	Bihar N=22	Madhya Pradesh N=24	Tripura N=6
Primary				
Cash	—	5 (22.73)	—	1 (16.67)
Kind	4 (36.36)	9 (40.91)	6 (25.00)	1 (16.67)
Both	7 (63.64)	8 (36.36)	17 (70.83)	4 (66.66)
Middle				
Cash	4 (36.36)	9 (40.91)	5 (20.83)	2 (33.33)
Kind	1 (9.09)	11 (50.00)	7 (29.17)	2 (33.33)
Both	6 (54.55)	2 (9.09)	11 (45.83)	2 (33.33)
High				
Cash	7 (63.63)	12 (54.54)	7 (29.17)	3 (50.00)
Kind	—	7 (31.82)	2 (8.33)	1 (16.67)
Both	4 (36.36)	3 (13.64)	14 (58.33)	2 (33.33)
Higher Secondary				
Cash	7 (63.64)	11 (50.00)	10 (41.67)	4 (66.66)
Kind	1 (9.09)	6 (27.27)	3 (12.50)	1 (16.67)
Both	3 (27.27)	5 (22.73)	10 (41.67)	1 (16.67)
No response	—	—	1 (4.17)	—

On the question of whether the students should be given a choice in selecting a particular type of assistance, 50.79 per cent officers opined that they should be given such a choice, 42.86 per cent were not in favour of giving any choice, and 6.35 per cent did not respond. 66.67 per cent and 83.33 per cent respondents in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura respectively preferred to leave the choice to tribal students, while 45.46 per cent and 63.64 per cent in Assam and Bihar respectively preferred not to give any choice to the students. It may be inferred that to allow the students to have a choice in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura may be a welcome step. The following table gives the opinion of the officer respondents on this question.

Table V.13. Giving choice of selecting a particular type of assistance to tribal students

States/Union Territory	Choice should be given	Choice should not be given	No response
Assam N=11	3 (27.27)	5 (45.46)	3 (27.27)
Bihar N=22	8 (36.36)	14 (63.64)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	16 (66.67)	7 (29.17)	1 (4.16)
Tripura N=6	5 (83.33)	1 (16.67)	—
Total N=63	32 (50.79)	27 (42.86)	4 (6.35)

The respondents who felt that students should be given a choice of selecting a particular type of financial assistance were of the opinion that tribal students and their guardians know their needs better and hence involvement of students may be good. Those who did not favour the idea held that students did not make judicious use of the assistance because they were not matured enough. Hence, their involvement in selection may not be a proper step.

Adequacy of Financial Assistance

Financial assistance to tribal students were considered necessary incentives for the promotion of tribal education in particular and for the development of tribesmen on the whole in general. Whether financial assistance being given to tribal students in cash or kind

is adequate enough to meet their educational requirements was another important aspect of the present study. 55.15 per cent of the students and 58.73 per cent of the officer respondents stated that the financial assistance was not adequate. 32.88 per cent and 30.16 per cent of the student and officer respondents respectively reported that the assistance was adequate. 7.27 per cent of the student respondents and 7.94 per cent of the officer respondents stated that it was only partly adequate, while 3.17 per cent and 4.70 per cent respectively of the officers and students did not respond. This shows that there was much similarity of thought between students and officers with regard to the adequacy of financial assistance. Table V.14 and Table V.15 show the responses given by the students and officers respectively.

Table V.14. Adequacy of financial assistance as reported by students

States/Union Territory	Adequate	Partly adequate	Inadequate	No response
Assam N=137	18 (13.14)	2 (1.46)	113 (82.48)	4 (2.92)
Bihar N=219	121 (55.25)	11 (5.02)	75 (34.25)	12 (5.48)
Madhya Pradesh N=178	59 (33.14)	15 (8.43)	93 (52.25)	11 (6.18)
Tripura N=120	19 (15.08)	20 (15.87)	83 (65.87)	4 (3.18)
Total N=660	217 (32.88)	48 (7.27)	364 (55.15)	31 (4.70)

Table V.15. Adequacy of financial assistance as reported by officers

States/Union Territory	Adequate	Partly adequate	Inadequate	No response
Assam N=11	1 (9.09)	—	8 (72.73)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	9 (40.91)	1 (4.55)	12 (54.54)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	9 (37.50)	3 (12.50)	12 (50.00)	—
Tripura N=6	—	1 (16.67)	5 (83.33)	—
Total N=63	19 (30.16)	5 (7.94)	37 (58.73)	2 (3.17)

The above tables indicate that in different states there are not much variations in responses given by students and officers except in Bihar where 55.25 per cent of the students reported adequacy and 34.25 per cent inadequacy of financial assistance. It was observed that the students sampled for the purpose of this study belonged to the tribes which represented three distinct economic levels. The first category constituted of those tribesmen who were economically stable and students of this category could well afford the expenses on their education, and so were often of the view that whatever financial assistance was available was adequate. The second category constituted of those tribesmen who were a little better off but the students from this category could not meet their entire educational expenses and so they reported that the financial assistance was partly adequate, while it was reported inadequate by students from the third category because their economic condition was bad and they could not at all afford to meet their educational expenses.

Suggestions were also invited from officers regarding the measures to be taken to make the assistance adequate if they felt that these were not so. Suggestions for the assistance indicated that the amount of cash be raised, the merit criterion be relaxed, and that 50 per cent amount be given in form of cash. Majority of the respondents in all the States were in favour of increasing the amount of financial assistance in one way or the other. Table V.16 indicates additional measures to be taken to make the assistance adequate for the tribal students as suggested by officer respondents.

Table V.16. Measures to make the assistance adequate

Measures	Madhya Pradesh			
	Assam N = 10	Bihar N = 13	Madhya Pradesh N = 15	Tripura N = 6
Amount of cash assistance be raised	6 (60.00)	—	7 (46.67)	5 (83.33)
Additional amount be given to cover petty expenses	—	4 (30.77)	—	—
No deduction of tuition fee out of the amount of scholarship/stipend be made	4 (40.00)	—	—	—
Criterion of merit be relaxed	4 (40.00)	—	—	5 (83.33)
50% of total assistance be given in cash	—	1 (7.69)	4 (26.67)	—
No response	3 (30.00)	8 (61.54)	9 (60.00)	1 (16.67)

The table given above indicates that in Assam 40 per cent of the officers did not favour the deduction of tuition fee made out of the amount of scholarship. Such deductions adversely affects the tribal students. In Assam and Tripura 40 per cent and 83.33 per cent respectively suggested that the criterion of merit be relaxed while awarding financial assistance, while there was no such suggestion from Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

With regard to the schemes of financial assistance in kind suggestions given by officer respondents mainly included introduction of schemes of free books/stationery, free uniform, provision of midday meal and provision of hostel facilities. Suggestions varied from State to State. In Assam 40 per cent suggested introduction of the scheme of free books/stationery. Similarly in Tripura 50 per cent suggested the above scheme. Also 50 per cent in Tripura liked the idea of having more hostels and residential schools. In Bihar 61.54 per cent suggested scheme of free uniform. In Madhya Pradesh 46.67 per cent suggested provision of more hostels. Table V.17 indicates additional measures to be taken to make the assistance in kind adequate.

Table V.17. Measures to make the assistance in kind adequate

Measures	Assam N = 10	Bihar N = 13	Madhya Pradesh N = 15	Tripura N = 6
Introduction of scheme of free books/stationery	4 (40.00)	5 (38.46)	2 (13.33)	3 (50.00)
Introduction of scheme of free uniform	3 (30.00)	8 (61.54)	4 (26.67)	2 (33.33)
Provision of more hostels/residential schools	2 (20.00)	3 (23.08)	7 (46.67)	3 (50.00)
Provision of midday meal	1 (10.00)	6 (46.15)	1 (6.67)	—
Total maintenance of students	1 (10.00)	—	1 (6.67)	—
Introduction of medical facilities	1 (10.00)	—	—	1 (16.67)
Provision of cycle for those students living in far off places	1 (10.00)	—	1 (6.67)	1 (16.67)

It seems from the table given above that an additional increase in the amount of stipend/scholarship in case of Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura, and provision of additional amount in Bihar may be necessary for making the assistance in cash adequate, for which it may be worthwhile to introduce schemes of free books/stationery in Assam and Tripura, provision of free uniform in Bihar, and provision of hostels in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura. Variations in responses are due to different local conditions.

Effectiveness of the Criteria of Disbursement

Judicious implementation of the various schemes of financial assistance requires fixing up of some criteria for disbursement. All the three sample States and one Union Territory have fixed up some sort of criteria, which have already been discussed in detail earlier. However, it may be mentioned that except in case of Madhya Pradesh, the rest apply a criterion of merit-cum-means for award of assistance. In Madhya Pradesh the assistance is liberally disbursed. There are some relaxation also in the sense that one failure is not a bar for the award of scholarship at the higher secondary stage. This is one extreme. On the other side of the scale, are the severe criterion practised to a larger extent in Tripura and to a lesser extent in Assam and Bihar. In Tripura, a tribal student is not only supposed to get fixed percentage of marks at the annual examination but he has also to get pass marks in all the subjects in the examination. Considering the general educational standards of the tribal students this criterion seems to be rather too hard. It is a wellknown fact that the tribal students are not at par with the non-tribal students as far as the educational performance is concerned. Therefore, in the prevailing circumstances in Tripura, the severity with which the criterion is executed is not desirable, and it needs serious reconsideration.

Table V.18. Correctness or otherwise of the criteria of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Correct	Partly correct	Do not know	No response	
Assam N=11	6 (54.55)	1 (9.09)	1 (9.09)	1 (9.09)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	9 (40.90)	9 (40.90)	1 (4.55)	—	3 (13.64)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	9 (37.50)	5 (20.83)	2 (8.33)	6 (25.00)	2 (8.33)
Tripura N=6	1 (16.67)	4 (66.66)	—	—	1 (16.67)
Total N=63	25 (39.68)	19 (30.16)	4 (6.35)	7 (11.11)	8 (12.70)

39.68 per cent officer respondents reported that the criteria fixed for disbursement of financial assistance were correct. 30.16 per cent maintained that they were partly correct, and 6.35 per cent emphatically said that they were not correct. 11.11 per cent respondents did not have any knowledge about the criteria and 12.70 per cent did not respond. Analysing the responses state-wise, it is noticed that in Assam 54.55 per cent reported that the criteria were correct. This is the only State where such a large percentage of officers maintained this view. In Bihar 40.90 per cent felt that the criteria were correct. This was followed by Madhya Pradesh where 37.50 per cent and Tripura where only 16.67 per cent were of the opinion that the criteria fixed were correct.

Now some observations need be made with regard to Madhya Pradesh. As mentioned earlier, in this State financial assistance is disbursed liberally among the students. In spite of this, the ratio of student population to the total population is the lowest in this State. It is evident that the officer respondents in Madhya Pradesh kept this factor in view and that is why only 37.50 per cent reported that the criteria of disbursement were correct. Further, 33.33 per cent of the total respondents in Madhya Pradesh either did not have any knowledge about the criteria or did not respond. This provides a clue to the way in which the criteria of disbursement operate.

Implementation of the Criteria of Disbursement

Having discussed the criteria for disbursement, now we need to see as to how they are implemented. In Assam and Bihar there are stipends/scholarships award committees which have been entrusted with the work of implementation of the criteria fixed by the State governments. In Madhya Pradesh it is done by the District Tribal Welfare Officers and in Tripura by the Education Department. So there are two clear-cut patterns of the agencies for their implementation.

It was mentioned earlier that the committees are not much useful as the major part of the work is done by the Directorate of Public Instruction in case of Assam and by the Welfare Department in case of Bihar. However, it will be worth while to consider the opinions expressed by the officer respondents.

Table V. 19. Implementation of the criteria of disbursement of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Satisfactory	Partly satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Do not know	No response
Assam N=11	2 (18.18)	2 (18.18)	4 (36.36)	1 (9.09)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	11 (50.00)	4 (18.18)	7 (31.82)	—	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	11 (45.83)	7 (29.17)	2 (8.33)	2 (8.33)	2 (8.33)
Tripura N=6	1 (16.67)	4 (66.66)	—	—	1 (16.67)
Total N=63	25 (39.68)	17 (26.98)	13 (20.63)	3 (4.76)	5 (7.94)

39.68 per cent officers felt that the implementation of the criteria was satisfactory. Incidentally the same percentage of officers had earlier reported that the criteria for disbursement were correct. That the implementation was satisfactory was reported by 50 per cent of the respondents in Bihar, 45.83 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and in Tripura, 66.66 per cent officers felt that it was partly satisfactory. That implementation was unsatisfactory was reported by 36.36 per cent of the total respondents in Assam. In the final analysis it can be said that the implementation of criteria was satisfactory more in case of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh than in case of Tripura and Assam.

The above examination of the implementation of the criteria raises an important question whether the criteria for disbursement will be effective if there is no proper implementation or proper supervision. The following table gives responses of the officer respondents.

Table V. 20. Whether the effectiveness of criteria depends upon proper implementation and supervision

States/Union Territory	Yes	No	Do not know	No response
Assam N=9	7 (77.77)	—	1 (11.11)	1 (11.11)
Bihar N=11	9 (81.82)	1 (9.09)	1 (9.09)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=12	10 (83.33)	1 (8.33)	1 (8.33)	—
Tripura N=5	3 (80.00)	1 (20.00)	—	1 (20.00)
Total N=37	29 (78.38)	3 (8.11)	3 (8.11)	2 (5.40)

The above table gives the responses of those respondents (37) who had earlier reported that the implementation of the criteria was either not satisfactory or partly satisfactory. 3 out of the 5 respondents who did not earlier respond also gave their responses here. A big majority of the respondents, that is, 78.38 per cent said that there was a correlation between proper implementation and supervision and the effectiveness of the criteria of disbursement. Only a negligible percentage of 8.11 maintained that effectiveness of criteria did not depend upon proper implementation and supervision.

Table V. 21. Existence of any agency for looking after the implementation of the criteria of disbursement

States/Union Territory	Yes	No	Do not know	No response
Assam N=11	5 (45.45)	3 (27.27)	1 (9.09)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	14 (63.64)	7 (31.82)	1 (4.54)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	14 (58.33)	5 (20.83)	1 (4.17)	4 (16.67)
Tripura N=6	2 (33.33)	3 (50.00)	1 (16.67)	—
Total N=63	35 (55.56)	18 (28.57)	4 (6.35)	6 (9.52)

The officer respondents were asked whether there was any agency for looking after the implementation of the criteria of disbursement. 55.56 per cent reported about the existence of such an agency. 28.57 per cent reported non-existence of any such agency. 9.52 per cent gave no response and 6.35 per cent did not know whether such an agency existed.

Table V. 22. Need for an agency for looking after the Implementation of the criteria of disbursement

States/Union Territory	Yes	No	Unable to say	No response
Assam N=11	8 (72.73)	1 (9.09)	1 (9.09)	1 (9.09)
Bihar N=22	18 (81.82)	2 (9.09)	1 (4.54)	1 (4.54)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	15 (62.50)	6 (25.00)	—	3 (12.50)
Tripura N=6	5 (83.33)	—	1 (16.67)	—
Total N=63	46 (73.02)	9 (14.28)	3 (4.76)	5 (7.94)

73.02 per cent of the respondents felt the need for having an agency for looking after the implementation of the criteria of disbursement. Such a need was felt by more officers in Bihar, Tripura and Assam than in Madhya Pradesh. This was because in Assam, Bihar and Tripura there really existed fixed criteria for disbursement whereas in Madhya Pradesh there was no such criterion. In case of Bihar the need was felt more because of the concept of 'well-to-do families.' There, since tribal students coming from 'well-to-do' families were not entitled to the assistance, this leaves scope for a clear-cut definition of 'well-to-do' families. Earlier it has been mentioned that there are committees for awarding financial assistance in Assam and Bihar. These committees meet once in a year to select the candidates. It is interesting to note that it is in these two States that more respondents felt the need for having an agency. This proved the observation made elsewhere in the report that the committees are not serving their purpose well. And, therefore, the officer respondents have ex-

pressed the need for an agency which can effectively look after the implementation of the criteria of disbursement of financial assistance.

Suggestions of the officer respondents regarding the improvements to be made in the existing criteria were also invited. To begin with, more than 50 per cent respondents did not give any suggestion. In Assam only 6 respondents out of 11 gave their suggestions. Two of them suggested that the amount of scholarship should be raised, two suggested that financial assistance should be given to all the tribal students and they should also be given assistance in kind and the other two suggested that the tuition fee should not be deducted out of the amount of special scholarships.

In Bihar only 50 per cent of the total respondents gave suggestions for improvement. They suggested that only poor and intelligent tribal pupils should be given financial assistance, the selection of recipients should be only on considerations of merit, and the existing Stipends Award Committee should be reconstituted so as to make it more efficient and effective. One respondents suggested that there should be proper supervision of the schemes of financial assistance.

In Madhya Pradesh 66.66 per cent respondents did not give any suggestion for the improvement in the criteria. Of the rest, two suggested that only poor and intelligent tribal students should be given financial assistance. This is understandable in the light of the criteria followed liberally by the State government. Two respondents maintained that there should be proper supervision over the schemes of financial assistance. This, of course, involves looking after the recipients about the ways in which they spend the amount of scholarships and hostel stipends. Two more respondents suggested that marriage should be a bar for the award of financial assistance. One respondent suggested that the opinion of the head of the school should also be taken into account while making selection for the award of financial assistance.

In case of Tripura only 50 per cent of the total respondents gave suggestions. One respondent each suggested that the amount of financial assistance should be raised, the criteria of merit should be relaxed and that the authorities should post only such officers who are accessible to tribal students for obtaining certificates required to be submitted alongwith the application forms.

Frequency of Disbursement

In an earlier chapter, schemes of financial assistance in different sample States were described. Here an endeavour has been made to find out the frequency of disbursement of financial assistance from the student respondents to know the regularity or irregularity in payment of the amount of financial assistance. The following table shows the frequency of disbursement as reported by the students.

Table V. 23. Frequency of disbursement of the amount of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Monthly	Quarterly	Six monthly	Annually	Not fixed	No response
Assam N=137	—	—	13 (9.49)	124 (90.51)	—	—
Bihar N=215*	1 (0.47)	64 (29.77)	68 (31.63)	59 (27.44)	84 (39.07)	9 (4.18)
Madhya Pradesh N=178	49 (27.52)	92 (51.68)	10 (5.62)	10 (5.62)	19 (10.67)	—
Tripura N=126	89 (70.63)	6 (4.76)	—	41 (32.54)	—	—
Total N=656	139 (21.19)	162 (24.69)	91 (13.87)	234 (35.67)	103 (15.70)	9 (1.37)

(*4 students out of the sample of 219 did not respond since they received financial assistance in kind only)

Though the frequency of disbursement of the amount of financial assistance in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura is expected to be monthly except for the amount of bookgrant which is given annually, yet the disbursement is not made in time. Table V.23 shows that timely payment was not made to tribal students in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh where it has been very irregular. 39.07 per cent of the students in Bihar stated that the frequency of disbursement was not fixed. 51.68 per cent of the students in Madhya Pradesh reported that they received payments quarterly. As many as 90.51 per cent in Assam stated that the disbursement was made annually, while in Tripura 70.63 per cent reported that it was monthly. The variations in responses in

different States may be because no clear-cut time limit has been set for the disbursement of financial assistance. In every State it is irregular.

Delay in Disbursement

In the recent past much has been talked about delays not only in the planning and execution of the schemes of financial assistance as a whole, but also in rendering assistance to the tribal students. The report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes remarked that 'the scholarships scheme at the state level . . . suffers from complicated and protracted procedure, insistence on too many formalities and subsequent delays in sanction and payment.'¹ This is a deep rooted problem and has far reaching consequences.

Successful implementation of the schemes of financial assistance depends mainly on efficient execution and on avoiding delays. So far as the schemes of financial assistance are concerned, delay occurs due to finances not being made available in time to the State and/or district authorities. It also occurs due to long and complicated formalities and the like. Efforts were made in this study to find out whether delays really occur in the implementation of the schemes and disbursement of financial assistance. We begin with the observations made by officer respondents.

Table V.24. Delay in disbursement

States/Union Territory	Yes	No	Not known	No response
Assam N=11	7 (63.64)	3 (27.27)	—	1 (9.09)
Bihar N=22	17 (77.27)	3 (13.64)	1 (4.54)	1 (4.54)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	17 (70.83)	4 (16.67)	2 (8.33)	1 (4.17)
Tripura N=6	4 (66.67)	2 (33.33)	—	—
Total N=63	45 (71.43)	12 (19.05)	3 (4.76)	3 (4.76)

71.43 per cent officers were of the view that the disbursement of financial assistance was delayed. Delay was more in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh than in Tripura and Assam. 4.76 per cent of the total respondents did not have any idea about the delay in disbursement and 4.76 per cent did not respond.

The observations made regarding delay in disbursement have also been shared by the recipients of the financial assistance.

Table V.25. Timely disbursement

States/Union Territory	Assistance received timely	Assistance received sometimes in time	Assistance not received in time	No response
Assam N=137	48 (35.04)	12 (8.76)	52 (37.96)	25 (18.24)
Bihar N=219	44 (20.09)	11 (5.02)	153 (69.87)	11 (5.02)
Madhya Pradesh N=178	87 (48.88)	9 (5.06)	62 (34.83)	20 (11.23)
Tripura N=126	80 (63.49)	23 (18.25)	18 (14.29)	5 (3.97)
Total N=660	259 (39.24)	55 (8.34)	285 (43.18)	61 (9.24)

Out of 660 recipients who were interviewed, 285 that is, 43.18 per cent reported that they did not get assistance in time. Bihar again topped the list of sample States with a majority of tribal students not getting financial assistance in time. Thus from the point of view of both officers and recipients the disbursement was delayed. There were also 8.34 per cent respondents who maintained that the financial assistance was given to them only at times in time. 48.88 per cent of the students in Madhya Pradesh felt that they received assistance in time. If the responses given by students in Bihar and Assam are analysed, since these are the two States where more students have reported delay, it can be said that the delay is due to the committees. Therefore, it can be said that wherever such committees exist there is likely to be long and complicated procedure to be followed leading to delay in disbursement.

In order to continue their education, students have to fall back upon certain sources for money for making purchases of educational items in case delay occurs in disbursement. The table given below shows the various sources from where the tribal students receive money in case of delay.

Table V.26. Sources from which students receive money in case of delay

States/Union Territory	Parents	Loan	Hostel supdt.	Manual labour	No response
Assam N=89	45 (50.56)	22 (24.71)	—	11 (12.35)	11 (12.35)
Bihar N=175	137 (78.28)	13 (7.42)	11 (6.28)	—	14 (8.00)
Madhya Pradesh N=91	52 (57.14)	14 (15.38)	18 (19.78)	—	7 (7.69)
Tripura N=46	37 (80.43)	5 (10.87)	2 (4.35)	—	2 (4.35)
Total N=401	271 (67.58)	54 (13.47)	31 (7.73)	11 (2.74)	34 (8.48)

It is seen from the above table that 67.58 per cent of the recipients had to fall back upon their meagre family resources in case of delay. There may not be any thing wrong in that. But as the majority of tribal students come from poor families, they expect to get some financial assistance for continuing education. And when the assistance is not forthcoming in time, the meagre income of tribal family is further taxed. And if the family income is not enough to provide assistance to the student, he is forced to drop out and discontinue his studies temporarily or permanently. 13.47 per cent of the students also resorted to taking loans, whereas in Assam 12.35 per cent did manual labour to finance their education. This certainly shows their willingness and desire to continue their education irrespective of the delay in disbursement of financial assistance.

Though only in case of Assam delay does not tell upon the initiative of tribal students for education as the case of 12.35 per cent of respondents who resorted to manual labour for financing

the education has made it evident, yet, by and large, officer respondents opined that delay definitely told upon the initiative for education.

Table V. 27. Whether delay in disbursement tells upon the initiative of tribal students for education

States/Union Territory	Yes	No	No response
Assam N=7	6 (65.71)	1 (14.29)	—
Bihar N=19	14 (73.88)	4 (21.05)	1 (5.26)
Madhya Pradesh N=20	15 (75.00)	4 (20.00)	1 (5.00)
Tripura N=4	3 (75.00)	—	1 (25.00)
Total N=50	38 (76.00)	9 (18.00)	3 (6.00)

Only 18 per cent of the officer respondents who reported that there was delay in disbursement opined that delay did not tell upon the initiative of the students, whereas as many as 76 per cent considered that delay in disbursement definitely told upon the initiative of the students to prosecute their studies.

When a large majority of officer respondents maintained that delay leads to lack of initiative for education, then it can also be logically concluded that it defeats the very purpose of schemes of financial assistance. This fact is also corroborated by the responses given by officers.

Table V.28. Whether delay defeats the purpose of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Yes	Partly	No
Assam N=7	6 (85.71)	1 (14.29)	—
Bihar N=19	18 (94.74)	—	1 (5.26)
Madhya Pradesh N=20	18 (90.00)	1 (5.00)	1 (5.00)
Tripura N=4	3 (75.00)	1 (25.00)	—
Total N=50	45 (90.00)	3 (6.00)	2 (4.00)

The above table shows that 90 per cent of the officers, who had admitted the existence of delay in disbursement, maintained that it also defeated the very purpose of financial assistance. Hence prompt action needs to be taken to avoid delay in disbursement so that the aims and objectives of financial assistance could be achieved.

For taking prompt action for the removal of delay, it needs to be found out as to where and at which levels of administration the delay occurs. Efforts were made to find this out from the officers.

Table V.29. Levels at which disbursement is delayed

Level at which disbursement is delayed	Pradesh				Total N=50
	Assam N=7	Bihar N=19	Madhya N=20	Tripura N=4	
State level	4 (57.14)	4 (21.05)	4 (20.00)	2 (50.00)	14 (28.00)
District level	—	6 (31.58)	9 (45.00)	—	15 (30.00)
Block level	1 (14.29)	6 (31.58)	2 (10.00)	—	9 (18.00)
School level	—	2 (10.53)	—	—	2 (4.00)
Area Organizer's and/or Circle Organizer's level	—	—	7 (35.00)	—	7 (14.00)
All levels of disbursement	—	5 (26.31)	5 (25.00)	2 (50.00)	12 (24.00)
Students do not turn up in time to get the amount	—	2 (10.53)	—	—	2 (4.00)
No response	3 (42.86)	3 (15.78)	4 (20.00)	—	10 (20.00)

From the above table it can be seen that many respondents have given more than one response. Larger proportion of respondents, that is, 30 per cent considered that the delay was at the district level. In Assam, majority of the respondents, that is, 57.14

per cent said that delay occurred at the State level. It is interesting to note that none reported that delay occurred at the district level. It is because the funds are disbursed directly from the State. There is also only one committee for awarding stipends. Hence, the observations of the majority of officers in Assam about delay at State level was justified. District and block were the two main levels in Bihar where delay reportedly occurred. In Madhya Pradesh, the delay occurred at district level and at the level of Circle Organizer and Area Organizer. In Tripura, delay was more at the State level than at any other level. In the final analysis it can be said that in Assam and Tripura delay was at the State level, in Bihar at district and block levels, and in Madhya Pradesh at district, Area Organizer and Circle Organizer levels.

Having considered the levels at which delay occurs, the reasons given by the officer respondents for delay in disbursement needs to be analysed. The following table gives the reasons.

Table V.30. Reasons for delay in disbursement of financial assistance

Reasons for delay	Assam N=7	Bihar N=19	Madhya Pradesh N=20	Tripura N=4	Total N=50
Allocations are not made in time by sanctioning authorities	4 (57.14)	11 (57.89)	4 (20.00)	1 (25.00)	20 (40.00)
Official negligence and indolence at drawing and disbursing level	1 (14.29)	7 (36.84)	11 (55.00)	2 (50.00)	21 (42.00)
Complicated and lengthy procedure	2 (28.57)	1 (5.26)	3 (15.00)	2 (50.00)	8 (16.00)
Late decision by stipends awards committee	—	5 (26.31)	—	—	5 (10.00)
Lack of coordination among various concerned departments	—	4 (21.05)	—	—	4 (8.00)
Due to personnel manning the schemes	—	2 (10.53)	3 (15.00)	—	5 (10.00)
Because of lack of clearcut policies of the State government	1 (14.29)	1 (5.26)	2 (10.00)	—	4 (8.00)
Not known	1 (14.29)	3 (15.78)	3 (15.00)	—	7 (14.00)
No response	2 (28.57)	1 (5.26)	6 (30.00)	1 (25.00)	10 (20.00)

That allocations are not made available in-time in Assam and Bihar was the major reason given by a majority of respondents. But the single biggest reason was given as official negligence and indolence at the drawing and disbursing level, by 42 per cent of the respondents. This official negligence and indolence was reportedly more in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura than in Bihar and Assam. Late decisions by the Stipends Award Committee and lack of coordination among various departments were the other two reasons given by officer respondents in Bihar. Other reasons which were given by respondents were wrong type of personnel in case of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar only, lack of clear-cut policies of the State government and complicated procedures. 20 per cent of the total respondents did not give any response. The rest gave more than one reason for delay. Before concluding the topic on delay in disbursement it is necessary to consider the adverse effects of delay in disbursement.

Table V. 31. Adverse effects of delay on recipients of financial assistance

Adverse effects	Assam N=7	Bihar N=19	Madhya Pradesh N=20	Tripura N=4	Total N=60
Large No. of failures	3 (42.86)	7 (36.84)	11 (55.00)	2 (50.00)	23 (46.00)
Stagnation	2 (28.57)	5 (26.31)	8 (40.00)	1 (25.00)	16 (32.00)
Absenteeism	3 (42.86)	12 (63.16)	13 (65.00)	3 (75.00)	31 (62.00)
Poor performance in examinations	5 (71.43)	11 (57.89)	7 (35.00)	2 (50.00)	25 (50.00)
Misutilization of financial assistance	4 (57.14)	17 (89.48)	15 (75.00)	4 (100.00)	40 (80.00)
Initiative for education is affected	—	6 (31.58)	4 (20.00)	3 (75.00)	13 (28.00)
Unfavourable attitude towards welfare programmes	1 (14.29)	2 (10.53)	4 (20.00)	—	7 (14.00)
Drop out and fall in enrolments	—	3 (15.78)	—	—	3 (6.00)
Underestimation of schemes of financial assistance	—	3 (15.78)	—	1 (25.00)	4 (8.00)
No response	1 (14.29)	2 (10.53)	1 (5.00)	—	4 (8.00)

The table given above shows that the major effect of delay is the misutilization of financial assistance by students as reported by 80 per cent respondents. This is more so in case of Tripura, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh than in case of Assam. Another adverse effect is the absenteeism among the tribal students. There is no denying the fact that cash provides an incentive to tribal students. And when there is delay, this incentive is killed which, in turn, causes absenteeism and drop out. This was reported by 62 per cent respondents. Problem of absenteeism was reportedly more acute in case of Tripura, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar than in Assam. Other adverse effects were poor performance of tribal students in examinations and a large number of failures as reported by 50 per cent of the respondents. Other comparatively less acute problems of delay as reported by officer respondents were stagnation, lack of initiative for education, underestimation by the tribal people of the schemes of financial assistance, and drop outs and fall in enrolment. 8 per cent respondents did not give any response. Many respondents gave more than one reason. In the final analysis it can be said that the resultant major effects of delay are misutilization, absenteeism, poor performance in examination and a large number of failures in that order.

Follow-up

In none of the sample States any systematic effort has been made to follow up the schemes of financial assistance. It seems as if the responsibility terminates as soon as the scholarships, stipends or bookgrants are disbursed. It was felt by the majority of officer respondents that follow-up action was necessary for the success of any schemes of financial assistance in cash or kind. As many as 90.91 per cent officer respondents in Assam, 72.73 per cent in Bihar, 75 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 66.67 per cent in Tripura felt the necessity of follow up action. Only 14.29 per cent of the respondents did not feel that any follow-up action was necessary while 7.93 per cent did not respond. The table given below indicates that majority of the respondents were in favour of follow-up action.

Table V. 32. Whether there is a need for follow-up action for the schemes of financial assistance

States/Union Territory				
	Yes	No	Unable to tell	No response
Assam N=11	10 (90.91)	1 (9.09)	—	—
Bihar N=22	16 (72.73)	2 (9.09)	—	4 (18.18)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	18 (75.00)	4 (16.66)	1 (4.17)	1 (4.17)
Tripura N=6	4 (66.67)	2 (33.33)	—	—
Total N=63	48 (76.19)	9 (14.29)	1 (1.59)	5 (7.93)

Those who did not feel the necessity of any follow-up action were sceptical about its efficacy and the main argument advanced by them was that such a scheme would involve an organizational machinery which in its turn would tell upon the resources of the States. They also felt that follow-up action may in turn create suspicion in the minds of students. But only one-seventh of the respondents did not favour the idea of having any follow-up action and they did not represent the consensus of the majority of the respondents.

From the responses of the majority of respondents it appears that some sort of follow-up action is necessary for the success of any scheme of financial assistance. Endeavour was also made to find out the type of agency which may be entrusted with the work of follow-up action if such an action was considered necessary. 52.38 per cent officer respondents favoured the governmental agency for taking follow-up action. There were no variations among the States in this regard. 54.55 per cent of the respondents in Assam, 45.45 per cent in Bihar, 58.33 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and

50 per cent in Tripura supported this view. Another agency which could be entrusted with this action, according to the respondents, could be the non-official or the voluntary agencies. 17.45 per cent of the total respondents favoured non-official or voluntary agencies for this work. There were no variations in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura in this regard. In Assam a semi-governmental agency for follow-up action was suggested. Next to non-official or voluntary agency, a semi-governmental body was considered suitable for this work in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura. A few respondents also preferred school authorities to be entrusted with this work. 6.35 per cent respondents expressed their inability to suggest anything while 4.77 per cent did not respond. The consensus was, however, in favour of government agencies taking up some sort of follow-up action.

CHAPTER SIX

UTILIZATION OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Pattern of Utilization

THE success of any scheme of financial assistance largely depends upon its utilization. Allocation of fund itself is not enough unless it is properly utilized. In the present chapter an endeavour has been made to study the different patterns of utilization of the amount of financial assistance given to tribal students.

A majority of officer respondents were of the opinion that education was the single item on which the amount of financial assistance was expected to be spent by tribal students. They constituted 54.55 per cent of the total respondents in Assam, 77.27 per cent in Bihar, 66.66 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 83.33 per cent in Tripura.

Table VI.1. Items on which amount of financial assistance is expected to be spent by students

States/Union Territory	Educational	Personal expenses	Refreshment	Rent payment	Luxurious goods	No response
Assam N=11	6 (54.55)	2 (18.18)	1 (9.09)	—	—	5 (45.45)
Bihar N=22	17 (77.27)	5 (22.72)	1 (4.55)	1 (4.55)	1 (4.55)	4 (18.18)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	16 (66.66)	5 (20.83)	—	—	—	7 (29.17)
Tripura N=6	5 (83.33)	2 (33.33)	1 (16.67)	—	—	1 (16.67)
Total N=63	44 (69.84)	14 (22.22)	3 (4.76)	1 (1.59)	1 (1.59)	17 (26.98)

The next important item of expenditure as stated by officer respondents was personal expenses of students. One of the respondents also reported that the amount of financial assistance was expected to be spent on luxurious goods.

The study revealed that there were no prescribed rules for the ways in, and items on, which the amount of financial assistance was to be spent by students in the three sample States except in Tripura where responses of the officer respondents was equally divided. Table VI.2 shows that a majority of respondents—72.73 per cent in Assam, 100 per cent in Bihar and 91.67 per cent in Madhya Pradesh—stated that there were no prescribed rules.

Table VI.2. Existence of any prescribed rules for spending the amount of financial assistance

State/Union Territory	Yes	No	No response
Assam N=11	2 (18.18)	8 (72.73)	1 (9.09)
Bihar N=22	—	22 (100.00)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	2 (8.33)	22 (91.67)	—
Tripura N=6	3 (50.00)	3 (50.00)	—
Total N=63	7 (11.11)	55 (87.30)	1 (1.59)

At the same time a majority of respondents were of the opinion that there should be some sort of prescribed rules for spending this money. As many as 72.73 per cent respondents in Assam, 72.73 per cent in Bihar, 54.17 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 50 per cent in Tripura expressed this opinion as is evident from Table VI.3.

Table VI.3. Need for prescribed rules for spending money given to tribal students

States/Union Territory	Prescribed rules are needed	Prescribed rules are not needed	No response
Assam N=11	8 (72.73)	1 (9.09)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	16 (72.73)	6 (27.27)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	13 (54.17)	9 (37.50)	2 (8.33)
Tripura N=6	3 (50.00)	2 (33.33)	1 (16.67)
Total N=63	40 (63.49)	18 (28.58)	5 (7.93)

It appears that the money which is given to tribal students is not utilized for the purpose for which it is meant and hence a majority of officer respondents felt the need of having prescribed rules. However, 9.09 per cent respondents in Assam, 27.27 per cent in Bihar, 37.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 33.33 per cent in Tripura did not feel such a need. They thought that it would be difficult to check the spending of money on other items for which the financial assistance was not intended to be spent.

It was noticed that the amount of financial assistance given to the tribal students was not spent by students alone but also by their parents and others.

Table VI.4. Different categories of persons who spend the amount of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Students	Parents	Both parents and students	Hostel superintendent	Both students and superintendent	Relatives	No response
Assam N=137	61 (44.53)	58 (42.34)	13 (9.49)	—	—	5 (3.64)	—
Bihar N=215	70 (32.56)	54 (25.11)	88 (40.93)	—	—	3 (1.40)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=178	58 (32.58)	49 (27.53)	54 (30.34)	11 (6.18)	2 (1.12)	3 (1.69)	1 (0.56)
Tripura N=126	17 (13.49)	15 (11.91)	4 (3.17)	54 (42.86)	36 (28.57)	—	—
Total N=656	206 (31.40)	176 (26.83)	159 (24.24)	65 (9.91)	38 (5.79)	11 (1.68)	1 (0.15)

In Assam 44.53 per cent of the students reported that they spent the money themselves and almost an equal percentage of them said that the money was spent by their parents. In Bihar the money was spent by students and parents individually and at times by both of them together. In Madhya Pradesh also the position was almost similar. And in Tripura 42.86 per cent reported that the money was spent by their hostel superintendents. It may be noted that in Tripura students in hostels spent the money under the supervision of the hostel superintendents and many students thought that the amount of financial assistance was spent by the hostel superintendents alone. The above table also reveals that

only 31.40 per cent of the total number of students spent the amount themselves. A few students also reported that the money was spent by their relatives. Most of these students also reported that since they had to stay with some of their relatives in order to attend school, the money was spent by the latter.

Most of the students who spent money themselves stated that they also consulted others before spending the amount. There were not much variations in this regard in the responses of students of the sample States. 70.27 per cent of them in Assam, 75.32 per cent in Bihar and 54.39 per cent in Tripura and 43.86 per cent in Madhya Pradesh consulted some one before spending the money.

The following categories of persons were consulted by students before spending money: parents, teachers, hostel superintendents, and relatives as given in Table VI.5.

Table VI.5. Categories of persons consulted by students for spending amount of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Parents	Teacher	Hostel superintendent	Relatives	Both parents and relatives.
Assam N=52	38 (73.08)	—	—	11 (21.15)	3 (5.77)
Bihar N=119	111 (93.28)	—	1 (0.84)	4 (3.36)	3 (2.52)
Madhya Pradesh N=50	33 (66.00)	1 (2.00)	12 (24.00)	3 (6.00)	1 (2.00)
Tripura N=31	27 (87.10)	—	3 (9.68)	—	1 (3.22)
Total N=252	209 (82.94)	1 (0.40)	16 (6.35)	18 (7.14)	8 (3.17)

Most of the students consulted their parents while only a few consulted their hostel superintendents and relatives for spending the amount of financial assistance.

Another important aspect of the study was to determine how the money was utilized. When the money was spent by the parents 71.94 per cent of them spent on educational items and 62.68 per cent of them spent on food and drinks. A small proportion of the amount was also spent on clothing, repayment of loans and other items. The following table gives the details.

Table VI. 6. Items on which the amount of financial assistance is spent by the parents

Items of expenditure	Assam N=71	Bihar N=142	Madhya Pradesh N=103	Tripura N=19	Total N=335
Household materials	25 (36.21)	65 (45.77)	34 (33.00)	7 (36.84)	131 (39.10)
Food & drinks	28 (39.43)	106 (74.64)	75 (72.8)	1 (5.26)	210 (62.68)
Repayment of loans	22 (30.98)	34 (23.84)	16 (15.53)	2 (10.52)	74 (22.08)
Education	67 (94.36)	84 (59.15)	70 (67.96)	17 (89.4)	241 (71.94)
Clothing	7 (9.85)	24 (16.90)	21 (20.38)	—	52 (15.52)
Miscellaneous (agriculture, pocket allowance, daily necessities)	6 (8.45)	7 (4.92)	13 (12.62)	—	26 (7.76)
No response	1 (1.40)	—	1 (0.97)	—	2 (0.59)

There were some variations in the responses from the different sample States regarding the pattern of expenditure. In Madhya Pradesh and Bihar as many as 72.8 per cent and 74.64 per cent of the parents spent the money on food and drinks, while 94.36 per cent students in Assam and 89.4 per cent in Tripura stated that it was spent on educational items. It appears that parents are educationally more conscious in Assam and Tripura than in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. It was observed that the amount of financial assistance was in many cases not given monthly and was disbursed in lump sum for many months at a time. This afforded opportunities to the parents to spend the amount on purposes other than educational. But were the students satisfied with the way the money was spent by their parents on the different items mentioned above? A majority of them reported their satisfaction as is clear from the following table.

Table VI.7. Justification of expenditure

States/Union Territory	Justified	Partly justified	Not justified	No response
Assam N=71	52 (73.23)	6 (8.46)	4 (5.64)	9 (12.67)
Bihar N=142	117 (82.40)	1 (0.71)	7 (4.92)	17 (11.97)
Madhya Pradesh N=103	69 (66.99)	12 (11.65)	7 (6.80)	15 (14.56)
Tripura N=19	17 (89.48)	1 (5.26)	1 (5.26)	—
Total N=335	235 (76.11)	20 (5.98)	19 (5.68)	41 (12.23)

The above table indicates that only 5.68 per cent student respondents stated that the expenditure incurred by their parents was not justified. Most of them reported that they had no other alternative except to hand over the amount to their parents in case they wanted to continue their studies. However, on the whole, 76.11 per cent of them thought that the expenditure was justified. There were no variations in this regard. More than 60 per cent student respondents in all States reported justification.

Further attempt was made to know the students' preferences for the items on which they would spend the money if they were given a free hand to do so. More than 90 per cent of them preferred to spend on education. Table VI. 8. shows their preferences.

Next to education was their dress on which 83.99 per cent students preferred to spend their money. This was the case in all the States and Tripura. 73.72 per cent student respondents in Assam, 86.51 per cent in Bihar, 92.69 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 78.57 per cent in Tripura stated that they would like to spend on dresses.

Table VI.8. Preferences of students in spending the amount of financial assistance

Items of expenditure	Assam N=137	Bihar N=215	Madhya Pradesh N=178	Tripura N=126	Total N=656
Education	132 (96.35)	203 (94.41)	165 (92.69)	120 (95.23)	620 (94.51)
Household material	9 (6.65)	18 (8.37)	16 (8.98)	—	43 (6.55)
Repayment of loan	17 (12.40)	27 (12.55)	12 (6.74)	4 (3.16)	60 (9.14)
Dress	101 (73.72)	186 (86.51)	165 (92.69)	99 (78.57)	551 (83.99)
Daily necessities	8 (5.83)	26 (12.09)	52 (29.21)	3 (2.38)	89 (13.56)
Food	7 (5.10)	93 (43.25)	20 (11.23)	3 (2.38)	123 (18.75)
Payment of rent	—	—	1 (0.56)	—	1 (0.15)
Tuition fee	—	3 (1.39)	—	—	3 (0.45)
Entertainment and recreation	53 (38.68)	37 (17.20)	43 (24.15)	39 (30.96)	172 (26.20)

Besides students, the officers concerned with the disbursement of financial assistance were also of the view that most of the amount received as financial assistance by the tribal students was spent on education, food and drinks, daily necessities, dress and luxurious goods. Table VI. 9 gives the details of their responses.

Table VI. 9. Items on which amount of financial assistance is spent

Item of expenditure	Assam N=11	Bihar N=22	Madhya Pradesh N=24	Tripura N=6	Total N=63
Education	1 (9.09)	2 (9.09)	12 (50.00)	3 (50.00)	18 (28.57)
Food and drinks	—	8 (36.36)	10 (41.67)	—	18 (28.57)
Daily necessities	2 (18.18)	2 (9.09)	7 (29.17)	1 (16.67)	12 (19.04)
Repayment of loan	—	2 (9.09)	—	—	2 (3.17)
Dress	1 (9.09)	2 (9.09)	8 (33.33)	—	11 (17.46)
Recreation	—	2 (9.09)	3 (12.50)	1 (16.67)	6 (9.52)
Luxurious goods	1 (9.09)	15 (68.18)	7 (29.17)	—	23 (36.50)
Anti-social activity	—	1 (4.55)	1 (4.16)	—	2 (3.17)
No response	6 (54.55)	1 (4.55)	2 (8.33)	2 (33.33)	11 (17.46)

There were many variations in the sample States with regard to observations made by officer respondents about items of expenditure on which the amount of financial assistance was spent. A discouraging picture was revealed in case of Assam and Bihar where only 9.09 per cent officer-respondent each reported that money was spent on education. 50 per cent each in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura also reported the same. 68.18 per cent reported that it was spent on items of daily necessities like soap, comb, oil etc. Food and drinks were the other important items on which the amount of financial assistance was spent in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

Observations made by officer respondents and study of pattern of expenditure by parents revealed that in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh a bigger amount was spent on food and drink. There was some similarity between the responses of students and officers with

regard to expenditure on education in Madhya Pradesh and Tripura. But there were variations in case of Assam and Bihar in respect of educational item where responses of the two categories of persons presented a divergent picture.

The officer respondents also expressed their opinions about the justification of expenditure of the amount of financial assistance. In Assam and Tripura they reported that the expenditure was justified. 54.55 per cent in Assam and 50 per cent in Tripura felt it justified while in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh they considered it only partly justified.

Table VI.10. Justification of the pattern of utilization of the amount of financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Justified	Partly justified	Not justified	No response
Assam N=11	6 (54.55)	4 (36.36)	—	1 (9.09)
Bihar N=22	4 (18.18)	11 (50.00)	7 (31.82)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	6 (25.00)	11 (45.83)	6 (25.00)	1 (4.17)
Tripura N=6	3 (50.00)	1 (16.67)	2 (33.33)	—
Total N=63	19 (30.16)	27 (42.86)	15 (23.81)	2 (3.17)

Those who reported that the expenditure was either not justified or partly justified felt that the money was not being properly utilized, as it was not spent on the purpose for which it was meant. Also many of them felt that only a part of the amount of the financial assistance was utilized.

Misutilization of Financial Assistance

The term misutilization connotes different meanings in different contexts. In connection with the schemes of financial assistance it means the utilization of amount for purposes other than those for which it is meant. For misutilization the responsibility is more on the recipients than on the executors of the schemes.

Efforts were made to find out as to what the officer respondents meant by the term misutilization. As many as 46.03 per cent respondents did not give any response. Out of the rest, 22.22 per cent defined misutilization as 'spending of the amount of financial assistance on non-educational items.' Educational items would include purchase of text-books, stationery and other ancillary items needed for prosecuting the studies. According to 17.96 per cent of the respondents, when the amount of financial assistance was too meagre, more often than not it was utilized for non-educational purposes. There is only a slight difference between the former and the latter definitions. Similarly 9.52 per cent defined misutilization as 'the purchase of articles not required by the students.' 4.76 per cent respondents said that misutilization meant 'the spending of amount of financial assistance on luxurious items.' One common denominator can be taken out of the definitions given by the respondents, and that is spending the amount of financial assistance on non-educational items. Therefore, on the basis of the definitions given by the respondents, it can be said that when the amount of financial assistance was spent either by the students or by their parents on non-educational items it amounted to misutilization.

In the context of the definitions given above, the officer respondents were inquired whether the amount of financial assistance was properly utilized by the recipients.

Table VI.11. Agreement on whether financial assistance was misutilized by the recipients

States/Union Territory	Agree	Partly Agree	Disagree	No response
Assam N=11	—	5 (45.45)	5 (45.45)	1 (9.09)
Bihar N=22	11 (50.00)	9 (40.90)	2 (9.09)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	3 (12.50)	14 (58.33)	7 (29.16)	—
Tripura N=6	—	4 (66.67)	2 (33.33)	—
Total N=63	14 (22.22)	32 (50.79)	16 (25.40)	1 (1.59)

The above table shows that 22.22 per cent respondents agreed that the amount of financial assistance was misutilized by the recipients. 50 per cent in Bihar and 12.5 per cent in Madhya Pradesh felt that the financial assistance was misutilized by students. In Assam and Tripura, none of the respondents maintained that it was misutilized. However, 66.67 per cent in Tripura and 45.45 per cent in Assam opined that the amount was partly misutilized by the students. Misutilization in part might mean that the recipients purchased both educational and non-educational items. An inference can also be drawn out of these responses. It is presumed that all those officers who maintained that the amount was partly utilized might also be holding the view that students could spare some money for spending on non-educational items besides spending on educational items. The number of respondents who reported that the amount was not misutilized was only 16, that is 25.40 per cent of the total. 50.79 per cent of the respondents were, however, of the view that the amount of financial assistance was partly misutilized.

Table VI.12. Causes of misutilization of financial assistance

Causes of mis- utilization	Pradesh				Total N=47
	Assam N=6	Bihar N=20	Madhya N=17	Tripura N=4	
Delay and untimely disbursement	4 (66.66)	13 (65.00)	12 (70.58)	3 (75.00)	32 (68.08)
Lack of follow up and supervision	2 (33.33)	9 (45.00)	10 (58.82)	2 (50.00)	23 (48.93)
Lack of awareness, poverty and backwardness	1 (16.66)	8 (40.00)	9 (52.94)	4 (100.00)	22 (46.80)
Because the amount is dis- bursed in lump sum at a time	—	6 (30.00)	7 (41.17)	—	13 (27.65)
Lack of proper selection of candidates	—	5 (25.00)	—	—	5 (10.63)
Lack of prescribed rules and instructions to recipients	—	3 (15.00)	8 (47.05)	—	11 (23.40)
Want of social education	—	—	—	1 (25.00)	1 (2.12)
Inadequate amount of assistance	3 (50.00)	—	1 (5.88)	—	4 (8.51)
No response	—	2 (10.00)	4 (23.52)	1 (25.00)	7 (14.89)

Endeavours were made to find out the causes of misutilization. The causes were equally applicable to both misutilization and misutilization in part because it was not known to the respondents as to what part of the amount was properly utilized and what part was not.

The respondents gave more than one response while mentioning the causes of misutilization by the students. Delay and untimely disbursement of financial assistance was one of the major reasons given by a majority of respondents in all the sample States. 75 per cent respondents in Tripura and 70.58 per cent in Madhya Pradesh considered delay and untimely disbursement as one of the reasons. Another major reason was the lack of follow up and supervision of the schemes of financial assistance as well as of the recipients. This reason was given by 48.93 per cent of the total number of respondents, 58.82 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, 50 per cent in Tripura, 45 per cent in Bihar and 33.33 per cent in Assam. Why majority of the respondents in Madhya Pradesh and why a lesser number of respondents in Assam considered this as one of the reasons may be because of the following fact. Since in Madhya Pradesh tribal people are comparatively more underdeveloped than those in Assam, the officers in Madhya Pradesh felt that unless tribal students getting financial assistance were properly supervised, they might misutilize the amount. There is a close resemblance between the reason given above and the reasons of lack of awareness, poverty and backwardness as given by 46.80 per cent of the total respondents. Here, again, more or less the same pattern follows, but the top position was occupied by Tripura where 100 per cent of the respondents gave this as one of the reasons. In Madhya Pradesh 52.94 per cent and in Bihar 40 per cent gave this reason. In Assam only 16.66 per cent of the respondents considered lack of awareness, poverty and backwardness as one of the reasons. Thus on the basis of the responses given by the officer respondents, it can be said that there was less awareness about schemes of financial assistance among tribal students in Tripura and Madhya Pradesh than in Bihar and Assam. Other major reasons for misutilization, in Assam, was given as inadequate amount of financial assistance by 50 per cent respondents. In Madhya Pradesh 47.05 per cent of the total respondents also considered lack of any prescribed rules and instructions to recipients as one of the reasons.

In the final analysis it can be said that delay and untimely disbursement and inadequate amount of financial assistance to tribal students were considered as the two major reasons of misutilization

by a majority of respondents in Assam. In Bihar, delay and untimely disbursement, lack of follow-up and supervision, and lack of awareness, poverty and backwardness among tribal communities were considered as major reasons. In Madhya Pradesh, again, delay and untimely disbursement, lack of follow-up and supervision and lack of awareness, poverty and backwardness among tribal people were considered as major reasons by majority of respondents. In Tripura, lack of awareness, poverty and backwardness, delay and lack of follow-up and supervision, in that order, were given as major reasons for misutilization by the majority of respondents. One exclusive reason of lack of proper selection of recipients was given by 25 per cent of the respondents in Bihar and again one exclusive reason of lack of social education was given by 25 per cent of the respondents in Tripura.

Finally, we come to the discussion of the various measures suggested by officer respondents for doing away with misutilization.

Table VI.13. Measures for removal of misutilization of financial assistance

Measures	Pradesh				Total N=47
	Assam N=6	Bihar N=20	Madhya N=17	Tripura N=4	
Prompt and timely disbursement of financial assistance	3 (50.00)	10 (50.00)	8 (47.05)	2 (50.00)	23 (48.93)
Proper supervision and followup	1 (16.66)	7 (35.00)	5 (29.41)	2 (50.00)	15 (31.91)
Introduction of more schemes in kind	—	8 (40.00)	9 (52.94)	1 (25.00)	18 (38.29)
Proper publicity and creation of awareness among tribal people	—	10 (50.00)	13 (76.47)	2 (50.00)	25 (53.19)
Instructions and prescribed relues to the tribal students	1 (16.66)	4 (20.00)	7 (41.17)	—	12 (25.53)
School authorities be asked to look after utilization	1 (16.66)	3 (15.00)	5 (29.41)	—	9 (19.14)

(Continued)

Monthly disbursement	1 (16.66)	3 (15.00)	5 (29.41)	—	9 (19.14)
Students belonging to rich families should not be awarded financial assistance	—	2 (10.00)	4 (23.52)	—	6 (12.76)
Scholarships and stipends be paid in presence of guardian	1 (16.66)	2 (10.00)	2 (11.77)	—	4 (8.51)
Miscellaneous	1 (16.66)	2 (10.00)	3 (17.64)	—	6 (12.76)
No response	1 (16.66)	2 (10.00)	4 (23.52)	1 (25.00)	8 (17.02)

47 out of 63 respondents who had earlier reported that financial assistance was either misutilized or partly misutilized by the students suggested more than one measure to be taken for the removal of misutilization which are given in the above table. 53.19 per cent of the total respondents suggested that proper publicity should be given to the welfare schemes including schemes of financial assistance, and awareness should also be created among the tribal people. Whereas none of the respondents in Assam suggested this measure, 76.47 per cent of the respondents in Madhya Pradesh and 50 per cent each in Bihar and Tripura suggested this. The officer respondents gave the next preference to prompt and timely disbursement of financial assistance. 50 per cent of the respondents in Assam, Bihar and Tripura and 47.05 per cent in Madhya Pradesh suggested this. 52.94 per cent of the respondents in Madhya Pradesh also favoured the introduction of more schemes in kind. The same was suggested by 40 per cent respondents in Bihar and 25 per cent in Tripura but by none of the respondents in Assam. Another measure suggested pertained to proper follow-up and supervision. 16.66 per cent respondents in Assam, 35 per cent in Bihar, 29.41 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 50 per cent in Tripura suggested this. The category of miscellaneous measures included measures like appointment of a vigilance committee in Assam, provision of better residential schools in Bihar and obtaining of certificates from the recipients about the item on which they spent financial assistance.

Extent of Non-utilization

Having considered misutilization of financial assistance by the tribal students, the extent of non-utilization of funds for the various schemes needs to be examined.

To begin with, it might be said that for misutilization, the recipients are largely responsible, because it is up to them to use or misuse the financial assistance given by the government. As far as non-utilization is concerned, the disbursing authorities are to bear the responsibility. Here the recipients may also contribute indirectly to the non-utilization of funds in the sense that when tribal students eligible for the award of financial assistance are not available, the authorities may either surrender the funds or may divert the funds to some other purposes.

Since the schemes of financial assistance for tribal students are a part and parcel of the general scheme of tribal education, it is necessary to gauge the extent of utilization or non-utilization of funds for the purpose of tribal education in the sample States.

Table VI. 14. shows that the State of Assam had been exceeding the allocated amount for tribal education during the years 1961-62, 1962-63, 1963-64 and 1965-66 by 8.99 per cent, 6.87 per cent, 8.89 per cent and 32.80 per cent respectively. It was only during the year 1964-65 that 3.60 per cent of the amount allocated for the year was not utilized. This non-utilization of funds was negligible in comparison to 10.74 per cent of over spending the amount during five years of the Third Plan.

In case of Bihar the non-utilization of the funds allocated for tribal education during the third plan had been, on an average, 1.82 per cent every year. Maximum non-utilization of 9.16 per cent was during 1963-64. During 1964-65, the total amount allocated for tribal education was spent. It was only in the year 1965-66 that the State overspent the funds by 10.74 per cent.

In Madhya Pradesh, the non-utilization of funds had been to the tune of 5.99 per cent during the third plan. Again, it was only during 1965-66 that the State overspent by 17.96 per cent. The maximum non-utilization was during 1961-62 and 1962-63 when it was 19.15 per cent and 18.53 per cent respectively, and to a lesser extent during 1963-64 and 1964-65, when it was 4.02 per cent and 6.23 per cent respectively.

In Tripura the non-utilization had been the maximum out of the Sample States. It was to the extent of 33.89 per cent during the third plan. Only in 1965-66 an overspending to an extent of 28.27 per cent of the amount allocated was done.

Table VI. 14. Allocation made for tribal education during the third five-year plan and expenditure incurred during the year 1961-62 to 1965-66

States/Union Territory	Allocation made for third five-year plan (Rs. in lakhs)	1961-62			1962-63			1963-64			1964-65			1965-66		
		Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease	Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease	Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease	Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease	Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease
Assam	135.00	26.35	28.72	+ 8.99	30.38	32.47	+ 6.87	38.69	42.13	+ 8.89	41.90	40.39	-3.60	49.20	65.34	+ 32.80
Bihar	261.00	49.50	45.17	-8.75	48.90	49.85	+ 1.94	46.14	41.91	-9.16	53.73	53.73	-	56.88	62.99	+ 10.74
Madhya Pradesh	318.22	47.03	38.02	-19.15	54.76	44.61	-18.53	53.40	51.25	-4.02	73.27	68.70	-6.23	75.02	88.50	+ 17.96
Tripura	10.844	2.23	0.21	-90.58	2.13	1.40	-34.27	1.58	0.88	-44.30	1.958	1.258	-35.75	2.37	3.04	+ 28.27

In the final analysis it can be said that the non-utilization of funds allocated for tribal education during the third five-year plan had been comparatively more in case of Tripura and Madhya Pradesh than in case of Bihar, whereas in case of Assam utilization had been the maximum. The overspending was to the tune of 10.74 per cent of the funds allocated. One interesting feature of allocation and expenditure pattern is that except in case of Assam, rest of the States allocated during the five years of the plan less than the total allocations earmarked for the entire third plan. For Bihar Rs. 261 lakhs were allocated for the whole plan period but the actual allocation made yearwise for five years came to Rs. 255.15 lakhs only and out of this, Rs. 253.65 lakhs were utilized. In case of Madhya Pradesh Rs. 318.22 lakhs were allocated for third plan but the State allocated Rs. 303.48 lakhs during the five years. Out of this, Rs. 291.08 lakhs were spent. Similarly, in case of Tripura Rs. 10.844 lakhs were earmarked for tribal education for the third plan, but it allocated only Rs. 10.268 lakhs during the five years, out of which Rs. 6.788 lakhs were utilized. Separate figures of utilization of funds for financial assistance were not available for all the Sample states but when we consider the non-utilization of funds allocated for the schemes of financial assistance, particularly the scheme of hostels for tribal students, we find that Assam was the only State which did not utilize the amount of Rs. one lakh allocated for hostel schemes during the third five-year plan.

Table VI. 15. shows that the fund of Rs. one lakh allocated for the schemes of hostels was not spent by Assam. In case of Bihar Rs. 41 lakhs were earmarked for the scheme. During 1961-62, 17.5 per cent more than the allocation for the year was spent. During 1962-63 the State could not spend 67.41 per cent of the total allocated amount. Same was the case during 1963-64 when 4.76 per cent of the amount could not be spent. In 1964-65, the total fund of Rs. 2.50 lakhs was utilized.

This means that during the first four years of the third plan the non-utilization had been 1.11 per cent. In case of Madhya Pradesh the non-utilization was 27.02 per cent during the first four years of the third plan. 67.36 per cent and 54.89 per cent respectively of the funds during 1961-62 and 1962-63 were not utilized. Funds to the extent of 1.47 per cent in excess of the allocation were used during 1963-64 while 3.76 per cent were not utilized during 1964-65. In Tripura also more than half of the funds allocated for scheme of hostels was not spent. In the final analysis it can be said that the non-utilization of

Table VI. 15. Allocation made for the schemes of hostels for tribal students during the third plan and the expenditure incurred during the years 1961-62 to 1964-65

States/Union Territory	Allocation made for third five-year plan (Rs. in lakhs)	1961-62			1962-63			1963-64			1964-65		
		Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease	Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease	Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease	Allocation	Expenditure	Per cent increase or decrease
Assam	1.00	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil
Bihar	41.00	4.00	4.70	+17.5	2.67	0.87	-67.41	0.21	0.20	-4.76	2.50	2.50	nil
Madhya Pradesh	113.50	20.38	6.65	-67.36	22.90	10.33	-54.89	13.54	13.74	+1.47	25.00	24.06	-3.76
Tripura	2.50	0.70	0.09	-87.14	0.50	0.91	+82.00	0.35	0.25	-28.57	0.50	nil	-100.00

funds allocated for the first four years of the third plan had been more in case of Tripura and Madhya Pradesh than in case of Bihar, whereas in case of Assam the funds were not utilized at all.

From the available figures of allocation and expenditure on the schemes of financial assistance in case of Bihar and Tripura, endeavours were made to find out the extent of non-utilization. In Bihar, out of Rs. 1,63,09,806 allocated for the schemes of financial assistance during 1962-63 to 1965-66, Rs. 1,22,25,082 were spent during the same period which means 25.04 per cent of the allocated funds were not utilized.

Table VI. 16. Allocation made and expenditure incurred during the years 1962-63 to 1965-66

Years	Allocation	Expenditure	Non-utilization
			(%)
1962-63	53,84,700	26,97,793	49.89
1963-64	49,53,000	43,66,983	11.83
1964-65	26,69,800	18,58,000	30.40
1965-66	33,02,306	33,02,306	nil
Total	1,63,09,806	1,22,25,082	25.04

The above table shows that non-utilization of expenditure had been more during 1962-63 and 1964-65 than in the year 1963-64. Cent per cent of the allocated amount for financial assistance was utilized during 1965-66.

In case of Tripura there had been non-utilization of funds to the extent of 33.68 per cent of the allocations made for the scheme of boarding house stipends during the third plan. For the rest of the schemes the allocation figures were available for the year 1966-67 only and the entire amount was fully utilized that year.

Figures of allocation made and expenditure incurred on the schemes of financial assistance for the States of Assam and Madhya Pradesh were not available, hence it was difficult to determine the extent of non-utilization in these States.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPACT OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

THE schemes of financial assistance are primarily meant to promote education among tribesmen, and serve mainly two purposes: they provide the tribal students who are, by any large, untouched by education, an incentive to join schools, and secondly they provide economic support. It was inquired of the officer respondents whether the schemes of financial assistance which were in vogue in the sample States served these two purposes. Majority of them responded in affirmative. As many as 72.73 per cent of them in Assam, 72.73 per cent in Bihar, 87.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 83.33 per cent in Tripura stated that financial assistance did provide an incentive to tribal children for education. The following table shows the impact of financial assistance on the incentive of tribal students for education.

Table VII.1. Impact of financial assistance on the incentive of tribal students for education

States/Union Territory	Yes	Partly	No	No response
Assam N=11	8 (72.73)	—	2 (18.17)	1 (9.09)
Bihar N=22	16 (72.73)	2 (9.09)	4 (18.18)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	21 (87.50)	—	1 (4.16)	2 (8.34)
Tripura N=6	5 (83.33)	—	1 (16.67)	—
Total N=63	50 (79.37)	2 (3.17)	8 (12.69)	3 (4.77)

Those officer respondents who were of the opinion that financial assistance created some incentive among the tribal students for education also held that because of poverty tribal students were not able to spend on education, but when they received financial assistance it worked as an incentive. 50 per cent respondents in Assam, 50 per cent in Bihar and 38.1 per cent in Madhya Pradesh responded as above. It was also felt by 18.18 per cent of them in Assam, 43.75 per cent in Bihar, 33.33 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 33.33 per cent in Tripura that incentive which the students received in the form of financial assistance in turn resulted in much hard work put in by tribal students in their studies. A few respondents also ex-

pressed the opinion that financial assistance attracted tribal students towards education. Some of them who reported that financial assistance did not provide any incentive to tribal students also felt that financial assistance was given only to increase enrolment and not to provide education in the real sense of the term. They further felt that financial assistance had fostered a feeling of dependence which, in fact, hampered the growth of education.

As is evident from Table VII.1., in all the sample States schemes of financial assistance have provided incentive for education to tribal students. It also shows the increasing awareness among tribesmen for education. Out of the total of 660 students, 134 students discontinued their studies at certain stages because of economic hardship, long distance of schools, illness, indifferent attitude of parents and non-availability of hostels in the nearby areas, but, later on, within a year or two, these students again joined schools when financial assistance was provided. It clearly shows that financial assistance did provide an incentive to tribal students for education.

But does this incentive for education result in increase in enrolment of tribal students? 63.64 per cent of the respondents in Assam, 81.82 per cent in Bihar, 87.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 100 per cent in Tripura stated that award of financial assistance did lead to an increase in enrolment. Only 27.27 per cent respondents in Assam, 18.18 per cent in Bihar and 12.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh felt that it did not do so.

Table VII.2. Increase in enrolment of tribal students due to financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Yes	No	No response
Assam	7	3	1
N=11	(63.64)	(27.27)	(9.09)
Bihar	18	4	—
N=22	(81.82)	(18.18)	
Madhya Pradesh	21	3	—
N=24	(87.50)	(12.50)	
Tripura	6	—	—
N=6	(100.00)		
Total	52	10	1
N=63	(82.54)	(15.87)	(1.59)

It appears from the above table that in all the sample States there was a positive co-relation between financial assistance and enrolment of tribal students.

Financial Assistance and Educational Performance

Efforts were also made to find out if there was any relationship between financial assistance given to tribal students and the latter's educational performance. 69.84 per cent of the respondents stated that there was a relationship between the two. There were no variations in the responses from the sample States in this regard. As many as 72.73 per cent respondents in Assam, 59.09 per cent in Bihar, 75 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 83.33 per cent in Tripura affirmed that there was such a relationship. Only 25.40 per cent felt that there was no such relationship.

Table VII.3. Relationship between financial assistance and educational performance of tribal students

States/Union Territory	Yes	No	No response
Assam N=11	8 (72.73)	1 (9.09)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	13 (59.09)	9 (40.91)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	18 (75.00)	5 (20.83)	1 (4.17)
Tripura N=6	5 (83.33)	1 (16.67)	—
Total N=63	44 (69.84)	16 (25.40)	3 (4.76)

Whether the students who receive financial assistance do well in their studies in comparison to those who do not get it was also a question to be examined by those officer respondents who reported existence of relationship between financial assistance and educational performance. 72.73 per cent of them in Assam, 59.09 per cent in Bihar, 62.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 83.33 per cent in Tripura felt that students who received financial assistance generally did well in their examinations. Out of 63 respondents, 63.07 per cent felt satisfied over the fact that the students receiving financial assistance performed better in their examinations, while 25.39 per cent respondents expressed their dissatisfaction in this regard.

Table VII.4. Whether the students who receive financial assistance do well in the examinations

States/Union Territory	Yes	To some extent	No	No response
Assam N=11	8 (72.73)	—	1 (9.09)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	13 (59.09)	—	9 (40.91)	—
Madhya Pradesh N=24	15 (62.50)	3 (12.50)	5 (20.83)	1 (4.17)
Tripura N=6	5 (83.33)	—	1 (16.67)	—
Total N=63	41 (65.07)	3 (4.77)	16 (25.39)	3 (4.77)

Those officer respondents who did not feel any relationship between financial assistance and educational performance were of the view that impact of financial assistance was only quantitative. A few officer respondents who did not respond to this question also considered it to be so.

A study of the results of students getting financial assistance also shows their satisfactory performance in close conformity with the responses given by the officer respondents. Results of students have been divided into two categories (i) satisfactory (ii) unsatisfactory. Those students who always passed their different examinations have been put in the first category, while students who failed at any stage have been put in the second category. The following table shows the educational performance of the tribal students.

Table VII.5. Educational performance of tribal students receiving financial assistance

Educational performance	Assam N=137	Bihar N=219	Madhya Pradesh N=178	Tripura N=126	Total N=660
Satisfactory	128 (93.43)	217 (99.08)	174 (97.75)	119 (94.44)	638 (96.67)
Unsatisfactory	9 (6.57)	2 (0.92)	4 (2.25)	7 (5.56)	22 (3.33)

It is seen that in all the States the performance of more than 93 per cent of the students was satisfactory. The best result was in Bihar where 99.08 per cent students produced satisfactory result.

In Madhya Pradesh 97.75 per cent, in Assam 94.44 per cent and in Tripura 93.43 per cent students produced satisfactory results. It may not be conclusively inferred that this satisfactory performance was only because of financial assistance, but it may be inferred that financial assistance did help the students in performing better in their examinations.

Degree of Dependence on Financial Assistance

The purpose of any scheme of financial assistance whether in cash or kind is defeated and the schemes may become useless if they foster among the students a feeling of dependence on the state resources and curb their very initiative and self-reliance. In some of the states there is a practice of offering cash incentives to the families of the scheduled tribes in order to persuade them to send their children to schools. This step has been considered necessary apparently because the children of the scheduled tribes help their parents in their earnings and, therefore, when they are sent to the schools, the earning power of the family is adversely affected. Whatever be the reason for such a step it would be desirable to discourage this practice.¹

The present study also paid attention to the above question. A significant aspect of the present study was to ascertain the degree of dependence of tribal students on financial assistance. In this connection observations made by officer respondents throw sufficient light. 50 per cent of them in Bihar and 58.33 per cent in Madhya Pradesh stated that financial assistance resulted in fostering a feeling of dependence in tribal students. In Assam 45.46 per cent of officer respondents did not feel so while in Tripura respondents were equally divided in their opinions. The following table shows whether the tribal students are dependent on financial assistance.

Table VII.6. Whether the tribal students are dependent on financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Yes	To a large extent	To some extent	No	No response
Assam N=11	3 (27.27)	1 (9.09)	—	5 (45.46)	2 (18.18)
Bihar N=22	11 (50.00)	1 (4.55)	1 (4.55)	7 (31.81)	2 (9.09)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	14 (58.33)	1 (4.16)	2 (8.34)	4 (16.67)	3 (12.50)
Tripura N=6	3 (50.00)	—	—	3 (50.00)	—
Total N=63	3 (49.21)	3 (4.77)	3 (4.77)	19 (30.14)	7 (11.11)

If the total picture is taken into consideration, it is seen that 49.21 per cent stated that students were dependent on financial assistance and 30.14 per cent stated that they were not. It was further investigated whether students would discontinue their studies in case the schemes of financial assistance were discontinued. On this opinions of officers and students were sought. 57.14 per cent of officer respondents stated that discontinuance of financial assistance to students would result in discontinuance of their studies as is clear from the following table.

Table VII.7. Whether discontinuance of financial assistance would lead to discontinuance of studies

States/Union Territory	Yes	To a large extent	To some extent	No	No response
Assam N=11	8 (72.73)	—	—	2 (18.18)	1 (9.09)
Bihar N=22	5 (22.73)	4 (18.18)	2 (9.09)	10 (45.46)	1 (4.54)
Madhya Pradesh N=24	17 (70.83)	2 (8.33)	2 (8.33)	2 (8.34)	1 (4.17)
Tripura N=6	6 (100.00)	—	—	—	—
Total N=63	36 (57.14)	6 (9.52)	4 (6.35)	14 (22.22)	3 (4.77)

From the table given above it is clear that a majority of respondents, that is, 72.73 per cent in Assam, 70.83 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 100 per cent in Tripura felt that students would discontinue their studies if financial assistance to them were discontinued. It was only in Bihar where 45.46 per cent of the respondents did not support this view. Those who supported it, regarded poverty as the main hindrance in continuing studies. In Bihar, it was reported by many officials that those tribesmen who were interested in education would continue to send their children to schools even after the discontinuance of financial assistance.

A study of the responses given by students also confirm that in Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura 56.21 per cent, 61.23 per cent and 71.43 per cent students respectively, would have discontinued their studies in case financial assistance were discontinued. The following table gives their responses.

Table VII.8. Ability/inability of students to continue their studies without financial assistance

States/Union Territory	Able to continue	Partly able to continue	Unable to continue	No response
Assam N=137	50 (36.51)	7 (5.11)	77 (56.21)	3 (2.17)
Bihar N=219	124 (56.62)	1 (0.46)	87 (39.72)	7 (3.20)
Madhya Pradesh N=178	68 (38.21)	—	109 (61.23)	1 (0.56)
Tripura N=126	35 (27.77)	1 (0.80)	90 (71.43)	—
Total N=660	277 (41.97)	9 (1.36)	363 (55.00)	11 (1.67)

As many as 365, that is, 55 per cent students would have discontinued their studies if financial assistance to them were discontinued. Only in Bihar, 56.62 per cent students reported that they would be able to continue. In Assam 36.51 per cent, in Madhya Pradesh 38.21 per cent and in Tripura 27.77 per cent also reported the same. The main reasons advanced by the student respondents who expressed their inability to continue studies, were poverty, long distance to school, indifferent attitude of parents and unavailability of hostel facilities in nearby areas. As many as 90.47 per cent respondents in Assam, 97.72 per cent in Bihar, 92.66 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 96.70 per cent in Tripura stated that poverty would be the main reason for discontinuing their studies in case financial assistance were discontinued as is clear from Table VII.9.

An instance also came to our notice which further showed the degree of dependence of tribal students on financial assistance. In Dalbhanga High School (Proposed) in Kuchai Block in Bihar in the year 1965 there were 26 tribal students studying in class VIII and were in receipt of financial assistance in cash. It may be pointed out here that no financial assistance is given to tribal students reading in proposed high schools. Hence students were not granted any financial assistance in the year 1968 and it was noticed that 13 students (50 per cent) had left their studies.

Table VII.9. Reasons for discontinuing studies if financial assistance were discontinued

States/Union Territory	Poverty	Long distance to school	Indifferent attitude of parents	No hostel facilities in nearby areas	No response
Assam N=84	76 (90.47)	5 (5.95)	16 (19.04)	3 (3.57)	3 (3.57)
Bihar N=88	86 (97.72)	4 (4.54)	17 (19.31)	—	1 (1.13)
Madhya Pradesh N=109	101 (92.66)	17 (15.60)	16 (14.68)	13 (11.93)	3 (2.75)
Tripura N=91	88 (96.70)	17 (18.68)	6 (6.59)	12 (13.18)	3 (9.89)
Total N=372	351 (94.35)	43 (11.55)	55 (14.78)	28 (7.52)	16 (4.30)

Suggestions were invited as to how the situation could be improved so that the students do not have to entirely depend upon financial assistance to continue their studies. Most of the officer respondents in Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura reported that economic condition of tribal people needs to be improved. Other suggestions included overhauling of schemes, provision of publicity, starting of earn-and-learn schemes, assurance of employment opportunities, adequate assistance to poor in kind, fixation of proper criteria, reduction of assistance in cash, study loan to students, continuance of present schemes, opening of schools on missionary pattern, provision of financial assistance in cash to only high/higher secondary students and assistance in kind to primary and middle students, encouragement to meritorious students and opening of technical schools. The list of suggestions is really formidable and it is doubtful whether all the schemes suggested above could be simultaneously launched. But surely a selected few could be given a fair trial and the sooner the students are made to depend upon their own rather than on the State's resources, the better it would be in the interest of their education.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The main findings of the study are given below.

1. POLICY AND PURPOSE

The main purpose of the schemes of financial assistance for pre-matric tribal students as revealed by the study is to promote the cause of tribal education and thereby to help tribal students meet a part of the expenditure on education.

2. SCHEMES

(i) All the sample States lay more emphasis on schemes providing assistance in cash. In Madhya Pradesh and Tripura schemes in kind also operate though such schemes are, by and large, confined to students reading in upper primary schools.

(ii) A majority of the officer respondents favoured the introduction of both types of schemes—those providing assistance in cash and those in kind—but preferred the schemes of the former category in secondary schools and of the latter category in primary schools.

(iii) If more schemes providing assistance in cash and in kind are introduced, then it is felt that the recipients should be given a choice in selecting any type of assistance they prefer.

(iv) When there is the choice between only cash and kind, about one-third of the students preferred to receive the assistance in cash. But when assistance was to be given both in cash and kind, two-thirds of them would prefer to receive it in that manner.

(v) Therefore, more schemes of both the types may be introduced with emphasis on schemes providing assistance in kind at primary level and on schemes providing assistance in cash at secondary level.

3. ADEQUACY OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

(i) The majority of the recipients and officer respondents in all the sample States reported inadequacy of assistance given to tribal students.

(ii) In many cases hostellers lived in dormitories in which 6 to 20 inmates shared accommodation. Furniture of daily use was shared by two or more of them. Other facilities like medical care, recreational facilities and the like were inadequate. Arrangement for serving food, its quality and quantity were reported to be satisfactory by a majority of the hostellers. Atmosphere conducive to studies was not available to them.

4. CRITERIA, IMPLEMENTATION AND THE MACHINERY FOR DISBURSEMENT

(i) Except Madhya Pradesh, the rest of the sample States followed the criterion of merit-cum-means for awarding financial assistance. This criterion was practised more severely in Assam and Tripura than in Bihar and, that is why there was lower coverage of tribal students under the scheme in Assam and Tripura than in Bihar.

(ii) The officer respondents were equally divided in their opinions whether the criterion was correct. Some considered it to be correct, some partly correct while others not correct.

(iii) The implementation of the criteria fixed for disbursement is being done by committees known as 'The Stipends Award Committee' in Assam and Bihar. In Madhya Pradesh and Tripura it is being done by Tribal Welfare Department and Education Department respectively.

(iv) The implementation of the criteria was either partly satisfactory or unsatisfactory as reported by a larger proportion of officer respondents.

(v) For proper implementation of the criteria there is a need of a suitable agency as reported by most of the respondents.

5. FREQUENCY OF DISBURSEMENT AND DELAY

(i) More tribal students received financial assistance annually than monthly. Again more students got assistance quarterly than six monthly.

(ii) A larger proportion of the recipients reported delay in disbursement. Similarly, a majority of the officer respondents admitted delay in disbursement of financial assistance.

(iii) Some students even took loan in case of delay, though majority of them fell back upon the resources of the family.

(iv) Most of the officer respondents observed that delay in disbursement told upon the initiative of tribal students for education. Delay also defeated the very purpose of financial assistance as reported by most of the respondents.

(v) Delay in disbursement was more at the state and district levels since it was reported by officer respondents that it took more time at these levels to complete the formalities and release the funds.

(vi) Delay also led to misutilization of financial assistance by students, absenteeism and poor educational performance, as reported by most of the officer respondents.

6. UTILIZATION, MISUTILIZATION AND NON-UTILIZATION

(i) The study revealed that more students utilized the amount of financial assistance on the purchase of educational items, yet about one-fifth of them spent the amount on non-educational items which included personal expenses, refreshment, rent payment and luxurious goods.

(ii) There were no prescribed rules for utilizing the amount by the recipients. Most of the officer respondents felt the need of having prescribed rules.

(iii) Utilization pattern showed that the amount was jointly spent by students and parents and relatives, though larger proportion of students spent the amount themselves. However, when they spent the amount themselves, they, by and large, consulted their parents or guardians.

(iv) When the parents or guardians spent the amount they spent more on education of their wards, on food and drinks and on household material.

(v) A majority of the officer respondents reported that the pattern of utilization of the financial assistance followed by students and their parents was not justified.

(vi) Most of the students wanted to spend the amount of financial assistance on two major items namely, on education and purchase of clothes.

(vii) Most of the officer respondents admitted that misutilization of financial assistance was done by recipients.

(viii) Delay and untimely disbursement, lack of follow up and supervision, lack of awareness, poverty, and backwardness were reported as major reasons of misutilization of financial assistance by most of the officer respondents.

(ix) One of the most important measures suggested by a majority of the officer respondents was to give proper publicity to the schemes of education and financial assistance and also to create awareness among the tribal people for education. Prompt and timely disbursement of financial assistance, proper supervision and follow up, introduction of more schemes in kind and instructions and prescribed rules to tribal recipients were also suggested as important measures for removal of misutilization of financial assistance.

(x) Except Assam, the rest of the sample States did not utilize the funds allocated for the schemes of financial assistance.

7. IMPACT OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

(i) According to the observations made by the officer respondents, the financial assistance has made an impact on the tribal students. Those tribal students who get assistance do better in their studies.

(ii) Another impact of financial assistance is negative in nature. A sense of dependence on state resources has been inculcated among the students. There will be large number of drop outs, if the assistance is discontinued for sometime.

8. FOLLOW UP OF THE SCHEMES

(i) Not even a single sample State has so far followed up the scheme of financial assistance, nor has any of them any programme of doing so.

(ii) Most of the officer respondents felt the need of follow up action on the schemes of financial assistance.

(iii) Most of the officer respondents favoured government agency which could take follow up action.

Recommendations

1. SCHEMES OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

(i) The policy of the State governments and Union Territories may be oriented towards covering more tribal students under the schemes of financial assistance.

(ii) While it is necessary to adopt a differential approach in awarding financial assistance to students belonging to different tribal communities based on their economic condition, yet care needs to

be taken to see that all the needy and deserving students are given financial assistance. The differential approach would ensure equitable distribution of assistance among the various tribal communities. But to categorize tribal people according to their economic condition and then to provide for them schemes separately for their welfare is a proposition that is likely to have far reaching repercussions. Nevertheless, this needs careful consideration by the State authorities so as to develop these communities evenly.

(iii) Apart from the schemes providing assistance in cash which are already operating in various States and Union Territories, more schemes for distribution of free text-books and stationery and the scheme of hostels may be introduced as soon as possible. It would be better if Bihar and Tripura provided text-books to tribal students instead of cash in the form of book-grant.

(iv) In pockets of tribal areas where people are very poor, tribal students should be given midday meals and free dresses. This may be done in Tripura, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

(v) A sympathetic approach is needed for the success of schemes, especially those which provide assistance in kind. The articles may be distributed in such a way so that the tribal students may not feel as if they are receiving doles. It is very important when midday meals and free dresses are supplied. Likes and dislikes of the recipients may also be considered while providing such assistance. In this regard cut and dried formulae may give place to flexible ones.

2. ADEQUACY OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

(i) Rates of scholarships, stipends and hostel grants may be revised. The revision may be made as soon as there is a substantial rise in the cost of living index. Immediate steps need to be taken by Assam, Bihar and Tripura in this regard. Rates of hostel stipends may also be raised in Madhya Pradesh. It is indeed very difficult to pull on with Rs. 20 per month for a tribal student in a hostel. He has not only to spend the money on his board but has also to purchase books, stationery and clothes. Invariably, the students have to fall back upon the meagre income of their families. A hosteller may be paid a minimum of Rs. 45 per month or Rs. 1.50 per day for the actual number of days of residence in the hostel.

(ii) Though revision of rates of scholarships, stipends and hostel grants will entail extra expenditure, yet, in order to achieve the aims and objectives of financial assistance, it is essential.

(iii) The states may also make a provision to compensate the loss sustained by schools run by voluntary organizations, as a result of exemption of students from payment of tuition fees.

3. CRITERIA, IMPLEMENTATION AND THE MACHINERY FOR DISBURSEMENT

(i) A uniform criterion of merit-cum-means is ideal and it may be followed by all the States and Union Territories where the schemes of financial assistance for tribal students are in vogue. But the standard of merit need not be so high as to disqualify a large percentage of tribal students. In view of the handicaps they face in achieving a better performance, the qualifying marks of 40 per cent in order to be considered for award of financial assistance seems to be rather too hard to be achieved by most of the students. This minimum qualifying mark as insisted upon by some of the States may be reduced.

(ii) The practice adopted by the authorities in Assam regarding the deduction of tuition fee out of the scholarship may be done away with. In Assam and Tripura, the severity with which the criterion is followed may be lessened, whereas in Madhya Pradesh a selective approach while awarding financial assistance is necessary. It is not understandable as to why a tribal student of Assam who qualifies for the award of merit scholarship should not be awarded special scholarship. Since both types of schemes are different in nature, a tribal student who qualifies in the competitive examination for merit scholarships may also be awarded special scholarships which are open to all tribal students without any qualifying examination. By doing so, the spirit of competition would be generated among the tribal students. Failure in one subject in the school examination need not debar a tribal candidate from getting financial assistance, specially in Tripura and Assam.

(iii) The policy of the State of Bihar may be adopted by other States and Union Territories. Once the selection of candidates is made the subsequent renewals should be automatic if the candidate fulfills the prescribed conditions. This may help in streamlining the whole process of disbursement, and the cumbersome and time-consuming procedure of renewal of financial assistance every year can be done away with.

(iv) Though the stipends award committees were, in the beginning, constituted to facilitate the implementation of the criteria for disbursement, yet the study revealed that, by and large, these have not helped speedy and smooth disbursement of financial assistance. Hence such committees may either be thoroughly overhauled or be disbanded. In case the committees are disbanded, the implementation of the criteria of the schemes may be done by the government department which looks after tribal education.

(v) Simplified procedures and completion of formalities at an early date may be done so as to avoid delay in sanction and disbursement of financial assistance to tribal students.

4. UTILIZATION, MISUTILIZATION AND NON-UTILIZATION

(i) Proper utilization of financial assistance can be best ensured provided the recipients are given right in the beginning clear-cut instructions by the authorities who disburse the financial assistance regarding the manner in which the financial assistance ought to be spent by them. Ambiguity in this regard is one of the most important reasons responsible for misutilization. Hence, prescribed rules should be handed over to school authorities or to Circle Organizers as the case may be.

(ii) Delay, at whatever level it exists, may be avoided immediately. Financial assistance if received by students in time is comparatively better utilized than when it is received after considerable delay.

(iii) Though it may take a month or two to complete the necessary formalities by the authorities, yet it is necessary to make *ad hoc* sanctions so that some part of the amount of scholarships could be given to the recipients, especially at secondary level, right in the beginning of the academic session. This will not only help tribal students purchase books and stationery, but will also give them incentive to prosecute their studies with interest.

(iv) Misutilization can also be removed by creating awareness among tribal people. This work may be undertaken by the respective school authorities in States and Union Territories.

(v) Supervision of tribal students is essential for removing misutilization. But over-supervision may make them suspicious. Hence a balanced approach in this direction may be followed.

(vi) As far as non-utilization of funds is concerned, the State authorities may take necessary steps to ensure that the amount allocated for the purpose of financial assistance is fully utilized. None of the sample states except Assam utilized the funds to the fullest extent. During the last year of the third five-year plan, usually more funds were allocated than in previous years so as to spend the entire amount earmarked for the third plan. Funds may be equitably distributed over the plan period.

5. FREQUENCY OF DISBURSEMENT AND DELAY

(i) The financial assistance may be disbursed in four instalments. Since academic sessions begin from different months in different States, it may be up to the States/Union Territories to decide as to what should be the interval of time between two instalments.

(ii) A part of the financial assistance may invariably be made in the early part of the first quarter of every academic session so as to enable recipients to purchase text-books and stationery articles without hampering their studies.

6. FOLLOW UP AND SUPERVISION

(i) There may be an agency which could follow up the schemes of financial assistance and the recipients.

(ii) The school authorities and voluntary agencies may be associated with this work.

(iii) States/Union Territories may also evaluate the schemes of financial assistance periodically. And, in the light of the findings made and experiences gathered, may make necessary modifications in the schemes.

We thus come to the end of our study. We have travelled through three States, one Union Territory, more than half a dozen districts and many more blocks. Hundreds of students, teachers, officers and all others concerned with the schemes of financial assistance were interviewed and their opinions and experiences have gone into the compilation of this report. Problems have been viewed objectively and recommendations are based on the conclusions drawn from the various aspects of the study. Financial assistance may bring added benefit to the tribal students, if, as per recommendations, the schemes of financial assistance given to the tribal students by the various State governments and Union Territory administrations are streamlined.

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INTRODUCTION

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20. In the state of Assam, Mizo Hills was on the top stratum among the districts of the State when stratified sampling was done to select the districts. But at the time of selection disturbances erupted in the Mizo Hills district and it was declared as a 'Disturbed Area' by the Government. As such, United Khasi and Jaintia Hills which ranked second in the sample of districts was included in the sample.

Chapter Two

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Chapter Three**SCHEMES OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE**

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