

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND CHALLENGES OF DENOTIFIED, NOMADIC AND SEMI-NOMADIC TRIBES

A study of

(a) Western & Northern States - Maharashtra, Goa, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh

(b) Southern States - Andhra Pradesh & Telangana, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu & Puducherry

FINAL CONSOLIDATED REPORT



Sponsored by
Indian Council of
Social Science Research



Council for Social Development
Southern Regional Centre, Hyderabad

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July 2017

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Council for Social Development, Southern Regional Centre, is an institute of advanced research in the social sciences and humanities recognised and supported by the Indian Council of Social Science Research. CSD-SRC is also supported by the Government of Telangana and the Reserve Bank of India.

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Acknowledgements

For their assistance and support at various stages of this project, we place on record our thanks to the CSD team: K. Sanjiva Rao, A&AO; P. Kumar, Assistant Programmer; R. Balaji, Research Associate; B. Srinivasa Reddy, Research Associate; and YSS Prasad, K. Mahalakshmi, P. Lalitha Kumari, K. Arun Jyothi, N. Prasanna Rani, K. Sangeetha and Rani Shanamoni for their secretarial and technical assistance. We would also like to place on record our special thanks to Lingaraja Sahu for his support in preparing the maps for this report.

CONTENTS

	Description	Page No.
	PREFACE	i-ii
	List of Tables	iii-ix
	List of Figures	x-xiii
	List of Maps	xiv
PART A		
Chapter 1	INTRODUCTION	1
	1 Denotified, Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Tribes	2
	2 The Right to Education and Tribal Communities	6
	3 Research Objectives	9
	4 Data, Sample and Methodology	10
	4.1 Sampling Procedure	11
	4.2 Data Collection	17
	4.3 Interview Schedule	17
	4.4 The Approach	19
	5 Organization of the Report	19
6 Limitations of the Study	19	
PART B		
WESTERN & NORTHERN STATE REPORTS		
Chapter 2	MAHARASHTRA	
	I. INTRODUCTION	20
	1 Context	20
	2 DNT Communities in Maharashtra	21
	3 Methodology	22
	3.1 Sample Design	22
	3.2 Introducing DNT Communities under Study	24
	3.3 Sample size	31
	3.4 Profile of the Sample	32
	3.4.1 Geographical distribution of the sample	32
	3.4.2 Household Population of the Sample	35
	II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	36
	4 The Tribes and their Social Status	37
	5 Spoken Language	39
	6 Livelihood and its Sources	43
	7 Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	48
	8 Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	52
	9 Assets	55
	10 Discrimination	57
	11 Seasonal Migration	62
12 Neighbourhood	65	
III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS	66	
13 Status of Education	66	
14 Parental Role and Motivation	72	
15 Affirmative Action and Policies for DNTs in Maharashtra	80	
16 Conclusions	87	

	Description	Page No.	
Chapter 3	GOA	90	
	I. INTRODUCTION	90	
	1	Context	91
	2	Methodology	91
	2.1	Sample Design	91
	2.2	Introducing DNT under Study	94
	2.2.1	Etymology and Ecological foundation of Dhangar-Gouly homeland	94
	2.2.2	Historical Background	94
	2.2.2.1	Who are the Dhangar-Gouly of Goa?	94
	2.2.2.2	Geographical location, colonial history and the isolation of the Dhangar-Gouly	96
	2.3	Sample Size	100
	2.4	Profile of the Sample	100
		II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	102
	3	The Tribe and its Social Status	102
	4	Spoken Language	104
	5	Livelihood and its Sources	105
	6	Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	107
	7	Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	110
	8	Assets	111
		III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS	113
	9	Status of Education	113
	10	Parental Role and Motivation	117
	11	Marginalised Communities and Education in Goa	122
12	Further Exclusion from Equitable Education	124	
13	Conclusions	126	
Chapter 4	GUJARAT		
	I. INTRODUCTION	129	
	1	Context	129
	2	Methodology	129
	2.1	Mapping	130
	3	Profile of the Sample	134
	3.1	Geographical spread of the Sample	134
	3.2	Household Population of the Sample	136
		II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	137
	4	Tribes and their Social Status	138
	5	Spoken Language	141
	6	Livelihood and its Sources	144
	7	Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	147
	8	Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	152
	9	Assets	157
	10	Discrimination	159
	11	Seasonal Migration	161
12	Neighbourhood	163	
	III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS	165	
13	Status of Education	165	
14	Parental Role and Motivation	171	
15	Marginalised Communities and Education in Gujarat	178	
16	Conclusions	183	

	Description	Page No.
Chapter 5	MADHYA PRADESH	
	I. INTRODUCTION	185
	1 Context	185
	2 Methodology	185
	2.1 Sample Design	185
	3 DNTs under Study	187
	4 Sample Size	201
	5 Profile of the Sample	202
	II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	203
	6 The Tribes and Their Social Status	204
	7 Spoken Language	207
	8 Livelihood and its Sources	210
	9 Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	213
	10 Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	216
	11 Assets	219
	12 Discrimination	219
	13 Seasonal Migration	221
	14 Neighbourhood	223
III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS	225	
15 Status of Education	225	
16 Parental Role and Motivation	230	
17 Education for Social Change: Teachers' View	236	
18 Conclusions	237	
Chapter 6	CHHATTISGARH	
	I. INTRODUCTION	239
	1 Context	239
	2 Methodology	240
	3 Sample size	241
	4 Profile of the Sample	242
	4.1 Geographical spread of the sample	242
	II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	245
	5 The Tribe and Their Social Status	246
	6 Spoken Language	248
	7 Livelihood and Its Sources	251
	8 Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	254
	9 Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	258
	10 Assets	261
	11 Discrimination	263
	12 Seasonal Migration	266
13 Neighbourhood	268	
III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES –STATUS	269	
14 Status of Education	269	
15 Parental Role and Motivation	273	
16 Conclusions	279	

	Description	Page No.
PART C		
SOUTHERN STATES		
Chapter 7	ANDHRA PRADESH AND TELANGANA	
	I. INTRODUCTION	281
	1 Context	281
	Section 1: Andhra Pradesh	283
	2 Methodology	283
	2.1 Sample Design	283
	2.2 Introducing DNT Communities under Study	284
	2.3 Sample size	290
	2.4 Profile of the Sample	291
	2.4.1 Geographical distribution of the sample	291
	2.4.2 Household Population of the Sample	292
	II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	293
	3 The Tribes and their Social Status	294
	4 Spoken Language	297
	5 Livelihood and its Sources	301
	6 Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	305
	7 Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	309
	8 Assets	312
	9 Discrimination	314
	10 Seasonal Migration	316
	11 Neighbourhood	317
	III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES - STATUS	318
	12 Status of Education	318
	13 Parental Role and Motivation	323
	14 Conclusions	327
	Section 2 : Telangana	329
	15 Methodology	329
	15.1 Sample Design	329
	15.2 DNTs under Study in Telangana State	329
	15.3 Sample Size	332
	16 Profile of the Sample	333
	16.1 Geographical Distribution of the Sample	333
	16.2 Household Population of the Sample	334
II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	335	
17 The Tribes and their Social Status	336	
18 Spoken Language	339	
19 Livelihood and its Sources	341	
20 Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	344	
21 Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	348	
22 Assets	351	
23 Discrimination	351	
24 Seasonal Migration	353	
25 Neighbourhood	355	
	III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS	356
	26 Status of Education	356
	27 Parental Role and Motivation	360
	28 Conclusions	363

	Description	Page No.	
Chapter 8	KARNATAKA		
	I. INTRODUCTION	366	
	1	Context	366
	2	Methodology	368
	2.1	Sample Design	368
	2.2	Introducing DNTs under Study	369
	2.3	Sample size	376
	2.4	Profile of the Sample	376
	2.4.1	Geographical Spread of the sample	376
	2.4.2	Household Population of the Sample	377
		II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	379
	3	The Tribes and their Social Status	379
	4	Spoken Language	381
	5	Livelihood and Its Sources	386
	6	Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	389
	7	Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	393
	8	Assets	396
	9	Discrimination	397
	10	Seasonal Migration	399
	11	Neighbourhood	401
		III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS	403
	12	Status of Education	403
	13	Parental Role and Motivation	408
14	Conclusions	415	
Chapter 9	TAMILNADU AND PUDUCHERRY		
	I. INTRODUCTION	418	
	1	Context	418
	2	DNTs Today	420
	3	Methodology	421
	3.1	Sample Design	421
	3.2	Introducing DNTs under Study	422
	3.3	Sample size	427
	4	Profile of the Sample	427
	4.1	Geographical distribution of the sample	427
	4.2	Household Population of the Sample	429
		II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES	430
	5	The Tribes and their Social Status	431
	6	Spoken Language	433
	7	Livelihood and Its Sources	436
	8	Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets	439
	9	Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	443
	10	Assets	447
	11	Discrimination	447
	12	Seasonal Migration	449
	13	Neighbourhood	452
		III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS	453
	14	Status of Education	453
15	Parental Role and Motivation	458	
16	Conclusions	464	

	Description	Page No.	
PART D			
Chapter 10	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY		
	1	Introduction	466
	2	Salient Aspects of Study	467
	2.1	The question of classification	467
	2.2	Location and livelihoods	468
	2.3	Nomadism to forced migration	470
	2.4	Government subsidies	470
	2.5	Housing and basic amenities	471
	2.6	Educational attainment	472
	2.6.1	Parental involvement	472
	2.6.2	Discrimination in school	473
	2.6.3	Medium of instruction	473
	3	Recommendations for Policy and Future Action	474
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	477	
	Annexure 1 Household Questionnaire for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes in India		
	Annexure 2 Annexure 4 of Report on the National Commission on Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities (Renke Commission 2008) Education		
	Annexure 3 Renke Commission List of DNT-NTs from various states in India		
	Annexure 4 Excerpts from Early, Colonial Ethnographic Accounts of Communities that Participated in this study		

PREFACE

The study on *Socio-Economic Status and Educational Attainment and Challenges of Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes* was conceptualised as a national educational status report spread across fifteen States by Professor S.K. Thorat, former Chairman, ICSSR in early 2012. The rationale for this study emerged from the deliberations of the National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Communities, and in discussion with Shri Balkrishna Renke, Chairman, NCDNT. Council for Social Development, Hyderabad was entrusted with the task of coordinating the three sponsored projects (in five States each). Of these, two projects on Western & Northern India and South India were located in CSD, Hyderabad.

The contribution, foresight and intellectual inputs of Professor S.K. Thorat and Shri Balkrishna Renke cannot be adequately acknowledged in words. We are also grateful to Shri Renke for providing us with a copy of the final report and Annexure 4 on education that provides our starting point.

The revised comprehensive report on *Socio-Economic Status and Educational Attainment and Challenges of Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes* consists of two parts. The first part covers the states of Maharashtra, Goa, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh; the second part covers Andhra Pradesh & Telangana, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu & Puducherry. These two projects were awarded as part of the ICSSR Sponsored Research schemes to Dr. Suresh Jagannadham and Dr. Vijay Korra respectively. The project had a multi-tiered research team coordinated at the national level by Professors Ghanshyam Shah and Kalpana Kannabiran. The survey instrument was developed in conversation with the state coordinators, each of whom had research experience and expertise in this area at the state level, as also access to communities in their respective states. The total sample covered in this study was 13020 households across nine states. Data collection was undertaken in 2013-2014.

Part A of this report presents the Introduction and Methodology. Part B and C present the State Reports. The state coordinators who supervised and coordinated data collection in the different states are:

Part B

Dr. Anagha Tambe and Mr. Vivek Ghotale for Maharashtra
Dr. Maria Bernadette Lia Gomes for Goa
Mr. Dakxinkumar Bajrange for Gujarat
Dr. DC Sah for Madhya Pradesh
Mr. Rajendra Sail for Chhattisgarh

Part C

Dr. Vijay Korra for Andhra Pradesh & Telangana

Mr. Bhaskardas Yekkar for Karnataka

Dr. Anita Tiphagne for Tamilnadu & Puducherry

Although Kerala was included in the study, field investigations proved infructuous as the communities listed in the Renke Commission Report were particularly vulnerable forest dwelling communities with one exception - Domban. The available sample from this community was too small for any conclusive investigation. Therefore, after field work and canvassing questionnaires the state has been dropped from the consolidated report owing to the poor quality of available data and extreme difficulty in accessing the community.

The report of these two studies has been comprehensively reconceptualised and revised on the basis of detailed comments provided by Professor S.K. Thorat, former Chairman, ICSSR, and the members of the advisory committee: Dr. K.M. Metry, Dr. Bhangya Bhukya, Dr. Malli Gandhi, Dr. Malini Bhattacharya, and Sri. Laxman Mane; members of the Expert Review Committee – Professor R.S. Deshpande; Professor Surinder Jodhka; and Professor Srijit Mishra; and Professor Ghanshyam Shah, National Coordinator, during the presentation of the first draft report at ICSSR, New Delhi on 31 May 2016. Professor R.S. Deshpande also provided very detailed written comments. We are grateful for this painstaking review that has made it possible to reconceptualise the final report.

The preparation of this revised report through a fresh computation of raw data with vital inputs from field notes and qualitative information from the field study coordinators has been undertaken by a research team in CSD, Hyderabad consisting of Professor Kalpana Kannabiran, Dr. Sujit Kumar Mishra, Associate Professor; Dr. Soumya Vinayan, Assistant Professor and Dr. K. Jafar, ICSSR Post Doctoral Fellow.

The study and the preparation of the report has been supported by two research grants from ICSSR, and core support from ICSSR and the Department of Planning, Government of Telangana. We at CSD, Hyderabad, are extremely grateful for this support and for the opportunity to undertake this important study.

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&
National Coordinator

July 2017

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Description	Page No.
Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION		
1.1	Distribution of communities by state and social group	12-13
1.2	Communities surveyed – state-wise by social group	14
1.3	State-wise DNT household sample	14
1.4	Tribe wise distribution of sample households by states	15
1.5	Examples of variables and categories used	18
Chapter 2 : MAHARASHTRA		
2.1	Sample distribution	31
2.2	Area-wise sample distribution	33
2.3	Region-wise sample distribution	33
2.4	Community-wise sample distribution	34
2.5	District-wise sample distribution	34
2.6	Population of sample households	35
2.7	Age-wise population distribution	35
2.8	Gender-wise marital status	36
2.9	Duration of stay in the present location	39
2.10	Language spoken at home by different tribes	40
2.11	Number of English-knowing members in the family	43
2.12	Primary occupation of different tribes	44
2.13	Land distribution among the households	48
2.14	Status of ownership of house	49
2.15	Type of house	49
2.16	Number of rooms in the house	50
2.17	Main source of drinking water	50
2.18	Status of electricity	52
2.19	Access to ICDS & PHC by households	55
2.20	Possession of assets in the household	56
2.21	Incidence of discrimination against children in school	58
2.22	Current location reported as place of origin	62
2.23	Reasons for migration	63
2.24	Frequency of migration	64
2.25	Duration of stay at migrated place	64
2.26	Social location of neighbours	65
2.27	Education status of members of respondent households	67
2.28	Level at which currently studying are enrolled	68
2.29	Medium of instruction	69
2.30	Distance to educational institution of study	70
2.31	Level of education of among dropouts	72
2.32	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	73
2.33	Frequency of parents' visits to school	74
2.34	Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes	75
2.35	Perception about progress and performance of children (N=1944)	77
2.36	Membership in the SMC	78
2.37	Reservation for denotified and nomadic tribes in Maharashtra (since 2001)	80

Table No.	Description	Page No.
Chapter 3 : GOA		
3.1	Clans and settlement pattern	92
3.2	Geographical location of Dhangar-Gouly hamlets in Goa	92
3.3	Sample distribution	100
3.4	Area-wise sample distribution	101
3.5	District-wise sample distribution	101
3.6	Household population of the sample	101
3.7	Age-wise population distribution	101
3.8	Marital status of the population	101
3.9	Duration of stay in the present location	104
3.10	Number of English-knowing members in the family	105
3.11	Primary Occupation of the tribe	106
3.12	Land distribution among the households	107
3.13	Status of ownership of house	108
3.14	Type of house	108
3.15	Number of rooms in the house	108
3.16	Main source of drinking water	109
3.17	Status of electricity	109
3.18	Access to ICDS & PHC by households	110
3.19	Possession of assets in the household	111
3.20	Education status of members of respondent households	113
3.21	Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled	114
3.22	Choice of medium of instruction	114
3.23	Distance to educational institution	115
3.24	Dropout and level of education	117
3.25	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	118
3.26	Frequency of parents visit to school	118
3.27	Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes	119
3.28	Perception about progress and performance of children	120
Chapter 4 : GUJARAT		
4.1	Summary table of pilot survey	130
4.2	Details of main survey	132
4.3	Sample distribution	133
4.4	Community-wise sample distribution	135
4.5	Area-wise sample distribution	136
4.6	Households population of the sample	136
4.7	Age-wise population distribution	137
4.8	Gender-wise marital status	137
4.9	Social status of the tribes	139
4.10	Duration of stay in the present location	140
4.11	Language spoken at home by different tribes	141
4.12	Number of English-knowing members in the family	143
4.13	Primary occupation of different tribes	144
4.14	Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently	147
4.15	Status of ownership of house	148
4.16	Type of house	148
4.17	Number of rooms in the house	149
4.18	Main sources of drinking water	150

Table No.	Description	Page No.
4.19	Status of electricity (N=1574)	151
4.20	Access to ICDS & PHC by households (N=1574)	156
4.21	Possession of Assets in the household (N=1574)	158
4.22	Incidence of discrimination against children in school (N=1574)	160
4.23	Current location reported as place of origin	161
4.24	Reasons for Migration	162
4.25	Frequency of migration	163
4.26	Duration of stay at migrated place	163
4.27	Social location of neighbours	164
4.28	Education status of members of respondents households	166
4.29	Level of Education at which currently studying are enrolled (in Kms.)	167
4.30	Medium of instruction	168
4.31	Distance to educational institution of study	169
4.32	Level at which currently studying are enrolled	171
4.33	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	172
4.34	Frequency of parents visit to school	172
4.35	Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes	174
4.36	Perception about progress and performance of children (N=1574)	175
Chapter 5 : MADHYA PRADESH		
5.1	Profile of selected DNTs in Madhya Pradesh	186
5.2	Sample distribution	202
5.3	Area-wise sample distribution	202
5.4	District-wise sample distribution	203
5.5	Social status of the tribes	206
5.6	Duration of stay in the present location	207
5.7	Language spoken in home by different tribes	208
5.8	Language spoken in schools by children	208
5.9	Number of English-knowing members in the family	210
5.10	Main occupation of different tribes	210
5.11	Average landholding of respondents	213
5.12	Status of ownership of house	213
5.13	Type of house	214
5.14	Number of rooms in the house	214
5.15	Main source of drinking water	215
5.16	Status of electricity	215
5.17	Access to ICDS & PHC by households	218
5.18	Possession of assets in the household	220
5.19	Incidence of discrimination against children in school	221
5.20	Current location reported as place of origin	222
5.21	Reasons for migration	223
5.22	Frequency of migration	223
5.23	Duration of stay at migrated place	223
5.24	Social location of neighbours	224
5.25	Education status of members of respondent households	226
5.26	Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled	226
5.27	Medium of instruction	227
5.28	Distance to educational institution of study	228
5.29	Level of education of among dropouts	229

Table No.	Description	Page No.
5.30	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	230
5.31	Frequency of parents visit to School	231
5.32	Parents reporting children's participation to various programmes	232
5.33	Perception about progress and performance of children	233
5.34	Membership in the SMC	234
Chapter 6 : CHHATTISGARH		
6.1	Sample distribution	241
6.2	District-wise sample distribution	242
6.3	Area-wise sample distribution	242
6.4	Community-wise sample distribution	243
6.5	Household population of the sample	243
6.6	Age-wise population distribution	244
6.7	Gender-wise marital status	244
6.8	Social category of sample households	247
6.9	Duration of stay in the present location	248
6.10	Language spoken at home by tribes	249
6.11	Language spoken at school	249
6.12	Number of English-knowing members in the family	251
6.13	Primary occupation of different tribes	252
6.14	Land distribution among the households	254
6.15	Status of ownership of house	255
6.16	Type of house	255
6.17	Number of rooms in the house in which respondent lives	255
6.18	Main sources of drinking water	256
6.19	Status of electricity	257
6.20	Access to ICDS & PHC	260
6.21	Possession of assets in the household	262
6.22	Incidence of discrimination against children in school	264
6.23	Current location reported as place of origin	266
6.24	Reasons for migration	267
6.25	Frequency of migration	267
6.26	Duration of stay at migrated place	268
6.27	Social location of neighbours	268
6.28	Education status of members of respondent households	270
6.29	Level of education of respondents who are currently studying	270
6.30	Medium of instruction	271
6.31	Distance to educational institution of study (in KMs)	272
6.32	Level of education of dropouts	273
6.33	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	274
6.34	Frequency of parents' visits to school	275
6.35	Percentage of respondents reporting their children's participation in various programmes (N=1467)	276
6.36	Perception about progress and performance of children (N=1467)	277
Chapter 7 : ANDHRA PRADESH AND TELANGANA		
7.1	Sample distribution in Andhra Pradesh	290
7.2	Area-wise sample distribution in Andhra Pradesh	291
7.3	District-wise sample distribution in Andhra Pradesh	292
7.4	Household population of the sample in Andhra Pradesh	292
7.5	Age-wise population distribution in Andhra Pradesh	293

Table No.	Description	Page No.
7.6	Gender-wise marital status in Andhra Pradesh	293
7.7	Social category of sample households	295
7.8	Duration of stay in the present location	297
7.9	Language spoken in home by different tribes	298
7.10	Language spoken in schools by children	299
7.11	Number of English knowing members in the family	301
7.12	Primary occupation of different tribes	303
7.13	Land distribution among the households	305
7.14	Status of ownership of house	305
7.15	Type of house in which respondent lives	306
7.16	Number of rooms in the house	307
7.17	Main Source of Drinking Water	307
7.18	Status of electricity	308
7.19	Access to ICDS & PHC by households	312
7.20	Possession of assets in the household	313
7.21	Percentage respondents reporting discrimination of their children in school	315
7.22	Current location reported as place of origin of respondent	316
7.23	Frequency of migration	317
7.24	Months of stay per migration in a location	317
7.25	Percentage of respondents reporting about their neighbours	318
7.26	Education status of members of respondent households	319
7.27	Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled	320
7.28	Medium of instruction	320
7.29	Distance to educational institution of study	321
7.30	Level of education of dropouts in Andhra Pradesh	322
7.31	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	323
7.32	Frequency of parents visit to school	324
7.33	Progress and performance of children	326
7.34	Sample distribution	333
7.35	Area-wise sample distribution	333
7.36	District-wise sample distribution	334
7.37	Household population of the sample	334
7.38	Age-wise population distribution	335
7.39	Gender-wise marital status	335
7.40	Social category of sample households	337
7.41	Duration of stay in the present location	338
7.42	Language spoken at home	339
7.43	Language spoken in school by different tribes	339
7.44	Number of English-knowing members in the family	341
7.45	Primary occupation of different tribes	342
7.46	Land distribution among the households	344
7.47	Status of ownership of house	345
7.48	Type of house	345
7.49	Number of rooms in the house where respondent lives	346
7.50	Main source of drinking water for the respondents	346
7.51	Status of electricity	347
7.52	Access to ICDS & PHC by households	351
7.53	Possession of assets in the household	352

Table No.	Description	Page No.
7.54	Incidence of discrimination against children in school	353
7.55	Current location reported as place of origin of respondent	353
7.56	Reason for seasonal migration among different tribes	354
7.57	Frequency of migration	354
7.58	Months of stay at migration place	354
7.59	Percentage of respondents reporting about their neighbours	355
7.60	Education status of members of respondent households	356
7.61	Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled	357
7.62	Medium of instruction	357
7.63	Distance to educational institution of study	358
7.64	Level of education of dropouts in Telangana	359
7.65	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	360
7.66	Frequency of parents visit to school	361
7.67	Progress and performance of children	362
Chapter 8 : KARNATAKA		
8.1	General information	367
8.2	Categorization of the tribes in Karnataka	368
8.3	Geographical distribution of the field study area	369
8.4	Sample distribution	376
8.5	District-wise sample distribution	377
8.6	Household population of the sample	378
8.7	Age-wise population distribution	378
8.8	Gender-wise marital status	378
8.9	Social Status of the tribes	380
8.10	Duration of stay in present location	381
8.11	Language spoken at home by different tribes	382
8.12	Language spoken in school by children	384
8.13	Number of English knowing members in the family	386
8.14	Primary occupation of different tribes	387
8.15	Land distribution among the households	389
8.16	Status of ownership of house	390
8.17	Type of house	391
8.18	Number of rooms in the house in which respondent lives	391
8.19	Main sources of drinking water	392
8.20	Status of electricity (N=2001)	393
8.21	Access to ICDS & PHC by households (N=2001)	396
8.22	Possession of assets in the household	398
8.23	Incidence of discrimination against children in school	399
8.24	Current location reported as place of origin	400
8.25	Reasons for migration	400
8.26	Frequency of migration	401
8.27	Duration of stay at migrated place	401
8.28	Social location of neighbours	402
8.29	Education status of members of respondent households	403
8.30	Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled	404
8.31	Choice of medium of instruction	405
8.32	Distance to educational institution of study	406
8.33	Level of education among drop-outs	407
8.34	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	408

Table No.	Description	Page No.
8.35	Frequency of parents visit to school	409
8.36	Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes (N=2001)	410
8.37	Perception about progress and performance of children (N=2001)	411
8.38	Membership in the SMC	412
Chapter 9 : TAMILNADU&PUDUCHERRY		
9.1	List of DNTs in Tamil Nadu	421
9.2	Community-wise list with districts	422
9.3	Sample distribution	427
9.4	District-wise sample distribution	428
9.5	Area-wise sample distribution	428
9.6	Household population of the sample	429
9.7	Age-wise population distribution	429
9.8	Gender-wise marital status	430
9.9	Duration of stay in the present location	433
9.10	Language Spoken in home by different tribes	433
9.11	Language spoken in school by children	434
9.12	Primary occupation of different tribes	436
9.13	Land distribution among the households	439
9.14	Status of ownership of house	440
9.15	Type of house	440
9.16	Number of rooms in the house	441
9.17	Main sources of drinking water	442
9.18	Status of electricity	443
9.19	Access to ICDS & PHC by households	446
9.20	Possession of assets in the household	448
9.21	Incidence of discrimination against children in school	449
9.22	Current location reported as place of origin	450
9.23	Reasons for migration among different tribes	450
9.24	Frequency of migration	451
9.25	Duration of migration	451
9.26	Who are your neighbours	452
9.27	Education status of members of respondents households	454
9.28	Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled	455
9.29	Medium of instruction	456
9.30	Distance to educational institution of study	457
9.31	Level of education of dropouts	458
9.32	Interaction of parents with community on children's education	459
9.33	Frequency of visits to school	459
9.34	Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes (N=1141)	460
9.35	Perception about progress and performance of children (N=1141)	462

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No.	Description	Page No.
Chapter 2 : MAHARASHTRA		
2.1(1)	Classification of tribes	38
2.1(2)	Classification of tribes	38
2.2	Location of the tribes	39
2.3	Languages spoken within the community	41
2.4	Languages spoken at public place	42
2.5	Knowledge of English in the family	42
2.6	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	46
2.7	Possession of agricultural land (share in per cent)	46
2.8	Proportion of cultivators cultivating land independently (share in per cent)	47
2.9	Status of toilet facilities/access	51
2.10	Access to entitlements	53
2.11	Incidence of education among neighbours	66
2.12	Type of educational institutions	70
2.13	Mode of transport to school	71
2.14	Parent's visits to school for different events & programmes	75
2.15	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	76
2.16	Level of awareness about school management committee among parents	77
2.17	Gender of child for whom education loan was taken	78
2.18	Involvement of children in housework	79
Chapter 3 : GOA		
3.1	Location of the tribes	103
3.2	Knowledge of English in the family	104
3.3	Possession of agricultural land (share in per cent)	107
3.4	Status of toilet facilities / access	109
3.5	Access to Entitlements	110
3.6	Incidence of education among neighbours	112
3.7	Type of educational institutions	115
3.8	Mode of transport to educational institutions	116
3.9	Parents visit to school for different events & programmes	119
3.10	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	120
3.11	Gender of children for whom education loan was taken	121
3.12	Involvement of children in housework	121

Figure No.	Description	Page No.
CHAPTER 4 : GUJARAT		
4.1 (1)	Classification of tribes	134
4.1 (2)	Classification of tribes	134
4.2	Location of the tribes	140
4.3	Languages spoken within the communities	141
4.4	Languages spoken at the public place	142
4.5	Knowledge of English in the family	142
4.6	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	145
4.7	Possession of agricultural land (share in per cent)	146
4.8	Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (per cent)	146
4.9	Status of toilet facilities / access	151
4.10	Access to entitlements	153
4.11	Incidence of education among neighbours	164
4.12	Type of educational institutions	168
4.13	Mode of transport to school	170
4.14	Parents visit to school for different events & programmes	173
4.15	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	174
4.16	Level of awareness about school management committee among parents	176
4.17	Gender of child for whom education loan was taken	176
4.18	Involvement of children in housework	177
Chapter 5 : MADHYA PRADESH		
5.1(1)	Classification of tribes	205
5.1(2)	Classification of tribes	205
5.2	Location of the tribe	206
5.3	Languages spoken within the communities	208
5.4	Languages spoken at the public place	209
5.5	Knowledge of English in the family	209
5.6	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	211
5.7	Possession of agricultural land	212
5.8	Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently	212
5.9	Status of toilet facilities / access	215
5.10	Access to entitlements	216
5.11	Incidence of Education among Neighbours	224
5.12	Type of educational institutions	227
5.13	Mode of transport to school	228
5.14	Parents visit to school for different events & programmes	231
5.15	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	232
5.16	Level of awareness about school management committee among parents	234
5.17	Gender of child for whom education loan was taken	234
5.18	Involvement of children in housework	235

Figure No.	Description	Page No.
Chapter 6 : CHHATTISGARH		
6.1	Classification of tribe (1)	246
6.2	Classification of tribe (2)	246
6.3	Location of the tribes	247
6.4	Languages Spoken within the communities	250
6.5	Languages spoken at the public place	250
6.6	Knowledge of English in the family	251
6.7	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	253
6.8	Possession of agricultural land (Share in per cent)	253
6.9	Status of toilet facilities/access	257
6.10	Access to entitlements	258
6.11	Incidence of education among neighbours	269
6.12	Type of educational institutions	271
6.13	Mode of transport to school	272
6.14	Parents' visits to school for different events & programmes	275
6.15	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	276
6.16	Gender of the child for whom education loan was taken	278
6.17	Involvement of children in housework	278
Chapter 7 : ANDHRA PRADESH AND TELANGANA		
7.1	Classification of tribes	295
7.2	Location of the tribes	296
7.3	Languages spoken within the community	300
7.4	Languages spoken at the public place	300
7.5	Knowledge of English in the family	301
7.6	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	302
7.7	Possession of agricultural land (Share in per cent)	304
7.8	Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (Share in per cent)	304
7.9	Status of toilet facilities / access	308
7.10	Access to entitlements	309
7.11	Type of educational institutions	321
7.12	Mode of transport to school	322
7.13	Parents visit to school from different events & programmes	324
7.14	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	325
7.15	Classification of tribes	337
7.16	Location of the tribes	338
7.17	Language spoken within the community	340
7.18	Language spoken at the public place	340
7.19	Knowledge of English in the family	341
7.20	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	343
7.21	Possession of agricultural land (share in per cent)	343
7.22	Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (Share in per cent)	344
7.23	Status of toilet facilities / access	347
7.24	Access to entitlements	348

Figure No.	Description	Page No.
7.25	Incidence of education among neighbours	355
7.26	Type of educational institutions	358
7.27	Mode of transport to school	359
7.28	Parents visit to school for different events & programmes	361
7.29	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	361
Chapter 8 : KARNATAKA		
8.1(1)	Classification of tribe	380
8.1(2)	Classification of tribe	380
8.2	Location of the tribes	381
8.3	Languages spoken within the communities	383
8.4	Languages spoken at the public place	385
8.5	Knowledge of English in the family	385
8.6	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	388
8.7	Possession of agricultural land (Share in per cent)	388
8.8	Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (Share in per cent)	389
8.9	Status of toilet facilities/access	392
8.10	Access to entitlements	394
8.11	Incidences of education among neighbours	402
8.12	Type of educational institutions	405
8.13	Mode of transport to school	406
8.14	Parents visit to school for different events & programmes	409
8.15	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	410
8.16	Level of awareness about school management committee among parents	412
8.17	Gender of child for whom education loan was taken	413
8.18	Involvement of children in housework	413
Chapter 9 : TAMILNADU AND PUDUCHERRY		
9.1	Location of the tribes	432
9.2	Language spoken within the community	434
9.3	Language spoken at the public place	435
9.4	Knowledge of English in the family	435
9.5	Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation	437
9.6	Possession of agricultural land (share in Per cent)	438
9.7	Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (share in Per cent)	438
9.8	Status of toilet facilities / access	442
9.9	Access to entitlements	444
9.10	Incidence of education among neighbours	453
9.11	Type of educational institutions	456
9.12	Mode of transport to school	457
9.13	Parents visit to school for different events & programmes	460
9.14	Parents reporting regular study at home by children	461
9.15	Level of awareness about school management committees among parents	462
9.16	Gender of child for whom education loan was taken	463
9.17	Involvement of children in housework	463

LIST OF MAPS

Map No.	Description	Page No.
Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION		
1.1	Map showing the study areas	10
Chapter 2 : MAHARASHTRA		
2.1	Sample Districts from where the respondents were selected	37
Chapter 3 : GOA		
3.1	Topography of Land and Gouly Settlements	93
3.2	Taluka-wise population distribution	97
3.3	Sample districts from which the respondents were selected	102
Chapter 4 : GUJARAT		
4.1	Sample Districts from where the respondents were selected	138
Chapter 5 : MADHYA PRADESH		
5.1	Sample Districts from where the respondents were selected	204
Chapter 6 : CHHATTISGARH		
6.1	Details for the DNT/NT	239
6.2	Sample districts from where the respondents were selected	245
Chapter 7 : ANDHRA PRADESH AND TELANGANA		
7.1	Sample Districts in Andhra Pradesh (Undivided) from where the respondents were selected	294
7.2	Sample Districts from where the respondents were selected	336
Chapter 8 : KARNATAKA		
8.1	Sample Districts from where the respondents were selected	379
Chapter 9 : TAMILNADU		
9.1	Sample districts from where the respondents were selected	431

PART A

Introduction

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“Is there any society in the world which has unapproachables, unshadowables, and unseeables? Is there any society which has got a population of Criminal Tribes? ... How many do they count in numbers? Is it a matter of hundreds, is it a matter of thousands? I wish they numbered a paltry few. The tragedy is that they have to be counted in millions, millions of Untouchables, millions of Criminal Tribes, millions of Primitive Tribes!!”¹

The present study is an outcome of the processes and recommendations of the National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic Tribes (2008) (hereafter Renke Commission) with a special focus on Right to Education and educational attainment of Denotified (DNT), Nomadic (NT) and Semi-nomadic (SNT) tribes.

This introduction will outline the specific problems faced by the DNT, NT and SNT communities; and finally summarise select aspects of education enumerated in various reports of committees and commissions such as The Report of the National Commission on Denotified, Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Communities (Renke Commission 2008), the Report of the National Advisory Council Working Group on Denotified and Nomadic Tribes (2011), the Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India (2014) (hereafter Xaxa Committee), among others.

The social realities of adivasi communities in India are complex and fraught. Tribal communities live in different states and union territories in India. Their social, cultural, religious, political and economic conditions distinguish them from other social groups; their customs, traditions and livelihoods may differ to varying degrees. The criteria for the identification of tribes, may include but are not restricted to: distinctive

¹ B.R. Ambedkar, 1943. ‘Ranade, Gandhi & Jinnah’, Address delivered on the 101st Birthday Celebration of Mahadev Govind Ranade held on 18th January 1943, Poona. Bombay: Thacker & Co, Ltd.
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00ambedkar/txt_ambedkar_ranade.html#03
Date of access: 24 July 2017.

lifestyles, customs, livelihood practices and habitations, culture including language and dialect. Some tribes may also be engaged in pre-agricultural livelihoods and shun contact with other communities unlike them, preferring instead established patterns of social contact within the tribe. Because of their distance from communities unlike their own, such tribes are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and stereotyping in situations of contact with the world outside theirs. Their status, autonomy, rights and entitlements are affirmed by the Constitution of India, the Nehruvian Panchsheel and by special legislations.

Despite constitutional guarantees, earmarked budgets as well as policy initiatives for seven decades, tribal peoples in the constitutional era in India have faced chronic and escalating immiserisation and have been pushed to the margins of vulnerability.

1. Denotified, Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Tribes

There is need to recognize the specific and continuing vulnerabilities of denotified, nomadic and semi nomadic tribes arising from their historical experience, and resolve to remedy the continuing disparities in access to development faced by such communities including taking special measures to achieve universal education, access to fair employment and freedom from fear and stigma.

From 1871 onwards, a large number of hunting communities began to get declared as ‘Criminal tribes’ by the British Government, under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871. Although Pandit Nehru described this legislation as ‘a blot on the law book of independent India’, these communities now called the ‘denotified’ tribes continued to be the target of criminal law in the newly independent Indian State. Radhakrishna argues that ‘the reasons for declaration of these communities as criminal were political as well as ideological. They were considered guilty of persistent opposition to clearing of forests for commercial use, of resistance to the civilising mission of the British and participation in localised rebellions against British mis-rule (Radhakrishna 2009). A number of communities that were nomadic both within and outside forests were recognised for their knowledge and skill in forest environments – and yet, for that very reason being repositories of rare skill and knowledge were used by the royalty (British and Indian) to navigate the forests and enable the royal sport of hunting – and simultaneously

labelled as criminal with nomadism being seen as nascent criminality (Radhakrishna 2008).

The view of hunting communities as ‘criminal’ in contemporary India draws on the colonial history of criminalisation as the following news report illustrates: ‘The British had branded the Pardhis and Behlias as criminal tribes. Their hunting skills are well known and many see them as a threat to tiger population For centuries, they have been killing animals, for themselves as well as the kings of Madhya Pradesh.... hunting is all they know. Killing is part of their tradition.’²

Apart from hunting, several communities, earned their livelihoods from wild life based entertainment – entire livelihoods declared illegal with the enactment of the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972. While they are criminalised on one hand, there are no viable alternative livelihoods available to them owing to the practice of segregation and discrimination. We can multiply examples of this labelling for several other communities that have come to be known as Denotified Tribes (DNT).

The far-reaching effects of such criminal labelling are evident in the fact finding report of the Renke Commission led by Sri Balakrishna Renke in the case of the fatal lynching of ten members of the Kureri nomadic community in Vaishali, Bihar in 2007 (Renke Commission 2007). Reports in the media spoke about the frustration of villagers over frequent robberies and their decision to form patrolling groups to protect the village. Following a burglary on 13 September, eleven persons of the Kureri community were murderously attacked by the villagers with ten fatalities and one survivor. In its investigation, the Commission found that the official narration of the chain of events was fabricated; the lone survivor was forced to make a confession by the police that eleven of them ‘had gone on a thieving expedition that night’, and there was an incorrect identification of the victims. The crucial observations made by the Renke Commission Fact Finding Team are immediately relevant to the purposes of this study:

‘In the Commission’s experience, this is a very common occurrence regarding the nomadic communities. Whenever a burglary or a murder takes place, the police raids the habitations of nomadic (and denotified) communities and their members are arbitrarily picked up by the police to show immediate ‘results’. The Commission hopes that the administration,

² ‘Engaging Tribes, Saving Tiger,’ *Hindustan Times*, Panna, 23 December 2008, cited in Radhakrishna 2009

and the state governments, particularly, will take a serious note of this tendency on part of the police.

The nomadic communities in modern India live a subhuman existence and fall victims to barbaric medieval practices of civil society. We note with pain that only after such gruesome events have actually taken place that the government thinks in terms of rehabilitation and giving 'justice' to the victims. This makes us wonder whether it is important for each nomadic community to lose so many of its members before they will be rehabilitated and noticed as the state's most vulnerable subjects today.

The Commission demands that an immediate, time bound survey is started in all the states of these asset-less nomadic communities who have no territorial rights, and an adequate rehabilitation package to be implemented within a specified time frame is announced for them immediately' (21 September 2007)

It is important to interrogate the official view of nomadism as 'nascent criminality', (Radhakrishna 2008) both because of the immediate and grave threats it poses to the lives and liberties of entire communities as in the case above and innumerable other cases of this kind, but also because several communities in arid regions, like the pastoral Bakkarwal, for instance, tend to settle, sometimes for a whole year in temporary shelters/tents around a source of water (Rao and Casimir 2003: 14). We also tend to forget the interconnections between nomadic communities and villages, where villages are regularly served by nomadic specialists – vital transactions in the everyday (Berland 2003: 108) that are totally masked by the cultures of vigilantism that prey on these communities today. Radhakrishna provides us with an excellent account of the itinerant Koravas who traded in grain, salt, cattle and bamboo, reaching vital resources to remote Areas on bullocks and donkeys (Radhakrishna 2008: 7–8). For several DNT, NT and SNT communities as for other forest dwelling communities, the dependence on the forest is substantial, with both shifting and settled agriculture closely tied to access to forests.

The stigmatisation of tribal communities has been interlocked with social relations, according to Rao and Casimir, who argue that forager-non forager relations are characterised by a 'suspicious subservience met by contemptuous paternalism' (Rao and Casimir 2003: 23) – that constructs the forager as subhuman. Social humiliation is at the core of the eviction of hunting and foraging communities from the forest – and is the basis today of the rampant discrimination against these communities with impunity today (Kannabiran 2016).

Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic tribes have suffered from the denial of fundamental freedoms and civil and political rights from the colonial period. Labeled as ‘criminal tribes’, through the notorious Criminal Tribes Act, 1871, these communities are spread out throughout the country. While some are not covered by any affirmative action, others are spread across SC, ST and OBC categories despite a broad commonality in the experience of stigmatisation and violent exclusion.

The National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic tribes (Renke Commission 2008) made 76 recommendations that delineate constitutional amendments, actions by appropriate governments, and reservations in public employment.

The Renke Commission has also recommended (a) a comprehensive national census of the denotified, nomadic and semi nomadic tribes and preparation of state wise lists of communities that will aid formulation of policy and protective legislation; (b) the formulation of a DNT, NT, SNT sub plan that focuses on the planned development of these communities; and (c) a time bound plan of action for the betterment and social uplift of these communities in close consultation with them.

As the Renke Commission (2008) points out, there have been several communities in the country, which have been historically disadvantaged given the social structure; they have been grouped into various categories such as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and the Other Backward Classes (OBCs). These communities have been marginalised and neglected both under colonial rule as well in Independent India. These categorisations were neither logical nor uniform across the states and there are several communities, which are still not included in any of these categorisations and are placed within the general category. There have been several committees since 1947, which have looked at the status of these communities³ but the findings and recommendations have remained unaddressed. There has been very little focus on the DNT, NT and SNT even in the Five Year Plans.

There are 150 Denotified tribes in the country while the population of Nomadic tribes consists of about 500 different communities. Based on the

³ For a detailed discussion of different committees and commissions see Renke Commission Report (2008). Available at [http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/NCDNT2008-v1%20\(1\).pdf](http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/NCDNT2008-v1%20(1).pdf). Accessed on June 22, 2017.

information provided by 10 states (out of 15 with Denotified tribes), the Renke commission estimated the DNT (under SC and ST), and NT (under SC, ST and OBC) to be around 10.74 crores. This did not include 123 Nomadic communities under OBC about which no information was available as well and 104 nomadic communities, which were outside the categories of reservation.

The National Advisory Council Working Group on Denotified and Nomadic Tribes (2011) had suggested several legislative and policy initiatives. The most important of them are:

- repeal of Habitual Offenders Act of 1952, amendment of several acts;
- initiation of a special package and sub-plan for DNTs akin to SC/ST sub-plans;
- institutional arrangements which would include an inter-ministerial standing task force exclusively for DNTs, mechanism for grievance redressal and monitoring and representation in National and State Human Rights Commission;
- target based programmes and schemes which would enable DNTs to access all the benefits extended to SC/ST/OBCs, expand and improve livelihoods through mainstreaming of ongoing programmes and schemes in the sphere of health, education, ICDS, NREGA, women and girl children, NRLM to cite a few.

In addition, among administrative measures recommended by the NAC were the statutory enumeration of DNTs, sensitising police force, national campaign to create awareness among DNTs about their rights and thereby prevention of atrocities and creation of awareness about Forest Rights to both DNTs and the enforcement officials.

2. The Right to Education and Tribal Communities

Education remains the most crucial requirement for the sustained growth of a developing society. The literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes inclusive of DNTs (wherever applicable) was 8.5 in 1961 Census, and has steadily increased to reach 58.9 in the 2011 Census, yet it is still far below the

overall national literacy rate of 72.9 as per the 2011 Census.⁴ While Gross Enrolment Ratio at the Elementary Stage (Class I-V) was fairly robust for boys (137.2) and girls (136.7), the school dropout rates disproportionately increased for boys from 37.2 in Class I-V to 70.6 in Class I-X and for girls the corresponding figure increased from 33.9 to 71.3 (Statistics of School Education 2010-2011). Various steps have been taken by the State Governments to check dropout rates of school going children, especially high dropout rates for tribal girls, including free distribution of books and stationery, scholarship, reimbursement of examination fee, free bus travel, mid-day meal, etc. While these have had an impact, the measures still fall far short of necessary levels. Irrespective of these, even in 2010-11, data reveals that only 13.9% of ST students who entered Class I had studied upto Class XII, this proportion was 15.3% among boys and 12.3% among girls. The all India figure stood at 30% for overall, 32.4% for boys and 28% for girls. This indicates the relatively poorer status of STs with respect to educational attainment.

Xaxa Committee has dealt in detail with the overall educational policy in India with special focus on STs and reiterates the constitutional responsibility of the Indian state to provide special care of educational interests of SCs and STs under the Articles 45 and 46 of Constitution of India. Nonetheless, surveys since Independence have thrown light on the dismal educational status of tribal population in India. During the first two five year plans, the government had set up Ashram and Sevashram schools (1000) and Sanskar Kendras, Balwadis and Community Centres in addition to provision of scholarships, grants, hostel fees, and so on. However, “the guiding principle was that the tribal people were savage and wild, who needed to be civilized by the means of education outside the tribal social and cultural life” (Xaxa Committee 2015: 160). Irrespective of such ‘ashramization’ of tribal educational programme, even under the Sixth Five Year Plan in 1980-85, more than half of the tribal children of the country (56% – 49% of boys and 70% of girls) were yet to receive elementary education. Based on the National Policy on Education 1986 and its subsequent Programme of Action (1992), several initiatives for tribal education were rolled out and in the year 2000 three flagship programmes – Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan and Rashtriya Uchchar Shiksha Abhiyan - were launched. Xaxa Committee indicates that the impact of the programmes has been obvious

⁴<http://www.tribal.nic.in/ST/Tribal%20Profile.pdf> accessed on July 6, 2017.

with improvements across the education levels: access to education improved with opening of new schools, upgradation of existing school with better infrastructure, rise in vicinity of primary school within a kilometer of households, growth in gross enrolment ratio (higher than SCs and General categories at primary and upper primary levels), lower dropout rates especially in the initial stage (Class I-VIII) and decline in number of out-of school children between 2005 and 2009. Irrespective of these improvements, the Xaxa Committee pointed out that there are several areas which need to be strengthened and rectified: teacher absenteeism, regular attendance of students, provision of basic infrastructure and impart of quality education which would enhance skills of students through provision of qualified and trained teachers.

Moreover, the Committee observed that education remains a site of discrimination with ‘teaching-learning not always friendly’. Use of abusive language and derogatory names are part of everyday lived experience of tribal students even in the realm of higher education. Irrespective of the Right to Education Act, the composition of expenses on education indicate that a large proportion of tribal households opted for private education during 2004-05 and 2007-08 (Xaxa Committee Report). Revamping curricula to address the language barriers of tribal students as experimented in case of Primers in Tribal Language in Odisha in 1996 has been highlighted by the Committee. This along with provision of residential schools (especially in case of children from nomadic tribes) has been mooted as important for access to education of tribal students.

According to the report of the Renke Commission, only 42 per cent of the Denotified Communities and 28 per cent of the Nomadic Communities have access to schooling (Annexure 4, Renke Commission 2008). The proportion of children accessing Anganwadi Centres was also reported to be similar. Instances of discrimination were also reported. The survey commissioned by the NCDNT also found that the distance between schools and habitations did not conform to the norms set out by the Government of India. Further the distance from village/habitation increased as children moved from primary to tertiary levels formal education. Of the total DNT population surveyed (14148), it was reported negligible numbers of children were able to avail of hostel facilities: the highest number being 12 children (5 boys and 7 girls) in the upper primary schools (Table 4.1, Annexure 2). However, the NT picture is quite different. Of the total NT population of 4340 who participated in the

survey, there were only 4 girls in hostels but a significantly larger number of boys in hostels (224 in primary level and 220 in upper primary level). This drops drastically to 3 and 4 boys in the Secondary and Higher Secondary levels respectively.⁵

Taking note of these concerns of the Renke Commission, the Union Cabinet approved in-principle the specific recommendation for ‘framing of an appropriate scheme for grant of Pre-matric and Post-matric Scholarships and Construction of Hostels for students belonging to Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes not included in the lists of the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes after following the requisite process including appraisal by the Expenditure Finance Committee’ (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, 30 January, in Renke Commission Report 2008).

It is in this context that the present study, which focuses on Educational Attainment among the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities has been conceptualised.

3. Research Objectives

With the overall aim of pointing towards a road map for the universalisation of formal education among the extremely vulnerable cluster of communities that we know as DNT/NT/SNT, the present study had attempted to:

- Explore the socio-economic status/conditions of DNT/NT/SNT in nine States in India;
- Map the status of education among DNT/NT/SNT in nine of the States where the majority of these communities reside;
- Provide detailed profiles and analyses State-wise and Community wise through empirical data on the context specific obstacles faced by DNT/NT/SNT communities in educational access and attainment;
- Set out community perspectives on their predicament and problems in relation to accessing formal schooling and education.

⁵Annexure 4 of Renke Commission Report 2008 is appended to this report as Annexure 2. The survey on education was conducted for the NCDNT by Synovate.

4. Data, Sample and Methodology

Classified into various categories the Denotified Tribes, Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Tribes are spread out over atleast 15 States in the country: Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. This study has been carried out in nine states of India – Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Goa, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra (Map 1.1). Kerala, while initially included was subsequently dropped from the report owing to (a) difficulties in accessing the communities and poor quality of available data, and (b) the preponderance of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) that are nomadic and forest dwelling, rather than Denotified Tribes.

Map 1.1: Map showing the study areas



4.1. Sampling Procedure

In the absence of secondary information on socio-economic and educational status of DNT/NT/SNT, the present study essentially relies on data collected through primary survey. The field survey was conducted covering 13020 households from the states of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Goa, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. In so doing, the study adopted random sampling method in selecting communities and districts and thus selected 76 DNT/NT/SNT communities that reside in different districts across these nine States. The selected communities are presented through Table 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4.

Of the 306 communities listed for the study states in the report of the Renke Commission, the study covers 76 communities (see Annexure 3 for the full list from the Renke Commission Report, 2008).

As the study intended to capture the variations that exist among DNTs, districts were selected from all the regions of these States. For the convenience of analysis the study further classified them as DNT-1, DNT-2 and Nomadic, based on their characteristics such as socio-economic status, vulnerability associated with stigma, discrimination and nomadic nature. This was done bearing in the mind the pilot survey experience. The communities were selected also keeping in the mind the availability of respondents in adequate numbers in the randomly selected districts. This is because the presence of DNTs communities is not uniform in all the districts. These communities also consist of families that are spread out on the economic continuum from the slightly economically better off to the very vulnerable - so an attempt was made to capture the variations between them in manifold aspects. The household was treated as the unit of analysis for the purposes of this study with special reference to the socio-economic status as well as the status of education.

Table 1.1: Distribution of communities by State and Social Group

S. No	State	Community Number	Name of the Community	Social Status		
				ST	SC	OBC
1	Maharashtra	1	Kaikadi			✓
		2	Kolhati			✓
		3	Muslim Garudi - madari			✓
		4	Chhapparband (Muslim)			✓
		5	Banjara			✓
		6	Wadar			✓
		7	Rajput Bhamta			✓
		8	Pardhi	✓		
		9	Ramosi			✓
		10	Kanjarbhat			✓
		11	Gosai			✓
2	Goa	12	Dhangar Gouly			✓
3	Gujarat	13	Chhara			✓
		14	Chuvalia Koli			✓
		15	Dafer			✓
		16	Koli			✓
		17	Miyana			✓
		18	Salat Ghera			✓
		19	Sandhi			✓
		20	Turi		✓	
		21	Wagher			✓
		22	Vanjara			✓
		4	Madhya Pradesh	23	Loharpita	
24	Sikligar					✓
25	Bagri			✓		
26	Banchada				✓	
27	Kalbelia				✓	
28	Nat				✓	
29	Kanjar				✓	
30	Banjara					✓
31	Nayakda Bhil					✓
32	Pardhi				✓	
5	Chhattisgarh	33	Kasai			✓
		34	Jogi			✓
		35	Rajgond	✓		
		36	Pardhi	✓		
		37	Bairagi			✓
		38	Dhangar			✓
		39	Devar		✓	
		40	Gosai			✓
		41	Banjara			✓

	State	S.No	Community	Social Status		
				ST	SC	OBC
6	Andhra Pradesh	42	Boya			✓
		43	Budabukkalas			✓
		44	Dasari			✓
		45	Guvvalakulam	✓		
		46	Hindu Koyas	✓		
		47	Kati Kapari			✓
		48	Konda Dhora	✓		
		49	Mondibanda			✓
		50	Pamula			✓
		51	Relli		✓	
	52	Shikari	✓			
		Telangana	53	Budagajangalu		
	54		Dasari			✓
	55		Domhari			✓
	56		Konda Dhora	✓		
	57		Yerukula	✓		
7	Karnataka	58	Chapperband			✓
		59	Chennadasar		✓	
		60	Dhangar Gouly			✓
		61	Dungri Garasia	✓		
		62	Gantichor		✓	
		63	Handi Jogis		✓	
		64	Haranshikari	✓		
		65	Kanjarabhat			✓
		66	Korama		✓	
		67	Pardhi	✓		
		68	Rajagonda	✓		
8	Tamilnadu	69	Attur Kilnad Koravar			✓
		70	Attur Melnad Koravar			✓
		71	Boyars			✓
		72	Dombs			✓
		73	Jogis			✓
		74	Koravars			✓
		75	Thottia Naickers			✓
		76	Valayars			✓

Table 1.2: Communities Surveyed – State-wise by Social Group

State	Communities Surveyed			
	ST	SC	OBC	Total
Maharashtra	01 (9.1)	-	10 (90.9)	11 (100.0)
Goa	-	-	01 (100.0)	01 (100.0)
Gujarat	-	01(10.0)	09 (90.0)	10 (100.0)
Madhya Pradesh	01 (10.0)	05 (50.0)	04 (40.0)	10 (100.0)
Chhattisgarh	02 (22.2)	01 (11.1)	06 (66.7)	09 (100.0)
Andhra Pradesh	04 (36.4)	01 (9.1)	06 (54.5)	11 (100.0)
Telangana	02 (4.0)	-	03 (60.0)	05 (100.0)
Karnataka	04 (36.4)	04 (36.4)	03 (27.2)	11 (100.0)
Tamilnadu	-	-	08 (100.0)	08 (100.0)
Total	14 (18.4)	12 (15.8)	50 (65.8)	76 (100.0)

Table 1.3: State-wise DNT household sample

Name of the State	Sample Size
Madhya Pradesh	1497
Gujarat	1574
Maharashtra	1944
Goa	1722
Chhattisgarh	1467
Karnataka	2001
Tamilnadu	1141
Telangana	574
Andhra Pradesh	1100
Grand Total	13020

Table 1.4: Tribe wise distribution of sample households by states

WESTERN & NORTHERN STATES

MAHARASHTRA	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Kaikadi	229
Kolhati	179
Muslim Garudi - madari	119
Chhapparband (Muslim)	152
Banjara	276
Wadar	271
Rajput Bhamta	83
Pardhi	199
Ramosi	156
Kanjarbaht	144
Gosai	136
Total	1944

GUJARAT	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Chhara	177
Chuvalia Koli	151
Dafer	157
Koli	147
Miyana	186
Salat Ghera	147
Sandhi	150
Turi	147
Wagher	157
Vanjara	155
Total	1574

MADHYA PRADESH	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Loharpita	150
Sikligar	150
Bagri	150
Banchada	150
Kalbelia	137
Nat	152
Kanjar	152
Banjara	149
Nayakda Bhil	150
Pardhi	157
Total	1497

CHATTISGARH	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Kasai	204
Jogi	45
Rajgond	139
Pardhi	186
Bairagi	170
Dhangar	239
Devar	169
Gosai	146
Banjara	169
Total	1467

GOA	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Dhangar Gouly	1722

SOUTHERN STATES

ANDHRA PRADESH	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Boya	150
Budabukkalas	148
Dasari	18
Guvvalakulam	79
Hindu Koyas	61
Kati Kapari	59
Mutharasa	117
Mondibanda	142
Pamula	23
Relli	152
Shikari	151
Total	1100

KARNATAKA	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Chapperband	201
Chennadasar	200
Dhangar Gouly	200
Dungri Garasia	199
Gantichor	183
Handi Jogis	173
Haranshikari	185
Kanjarbhat	199
Korama	200
Pardhi	62
Rajagonda	199
Total	2001

TAMIL NADU	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Attur Kilnad Koravar	20
Attur Melnad Koravar	168
Boyas	230
Dombs	41
Jogis	49
Koravars	224
Thottia Naickers	212
Valayars	197
Total	1141

TELANGANGA	
Name of the tribe	Household Sample
Budagajangalu	144
Dasari	72
Domhari	48
Konda Dhora	157
Yerukula	153
Total	574

GRAND TOTAL (WESTERN, NORTHERN & SOUTHERN STATES)	13020
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4.2. Data Collection

Extensive field surveys, in depth interviews and interactions with members of sample households constituted the core of the study methodology. The study involved a three-pronged approach to collection of information: (a) field survey; (b) data from secondary sources; and (c) discussions with officials and local leaders in the area. The study employed a comprehensive household questionnaire for this purpose (Annexure 1), which was tested through a pilot survey. Along with household questionnaire information on the village was also collected. Subsequently, apart from the household questionnaire the study conducted focused group discussions and interviews with parents, children, elders, teachers, non-DNT population. As per the methodology of the study, category of DNT-1 consists of non-stigmatized communities and DNT-2 consists of stigmatized communities among the denotified, nomadic and semi-nomadic communities in these States. The household schedule was designed to collect detailed information regarding their landholding status, asset status, migration status, housing status, drinking water and amenities, education, etc.

4.3 Interview Schedule

Two sets of instruments were used to collate information for this study. The interviews aimed to capture the socio-economic status and the educational status of the studied community. For this analysis, the qualitative answers were coded into a set of defining variables. For example, for information on the household's livelihood, the different sources of livelihood for each household was collected e.g. a household may earn income from agriculture, agricultural wage labour, petty business, daily wage labour and etc. All variables were cross-checked against each other and another layer of analysis was added, where the defining variables were grouped into a few broader categories. Given that this type of analysis is sensitive to the coding, results have been primarily used to complement the qualitative data (Table 1.5).

Table 1.5: Examples of variables and categories used

Category	Defining Variables	Original Questions
Tribes and their social status	Geographical spread	Based on questions on their location, duration of stay
	Social Status	Details of the category and social group they belong to – DNT1, DNT2, NT and SC, ST, OC, Muslim, etc.
Knowledge about Language	Language	Based on questions about the language spoken at home by the tribe, at the school, within the community, at the public place
	Knowledge of English	Based on questions regarding knowledge of English in the family, number of English-knowing members in the family
Livelihood	Status of Employment	Nature of employment- primary and secondary, traditional occupation
	Ownership of Land	Possession of agricultural land, land distribution among the households, cultivation practice
Living Conditions	Housing	Status of ownership of house, Type of house, Number of rooms in the house in which respondent lives,
	Drinking Water	Sources of drinking water, safe and unsafe sources
	Toilet Facilities	Status of Toilet Facilities/Access, Percentage reported open defecation
	Status of Electricity	Availability of electricity in the neighbourhood, Percentage of respondents having electricity
	Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards	Possession of Ration Card, Voter ID, Aadhar Card, NREGA cards, Caste certificate, Health Insurance
	Health Status	Accessible to Anganwadi Centers and Primary Health Centre
	Assets	Possession of different assets e.g. mobile phones, VCR/ VCD, chair, electric fan/ cooler, Kitchen appliances, radio, refrigerator, computer, cycle, four wheeler
Discrimination	Incidence of Discrimination	Name-calling, labeling, seating arrangements, teacher attention, teacher attitudes and speech, mid day meals, attitudes of fellow students, interdining and drinking water/tea, manual jobs
Migration	Status of Migration	Current location reported as place of origin, reasons for migration, number of times per year the members migrate, duration of stay at migrated place
Neighbourhood	Social Location	Own caste/tribe people, other caste/tribe people, segregated house and DNT settlement
	Education	Incidence of Education among Neighbors
Education	Status	Education status of members of households, Level in which school going children are studying, percentage of children studying in different medium, type of educational institutions, percentage of children travelling different distances to reach the school, mode of transport to school, dropout and level of education, parental role and motivation, gender of child for whom education loan was taken, involvement of children in housework

4.4 The Approach

The schedules were pre-tested in one of the villages of Telangana, which was followed by a revision of the instruments to be used for the purpose. The chief objective of using qualitative method (interviews and informal discussion) to generate data was to identify the problems experienced by the DNT/NT/SNT communities with respect to their socio-economic lives and education. The issues related to various kinds of infrastructure development, access to entitlements through ration card, Aadhar cards, voter identity card, NREGS card, etc. were discussed in village meetings. The study team sought the help of leaders of the communities, ward members, block secretary, sarpanch and anganwadi workers at village level to build a good rapport with the villagers. Similar structure was followed in almost every village: village meetings followed by group meetings, which were followed by meetings with individuals and finally, individual household surveys by administering interview schedules.

5. Organization of the Report

The report is organized into 10 chapters. After the introductory chapter, Chapters 2 to 9 are the state specific studies on the socio-economic and educational status of the DNT/NT & SNT in the nine states. Chapter 10 presents consolidated Summary and Conclusions.

6. Limitations of the Study

The study was spread across India in nine states to assess the educational attainment of the DNT/NT/SNT communities. In order to facilitate access during the field survey, investigators were chosen from the area of study, identified with the help of local institutions – governmental and non-governmental organisations. Despite such measures, at times, investigators had difficulty in accessing information from the respondents. The language barrier was evident. In case of queries on stigmatisation and criminalisation, most of the time, the respondents were reluctant to share details especially related to police action and detention. In case of Kerala, despite our best efforts, the survey could not gather relevant data on several variables hence the report of the Kerala study has not been included. Similarly, the detailed background information regarding the selected communities was not available in certain states such as Gujarat and Chhattisgarh – these reports have therefore relied on existing literature and interviews with community leaders.

PART B

**Western and Northern
State Reports**

Maharashtra



Communities Surveyed

Kaikadi, Kolhati, Muslim Garudi madari, Chhapparband(Muslim), Banjara, Wadar, Rajput Bhamta Pardhi, Ramosi, Kanjarbhat, Gosai

Field study coordinated by
Dr. Anagha Tambe and Mr. Vivek Ghotale
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Chapter 2

MAHARASHTRA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

In a society organized by diverse hierarchies and inequalities, the question of education is decisive. Education was seen as the ‘Tritiya Ratna’ or third eye by Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, who considered it as enabling the critical vision to understand the world around. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar asserts ‘Educate, Organize and Struggle,’ making education critical in the struggle against injustice. This study therefore seeks to explore the experiences of education amongst Denotified and Nomadic tribes (DNTs) in Maharashtra so as to strengthen their struggles for transformation.

The trajectory of the articulation of the DNT question in Maharashtra has been dynamic. This question was addressed in several studies including ethnographic studies by colonial officials; reformist and anti-caste efforts such as those by Lokhitwadi or radicals like Mahatma Phule; studies by Marathi middle classes inspired by colonial ethnographies (for example, studies by T.N. Atre or G.M. Kalelkar); developmental and political endeavours such as the starting of the *Ashramshala* by Bheemrav Jadhav; autobiographies of DNT life or testimonials located in the Dalit literary movement (‘Upara’ by Lakshman Mane, ‘Uchalya’ by Lakshman Gailwad, ‘Kolhatyacha Por’ by Kishor Shantabai Kale); recent ethnographic volumes such as Lakshman Mane’s ‘Vimuktayan’ and Ramnath Chavan’s ‘Bhatakya Vimuktaanchee Jaat Panchayat’; political organization and struggles including autonomous mobilizations of different communities and also collective actions as DNTs; NGO initiatives for DNTs; drive for conversion to Buddhism led by Lakshman Mane and so on. The studies on DNTs in Maharashtra have focused largely on their cultural life, their customs and practices, caste councils, ways of life, specifically of women. Mostly, they marked these communities as exotic, and have placed them on the margins - outside the dominant society. In this context, this study becomes significant in at least two ways.

One, there is little data or documentation, or statistical record of the educational status of DNTs in particular, and their life experiences in general, which hinders concrete measures to address various concerns. Hence, preparing a statistical profile of DNTs is imperative. Two, the specificities of DNT experience of marginalization have remained largely invisible in the analysis of social exclusion and exploitation in contemporary India. And so it becomes urgent to make sense of the DNT life world as it is articulated today.

Thus, the findings of this study may strengthen the idea of inclusive development and commitment towards ‘education for all’ in the context of privatization and hegemonization of education.

2. DNT Communities in Maharashtra

The state of Maharashtra is one of very few states in India to have a separate social category of DNT (more specifically VJNT—Vimukta Jaati and Nomadic Tribes) for quota in education, employment, welfare and politics. The Thade Committee in 1961 estimated the population of DNT in Maharashtra to be 11.95 lakhs while the figure increased to 65.73 lakhs as per the estimates of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Institution¹ and in 2001 the estimates secured from the teachers of Ashramshala put the figure at 71.12 lakh. Considering an annual growth of 1.6 per cent, in 2011, the estimated figure of population stood at 82.67.¹ In other words, at present, 48 communities of DNT account for around 11 per cent of the population of the state.

The category of Denotified Tribes in Maharashtra includes 13 communities² denotified from the list of criminal tribes of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871: Berad, Bestar, Bhamta, Kaikadi, Kanjarbhat, Katabu, Banjara, Rajpardhi, Rajput Bhamta, Ramosi, Wadar, Waghari, Chapparband (and Pardhi – deleted from the list).

These communities have been continued to be subjected to the stigma of ‘born criminal.’ Many of these communities have migrated from outside Maharashtra over the centuries. According to Sri Balkrishna Renke, many

¹ Vimukta Jati, Nomadic Tribes, Other Backward Class and Special Backward Class Welfare, Maharashtra State, Pune, <https://sjsa.maharashtra.gov.in/en/vasantrao-naik-vimukta-jatis-and-nomadic-tribes-development-corporation-limited>. Accessed on July 5, 2017.

² Available at <http://www.vnvjntdc.com/castes.aspx> cited at the official website of Maharashtra government <https://www.maharashtra.gov.in>

generations of these communities have had to suffer the consequences of the Criminal Tribes Act resulting in illiteracy, lack of livelihood, instability, lack of occupational skills that kept them outside the process of development. This meant that these communities ‘freed’ by Nehru by cutting the fence of the settlement are not free in any real sense.

The category of nomadic tribes includes 35 communities:³ Gosavi, Beldar, Bharadi, Bhute, Chitrakathi, Garudi, Lohar, Golla, Gondhali, Gopal, Helve, Joshi, Kashi Kapdi, Kolhati, Mairal, Masanjogi, Nandiwale, Pangul, Rawal, Sikkalgar, Vaidu, Vasudev, Bhoi, Bahurupi, Thelari, Otari, Mari aaiwale, Kadaklakshmi, Maragammawale; Gihara / Guhara, Gusain / Gosain, Muslim Madari, Garudi, Saapwale, Jadugar; Bharatiya Irani; Gawali, Muslim Gawali; Darveshi, Waghwale Shah (Muslim), Aswalwal; Dhanagar, Vanjari (and Thakar - deleted from the list).

These DNT communities, some of who are Hindus and some Muslims, have been mainly engaged in labour and services which are not considered central to the agrarian economy of the village, such as entertainment, rituals, hard labour and so forth. DNT communities are often defined in terms of their peculiar culture. Several studies that have highlighted the myths regarding the origin of their communities often trace the origin of the community to the Kshatriya status that is seen to have declined over time. This study examines the social and economic scenario of DNTs and maps their aspirations and struggles with respect to education.

3. Methodology

3.1 Sample Design

The study in Maharashtra included (i) household survey of 11 DNT communities across Maharashtra; (ii) interviews with key ‘leaders’ of these communities; and (iii) workshop to document experiences of education of school children and school teachers. The survey of 11 DNT communities included one DNT community Rajput Bhamta added later since it was identified as one of the most stigmatized communities. Thus out of 13 DNT communities, 8 were selected, with 4 amongst those identified as the most stigmatized ones also in contemporary times DNT.

³ Available at <http://www.vnvjntdc.com/castes.aspx> cited at the official website of Maharashtra government <https://www.maharashtra.gov.in>

- DNT 1: 1. Banjara, 2. Ramosi, 3. Wadar, 4. Chhapparband
 DNT 2: 1. Pardhi- Rajpardhi, 2. Kanjarbhat, 3. Kaikadi,
 4. Rajput Bhamta

Out of 35 nomadic communities, the following communities were selected.

- NT: 1. Gosavi, 2. Kolhati, 3. Muslim Madari, Garudi, Saapwale and Jadugar

Since both Dhangar and Vanjari have secured socio- economic and political mobility to a degree, the study selected communities from the social categories⁴ DNT -A and NT -B:

1. Ramosi (DNT – A)
2. Kaikadi (DNT – A)
3. Wadar (DNT – A)
4. Banjara (DNT- A)
5. Pardhi (DNT – A)
6. Chhapparband (DNT – A)
7. Kanjarbhat (DNT – A)
8. Gosavi (NT- B)
9. Kolhati (NT- B)
10. Muslim Madari, Garudi, Saapawale and Jadugar (NT- B)
11. Rajput Bhamta (DNT – A)

The study began by organizing two workshops with the researchers from different disadvantaged communities. The first workshop introduced them to key concerns of the workshop - about the DNT question about the survey methodology and about the challenges for education in contemporary India⁵. The second workshop involved brain storming over the survey questionnaire with the field researchers. Pilot survey was conducted with 100 households across 10 DNT communities to enrich the study instruments. A mapping was conducted with the pockets of each of these communities across Maharashtra and a tentative list prepared of districts/ villages, towns and cities where these communities are located with a tentative number of households. As per the availability of households of selected communities in the specific locality, there was increase or decrease in the number of households covered by research teams across regions. Thus there is a variation in the number of

⁴ Some of these communities are included in other categories in different regions, for ex. Kaikadi in SC and Pardhi in ST.

⁵ Prof. Ajay Dandekar, Ahmedabad and Dr. Sanjay Kolekar, Pune were resource persons

households per community. The variation is also due to the difference in the population of communities in Maharashtra. The second phase of field work was conducted during January- March 2014 to ensure adequate number of households per community and also the inclusion of different regions in the sample.

Along with the household survey, interviews were conducted with community leaders which included:

- Political leaders (local, block, district level)
- Leaders of caste associations
- Caste Panchayat leaders
- Senior persons with knowledge of the history of the community
- Leaders of local self-help groups
- Professionals: teachers, lawyers, journalists, doctors, businessmen and so on.

The workshop with approximately 25 school children and 10 school teachers from the DNT communities under the study was extremely useful in recording their experiences, challenges and struggles in education. The workshop was organized with four sessions for school children and school teachers where they shared their experiences of education and life. The reflection of teachers and students from DNT, NT and semi-nomadic tribal communities on schooling and education informs our understanding in this Chapter.

3.2 Introducing DNT Communities under Study

This section seeks to introduce the DNT communities covered in the study. For this, we use the available ethnographic literature and the interviews with community leaders.

As Lakshman Mane describes, these communities are stigmatized and marginalized in different ways. Traditionally, Ramosi are associated with occupations such as village and fort guarding, and criminalized and stigmatized for burglary; Kaikadi are associated with occupations such as basket-making and pig-rearing; Wadar- associated with stone cutting; Banjara-associated with the trade of grain and textile; Pardhi are associated with hunting and criminalized for poaching; Chhapparband are associated with tent-making and stigmatized for counterfeiting; Kanjarbhat are stigmatized for liquor distillation; Gosavi are associated with ritual begging; Kolhati are associated and stigmatized for

entertainment, dancing; Muslim Madari, Garudi, Saapawale and Jadugar are associated with games with animals, and providing medicinal herbs; and Bhamta Rajput are criminalized and stigmatized for burglary, swindling. The association of these communities with some traditional occupations and community roles link can be linked to the way in which these communities are stigmatized and marginalized.

Chhapparband

Chhapparbands are known as tent-makers or those who build chhappar or roofs. There is a narrative that traces the history of Chhapparbands to the 16th century when they made tents for Rajput and Mughal armies, as well as built their stables. During the British rule, they lost their traditional occupation are said to have turned to the jobs which were considered as criminal activities. The community had participated in the revolutionary struggles against the colonists, especially during the revolt of 1857. The community has been accused of engaged in printing counterfeit notes and being denied any livelihood within the agrarian order of the village. Under the influence of Faquir Hazarat Meer, many of them embraced Islam but the community remains as marginalized even within larger Muslim community like the 'untouchables' in the Hindu caste hierarchy. Many have therefore converted to Hinduism, yet considered lower in the social hierarchy even amongst Hindus. The narrative also refers to some of the recent experiences that highlights the social dynamics in the community. During the BJP regime in 1995, M.M. Shah established Bharat Chhapparband Sudhar Samiti and included Shahs in Chhapparbands, which has led to tensions between the two groups (Shahs or fakirs are different from Chhapparband). Shahs are now getting the schemes designed for Chhapparbands.

Chhapparbands are found mainly in cities, along the railway lines, in North Maharashtra. This community is spread mainly in the areas of Malegaon, Dhule, Jalgaon. They speak Dakhani, Hindi, Khandeshi. Many from this community are engaged in begging, peddling, scrap collection etc. In Aurangabad, along with begging/fakiri, this community is engaged in selling old clothes and utensils, and furniture making and rarely holds regular jobs. The community members share their experience with the stigma and the obstacles they face in getting loans, accessing government schemes of scholarship, or pension for widows. They also question the lack of quota for DNT-NT in elections and underline the fact that they 'are hardly represented anywhere since we are minority and backward.'

Pardhi

One of the communities which reports continued heavy stigma of criminality, and consequent state harassment, especially from the police, is Pardhi. The community leaders whom the research team met reported several cases of police taking the community members into their custody in case of any theft. They are excluded from educational opportunities, welfare measures, and forced to live outside the gavgada or village order. As the expert opinion suggests, pardhis are mostly found in Hinganghat, Vardha, North Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Chandrapur, Yavatmal, and speak their own community language. They are now working as agricultural labourers, labourers on daily wages, or drivers, sometimes as teachers, but hardly in get into any steady employment, specifically government jobs. Further, they fall prey to superstition due to lack of access to education.

Though Pardhis are known to be engaged in 'paradh' or hunting, this description found to be inadequate by the community leaders. In fact, Pardhis have two major sub-castes: Phase-pardhis engaged in hunting and are now labeled as thieves while Raj-pardhis served the royalty. They come from Rajasthan and claim to be descendants of Prithiviraj Chauhan. Relatively, Phase-pardhis bear the brunt of the stigma of criminality the most.

Pardhis are also believed to have originated from bavariyas ostracized from Rajputs and from those marginalized amongst the Gonds. One of the community leaders links charges of theft to the Forest Act, which banned the forest activities of the Pardhis for subsistence and marked it as 'criminal' activity during colonial times. The senior community members 'remember' that the mistrust of Pardhis and their consequent surveillance has continued since the British times. Pardhis are further divided into Haran-pardhi, Jungle-pardhi, Chitta-pardhi, Gai-pardhi, phase-pardhi, Gav-pardhi, Bhilla-pardhi and constitute five clans: Pawar, Kale, Bhosale, Chavan and Shinde. Pardhis are mainly located in Khandesh and Marathwada, and to some extent in Vidarbha.

Kolhati

Another community that talks about stigma is the Kolhati. Traditionally, they are associated with entertainment and dancing. Women from this community perform and earn for the family, and are degraded by society. Now the community is moving to other occupations, though unstable ones.

One of the senior community member's experience during the meeting highlights the humiliation he faces since his daughters sing and dance in a theatre. He describes that the state's policy towards DNTs is like a hollow drum. He also reiterates the argument put forth by several people that point out to the double standards of the caste society that stigmatizes their women and the community as vulgar for dancing in public and subject them to sexual exploitation, while celebrating heroines dancing in films. As the expert pointed out, Kolhatis are not well organized and the caste panchayat assumes centrality even now. The meetings of the caste panchayats are held in Madhi, Jejuri and Sonari. Kolhatis speak different languages. He also highlights the difficulties in accessing schemes as several communities are included in NT-B category, a subcategory of VJNT.

Gosavi

Traditionally, Gosavis are known as cow-herders; many of them are residing in forests for their spiritual pursuit. This community also engages in ritual begging and leads an austere life. While narrating their origin, one of the leaders highlights that Gosavis are the descendents of Rana Pratap's army general, Yuvrajsingh Chauhan. After Rana Pratap's defeat by the Mughals, this community refused to convert to Islam and began roaming and begging for survival. According to another narrative, this community, in their guise as ascetics, worked as spies during Shivaji's reign. Gosavis can be classified as Dashnam gosavi, Sanyasi, Nath-jogi or Nath-panthi and Kaanphate gosavi. They follow different customs, deities, rituals and language and do not inter-marry or dine with one another. Gosavis are scattered all over Maharashtra in clan-specific villages. The nature of their life - engaging with begging and nomadic life - is found to have adverse effect on the educational development of Gosavi community.

Banjara

Banjaras are known as a trading caste. Etymologically, they are associated either with 'vanijya', or trade, or 'banaj,' those born in forests. They are also known as 'laman' implying salt, or those who trade salt. Banjaras are supposed to be migrants from Rajasthan. There are experts from the community who trace the history of Banjaras back to three or four centuries as those who trade and transport on the backs of cattle. They resided near the mountains in hamlets called 'tanda.' Growth of railway seems to have reduced their transportation activities in colonial times.

They came to be criminalized as they revolted against British forest laws. This community is made up of 16 sub-castes including Gor-banjara, Lambada, Lamani, Charan, Laman, Mathura-laman, Kachakiwale, Laban, Chhali, Dhadi, Singari, Nhavi bajara, and Jogi banjara. They are located mainly in Marathwada and Vidarbha and also in Solapur and Ahmadnagar districts. Their estimated population is 25 to 30 lakhs. The senior members of the community underline the significance of the government scheme of Tanda schools in increasing the access to education for the tribe, though these are limited measures.

Kanjarbhat

Kanjarbhats are known as arms manufacturers. They are believed to have migrated from Rajasthan due to fear of conversion. As some narratives suggest, they manufactured arms and agricultural tools with royal patronage. They claim to be of Rajput lineage, their ancestors being devastated by the Mughal rulers and consequently pushed to the forests. They were marked as criminals and the colonial Forest Acts placed them in fenced settlements. It was during this time that they came to be associated with woodwork and liquor distillation. They have two main clans in Maharashtra, Mala and Biddhu. They are settled mainly in the urban areas in Northern and Western Maharashtra. Some experts estimate their population size between 1 to 1.5 lakhs.

As the local expert points out that Kanjarbhats are largely urban and function with a caste panchayat. Having been migrants for centuries, they speak a mix of languages. The women are also engaged in their traditional job of distilling liquor. During the meetings, the community leaders emphasized the importance of addressing their educational backwardness.

Rajput Bhamta

Rajput Bhamtas introduce themselves as Rajputs from Rajasthan, the loyal warriors of Rana Pratap. The community has been based on cultivation. They were displaced after the defeat of Rana Pratap and the revolt against the Nizam in Marathwada. As per some experts, these Rajputs were subordinated by the invasion of Allaudin Khilji and were subjected to a wandering life of stealing, cheating and looting. This made them to be marked as 'bhamta' or swindlers. After they were declared as criminal tribe, the British rulers put in fenced settlements. They are often confused with the Takari Bhamta who is completely different. In some regions like

Nagpur they are involved in trading. They are largely located in Marathwada, Vidarbha and Western Maharashtra. During the survey, they were extremely reluctant to be identified as Bhamta, which is an abusive word in Marathi and hence introduced themselves as Rajputs.

According to the leaders from the community, Bhamtas are into small businesses; they speak Marathi and Rajasthani. Being numerically small, and less organized, they have remained backward, and are hardly represented in politics. They do not have separate caste panchayats. Often, the community members have to struggle to get caste certificate and validity certificates to access government schemes. Since 'bhamta' is an abuse, people have avoided associating with it on documents, making the getting of caste certificates more difficult. Children refuse to go to school under this name too. Other scholars also stress this stigma as one of the major reasons which has kept the community away from education, employment and decent occupations.

Wadar

As the community leaders pointed out, Wadars are migrants from the Andhra region who were engaged in hard physical labour. As senior members of the community described, they have been working with stone-making, grinding stones and so on. They have also been masons building wadas or big houses, temples, and wells, ponds and dams. They are known to have built forts for Shivaji. Though their occupations declined in colonial times, they came to be taken up for stone-cutting for building railway lines and buildings. As a community wandering from village to village for physical labour, they came to be seen with suspicion and marked as born criminals. They are further classified into four occupational groups: Gaadi wadar, Maati wadar, Patharawat and Jaati wadar.

They are scattered all over Maharashtra. They speak Telugu and Marathi. They are largely distanced from the state machinery. In Vidarbha, they speak both their own *Wadari* language and Marathi. They are largely illiterate and economically backward, lacking agricultural land. As the community members reported, Wadars in this region are migrants living in rural areas, having neither agricultural land nor stable employment, working mostly as sugar cane cutters. There is a demand amongst Wadars to be included in the ST category for effective implementation of reservation schemes. Shivaji Shelar has established 'Wadar Samaj

Sanghtana' in Ahmednagar district and expects more response from the community to mobilize for its development. Krishnaji Ganpati Naik, Vice-President of the 'Akhil Maharashtra Wadar Samaj Sanghatana,' says that in Western Maharashtra, Wadars have struggled to take up government employment. As these community leaders stated, Wadars had caste panchayats earlier, but they are abolished now. They follow Hindu rituals. Their women are marginalized. One could observe political participation by Wadars in some gram panchayats, but they have not been able to gather clout in electoral politics as in Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh. The young generation is pursuing higher education. Govinda Shinde, Buttibori from Nagpur narrated how Wadars are degraded by upper caste people.

Kaikadi

Kaikadis are traditionally basket-makers who migrated from the Tamil region. As per the expert opinion, Kaikadi was a ruling community, one of their members being King Ballal of the Hoisal dynasty in Kerala. They made baskets or other objects for domestic use. Kaikadis are further classified as Kunchi Korwa, Korba, Pamler, Saap Kaikadi, Chor Kaikadi, Dhontale and Makadwale and pursue different occupations. Kaikadis speak their own language, a mix of Kannada, Telugu and Marathi, which is only spoken and not written. They are still stigmatized as criminals in some regions and harassed by the police. Other local experts also reiterate the stigma faced by the community. Kaikadis are degraded by upper caste society and disregarded by the local government machinery. The Solapur settlement has the most Kaikadis, descendants of those who were freed by the community organizer. Kaikadis are organized in Marathwada, through the 'Kaikadi Samaj Sanghtana'. The cities such as Aurangabad, Jalana, Majalgaon, Gevrai, Nanded and Ahmednagar have Kaikadi corporations.

Kaikadis are now taking up 'Hindu' practices like matching kundlis before marriage, and following rituals and festivities. Brahmin priests are now replacing the earlier panch of caste panchayats. Women are marginalized in inheritance and other practices. As one of the community leader states, Kaikadis of Kej taluka have migrated from Karnataka and have acquired grazing lands in this region. The Kaikadis are socially backward. They cannot access government schemes without facing obstacles in getting caste certificates, and even ration cards and election cards are problematic. They largely work in the unorganized sector, or are engaged in piggery or

goat rearing. According to one estimate, their population size is estimated between 1.5 to 2 lakhs.

Muslim Madari, Garudi

Muslim Madaris work with monkeys while Mang Garudis are snake charmers. They can be considered as few of the most backward communities. They exist in small numbers in Maharashtra and remain far away from settled 'mainstream' life.

Ramosi

Ramosis from Nashik see themselves as the descendents of the rebel Umaji Naik. They are mobilized through 'Narveer Umaji Naik Samaj Sudharak Mandal, Maharashtra Rajya.' Ramosis settled in Mumbai have migrated from Solapur. In Akola district, Ramosis call themselves 'Kshatriya Maratha Samaj' to hide the criminal stigma faced by the community.

3.3 Sample size

The study covered 1,944 households from 11 communities settled across 25 districts in Maharashtra. DNT1 households accounted for 44 per cent of the sample followed by DNT2 (33.7 per cent) and NT (22 per cent) (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)	Social Category
Banjara	276	14.2	DNT1 (43.9)
Ramosi	156	8.0	
Wadar	271	13.9	
Chhapparband	152	7.8	DNT2 (33.7)
Kaikadi	229	11.8	
Kanjarbhat	144	7.4	
Bhamta Rajput	83	4.3	
Pardhi	199	10.2	
Kolhati	179	9.2	NT (22.3)
Muslim Garudi – Madari	119	6.1	
Gosavi	136	7.0	
Total	1944	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

3.4. Profile of the Sample

3.4.1 Geographical Distribution of the Sample

Though the DNT communities are spread across Maharashtra, they are concentrated in Western Maharashtra and Marathwada regions and found less frequently in the Vidarbha region. They tend to reside more in the districts in which their settlements were created by the British. The samples are drawn from specific communities from those regions in Maharashtra where the community is found. This report therefore gives details about district-wise locations of these communities and their rural/urban spread.

Around 49.8 per cent of households covered in the survey are located in urban areas and 50.2 per cent in rural areas (Table 2.2). There is considerable population of DNTs in urban areas. Firstly, many of these De-notified communities stayed around the settlements created by the British in the cities of Solapur, Ambarnath, Nandurbar, Kolhapur, Barshi and so on. Secondly, there were new livelihood options available in the unorganized sector of urban areas, which were accessible to these landless wandering communities who had lost their traditional occupations and were marginalized in the agrarian order of the villages. For example, Kaikadis, who are traditionally associated with basket weaving, have turned to petty services and labour in urban areas. One can see considerable variation across communities in terms of rural/urban location. While Kolhati, Banjara, Wadar, Pardhi, Ramosi and Gosavi are found more in rural areas, Muslim Madari, Garudi, Chapparband, Rajput Bhamta more in urban areas, the Kanjarbhat are almost always in urban areas. At the same time, Kaikadi has been spread across rural and urban areas.

Table 2.2: Area-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Urban	Rural
Kaikadi	51.1	48.9
Kolhati	40.2	59.8
Muslim Garudi – Madari	86.6	13.4
Chhapparband	71.7	28.3
Banjara	30.8	69.2
Wadar	42.8	57.2
Bhamta Rajput	63.9	36.1
Pardhi	33.2	66.8
Ramosi	38.5	61.5
Kanjarbhat	100.0	-
Gosavi	31.6	68.4
Total	49.8	50.2

Source: Field Survey

In terms of region, the sample is drawn from 25 out of 33 districts in total from Maharashtra, across the regions of 1. Western Maharashtra; 2. Vidarbha and Nagpur; 3. Marathwada; 4. North Maharashtra and Khandesh; and 5. Konkan (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Region-wise sample distribution

Region	Households (Per cent)
Vidarbha	6.3
Marathwada	28.9
North Maharashtra	14.3
Western Maharashtra	46.5
Konkan	2.1
Mumbai	1.9

Source: Field Survey

The number of households selected from each administrative block/ region was determined by considering the distribution of communities and the accessibility of the localities. Thus, it can be observed from Table 2.4 that communities are rather unevenly distributed across regions. It was observed during the field work that in North and Western Maharashtra, and also in Konkan, the DNT communities are located largely in urban areas, while in Vidarbha and Marathwada, they are largely residing in rural areas. The district wise distribution of sample households also reflects these variations. For instance, Pune accounts for nearly 21 per cent of total sample households covered under the survey while the share remains low in other districts (Table 2.5).

Table 2.4: Community-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Vidarbha	Maratha wada	North Maharashtra	Western Maharashtra	Konkan	Mumbai
Kaikadi	11.4	48.0	2.2	33.2	4.4	0.9
Kolhati	-	10.1	10.6	79.3	-	-
Garudi - Madari	-	26.1	31.1	42.9	-	-
Chhapparband	10.5	7.2	34.2	36.8	0.7	10.5
Banjara	19.9	37.3	15.9	22.5	1.1	3.3
Wadar	7.0	35.1	4.1	50.6	3.3	-
Bhamta Rajput	-	8.4	1.2	86.7	3.6	-
Pardhi	-	68.3	16.6	15.1	-	-
Ramosi	-	3.2	9.6	83.3	3.8	-
Kanjarbhat	-	-	25.7	70.8	3.5	-
Gosavi	5.1	33.8	17.6	33.8	2.2	7.4
Total	6.3	28.9	14.3	46.5	2.1	1.9

Source: Field Survey

Table 2.5: District-wise sample distribution

District	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)
Beed	84	4.3
Jalana	90	4.6
Latur	57	2.9
Nandurbar	42	2.2
Thane	40	2.1
Satara	96	4.9
Ahmednagar	84	4.3
Chandrapur	10	0.5
Sangali	71	3.7
Nagpur	32	1.6
Jalgaon	68	3.5
Pune	399	20.5
Yavatmal	30	1.5
Nashik	161	8.3
Wardha	11	0.6
Dhule	7	0.4
Buldhana	16	0.8
Mumbai	37	1.9
Osmanabad	125	6.4
Nanded	60	3.1
Kolhapur	73	3.8
Wasim	24	1.2
Solapur	181	9.3
Aurangabad	76	3.9
Parbhani	70	3.6
Total	1944	100.0

Source: Field Survey

3.4.2 Household Population of the Sample

The sample consists of 1,944 households (covering 9,388 members) with an average of 4.8 members per household. The details show that 49.3 per cent of population were women and 50.7 per cent were men. Amongst the respondents, 82.7 per cent were men and 17.3 per cent women. Table 2.6 presents the sample distribution of households and population across tribes.

Table 2.6: Population of sample households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Population (Per cent)	Households (Per cent)
Kaikadi	10.4	11.8
Kolhati	5.8	9.2
Muslim Garudi - Madari	15.7	6.1
Chhapparband	10.1	7.8
Banjara	11.8	14.2
Wadar	12.5	13.9
Bhamta Rajput	4.6	4.3
Pardhi	9.9	10.2
Ramosi	6.5	8.0
Kanjarbhat	5.7	7.4
Gosavi	6.9	7.0

Source: Field Survey

Majority of the household members belonged to the age group of 19-45 years (48.7 per cent) followed by 37.5 per cent of household members below 18 years of age, and rest 13.7 per cent are 45 years and above (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Age-wise population distribution

Age group	Population	Population (Per cent)
0 to 5	856	9.1
06 to 18	2670	28.4
19 to 35	3369	35.9
36 to 45	1206	12.8
46 to 60	915	9.7
Above 60	372	4.0

Source: Field Survey

Of the total population 42 per cent were unmarried. The proportion of unmarried women is less compared to unmarried men. The proportion of deserted, divorced and widowed women is high compared to men, pointing to the limited possibilities of remarriage for women (Table 2.8).

Table 2.8: Gender-wise marital status

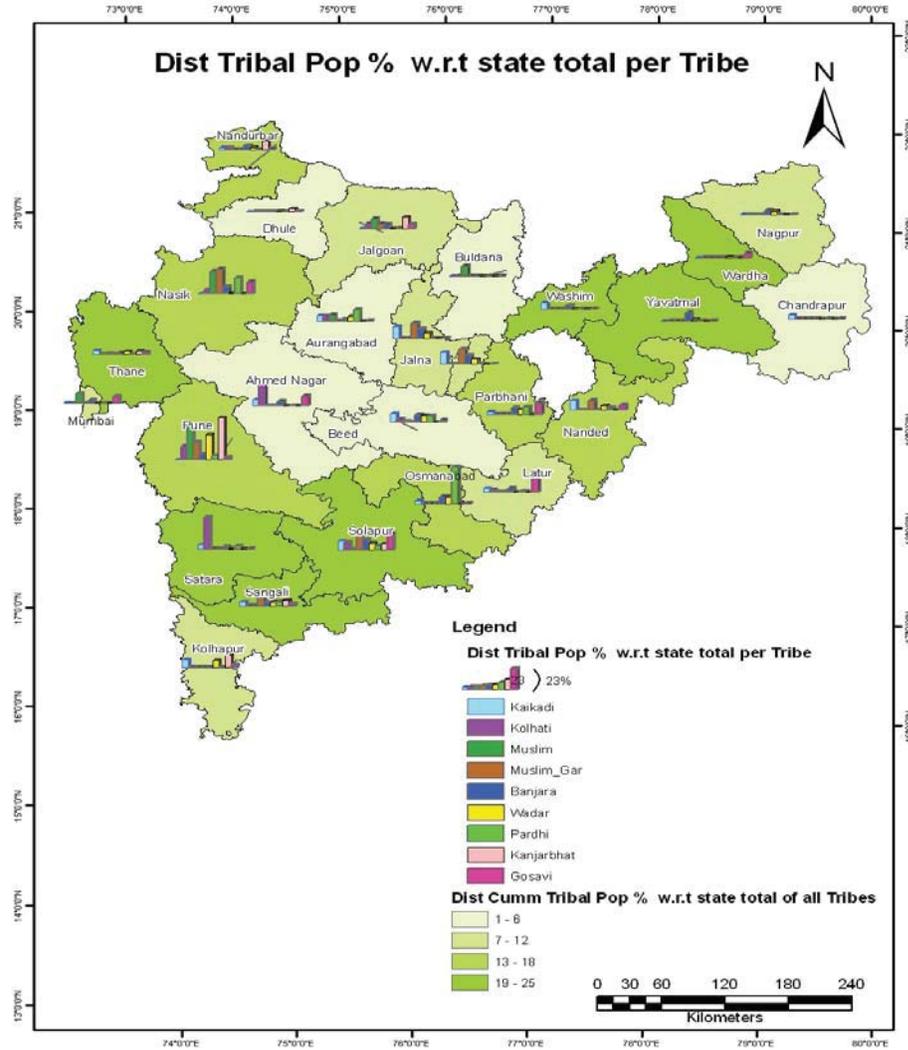
Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Married	2513 (49.2) (52.8)	2594 (50.8) (56.0)	5107 (100.0) (5 4.4)
Unmarried	2208 (55.6) (46.4)	1762 (44.4) (38.0)	3970 (100.0) (42.3)
Divorced	6 (28.6) (0.1)	15 (71.4) (0.3)	21 (100.0) (0.2)
Separated	26 (10.2) (0.5)	229 (89.8) (4.9)	255 (100.0) (2.7)
Widow/Widower	4 (18.2) (0.1)	18 (81.8) (0.4)	22 (100.0) (0.2)
Others	-	13 (100.0) (0.3)	13 (100.0) (0.1)
Total	4757 (50.7) (100.0)	4631 (49.3) (100.0)	9388 (100.0) (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

The main aim of this section is to examine the social status, pattern of asset holding and other location-specific factors related to different Denotified tribes in the state of Maharashtra. It also looks into the pattern of livelihood reported among different De-notified tribes spread across different districts of the state (Map 2.1).

Map 2.1: Sample districts from where the respondents were selected

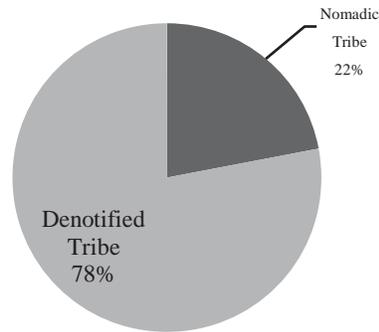


Source: Field Survey

4. The Tribes and their Social Status

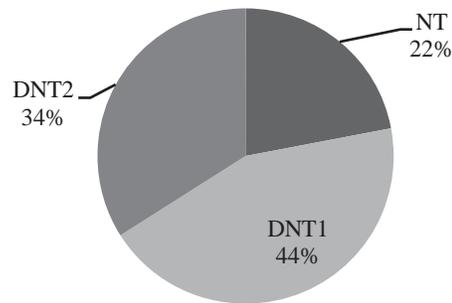
While following the official classification of VJNT, we may classify the total sample households into three categories as NT, DNT1 and DNT2. Within the total sample, majority of the household (77.7 per cent) belongs to the De-notified Communities and the rest as Nomadic Tribes (22.3 per cent) (Figure 2.1 (1)). Among the 11 communities covered, Kolhati, Muslim Garudi, Madari and Gosavi belong to Nomadic Tribes and the rest are registered as Denotified Tribes. As per the classification, about 44 per cent of tribes are covered under DNT1 while only 34 per cent are listed under DNT2 (Pardhi, Kaikadi, Kanjarbhat, Rajput Bhamta) (Figure 2.1 (2)).

Figure 2.1(1): Classification of tribes



Source: Field Survey

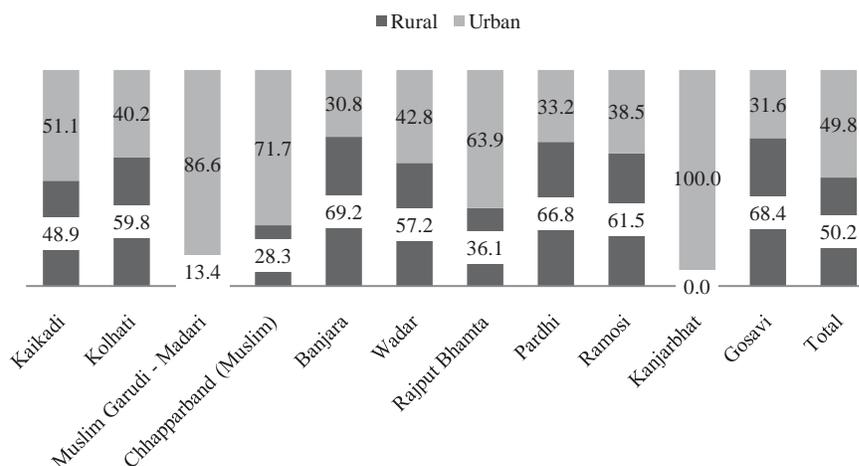
Figure 2.1(2): Classification of tribes



Source: Field Survey

The households covered by the study were distributed across urban and rural areas in the State. Broadly, Banjara, Gosavi, Pardhi, Ramosi, Kolhati and Wadar tribes are concentrated in rural areas while Kanjarbhat, Muslim Garudi-Madari, Chhapparband (Muslim), Rajput Bhamta, and Kaikadi communities have greater concentration in urban areas in the state. It is interesting to see that the entire Kanjarbhat community covered in the study (144 households) lives in urban centres (Figure 2.2).

About 81.3 per cent of the respondents surveyed have been staying in the present place of residence since birth. This proportion is overwhelmingly high among Pardhi, Ramosi and Kolhati communities and relatively low among Muslim Garudi-Madari (Table 2.9).

Figure 2.2: Location of the tribes

Source: Field Survey

Table 2.9: Duration of stay in the present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1 to 10 years	11 to 20 years	21 to 30 years	Above 30 years	Since birth	Total
Kaikadi	2 (0.9)	19 (8.3)	20 (8.7)	5 (2.2)	183 (79.9)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	1 (0.6)	4 (2.2)	2 (1.1)	6 (3.4)	166 (92.7)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi – Madari	30 (25.2)	8 (6.7)	22 (18.5)	13 (10.9)	46 (38.7)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	14 (9.2)	6 (3.9)	14 (9.2)	17 (11.2)	101 (66.4)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	15 (5.4)	8 (2.9)	19 (6.9)	-	234 (84.8)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	1 (0.4)	2 (0.7)	48 (17.7)	12 (4.4)	208 (76.8)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	1 (1.2)	9 (10.8)	4 (4.8)	4 (4.8)	65 (78.3)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	4 (2.0)	-	-	-	195 (98.0)	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	1 (0.6)	-	2 (1.3)	1 (0.6)	152 (97.4)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	2 (1.4)	1 (0.7)	4 (2.8)	7 (4.9)	130 (90.3)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	3 (2.2)	4 (2.9)	19 (14.0)	10 (7.4)	100 (73.5)	136 (100.0)
Total	74 (3.8)	61 (3.1)	154 (7.9)	75 (3.9)	1580 (81.3)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

5. Spoken Language

This section looks into the language proficiency and pattern of languages used at home, educational institutions, within the community and public place separately. This analysis is followed with a brief discussion on the knowledge of English among these communities.

Table 2.10: Language spoken at home by different tribes

DNTS/NT Community	Marathi	Banjari	Kaikadi	Bhat	Seshi	Kanjar bhat	Gosavi	Karvadi	Chhaparband (Muslim)	Kolhadi	Gujarati	Hindi	Urdu	Dakbani	Telugu	Total
Kaikadi	3 (1.3)	-	197 (86.0)	-	10 (4.4)	-	-	19 (8.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	229 (100.0)
Kolhadi	128 (71.5)	-	39 (21.8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (0.5)	-	-	3 (1.7)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madani	79 (66.4)	-	-	-	17 (14.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	23 (19.3)	-	-	-	119 (100.0)
Chhaparband (Muslim)	15 (9.9)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.7)	-	10 (6.6)	-	-	100 (65.8)	12 (7.9)	14 (9.2)	-	152 (100.0)
Banjara	9 (3.3)	241 (87.3)	4 (1.4)	-	-	22 (8.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	276 (100.0)
Wadar	12 (4.4)	117 (43.2)	-	-	37 (13.7)	-	-	-	-	-	101 (37.3)	-	-	-	4 (1.5)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	69 (83.1)	-	8 (9.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (4.8)	2 (2.4)	-	-	83 (100.0)
Parthi	4 (2.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	195 (98.0)	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	155 (99.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	29 (20.1)	-	-	93 (64.6)	-	22 (15.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	112 (82.4)	-	-	-	-	-	24 (17.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	136 (100.0)
Total	615 (31.6)	358 (18.4)	248 (12.8)	93 (4.8)	64 (3.3)	44 (2.3)	25 (1.3)	19 (1.0)	10 (0.5)	3 (0.2)	296 (15.2)	137 (7.0)	14 (0.7)	14 (0.7)	7 (0.2)	1944 (100.0)

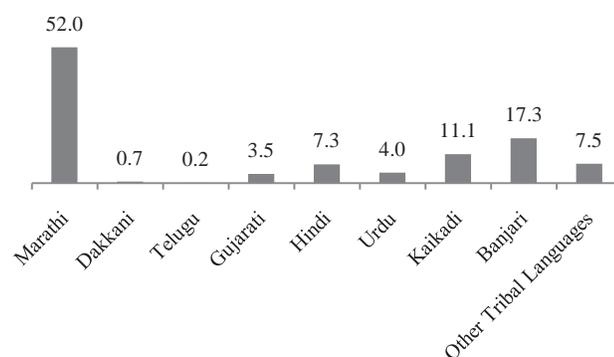
Source: Field Survey

The figures show that nearly 44.6 per cent of households use tribal languages as the main communicative languages while around 31.16 per cent of households use Marathi as the main communicative language at home. Among Chhapparband Muslim 66 per cent of the households speak Hindi at home while in case of Muslim Garudi Madari the corresponding figure stood at 19 per cent. Kaikadi, Banjara and Kanjarbhat speak their own Kaikadi (86.0 per cent), Banjara (87.3 per cent), Bhat (65 per cent) language respectively. In case of Wadar, majority speak tribal language – Banjari (43 per cent) and Sushi (14 per cent), while a significant proportion speak Gujarati (37 per cent) (Table 2.10).

Ninety-three percent of households reported that their children speak Marathi in school. Only a negligible proportion of 0.4 per cent of respondents stated that their children speak English in school.

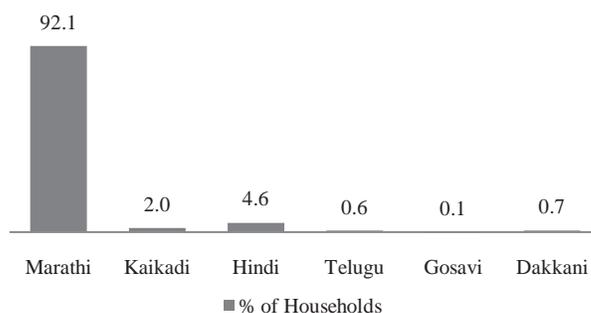
Marathi emerged as the main language (52 per cent) used by the tribal people while conversing within the communities. It is followed by Banjari (17.3 per cent), Kaikadi (11.1 per cent), Hindi (7.3 per cent), Gujarati (3.5 per cent), Bhat (2.8 per cent) and Sushi (2.3 per cent). Languages like Kolhati, Koravari, Chhapparband, Dakkani, Telugu, and Urdu are used very rarely within the communities in any kind of social occasions (Figure 2.3). Over 92.0 per cent of the 11 DNT which were studied reported that they speak Marathi in public places. This proportion is overwhelmingly high among Pardhi, Ramosi, Kanjarbhat, Kaikadi, Banjara, Gosavi, Rajput Bhamta and Wadar and relatively low among Chhapparband (Muslim) and Kolhati tribes (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.3: Languages spoken within the community



Source: Field Survey

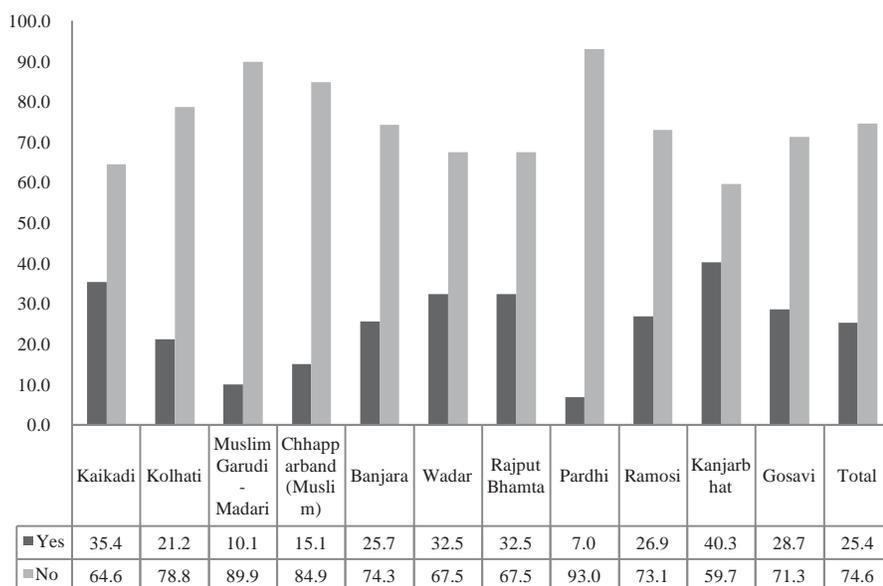
Figure 2.4: Languages spoken at public place



Source: Field Survey

Around three-fourths of the surveyed households cannot communicate through English. One-fourth of the sample households have reported knowledge of English language and this proportion is to be found high among Kanjarbhat, Kaikadi, Wadar and Rajput Bhamta communities and relatively low among Pardhi and Muslim Garudi–Madari (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5: Knowledge of English in the family



Source: Field Survey

Among these families, about 62.3 per cent of households reported that only one person knows English in the family. Another 23.1 per cent of respondents report that two people know English in the family and 14.6 per cent of respondents reported that three to four people know English in the family (Table 2.11).

Table 2.11: Number of English-knowing members in the family

DNT/SNT/NT Community	One person	Two people	Three people	Four people	Total
Kaikadi	60 (74.1)	17 (21.0)	2 (2.5)	2 (2.5)	81 (100.0)
Kolhati	24 (63.2)	9 (23.8)	1 (2.6)	4 (10.5)	38 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi-Madari	4 (33.3)	5 (41.7)	-	3 (2.5)	12 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	3 (13.0)	15 (65.2)	2 (8.7)	3 (13.0)	23 (100.0)
Banjara	70 (98.6)	1 (1.4)	-	-	71 (100.0)
Vadar	64 (72.7)	13 (14.8)	4 (4.5)	7 (8.0)	88 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	16 (59.3)	7 (11.1)	1 (3.7)	3 (11.1)	27 (100.0)
Pardhi	14 (100.0)	-	-	-	14 (100.0)
Ramosi	24 (57.1)	9 (21.4)	-	9 (21.4)	42 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	18 (31.0)	22 (37.9)	7 (12.1)	11 (18.3)	58 (100.0)
Gosavi	10 (25.6)	16 (41.0)	7 (17.9)	6 (15.4)	39 (100.0)
Total	307 (62.3)	114 (23.1)	24 (4.9)	48 (9.7)	493 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

6. Livelihood and its sources

This section discusses the primary occupation of the households of different tribes. We identify the primary occupation as the occupation which contributes to the major share of the household income and the economic activity that takes considerable share of working hours of the year. The Table 2.12 shows significant variation in the primary occupation reported across different tribes in Maharashtra.

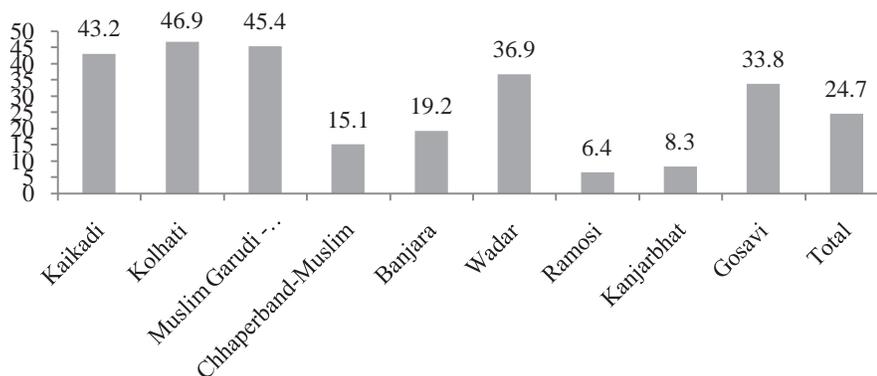
Table 2.12: Primary occupation of different tribes

DNT/ST/NT Community	Cultivator/ Farmer	Agriculture Labour	Non Agriculture Labour	Artisans	Trade/ Business	Service	Professionals	Traditional work	Others	Total
Kaikadi	18 (7.9)	95 (41.5)	43 (18.8)	19 (8.3)	14 (6.1)	27 (11.8)	-	1 (0.4)	12 (5.3)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	3 (1.7)	40 (22.3)	47 (26.3)	15 (8.4)	44 (24.6)	18 (10.1)	1 (0.6)	3 (1.7)	8 (4.5)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Gerudi-Madani	14 (11.8)	28 (23.5)	59 (49.6)	2 (1.7)	9 (7.6)	2 (1.7)	-	2 (1.7)	3 (2.5)	119 (100.0)
Chhaparband (Muslim)	15 (9.9)	20 (13.2)	37 (24.3)	19 (12.5)	36 (23.7)	2 (1.3)	-	7 (4.6)	16 (10.6)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	88 (31.9)	116 (42.0)	43 (15.6)	1 (0.4)	4 (1.4)	9 (3.3)	1 (0.4)	-	14 (5.1)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	2 (0.7)	60 (22.1)	159 (58.7)	4 (1.5)	37 (13.7)	4 (1.5)	1 (0.4)	3 (1.1)	1 (0.4)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	16 (19.3)	28 (33.7)	12 (14.5)	7 (8.4)	9 (10.8)	8 (9.6)	-	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	83 (100.0)
Parthi	-	49 (24.6)	130 (65.3)	2 (1.0)	4 (2.0)	5 (2.5)	8 (4.0)	1 (0.5)	-	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	4 (2.6)	19 (12.2)	55 (35.3)	9 (5.8)	32 (20.5)	22 (14.1)	-	4 (2.6)	11 (7.0)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbat	4 (2.8)	9 (6.3)	41 (28.5)	13 (9.0)	15 (10.4)	2 (1.4)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.4)	57 (39.6)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	23 (16.9)	15 (11.0)	30 (22.1)	20 (14.7)	6 (4.4)	5 (3.7)	-	3 (2.2)	34 (25.0)	136 (100.0)
Total	187 (9.6)	479 (24.6)	656 (33.7)	111 (5.7)	210 (10.8)	104 (5.3)	12 (0.6)	28 (1.4)	157 (8.0)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

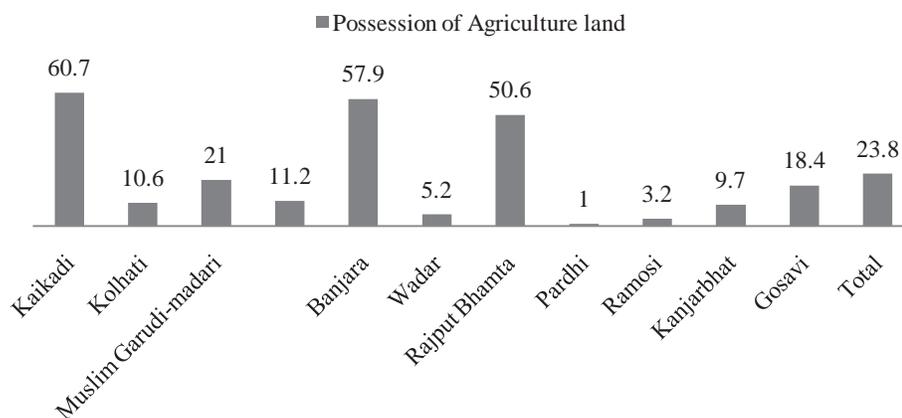
Overall, the data shows that the share of workers engaged in non-agricultural and agricultural wage works is high (33.7 per cent and 24.6 per cent respectively) followed by trade/business and cultivator (10.8 per cent and 9.6 per cent respectively). The pattern varies significantly across the communities. Thus, the share of cultivator - as the primary occupation - remains as high as 31.9 per cent among the Banjara community (against none from Pardhi). In the case of agricultural workers, the share was found to be high among Banjara and Kaikadi communities (42 per cent and 41.5 per cent respectively) against low shares found among the Kanjarbhat (6.3 per cent), Gosavi (11 per cent), Ramosi (12.2 per cent) and Chhapparband (Muslim) (13.2 per cent). At the same time, the share of workers engaged in different non-agricultural jobs was found to be high among the Pardhi (65.3 per cent) Wadar (58.7 per cent) and Muslim Garudi-Madari (49.6 per cent) tribes. Only 1.4 per cent of total tribal workers reported traditional work as the primary occupation (Table 2.12). Field level observations indicate that the income derived from different types of primary occupation also varies significantly across these tribes. In some sense, the wage difference found across different types of jobs follows the larger pattern found in other parts of the country; the mean wage earned from the primary occupation is high in service sector and non-farm jobs while it remains low for agriculture, artisans and traditional occupations. Thus, the traditional occupations witness the gradual withdrawal of workers to those sectors which offer better earnings and options of livelihoods.

At the same time, there are many who continue their engagement with traditional occupation but find other forms of occupation for their livelihoods. Thus, we found 24.7 per cent are continuing with the traditional occupation as the complementary source of income. This pattern varies significantly across the communities. Kaikadi, Kolhati and Muslim Garudi-Mandari communities have more than 40 per cent workers while Ramosi and Kanjarbhat have less than 10 per cent who continue their engagement with various traditional occupations (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation

Source: Field Survey

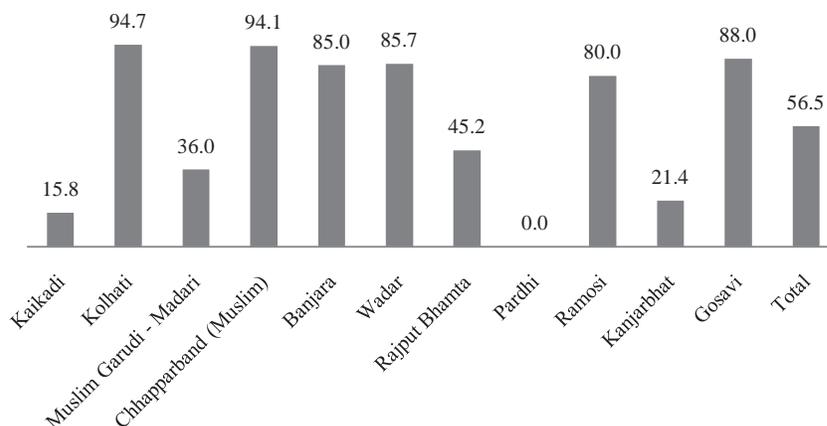
These communities have a wide-range of traditional activities that form their livelihood and community life distinct from others. For instance, Kaikadi community has been associated with occupations such as basket-making and pig-rearing, while Wadar community is traditionally engaged in occupations related to stone cutting. Similarly, Kolhati community (though engaged in non-agricultural labour and business) is known for their association with dancing and entertainment. Although non-agricultural labour work is the main source of income of Gosavi, a portion of their income comes from begging. Muslim-Madari are associated with entertainment with animals, and providing medicinal herbs, apart from trade and business. There are several factors that could locally play a key role in transforming these activities and the manner in which each community continues its engagement with such activities.

Figure 2.7: Possession of agricultural land (share in Per cent)

Source: Field Survey

Only 23.8 per cent of the households possess agricultural land. Across the communities, we find sharp difference in the land holdings. More than half of Kaikadi, Banjara and Rajput Bhamta households possess agricultural land against very low share among the Pardhi, Ramosi, Wadar, Kanjarbhat and Kolhati tribes (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.8: Proportion of cultivators cultivating land independently (share in Per cent)



Source: Field Survey

Among those who possess the agricultural land, 56.5 per cent of the households are cultivating their land independently. Across the communities, this pattern varies significantly. For instance, this share was found to be as high as 94.7 per cent and 94.1 per cent among Kolhati and Chhapparband against zero share among Pardhi (0 per cent) and low share among Kaikadi (15.8 per cent) (Figure 2.8).

Table 2.13: Land distribution among the households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1 to 5 acres	6 to 10 acres	11 to 15 acres	Above 20 acres	Total
Kaikadi	135 (97.1)	-	-	4 (2.9)	139 (100.0)
Kolhati	14 (73.7)	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	2 (10.5)	19 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi-Madari	25 (100.0)	-	-	-	25 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	17 (100.0)	-	-	-	17 (100.0)
Banjara	124 (77.5)	19 (11.9)	3 (1.8)	14 (8.8)	160 (100.0)
Wadar	12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	-	-	14 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	39 (92.8)	1 (2.4)	2 (4.8)	-	42 (100.0)
Pardhi	2 (100.0)	-	-	-	2 (100.0)
Ramosi	4 (80.0)	-	1 (20.0)	-	5 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	-	-	14 (100.0)
Gosavi	24 (96.0)	1 (4.0)	-	-	25 (100.0)
Total	408 (88.3)	27 (5.8)	7 (1.5)	20 (4.3)	462 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

It is revealed that 88.3 per cent households have land within the range of 1 to 5 acres, 5.8 per cent have between 6 to 10 acres and rest 5.8 per cent have land more than 10 acres. Larger landholding is found among the Banjara tribe (8.8 per cent with more than 20 acres). A few households among Kaikadi and Kolhati tribe also have more than 20 acres of land. A very low proportion of households from Pardhi, Ramosi and Kanjarbhat tribe possess land (Table 2.13).

7. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

While about 90.3 per cent of the 1,944 families own the house in which they live, 6.4 per cent live in rented homes and about 3.3 per cent in tents and temporary shelters. This proportion is high among Muslim Garudi-Madari and Rajput Bhamata (Table 2.14).

Table 2.14: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Owned	Rented	Office Accommodation	House without Title/Tent	Others	Total
Kaikadi	227 (99.1)	2 (0.9)	-	-	-	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	154 (86.0)	20 (11.2)	4 (2.2)	-	1 (0.6)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	83 (69.7)	6 (5.0)	-	-	30 (25.2)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	112 (73.7)	39 (25.7)	-	-	1 (0.7)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	253 (91.7)	10 (3.6)	2 (0.7)	11 (4.0)	-	276 (100.0)
Wadar	261 (96.3)	9 (3.3)	-	-	1 (0.4)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	62 (74.7)	12 (14.5)	1 (1.2)	3 (3.6)	5 (6.0)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	199 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	148 (94.9)	5 (3.2)	1 (0.6)	-	2 (1.3)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	134 (93.1)	10 (6.9)	-	-	-	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	123 (90.4)	12 (8.8)	-	-	1 (0.7)	136 (100.0)
Total	1756 (90.3)	125 (6.4)	8 (0.4)	14 (0.8)	41 (2.1)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Only 29.5 per cent of houses are reported as *Pucca*; 40.0 per cent are *Semi-Pucca*, 21.9 per cent of the households live in Kutcha houses and 8.6 per cent in huts and removable tents. The data shows that the housing conditions among all the tribes except Pardhi, Ramosi and to some extent Kaikadi households are quite similar. A high proportion of Pardhi, Ramosi and Kaikadi live in huts and Kutcha houses (Table 2.15). This tells us that that while majority of the tribes have pucca and semi-pucca housing, Pardhi, Ramosi and Kaikadi are relatively worse off.

Table 2.15: Type of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca	Semi Pucca	Hut	Kutcha	Others	Total
Kaikadi	65 (28.4)	42 (18.3)	56 (24.5)	61 (26.6)	5 (2.1)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	90 (50.3)	66 (36.9)	2 (1.1)	21 (11.7)	-	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	42 (35.3)	35 (29.4)	-	13 (10.9)	29 (24.3)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	41 (27.0)	96 (63.2)	15 (9.9)	-	-	152 (100.0)
Banjara	68 (24.6)	172 (62.3)	20 (7.2)	16 (5.8)	-	276 (100.0)
Wadar	84 (31.0)	173 (63.8)	14 (5.2)	-	-	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	39 (47.0)	33 (39.8)	-	11 (13.3)	-	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	-	8 (4.0)	191 (96.0)	-	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	52 (33.3)	2 (1.3)	5 (3.2)	97 (62.2)	-	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	49 (34.0)	81 (56.3)	1 (0.7)	13 (9.0)	-	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	44 (32.4)	78 (57.4)	12 (8.8)	2 (1.5)	-	136 (100.0)
Total	574 (29.5)	778 (40.0)	133 (6.8)	425 (21.9)	34 (1.8)	1944 (100.0)

Note: * Mud-Walls, Mud Floors & Thatched Roof

Source: Field Survey

Most of the tribal households (52 per cent) have houses with two rooms. About 11.5 per cent of respondents reported that they are living in houses with four or more rooms. The proportion is high among Kanjarbhat, Banjara, Kaikadi and Kolhati tribe. Pardhi tribes do not have houses containing 3 or 4 rooms as 88.9 per cent of the households have 2 room houses (Table 2.16).

Table 2.16: Number of rooms in the house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4 and more	Total
Kaikadi	21 (9.2)	131 (57.2)	41 (17.9)	36 (15.7)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	28 (15.6)	96 (53.6)	28 (15.6)	27 (15.1)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	62 (52.1)	37 (31.1)	13 (10.9)	7 (5.9)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	32 (21.1)	74 (48.7)	30 (19.7)	16 (10.5)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	32 (11.6)	125 (45.3)	56 (20.3)	63 (22.9)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	59 (21.8)	131 (48.3)	57 (21.0)	24 (8.9)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	22 (26.5)	37 (44.6)	16 (19.3)	8 (9.6)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	22 (11.1)	177 (88.9)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	26 (16.7)	82 (52.6)	39 (25.0)	9 (5.8)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	12 (8.3)	50 (34.7)	50 (34.7)	32 (22.2)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	34 (25.0)	63 (46.3)	28 (20.6)	11 (8.1)	136 (100.0)
Total	350 (18.0)	1003 (51.6)	358 (18.4)	223 (11.5)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The living conditions of these tribes, in terms of access to water, were also probed. The source of drinking water is piped water for majority of households (72.8 per cent) and about 18.1 per cent depend on tube/bore wells. More than 10 per cent of Banjara, Rajput Bhamta and Gosavi households depend upon open well (Table 2.17).

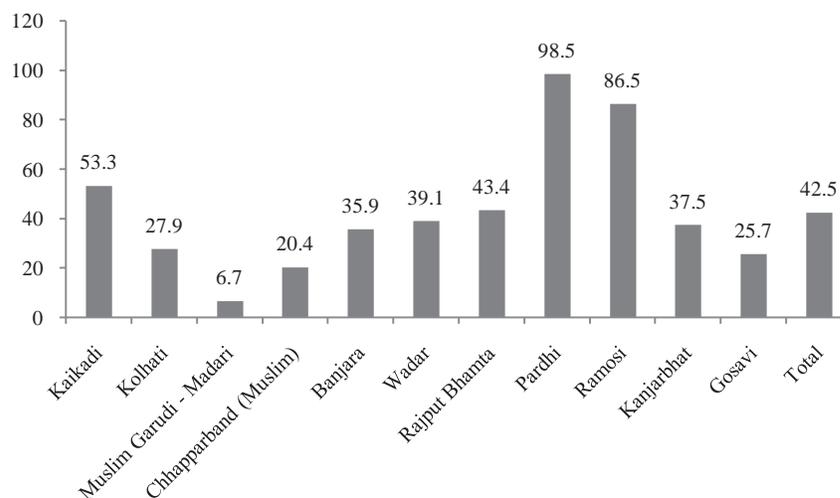
Table 2.17: Main source of drinking water

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tube/bore well	Protected well	Open well	Piped water	Hand pump	Others	Total
Kaikadi	26 (11.4)	-	3 (1.3)	203 (88.6)	-	30 (13.1)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	9 (5.0)	1 (0.6)	4 (2.2)	151 (84.4)	11 (6.1)	33 (18.4)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	2 (1.7)	-	-	114 (95.8)	1 (0.8)	11 (9.2)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	18 (11.8)	-	8 (5.3)	125 (82.2)	-	32 (21.1)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	56 (20.3)	19 (6.9)	48 (17.4)	144 (52.2)	24 (8.7)	15 (4.3)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	12 (4.4)	4 (1.5)	23 (8.5)	231 (85.2)	-	36 (13.2)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	3 (3.6)	-	12 (14.5)	67 (80.7)	-	17 (20.5)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	191 (96.0)	-	4 (2.0)	8 (4.0)	-	4 (2.0)	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	7 (4.5)	-	-	149 (95.5)	-	15 (8.9)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	4 (2.8)	3 (2.1)	4 (2.8)	139 (96.5)	-	38 (26.4)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	24 (17.6)	2 (1.5)	13 (9.6)	85 (62.5)	10 (7.4)	39 (26.4)	136 (100.0)
Total	352 (18.1)	29 (1.5)	119 (6.1)	1416 (72.8)	46 (2.4)	246 (13.5)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Toilet facilities are available to only 42.5 per cent of households and 57.5 per cent defecate in an open space. Muslim Garudi-Madari and Chhapparband (Muslim) tribes have a larger proportion of households without a toilet facility. Pardhi (98.5 per cent) and Ramosi (86.5 per cent) tribes have the largest number of households with toilet facilities (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9: Status of toilet facilities/access



Source: Field Survey

About 62.2 per cent of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. This proportion is more than 90 per cent in the case of Kaikadi, Banjara, Pardhi and Ramosi whereas the same is very low among Chhapparband (9.2 per cent) and Gosavi (7.4 per cent). About 47.0 per cent of households do not have electricity in their homes. This proportion is very high among Chhapparband (90.8 per cent) and Gosavi (92.6 per cent) and relatively low among Kaikadi(2.6 per cent) and Banjara tribes (8 per cent) (Table 2.18).

Table 2.18: Status of electricity

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of electricity in the Neighbourhood**	Access to Electricity in Households**
Kaikadi (229)	219 (95.6)	223 (97.4)
Kolhati (179)	113 (63.1)	114 (63.7)
Muslim Garudi–Madari (119)	50 (42.0)	49 (41.2)
Chhapparband (Muslim) (152)	14 (9.2)	14 (9.2)
Banjara (276)	260 (94.2)	254 (92.0)
Wadar (271)	130 (48.0)	124 (45.8)
Rajput Bhamta (83)	33 (39.8)	34 (41.0)
Pardhi (199)	183 (92.0)	9 (45)
Ramosi (156)	155 (99.4)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat (144)	43 (29.9)	44 (30.6)
Gosavi (136)	10 (7.4)	10 (7.4)
Total (1944)	1210 (62.2)	1031 (53.0)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

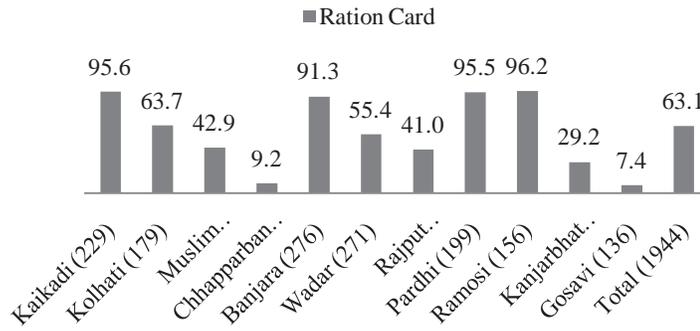
Source: Field Survey

8. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

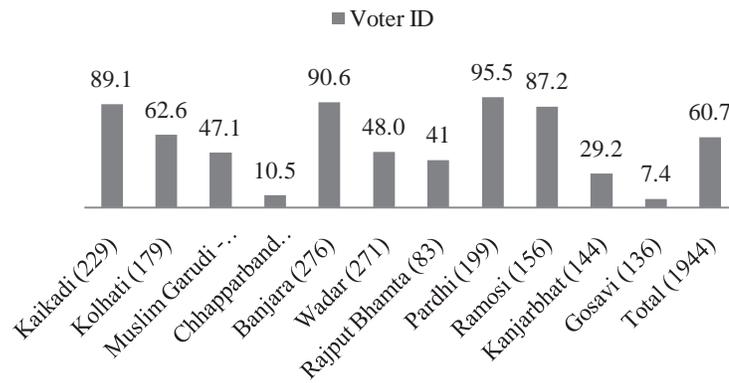
More than 90 per cent of Kaikadi, Banjara, Pardhi and Ramosi households possess ration cards whereas the same is 63.7 per cent and 55.4 per cent for Kolhati and Wadar tribe respectively. The possession of ration card is found very low among the Gosavi and Chhapparband tribe. Possession of identity cards is necessary to avail the benefits of government schemes and programmes. Gosavi, Chhapparband and Pardhi households are far behind than that of other tribes in possession of all type of identity cards. Across all the cards among the households surveyed, the situation is relatively better (around 75 per cent for the head and 66.7 per cent for the spouse) in case of Voter identity card, (more than 80 per cent in case of both) Aadhar and Caste certificate but not in case other IDs such as, NREGA card and Health insurance card. On an average, Kaikadi tribe is performing well so far as possession of all the types of cards (Figure 2.10).

About 84.7 per cent have access to public health centres (PHC) and 85.8 per cent households have access to Anganwadis (Table 2.19). The fact that majority of these households have access to these institutions which address the issues related to primary healthcare and nutrition may be taken as a positive factor.

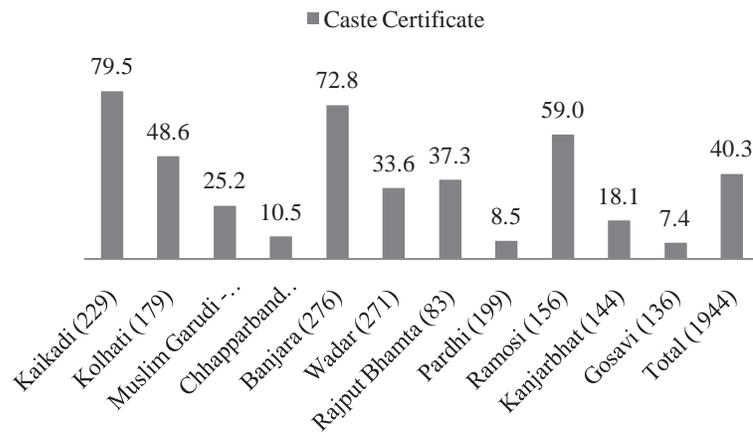
Figure 2.10: Access to entitlements



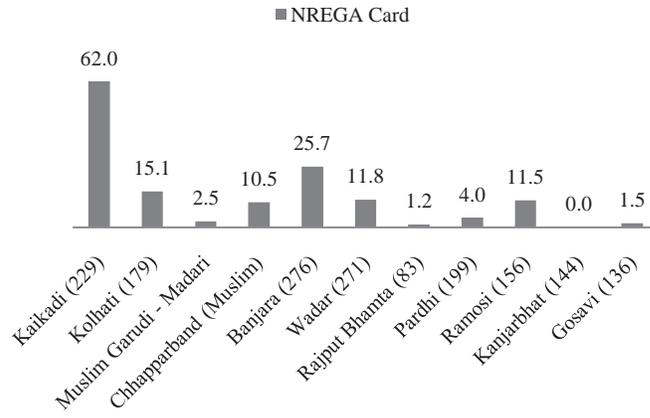
Source: Field Survey



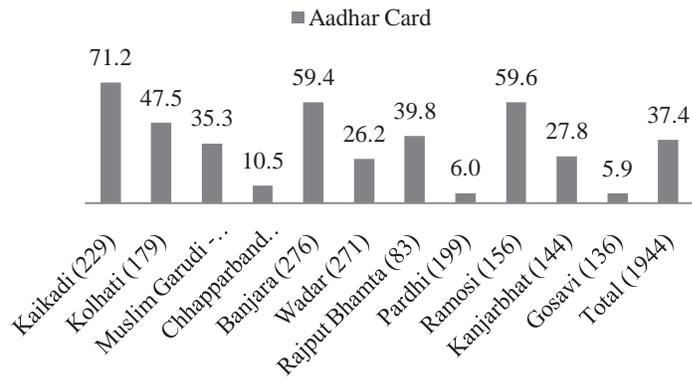
Source: Field Survey



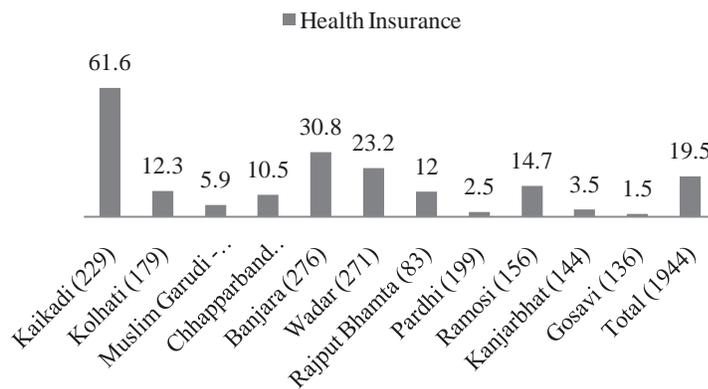
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

Table 2.19: Access to ICDS & PHC by households

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Anganwadi**	Primary Health Centre**
Kaikadi (229)	198 (86.5)	197 (86.0)
Kolhati (179)	153 (85.5)	155 (86.6)
Muslim Garudi – Madari (119)	86 (72.3)	92 (77.3)
Chhapparband (Muslim) (152)	112 (73.7)	106 (69.7)
Banjara (276)	240 (87.0)	213 (77.2)
Wadar (271)	210 (77.5)	239 (88.2)
Rajput Bhamta (83)	72 (86.7)	67 (80.7)
Pardhi (199)	199 (100.0)	183 (92.0)
Ramosi (156)	150 (96.2)	152 (97.4)
Kanjarbhat (144)	129 (89.6)	134 (93.1)
Gosavi (136)	119 (87.5)	108 (79.4)
Total (1944)	1668 (85.8)	1646 (84.7)

Note:* Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

9. Assets

The study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. About 83.1 per cent of the total households have mobile phones and 77.4 per cent possess fans. While about 62.9 per cent households have table-chair, less than 10 per cent of respondents reported having computers or laptops. About 58.9 per cent of households have kitchen appliances and less than 30.0 per cent have radios, cycles, refrigerators, computer or other appliances. In case of four wheelers, only 1.6 per cent of households (32) reported possession that too among Kaikadi (2), Chapparband Muslim (11), Banjara (9) and Gosavi (10). Across the tribes, it is the Kanjarbhat, who are relatively in a better position than the other tribes (Table 2.20).

Table 2.20: Possession of assets in the household

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Table/ chair	Electric fan / cooler	Kitchen appliances like cooker	Radio	Cycle	Refrige- rator	Television	Computer/ laptop	Telephone/ mobile	Scooter/ motorcycle	Four wheeler
Kaikadi (229)	180 (78.6)	172 (75.1)	123 (53.7)	68 (29.7)	40 (17.5)	59 (25.8)	161 (70.3)	43 (18.8)	156 (68.1)	74 (32.3)	2 (0.9)
Koibati (179)	132 (73.7)	158 (88.3)	125 (69.8)	61 (34.1)	38 (21.2)	41 (22.9)	144 (80.4)	14 (7.8)	150 (83.8)	46 (25.7)	-
Muslim Garudi – Mudhari (119)	70 (58.8)	63 (52.9)	67 (56.3)	15 (12.6)	40 (33.6)	6 (5.0)	58 (48.7)	2 (1.7)	77 (64.7)	17 (14.3)	-
Chhapparbhad (Muslim) (152)	113 (74.3)	119 (78.3)	112 (73.7)	50 (32.9)	60 (39.5)	47 (30.9)	114 (75.0)	12 (7.9)	135 (88.8)	42 (27.6)	11 (7.2)
Banjara (276)	178 (64.5)	189 (68.5)	140 (50.7)	76 (27.5)	45 (16.3)	76 (27.5)	190 (68.8)	38 (13.8)	232 (84.1)	91 (33.0)	9 (3.3)
Wadar (271)	148 (54.6)	180 (66.4)	145 (53.5)	44 (16.2)	43 (15.9)	60 (22.1)	171 (63.1)	24 (8.9)	221 (81.5)	70 (25.8)	-
Rajput Bhamta (83)	39 (47.0)	73 (88.0)	69 (83.1)	11 (13.3)	24 (28.9)	33 (39.8)	73 (88.0)	2 (2.4)	66 (79.5)	29 (34.9)	-
Pardhi (199)	8 (4.0)	177 (88.9)	6 (3.0)	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	12 (6.0)	2 (1.0)	195 (98.0)	8 (4.0)	-
Ramsosi (156)	133 (85.3)	138 (88.5)	142 (91.0)	26 (16.7)	6 (3.8)	33 (21.2)	130 (83.3)	9 (5.8)	140 (89.7)	63 (40.4)	-
Kanjarbhat (144)	127 (88.2)	137 (95.1)	131 (91.0)	72 (50.0)	67 (46.5)	85 (59.0)	132 (91.7)	11 (7.6)	130 (90.3)	81 (56.3)	-
Gosavi (136)	95 (69.9)	98 (72.1)	85 (62.5)	28 (20.6)	36 (26.5)	35 (25.7)	97 (71.3)	6 (4.4)	113 (83.1)	27 (19.9)	10 (7.4)
Total (1944)	1223 (62.9)	1504 (77.4)	1145 (58.9)	453 (23.3)	401 (20.6)	477 (24.5)	1282 (65.9)	163 (8.4)	1615 (83.1)	548 (28.2)	32 (1.6)

Source: Field Survey

10. Discrimination

The study also highlights many instances of discrimination faced by children in school. About 4.3 per cent of respondents reported that they have been addressed by their tribe name. About 2.5 per cent of households reported that non-tribal individuals refer to their children as uncultured adivasis. Other types of discrimination including being made to sit in the back, not given any attention by the teacher, being accused of coming just for the scholarship and being forced to drink water separately from other children in the school have been reported by less than 2.0 per cent each by the households (Table 2.21). In addition, some of the respondents reported about the attitude of fellow students being offensive or hurtful to students from these tribal households. In some cases, this has discouraged them from participating in different activities in the school ranging from sports and arts activities to serve the teachers.

In the household survey, in order to examine the levels of stigmatisation and discrimination faced by these communities, visits to police station, reasons thereof, arrests (adult/minor), duration (of detention), registration of criminal cases (the identity of the accused), payment of bribes, use of legal means (approach a lawyer), instances of help, harassment by police and discrimination were probed.

With regard to visit to police, 218 respondents (from out of 1944 households surveyed) reported having gone to police station. Of these, 177 were reported from among the Pardhi community. In terms of reasons for visit to police station, 178 of them indicated that allegations of theft were the main reason. Interestingly, 177 of these allegations were reported by Pardhi community reflecting the stigma they face in everyday life. This is followed by passport enquiry (15), quarrels/petty/family disputes (11), general enquiry (5), arrest of family members and related visits (4), detained for engaging in “illegal” activities (2), arrest/ illegal detention (1), for bail (2).

Table 2.21: Incidence of discrimination against children in school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Being called by the community name	Made to sit on the back bench	Not given any attention by the teacher	Addressed as not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship	Addressed as Adivasi alluding to being uncultured	Sitting arrangements in classroom are humiliating	Mid-day meal	Teachers' attitude is offensive / insulting
Karkadi	10 (4.4)	5 (2.2)	2 (0.9)	2 (0.9)	3 (1.3)	4 (1.7)	-	3 (1.3)
Kolhati	5 (2.8)	-	-	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-
Muslim Garudi • mahari	9 (7.6)	1 (0.8)	2 (1.7)	3 (2.5)	3 (2.5)	1 (0.8)	-	2 (1.7)
Chhaparband (Muslim)	10 (6.6)	2 (1.3)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
Banjara	4 (1.4)	-	4 (1.4)	-	14 (5.1)	-	-	-
Wadar	22 (8.1)	6 (2.2)	10 (3.7)	7 (2.6)	13 (4.8)	4 (1.5)	2 (0.7)	2 (0.7)
Rajput Bhanua	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pardhi	6 (3.0)	4 (2.0)	6 (3.0)	6 (3.0)	6 (3.0)	8 (4.0)	8 (4.0)	8 (4.0)
Ramosi	3 (1.9)	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)
Kanjarbhat	8 (5.6)	3 (2.1)	1 (0.7)	4 (2.8)	4 (2.8)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
Gosavi	7 (5.1)	2 (1.5)	3 (2.2)	4 (2.9)	4 (2.9)	2 (1.5)	2 (1.5)	3 (2.2)
Total	84 (4.3)	24 (1.2)	30 (1.5)	28 (1.4)	48 (2.5)	21 (1.1)	15 (0.8)	21 (1.1)

Source: Field Survey

DNTS/NT Community	Fellow students attitude is offensive / hurtful	Participation in playground and cultural activities	Drink water from the same pot and glass	Taking tea or water to the teacher is prevented	Asked to do manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	Others	Total
Kaikadi	4 (1.7)	2 (0.9)	-	2 (0.9)	-	2 (0.9)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	-	-	-	-	-	-	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garodi - madani	2 (1.7)	1 (0.8)	-	-	-	-	119 (100.0)
Chhapperband (Muslim)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	1 (0.4)	-	-	-	-	-	276 (100.0)
Wadar	4 (1.5)	2 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	-	-	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	-	-	-	6 (7.2)	3 (3.6)	6 (7.2)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	8 (4.0)	8 (4.0)	8 (4.0)	6 (3.0)	8 (4.0)	4 (2.0)	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	-	-	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	4 (2.8)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	3 (2.2)	3 (2.5)	2 (1.5)	2 (1.5)	3 (2.2)	2 (1.5)	136 (100.0)
Total	29 (1.5)	19 (1.0)	14 (0.7)	20 (1.0)	16 (0.8)	16 (0.8)	1944 (100.0)

In addition, 197 respondents (from out of 1944 households surveyed) also indicated other household members having gone to police station. In this instance too, the incidence was high among the Pardhi community (179 out of 197). Majority (177) indicated allegations of theft and cases followed by general enquiry (9), quarrels/petty disputes (5), detained for illegal activities (4), informer (2). In terms of registered criminal cases, the reported instances were only 15 of which 8 were reported by Pardhi community followed by Kaikadi (5), and one each by Kolhati and Kanjarbhat. Majority of the cases were reported by self (7) i.e. the respondent followed by son (6) and father (2). There were also 11 records of arrest (as reported by the respondent of the household) – Kaikadi (5), Kolhati (3), Pardhi (2) and Kanjarbhat (1). The reasons for arrest varied from theft allegations (7), general enquiry (3) and quarrels/petty disputes (1). The duration of arrest was one month (6) and two months (5). Arrests of other members of the household were also reported from six households. The duration of arrest varied from one month (1) to two months (5). Detention of other members of household by police was also mentioned by respondents from nine Kaikadi households. Harrassment by police meted out to members of family was reported by 17 households (9 Kaikadi, 5 Kanjarbhat, 2 Pardhi and 1 Rajput Bhamta) and the reasons ranged from quarrels and petty disputes (9), theft allegations/cases (6) and for illegal activities (2). Twenty four households approached police for help related to cases, of which only 7 reported that they received help from police personnel. Six households also report that there was demand for bribe from police. Seventeen households report having approached lawyer to deal with legal cases while similar number of households report having gone to family court. Most of the households report that children's education was affected due to the family court disputes and settlements. Thirteen households report that they were discriminated due to criminal/theft charges by others. The immediate effect of such discrimination has been financial burden (10), followed by negative impact on children's education (1) and increased discrimination. Households consider the following as the way out of discrimination: subsidized quality education (61), employment (19), awareness (9), decent housing and land (10), social and economic rights and change in mind sets (5 each). Thus, the anecdotes of the interview and the findings of the household survey throw light on the different facets of discrimination the members of the different tribes face due to stigmatization.

Field level observations i.e. interactions with community leaders, caste panchayats and so on too indicated experiences of discrimination and stigmatization. Some of these observations are summarised below. Among Chhapparbands, the spread of education is very low in this community. Students face discrimination in school. Children are asked to sit separately during the mid-day meal, and are ridiculed as ‘children of fakirs.’ The most important obstacle in getting admission to school is that of caste certificate, as most families do not possess one. There is deep-rooted stigma against Pardhi community. Pardhis are not yet effectively organized and do not fare well in electoral politics. They have a state level organization, Adivasi Pardhi Mahasangh (established in 2001) which mostly works in urban areas to facilitate access to education, employment and political representation, eradicating superstition and asserting identity. Community leaders observe that members of the community lack proper housing, any kind of social security, or a stable livelihood option. Their children are always subjected to suspicion and ridicule in schools and hesitate to interact with those from other communities. It is difficult to access reservation schemes. Moreover, they are subject to the police harassment and stigma. Most of them do not own land and are pauperized as labourers. Some of them are engaged in the making and selling *moh* liquor. They suffer humiliating treatment from other caste people who are unwilling to employ Pardhis. Educational attainment is extremely difficult for the Gosavis due to the continuation of traditional begging and nomadic life. According to one of the experts, the temple lands on which Gosavis subsisted have been appropriated by the dominant castes and they have driven them out. Thus, there is an urgent need to implement reservation policies following internal categorization within the broad category of VJNT. In case of Wadars the young generation is pursuing higher education though they suffer humiliation at the hands of upper caste people. Similarly, the young generation among Kaikadi is pursuing school education in Ashramshalas, and even higher and professional education; yet they face discrimination in schools. They are often called by their caste names and made diffident and lack in confidence, which impacts their performance in educational attainment. As indicated earlier, Bhamta is an abusive word hence children from this community find it difficult to attend school due to fear of stigma and this has kept the community in accessing educational and employment opportunities.

11. Seasonal Migration

About 15.4 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 84.6 per cent reported their current location as the place of their origin. Muslim Garudi Madari (42.9 per cent), Rajput Bhamta (41.6 per cent), Chhapparband (Muslim) (31.6 per cent) and Kaikadi (26.2 per cent) have a higher proportion of households who report that they are migrants (Table 2.22).

Table 2.22: Current location reported as place of origin

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Original place	Migrant	Total
Kaikadi	154 (67.2)	75 (32.8)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	168 (93.9)	11 (6.1)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	68 (57.1)	51 (42.9)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	104 (68.4)	48 (31.6)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	274 (99.3)	02 (0.7)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	239 (88.2)	32 (11.8)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	56 (67.5)	27 (41.6)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	195 (98.0)	4 (2.0)	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	149 (95.5)	7 (4.5)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	130 (90.3)	14 (9.7)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	107 (78.7)	29 (21.3)	136 (100.0)
Total	1644 (84.6)	300 (15.4)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 78.3 per cent of the total migrated households reported that livelihood is the main reason for moving from native place while 9.3 per cent of households reported that they migrate for their children's education. Less than 10.0 per cent each reported construction of dams, floods, earthquakes and demolition as the reasons for migration (Table 2.23).

Table 2.23: Reasons for migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Government Building Panam Dam	Flood in the Village	Livelihood	Earth quakes	Children's Education	Due to Demolition	Demolish Houses and given Govt. Houses	People don't allow them to stay	Total
Kaikadi	5 (6.7)	2 (2.7)	40 (53.3)	-	28 (37.3)	-	-	-	75 (100.0)
Kolhati	-	2 (18.2)	9 (81.8)	-	-	-	-	-	11 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	1 (2.0)	-	44 (86.3)	-	-	-	6 (11.7)	-	51 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	-	-	41(85.4)	-	-	7(14.6)	-	-	48 (100.0)
Banjara	-	-	2(100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (100.0)
Wadar	-	-	32(100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	32 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	3(11.1)	-	20 (74.1)	4 (14.8)	-	-	-	-	27 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (100.0)	4 (100.0)
Ramosi	1 (14.3)	-	5 (71.4)	-	-	-	1 (14.3)	-	7 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	-	-	14 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	14 (100.0)
Gosavi	-	1 (3.5)	28 (96.5)	-	-	-	-	-	29 (100.0)
Total	10 (3.3)	5 (1.7)	235 (78.3)	4(1.3)	28(9.3)	7(2.3)	7(2.3)	4(1.3)	300 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The migration of families from their original place to another region is generally assumed to have its impact at multiple levels. However, the reports from the respondents suggest that it has very little impact on these communities. When 78.9 per cent of the households suggest that it does not affect them in any level, we find nearly 11.7 per cent reporting that migration has adversely affected their children's education.

The frequent migration of Kaikadi (2 to 12 times) and Kolhati (1 to 9 times) is for selling their produce, which they believe has poor local demand (Table 2.24).

Table 2.24: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	No. of times migrating in a year						Total
	1	2	5	9	10	12	
Kaikadi	57 (76.0)	3 (4.0)	2 (2.7)	7 (9.3)	-	6 (8.0)	75 (100.0)
Kolhati	1 (9.1)	-	-	10 (90.9)	-	-	11 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	49 (96.1)	-	-	1 (2.0)	-	1 (1.9)	51 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	45 (8.3)	3 (6.3)	-	-	-	-	48 (100.0)
Banjara	2 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (100.0)
Wadar	24 (75.0)	-	-	-	6 (18.8)	2 (6.2)	32 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	25 (92.6)	2 (7.4)	-	-	-	-	27 (100.0)
Pardhi	3 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	-	-	-	-	4 (100.0)
Ramosi	7 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	7 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	3 (21.4)	-	-	11 (78.6)	-	-	14 (100.0)
Gosavi	25 (68.9)	3 (10.3)	-	-	1 (3.4)	-	29 (100.0)
Total	241 (80.3)	12 (4.0)	2 (6.7)	29 (9.7)	7 (2.3)	9 (3.0)	300 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The figures show that nearly 95.0 per cent of the households migrate for more than six months in search of their livelihoods. This is evident among all the communities studied in Maharashtra. Two per cent reported that the duration of migration is less than one month (Table 2.25).

Table 2.25: Duration of stay at migrated place

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration					Total
	Below 1 month	1 month	2 months	3 months	Above 6 months	
Kaikadi	-	-	-	2 (2.7)	73 (97.3)	75 (100.0)
Kolhati	-	-	-	-	11 (100.0)	11 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	3 (5.9)	-	2 (3.9)	3 (5.9)	43 (84.3)	51 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	-	-	-	-	48 (100.0)	48 (100.0)
Banjara	-	-	-	-	2 (100.0)	2 (100.0)
Wadar	-	-	-	1 (3.1)	31 (96.9)	32 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	-	-	-	-	27 (100.0)	27 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	-	-	-	4 (100.0)	4 (100.0)
Ramosi	-	1 (14.3)	-	-	6 (85.7)	7 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	3 (21.4)	-	-	-	11 (88.6)	14 (100.0)
Gosavi	-	-	-	-	29 (100.0)	29 (100.0)
Total	6 (2.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.7)	6 (2.0)	285 (95.0)	300 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

12. Neighbourhood

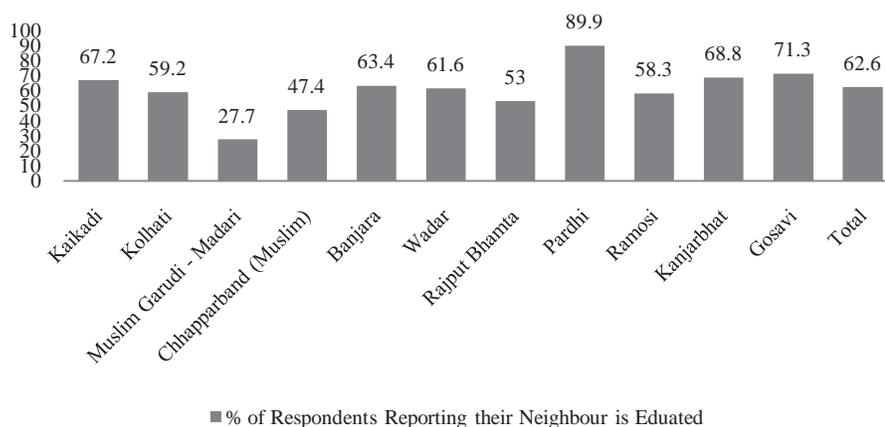
About 68.8 per cent of respondents live among their own tribe and 4.8 per cent have their houses in isolated places. 26.4 per cent of the total households stay with other communities. Among all the tribes large number of Pardhi stay with other communities whereas the proportion for the same is relatively smaller for the remaining 10 tribes studied in Maharashtra (Table 2.26).

Table 2.26: Social location of neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own Caste / Tribe People	Other Caste	Segregated House	DNT Settlement	Total
Kaikadi	176 (76.9)	41 (17.9)	-	12 (5.2)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	111 (62.0)	48 (26.8)	-	20 (11.2)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	92 (77.3)	16 (13.4)	-	11 (9.2)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	104 (68.4)	41 (27.0)	-	7 (4.6)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	234 (84.8)	28 (10.1)	-	14 (5.1)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	218 (80.4)	44 (16.2)	-	9 (3.3)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	71 (85.5)	12 (14.5)	-	-	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	20 (10.1)	179 (89.9)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	139 (89.1)	16 (10.3)	-	1 (0.6)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	102 (70.8)	29 (20.1)	-	13 (9.0)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	70 (51.5)	59 (43.4)	2 (1.5)	5 (3.7)	136 (100.0)
Total	1337 (68.8)	513 (26.4)	2 (0.1)	92 (4.7)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 62.6 per cent of respondents report that they have educated neighbours. This proportion is high among Pardhi, Gosavi, Kanjarbhat, Kaikadi, Banjara and Wadar and comparatively low among Muslim Garudi and Chhapparband (Muslim) (Figure 2.11). The interaction with neighbours with regard to children's education is discussed in Section III.

Figure 2.11: Incidence of education among neighbours

Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES - STATUS

This section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Maharashtra. This section details the findings on the educational status of the denotified tribes from the primary data of the study and also provides an overview of the initiatives of the government to facilitate access to education among denotified tribes.

13. Status of Education

The educational status of household members, reasons for non-enrolment, dropout, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education were explored in the household survey.

Among the total population covered under the survey, child population (below 6 years) account for nearly 9 per cent and the remaining population can be classified as a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education. In terms of status of education, about 27.0 per cent of the respondents reported that they are currently engaged in education. This proportion is around one-third of the total respondents among Kaikadi, Banjara, Pardhi and Kanjar Bhat and lowest among Ramosi tribes. Around 6 per cent of the respondents report that they have never enrolled in school. This rate is high among Muslim Garudi-Madari (18 per cent) and Ramosi (13 per cent). However, a sizeable proportion 57 per cent report they have either dropped out or has completed education (Table 2.27).

Table 2.27: Education status of members of respondent households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Child <6	Currently Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropouts	Completed	Total
Kaikadi	68 (7.0)	315 (32.2)	37 (3.8)	144 (14.7)	414 (42.3)	978 (100.0)
Kolhati	46 (8.4)	124 (22.7)	7 (1.3)	123 (22.5)	247 (45.2)	547 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	188 (12.8)	338 (23.0)	270 (18.3)	316 (21.5)	360 (24.5)	1472 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	87 (9.2)	247 (26.1)	18 (1.9)	390 (41.2)	204 (21.6)	946 (100.0)
Banjara	64 (5.8)	356 (32.0)	100 (9.0)	56 (5.0)	536 (48.2)	1112 (100.0)
Wadar	96 (8.2)	342 (29.2)	4 (0.3)	152 (13.0)	579 (49.4)	1173 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	40 (9.3)	99 (23.1)	17 (4.0)	105 (24.5)	167 (39.0)	428 (100.0)
Pardhi	78 (8.4)	313 (33.6)	10 (1.1)	8 (0.9)	522 (56.1)	931 (100.0)
Ramosi	81 (13.2)	107 (17.5)	34 (5.5)	72 (11.7)	319 (52.0)	613 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	36 (6.7)	165 (30.7)	2 (0.4)	91 (16.9)	243 (45.3)	537 (100.0)
Gosavi	54 (8.3)	168 (25.8)	14 (2.2)	192 (29.5)	223 (34.3)	651 (100.0)
Total	838 (8.9)	2574 (27.4)	513 (5.5)	1649 (17.6)	3814 (40.6)	9388 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Apart from those who reported the reason for dropping out of their education, there are many who do not identify any particular reason for stopping their education. Instead, they reported that they have completed their education at different levels. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. Out of 3814 who have reported that they have completed education (Table 2.27), majority of these respondents indicated that they have completed upto primary level (48 per cent) followed by more than one-fourth at secondary level, 16 per cent at higher secondary level. Around 9 per cent also indicated completion at graduation and post graduation level while professional and research degrees accounted for the rest. In case of Muslim Garudi-madari and Chapperband (Muslim), around 63 per cent indicated completed education as primary level while it was half or more than half of the respondents among Gosavi (57 per cent) and Wadar (53 per cent) and among Kaikadi and Kolhati. One fourth of the respondents from kaikadi, Banjara and Rajput Bhamta also indicated that they had completed higher secondary level of education. Professional and research degree were not reported by Ramosi, Kolhati, Muslim Garudi-madari and Chapperband Muslims.

Table 2.28: Level at which currently studying are enrolled

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8 Standard)	Secondary Level (9 and 10 Standard)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12 Std)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Professional Degrees	Research (M.Phil/Ph.D)	Total
Kaikodi	37 (11.7)	135 (42.9)	100 (31.7)	33 (10.5)	9 (2.9)	1 (0.3)	-	315 (100.0)
Kolhati	6 (4.8)	63 (50.8)	33 (26.6)	13 (10.5)	8 (6.5)	1 (0.8)	-	124 (100.0)
Muslim Garadi - madari	70 (20.7)	224 (66.3)	34 (10.1)	6 (1.8)	4 (1.2)	-	-	338 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	16 (6.5)	159 (64.4)	44 (17.8)	21 (8.5)	6 (2.4)	-	1 (0.4)	247 (100.0)
Banjara	12 (3.4)	126 (35.4)	151 (42.4)	49 (13.8)	16 (4.5)	2 (0.6)	-	356 (100.0)
Wakar	11 (3.2)	165 (48.2)	106 (31.0)	37 (10.8)	15 (4.4)	8 (2.3)	-	342 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	4 (4.0)	59 (59.6)	19 (19.2)	12 (12.1)	3 (3.0)	-	2 (2.0)	99 (100.0)
Parthi	59 (18.8)	163 (52.1)	62 (19.8)	29 (9.3)	-	-	-	313 (100.0)
Ramesi	31 (29.0)	49 (45.8)	5 (4.7)	10 (9.3)	9 (8.4)	-	3 (2.8)	107 (100.0)
Kanjirbhat	-	74 (44.8)	42 (25.5)	27 (16.4)	20 (12.1)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	165 (100.0)
Gosavi	22 (13.1)	95 (56.5)	21 (12.5)	19 (11.3)	8 (4.8)	1 (0.6)	2 (1.2)	168 (100.0)
Total	268 (10.4)	1312 (51.0)	617 (24.0)	256 (9.9)	98 (3.8)	14 (0.5)	9 (0.3)	2574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

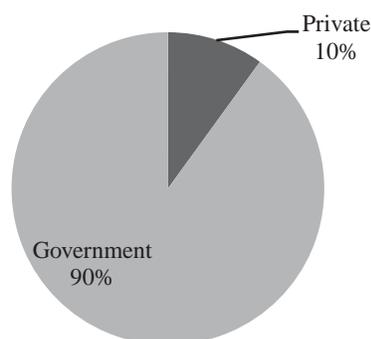
The distribution of students across the level at which they are studying shows that more than half (51 per cent) of respondents report that they are studying at secondary level, followed by 24 per cent enrolled in higher secondary course, about 15 per cent pursuing graduation and higher studies and ten percent enrolled at primary level. Compared to this state level pattern, Muslim Garudi – madari, Chhapparband (Muslim), Rajput Bhamta, Gosavi, Kolhati and Pardhi have higher share of students currently enrolled in secondary level courses. On the other hand, larger share of students Banjara, Kolhati, Wadar and Kanjarbhat communities are enrolled in higher level courses (Table 2.28).

In terms of medium of instruction, over 94 per cent of children who are studying attend Marathi medium schools across communities. Only 5.2 per cent of children are studying in English medium schools. The latter is more common among the Gosavi, Kanjarbhat and Chapparband-Muslim (Table 2.29). Data on management of schools indicate that about 90 per cent of children are enrolled in government schools and only about 10 per cent attend private schools (Figure 2.12).

Table 2.29: Medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Marathi	English	Others	Total
Kaikadi	305 (96.8)	1 (0.3)	9 (2.9)	315 (100.0)
Kolhati	123 (99.2)	-	1 (0.8)	124 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi – madari	327 (96.7)	6 (1.8)	5 (1.5)	338 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	213 (86.2)	34 (13.8)	-	247 (100.0)
Banjara	353 (99.2)	2 (0.6)	1 (0.3)	356 (100.0)
Wadar	340 (99.4)	2 (0.6)	-	342 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	87 (87.9)	9 (9.1)	3 (3.0)	99 (100.0)
Pardhi	296 (94.6)	17 (5.4)	-	313 (100.0)
Ramosi	99 (92.5)	8 (7.5)	-	107 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	139 (84.2)	26 (15.8)	-	165 (100.0)
Gosavi	139 (82.7)	28 (16.7)	1 (0.6)	168 (100.0)
Total	2421 (94.1)	133 (5.2)	20 (0.7)	2574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 2.12: Type of educational institutions

Source: Field Survey

Table 2.30: Distance to educational institution of study

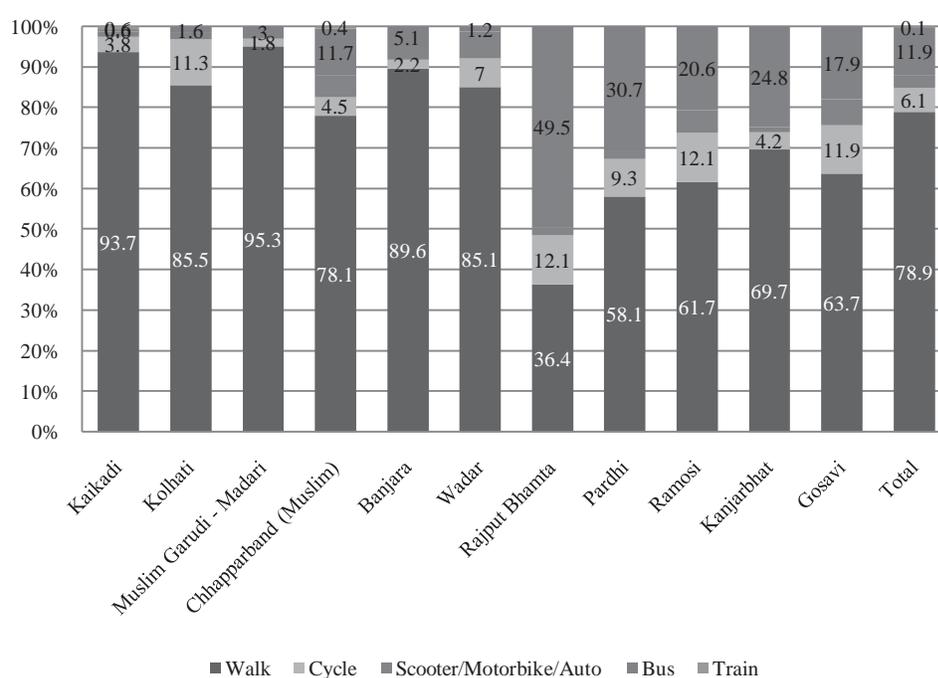
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Up to 1 Km.	1- 3 Kms.	3 - 5 Kms.	5 - 10 Km.	> 10 Kms.	Total
Kaikadi	254 (80.6)	52 (16.5)	5 (1.6)	1 (0.3)	3 (1.0)	315 (100.0)
Kolhati	91 (73.4)	20 (16.1)	3 (2.4)	8 (6.5)	2 (1.6)	124 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi-madari	220 (65.1)	108 (32.0)	10 (3.0)	-	-	338 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	133 (53.8)	87 (35.2)	10 (4.0)	17 (6.9)	-	247 (100.0)
Banjara	283 (79.5)	15 (4.2)	30 (8.4)	5 (1.4)	23 (6.5)	356 (100.0)
Wadar	241 (70.5)	67 (19.6)	19 (5.6)	14 (4.1)	1 (0.3)	342 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	26 (26.3)	26 (26.3)	7 (7.1)	6 (6.1)	34 (34.3)	99 (100.0)
Pardhi	115 (36.7)	61 (19.5)	41 (13.1)	22 (7.0)	74 (23.6)	313 (100.0)
Ramosi	41 (38.3)	44 (41.1)	-	4 (3.7)	18 (16.8)	107 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	80 (48.5)	67 (40.6)	15 (9.1)	3 (1.8)	-	165 (100.0)
Gosavi	78 (46.4)	48 (28.6)	8 (4.8)	31 (18.5)	3 (1.8)	168 (100.0)
Total	1562 (60.7)	595 (23.1)	148 (5.7)	111 (4.3)	158 (6.1)	2574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The data shows that the access to school in terms of the proximity to the current/nearest school/college as reported by the respondents varies significantly. In some sense, the sharp difference reflects the diverse geography and nature of localities where these communities are settled. In terms of distance travelled, about 61 per cent of those currently pursuing studies from across all communities travel less than a kilometer to reach their educational institution, around one-fourth travel (23 per cent) upto 3 kilometres and 5.7 per cent travel between 3 and 5 kilometers; and around ten per cent of them travel in the range of 5 to 10 kilometers to reach school (Table 2.30). Among the tribes, in case of Rajput Bhamta, one can observe that a little more than one-third of them were travelling more than 10 kilometres to reach school while it was true in case of one-fourth of Pardhis and 17 per cent among Ramosis. Those who reported currently

studying also use different modes of transport to reach the educational institution of study. Majority (78.9 per cent) of them travel by foot while around 12 per cent take the bus, around 9 per cent use cycles and motorbikes (Figure 2.13). There have been variations across the tribes, in case of Rajput Bhamta, Pardhi, Kanjarbhat, Ramosi and Gosavi wherein the use of bus and other modes of transport are high. This could be partly attributed to the fact that a relatively large proportion of them also travel longer distances to attend school/college.

Figure 2.13: Mode of transport to school



Source: Field Survey

Among dropouts, majority (60 per cent) indicated secondary level as the level of education before dropping out followed by a little less than one-fourth indicating higher secondary, 7 per cent each primary and graduation and less than 3 per cent post graduation and other degrees. Among communities, in case of Ramoshi and Pardhi high incidence of dropping out after primary could be observed (38 per cent) and also in case of Kaikadi (30 per cent). However, in case of Muslim Garudi-Madari and Chhaparband Muslim almost three-fourths dropped out after secondary level of education while in case of Pardhi 63 per cent dropped out after higher secondary. Among Wadar (16 per cent) and Kanjar Bhat (20 per cent) dropped out at graduation (Table 2.31).

Almost half of the dropouts reported that poverty was the main reason they dropped out from school. On the other hand, lack of awareness of the importance of education, marriage, low performance in studies, language difficulties and discrimination faced in school were also reported as reasons for dropping out. Similarly, majority of respondents who were never enrolled in school reported that the absence of a school near their locality was a reason for non-enrolment. Migration of parents, lack of importance attributed to education, the necessity to work to earn a living were also cited as reasons for non-enrolment by the respondents.

Table 2.31: Level of education of among dropouts

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8 Standard)	Secondary Level (9 and 10 Standard)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12 Std)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Professional Degrees	Research (M.Phil/ Ph.D)	Total
Kaikadi	43 (29.9)	53 (36.8)	37 (25.7)	11 (7.6)	-	-	-	144 (100.0)
Kolhati	5 (4.1)	75 (61.0)	33 (26.8)	8 (6.5)	2 (1.6)	-	-	123 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - madari	18 (5.7)	228 (72.2)	62 (19.6)	6 (1.9)	-	-	2 (0.6)	316 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	4 (1.0)	294 (75.4)	73 (18.7)	14 (3.6)	5 (1.3)	-	-	390 (100.0)
Banjara	5 (8.9)	28 (50.0)	17 (30.4)	5 (8.9)	1 (1.8)	-	-	56 (100)
Wadar	5 (3.3)	78 (51.3)	36 (23.7)	25 (16.4)	7 (4.6)	1 (0.7)	-	152 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	-	40 (38.1)	51 (48.6)	9 (8.6)	5 (4.8)	-	-	105 (100.0)
Pardhi	3 (37.5)	-	5 (62.5)	-	-	-	-	8 (100.0)
Ramosi	27 (37.5)	33 (45.8)	6 (8.3)	6 (8.3)	-	-	-	72 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	-	41 (45.1)	30 (33.0)	18 (19.8)	2 (2.2)	-	-	91 (100.0)
Gosavi	1 (.5)	112 (58.3)	45 (23.4)	19 (9.9)	12 (6.3)	2 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	192 (100.0)
Total	111 (6.7)	982 (59.6)	395 (24.0)	121 (7.3)	34 (2.1)	3 (0.2)	3 (0.2)	1649 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

14. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental motivation and other support for education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of participation in decision making about education, community involvement in decision making and priority of the parents regarding the education of the children.

Table 2.32: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

Particulars of Seeking Suggestion	Family members	Community leaders	Teacher	Local political leaders	Neighbours	Not consulted	Total
Admission of the children to school	96 (4.9)	308 (16.4)	225 (11.6)	12 (0.6)	77 (4.0)	1226 (63.1)	1944 (100.0)
Selection of subjects	37 (1.9)	340 (17.4)	225 (11.6)	-	22 (1.1)	1320 (67.9)	1944 (100.0)
Selection of School/College	100 (5.1)	307 (15.8)	160 (8.2)	-	48 (2.5)	1329 (68.4)	1944 (100.0)
Financial matters	41 (2.1)	218 (11.1)	78 (4.0)	-	26 (1.3)	1581 (81.3)	1944 (100.0)
Guidance on children's education	64 (3.3)	259 (13.4)	218 (11.2)	-	24 (1.2)	1377 (70.8)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

With regard to discussing children's admission to school, about 63 per cent of households reported that they had not taken suggestions for children's admission. About 16.4 per cent reported that they had taken suggestions from community leaders, 11.6 per cent from teachers, 4.9 per cent from their own family members and only 4.0 per cent from neighbours (Table 2.32). About 68 per cent of households reported that they have not asked for suggestions for selection of subjects in their children's studies. About 11.6 per cent of households took suggestion from teachers and community leaders (17.4 per cent) on the selection of subjects for their children. In terms of selection of school, those who received help from educated members and leaders accounted up to 15.8 per cent while 8.2 per cent have taken help from teachers. About 11 per cent of households have received help from educated community members and leaders on financial matters. About 4.0 per cent of households have taken financial help from teachers for school fees and other matters while 3.4 per cent have taken help from neighbours and family members. About 13 per cent of households have taken guidance from community leaders on their children's education. This proportion is high among Kaikadi, Chhapparband (Muslim) and Banjara and relatively low among Wadar and Kolhati tribes. Around 11.2 per cent of respondents have taken guidance from teachers while 4.2 per cent of respondents have taken guidance from neighbours and family members (Table 2.33). In general, it could be seen that the participation of community/family has been marginal.

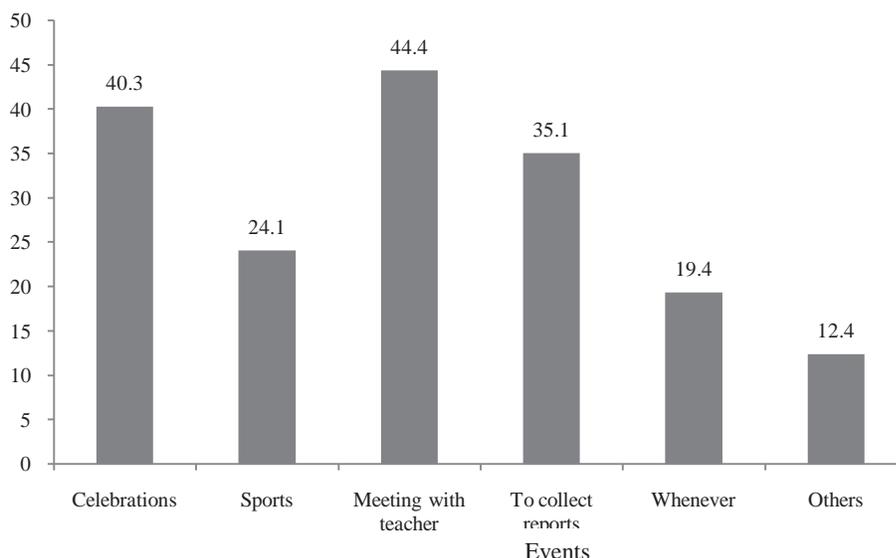
Table 2.33: Frequency of parents' visits to school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	No. of times						Not visited	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6+		
Kaikadi	25 (10.9)	87 (38.0)	-	2 (0.9)	-	-	115 (50.2)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	1 (0.6)	78 (43.6)	-	1 (0.6)	-	1 (0.6)	98 (54.7)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi- Madari	-	1 (0.8)	-	-	-	-	118 (99.2)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.7)	-	151 (99.3)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	20 (7.2)	229 (83.0)	-	-	4 (1.4)	-	23 (8.3)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	19 (7.0)	136 (50.2)	-	-	1 (0.4)	2 (0.7)	113 (41.7)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	-	1 (1.2)	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	-	-	79 (95.2)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	62 (31.2)	-	-	-	2 (1.0)	135 (67.8)	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	3 (1.9)	135 (86.5)	-	-	1 (0.6)	-	17 (10.9)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	1 (0.7)	33 (22.9)	-	1 (0.7)	-	-	109 (75.7)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	-	-	-	-	-	5 (3.7)	131 (96.3)	136 (100.0)
Total	69 (3.5)	762 (39.2)	2 (0.1)	5 (0.3)	7 (0.4)	10 (0.5)	1089 (56.0)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

In terms of interaction of parents with school, especially the teachers, more than half (56 per cent) of the parents of the households surveyed did not visit the school of their children, while 39.2 per cent of respondents visited two times per year (Table 2.33). This proportion is high among Banjara and Ramosi and relatively low among Rajput Bhamta and Muslim Garudi Madari communities. Only 0.5 per cent of households reported visiting the school six or more times a year. This clearly indicates the lack of involvement of parents in the sphere of education of children. About 45 per cent of parents of the households surveyed have visited the school for meetings with teachers, 40.3 per cent for celebrations, 35.1 per cent for collecting reports, 24.1 per cent for sports and 19.4 per cent went to school whenever they were called by the school administration (Figure 2.14).

In terms of children's participation in various activities/programmes around 66 per cent of households reported that their children participate in sports and games, and around 60 per cent of them reported that their children participated in cultural activities in school. Only little more than half (53.8 per cent) of households claimed that their children participate in extra-curricular activities in school (Table 2.34). The main reason for lack of children's participation in school programmes as reported by the parents in the households was lack of interest of the child, involvement in domestic work and lack of awareness about the importance of such activities.

Figure 2.14: Parent's visits to school for different events & programmes

Source: Field Survey

Table 2.34: Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes

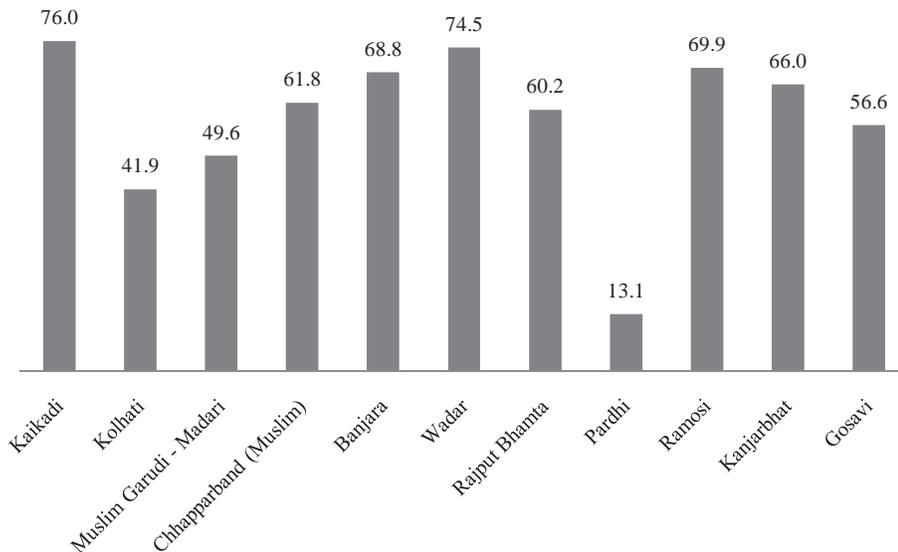
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultural	Sports	Extra curricular	Total
Kaikadi	162 (70.7)	158 (69.0)	160 (69.9)	229 (100.0)
Kolhati	96 (53.6)	93 (52.0)	87 (48.6)	179 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	62 (52.1)	55 (46.2)	48 (40.3)	119 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	101 (66.4)	98 (64.5)	93 (61.2)	152 (100.0)
Banjara	201 (72.8)	201 (72.8)	201 (72.8)	276 (100.0)
Wadar	169 (62.4)	147 (54.2)	150 (55.4)	271 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	48 (57.8)	46 (55.4)	44 (53.0)	83 (100.0)
Pardhi	24 (12.1)	197 (99.0)	22 (11.1)	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	129 (82.7)	118 (75.6)	103 (66.0)	156 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	77 (53.5)	72 (50.0)	66 (45.8)	144 (100.0)
Gosavi	86 (63.2)	86 (63.2)	72 (52.9)	136 (100.0)
Total	1155 (59.4)	1271 (65.4)	1046 (53.8)	1944 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

With regard to help in homework, about a little more than two-thirds of households reported that no one was involved in helping their children with homework. This proportion is overwhelmingly high among Pardhi and relatively low among Kaikadi, Banjara and Ramosi. Father (14.4 per cent) and mother (9.5 per cent) helping with homework was reported along with a negligible proportion using the services of a private tutor. Out of 1,944 households, only 59 per cent reported that their children study regularly at home. Kaikadi, Wadar, Ramosi, Banjara, Kanjarbhat,

Chhapparband (Muslim) and Gosavi children are reported to be studying regularly at home and the proportion was lowest among Pardhi (13 per cent), while it was lower than or almost equal to fifty percent (of households reporting) among Madari (49.6 per cent) and Kolhati (42 per cent) (Figure 2.15).

Figure 2.15: Parents reporting regular study at home by children



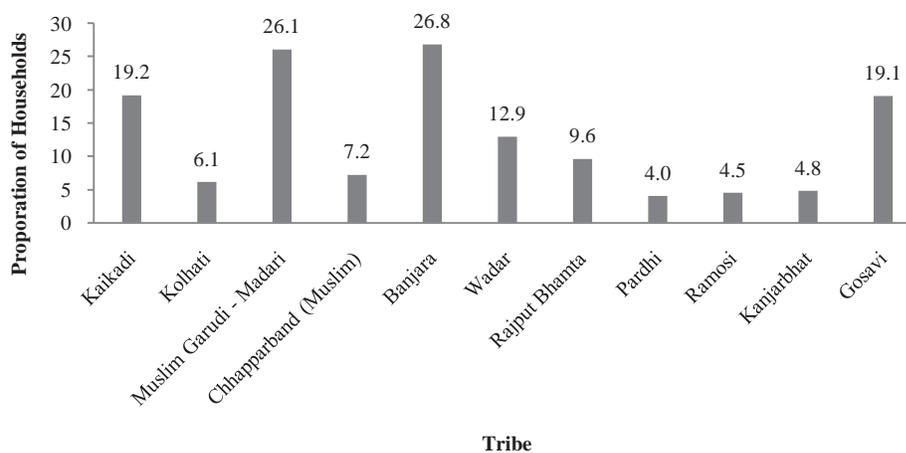
Source: Field Survey

About three fourths of the parents (73 per cent) in the households were happy with their children's progress. An overwhelming majority of about 88 per cent of them report that their children can speak well, read (83.3 per cent) and write (82.7 per cent) (Table 2.35). Information regarding parent's involvement in school management was also elicited. Only 13.4 per cent of households are aware of School Management Committee activities. Knowledge of the SMC was highest among the Banjara and Muslim Garudi-Madari and relatively low among the Pardhi, Ramosi and Kanjarbhat (Figure 2.16).

Table 2.35: Perception about progress and performance of children (N=1944)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Happy with progress	Writing	Reading	Speaking
Kaikadi	174 (76.0)	184 (80.3)	185 (80.8)	195 (85.2)
Kolhati	110 (61.5)	119 (66.5)	118 (65.9)	124 (69.3)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	65 (54.6)	80 (67.2)	80 (67.2)	108 (90.8)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	105 (69.1)	140 (92.1)	141 (92.8)	142 (93.4)
Banjara	224 (81.2)	232 (84.1)	236 (85.5)	240 (87.0)
Wadar	159 (58.7)	216 (79.7)	221 (81.5)	231 (85.2)
Rajput Bhamta	56 (67.5)	68 (81.9)	68 (81.9)	69 (83.1)
Pardhi	197 (99.0)	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)
Ramosi	142 (91.0)	146 (93.6)	148 (94.9)	148 (94.9)
Kanjarbhat	97 (67.4)	117 (81.3)	117 (81.3)	121 (84.0)
Gosavi	90 (66.2)	106 (77.9)	107 (78.7)	129 (94.9)
Total	1419 (73.0)	1607 (82.7)	1620 (83.3)	1706 (87.8)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 2.16: Level of awareness about school management committee among parents

Source: Field Survey

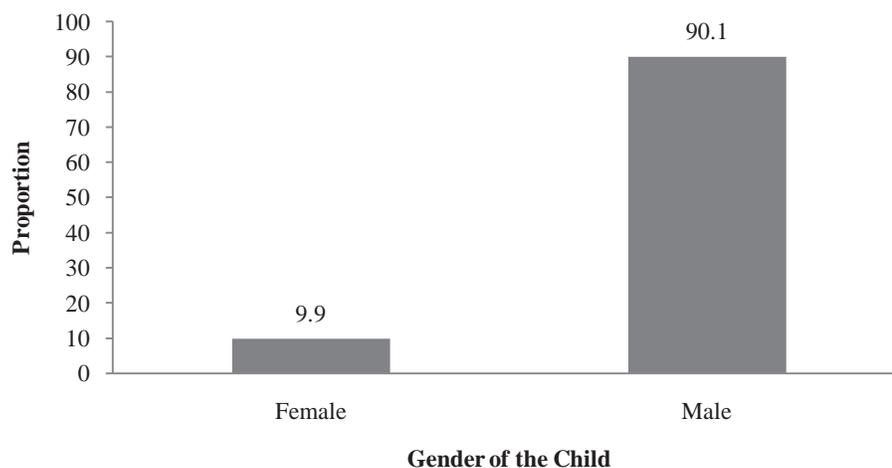
Table 2.36: Membership in the SMC

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Yes	No	Total
Kaikadi	18 (40.9)	26 (59.1)	44 (100.0)
Kolhati	-	11 (100.0)	11 (100.0)
Muslim Garudi - Madari	1 (3.2)	30 (96.8)	31 (100.0)
Chhapparband (Muslim)	1 (9.1)	10 (90.9)	11 (100.0)
Banjara	12 (16.2)	62 (83.8)	74 (100.0)
Wadar	12 (34.3)	13 (65.7)	35 (100.0)
Rajput Bhamta	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)	8 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	8 (100.0)	8 (100.0)
Ramosi	3 (42.8)	4 (57.2)	7 (100.0)
Kanjarbhat	7 (100.0)	-	7 (100.0)
Gosavi	12 (46.2)	14 (53.8)	26 (100.0)
Total	71 (27.2)	190 (72.8)	261 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Of those who are aware of the SMC (261 households out of 1944), only 27.2 per cent of households (71 out of 261 households) report that parents were members of the SMC and regularly attend meetings (Table 2.36).

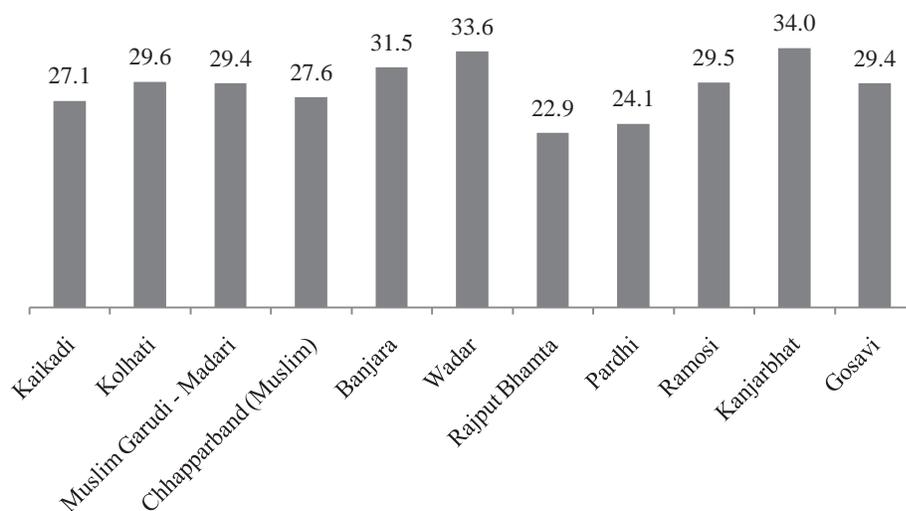
Financial support is one of the main drivers of educational access. In this regard, it was seen that among parents who had availed loan, majority of them (182 out of 202) had availed it for sons. Only 20 out of 202 (around 10 per cent) had availed the educational loan for daughters (Figure 2.17).

Figure 2.17: Gender of child for whom education loan was taken

Source: Field Survey

Out of 1,944 of households, only 29.4 per cent reported that children help them with domestic chores. This proportion is relatively high among Kanjarbhat and Wadar and comparatively low among Rajput Bhamta and Pardhi (Figure 2.18). It was observed from field work as well as primary data that while both male and female child helped in housework, the duties and responsibilities differed. Male children were usually engaged in cattle grazing and farming and other outside-the-home activities whereas in case of girl child, she was predominantly engaged in domestic work which included care giving, stitching, and so on. Majority of the children were engaged for at least two hours of work at home.

Figure 2.18: Involvement of children in housework



Source: Field Survey

Aspirations of the parents in relation to their children were also elicited. About one fourth of the parents wanted their sons to become government servants and this was seen across tribes. Near twenty per cent wanted them to pursue professional courses. Interestingly, nearly one-fourth of parents also wanted their daughters to become government officers and pursue professional courses (16 per cent). Parents were of the opinion that education could lead to job security which can bring about changes in the economic and social condition of family members. They also foresaw happy and comfortable life for their daughters to live independently. Especially in case of daughters, parents felt that education would prevent exploitation and help her find a better job and livelihood. This will enable her to lead a good life, as well as empower her to take care of her family,

increase awareness and enable self development and improve critical thinking to allow her to live independently.

15. Affirmative Action and Reservation Policies for DNTs in Maharashtra

In the state of Maharashtra, the DNTs or (VJ- Vimukta Jati i.e. Denotified Tribes and NT-Nomadic Tribes are recognized as one of the categories for reservation in education and employment. The Social Justice and Special Assistance Department of Government of Maharashtra have initiated several schemes for the DNTs. The table below 2.37 summarises the quota or reservation available to DNTs since 2001.

Table 2.37: Reservation for denotified and nomadic tribes in Maharashtra (since 2001)

Category	No. of communities	Reservation (Per cent)
Denotified Tribes A		3
Nomadic Tribes B	37	2.5
Nomadic Tribes C	1	3.5
Nomadic Tribes D	1	2

Source: Social Justice and Special Assistance Department, Government of Maharashtra

The Department of Social Justice and Special Assistance Department, Government of Maharashtra is in charge of VJNT1 and VJNT 2 category. Their mandate covers: for VJNT1: To take action on memorandums, demands of VJNT, OBC & SBC category; to cover all matters related to VJNT Committee of legislature; is in charge of implementation of Yashvantrao Chavan Mukta Vasahat Yojana; Tanda Sudhar Vasti Yojana; Vasantrya Naik Sabalakaran Sthanik Yojana; formulation and implementation of new schemes for VJNT, OBC & SBC; provide training for VJNT and to decide limit of Creamy Layer and to implement it accordingly. In case of VJNT 2, the department covers all matters related to VJNT Ashram schools; residential schools for children of sugarcane cutters; policy matters of VJNT Ashram school / Residential Ashram school; matters related to Samajsevarth system relating to employees of Government aided institutes (VJNT Ashram schools); and matters related to contributory pension scheme for employees in Government aided institutes (VJNT Ashram schools).

The Department of Social Justice and Special Assistance Department, Government of Maharashtra has several schemes for the development of DNTs. They can be grouped into two categories: A: Schemes for economic upliftment and for social remedies; B: Schemes for Education and Training. The schemes for social remedies refer to developmental schemes for the social upliftment of the people.

A. Schemes for Economic Upliftment and for Social Remedies

Under Schemes for economic upliftment and for social remedies, Margin Money Loan Scheme and Direct Loan Scheme function under the auspices of Vasantnao Naik Vimukta Jatis & Nomadic Tribes Development Corporation (Ltd). Training of motor driving for VJNT, SBC & OBC students is also covered under these schemes.

The main objective of these schemes is to provide loan on nominal rate of interest to the economically weak people who belongs to Vimukta Jatis (Denotified Tribes), Nomadic Tribes and Special Backward Class for their financial, educational and social upliftment. This scheme was fully funded by the state government. Under the margin money loan scheme, the burden of loan is shared between the bank and corporation in the ratio 75:25. The maximum limit of the amount is Rs. 5 lakhs at 4 per cent rate of interest with a repayment period of 4 years. In case of direct loan scheme, Rs. 25000 will be provided by the corporation at a subsidised rate of interest (2 per cent) with a repayment period of 4 years. For availing this loan, applicant should be a resident of Maharashtra State and belong to Vimukta Jatis, Nomadic Tribes and Special Backward Class. The age of applicant should be between 18 to 45 years and he/she should not have any unpaid debt with Government or any other financial corporation / foundation. The applicant's annual family income should not be more than Rs. 1,00,000/- per annum. Under the Corporation's scheme, applicant will not get any sort of loan / subsidy from governmental activities for more than one time and only one member of each family would be eligible to avail the loan. Interestingly, the number of beneficiaries of the schemes found declining in the recent years; it declined from 6628 of 2012-13 to 2304 in 2013-14 and further to 1674 in 2014-15.

Training of motor driving for VJNT, SBC & OBC students aims to create employment chances for VJNT, OBC & SBC youth. In order to avail this scheme, the applicant should belong to VJNT, OBC or SBC category and fulfil all the conditions of age, education, and fitness as per Motor Vehicle

Act. The scheme provides light and heavy motor driving training, conductor training to the needy VJNT, OBC & SBC candidates through private motor driving schools. The selected candidates are provided training with free lodging and boarding facility, license fees etc.

With regard to schemes related to development or social remedies, there are three schemes which are worth mentioning: Vasantrya Naik Tandra/Basti Development Scheme; Yashwantrao Chavan Mukta Vasahat Yojana for VJNTs; and Machinery for implementation of Protection of Civil Rights Act.

The Vasantrya Naik Tandra / Basti Development Scheme (funded by the State government) aims at, provision of basic amenities to such as drinking water, electrification, construction of latrines, drainages and approach roads etc are envisaged Tandras and Bastis of Vimukta Jatis and Nomadic Tribes having minimum 50 population. The amount varies with the size of population; for population of 51-100, the admissible grant was Rs. 4 lakhs; for 101-150 population it was fixed at Rs. 6 lakhs and for above 151, it was pegged at Rs. 10 lakhs.

Yashwantrao Chavan Mukta Vasahat Yojana for VJNTs is also a state government sponsored scheme to increase the living standards of VJNT families and to create income sources and provide stability to VJNT families. The eligibility criteria included: beneficiary family should be a resident of Maharashtra; belong to VJNT category; be landless and homeless; and should stable for at least 6 months at one place and in remaining months the family should travel village to village for living. The pattern of assistance is to provide each family with '5 R' land with construction of 269 Sq. home in the cluster consisting 20 families. The total project cost is of Rs.88.63 lakhs inclusive of shelter, internal roads, drainages, water supply, electricity, community Hall (Samaj Mandir) etc. will be provided under this scheme. Benefits of schemes run by other departments for VJNT will also be provided at cluster.

Another important scheme has been capacity building for implementation of Protection of Civil Rights Act. The main objective of the scheme has been to conduct divisional workshops and/or setting up of Equality Council Eradication of untouchability and work with the schools conducting courses and reward activities which help eradication of untouchability at village and Taluka levels. In addition, fund will be allocated for conducting essay writing contest and speech competitions.

B. Schemes for Education and Training

In the sphere of education and training, there were several schemes which includes scholarships and stipends for secondary, higher secondary and higher education as well as financial support for the establishment of ashram schools run by either voluntary agencies or non-governmental organizations. The main features of these schemes are summarized below.

Post-matric scholarship to VJNT students is provided to encourage them to undergo Post-Matric Courses. Students with parental annual income upto Rs. 1 lakh are eligible for full scholarship (all children of the same parents are eligible). However, repeaters and students engaged in full time employment are not eligible to avail this scholarship. It also insists that scholarship will not be paid to the students from the date he /she accepts another scholarship / stipend. Eligible VJNT Students are paid maintenance allowance from Rs. 90 to Rs. 190 per month for hostellers and Rs. 150 to Rs. 425 per month for day scholar students. In addition to maintenance allowance all fees which are compulsorily payable by the students to the institutions are also being paid under the scheme.

Under the tuition fees and examination fees scheme, all the students belonging to VJ and NT are reimbursed (i) tuition fees, (ii) admission fees (iii) term fees (iv) library fees, (v) laboratory fees, (vi) gymkhana fees, and (vii) examination fees at post matriculation education in recognized educational institutions. Student with one failure and those not covered under government of India scholarship are also eligible for such reimbursement. Reimbursement is sanctioned on the condition that annual income of student's is between Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 4.5 lakhs. All types of compulsory fees such as tuition fees, exam. fees & other fees are reimbursed to the concerned college / institution. Under the scheme for reimbursement of tuition fees and examination fees to VJNT/SBC students studying in high schools, tuition fees, examination fees, laboratory fees, library fees etc. fees are sanctioned and paid to concerned school. Students from a recognized High School are eligible for the scheme and there is no limit of age or income. However, repeated failure (twice) render one ineligible for the scheme and one cannot avail this scheme along with other scholarship benefits.

Meritorious scholarships to VJNT and SBC students studying in secondary schools are aimed to motivate Backward Class students for education. Students who secure more than 50 percentage marks in

previous year's annual examination and stood first or second in the class are eligible for the scholarship (between 5th to 10th standard). There is no income limit for this scholarship. The scholarship amount ranges from Rs. 200/- for 5th to 7th and Rs. 400/- for 8th to 10th standard per annum.

Savitribai Phule Scholarship for V.J.N.T and S.B.C girl students studying in 5th to 7th classes and also in 8th to 10th standard has been introduced to encourage the enrolment. There is no income limit and or marks restriction for this scheme. VJNT and SBC girl students studying in 5th to 7th standard would receive scholarship @ Rs.60 per month for 10 months; while girl students studying in 8th to 10th standard re paid scholarship @ Rs.100 per month for 10 months. This scheme is a separate scheme apart from the other scholarships and a paperless one too. Moreover, both these schemes are paperless. Student or her parents are not required to apply or submit any documents. The Head-Master of the concerned school should submit the list of VJNT and SBC girl students to concerned District Social Welfare Officer, Zillah Parishad of concerned district for sanction of these scholarships.

Rajarshi Chatrapati Shahu Maharaj Merit Scholarship has been introduced to create competitive spirit among VJNT and SBC students studying in 11th and 12th standards. This scholarship is separate from Post Matric Scholarship. No income limit is applicable However, student should secure 75 per cent and above marks in 10th standard Examination. Scholarship of Rs.300/- p.m. for 10 months i.e. Rs.3000/- per year for the standard 11th & 12th is provided.

Vasantrao Naik Merit Awards to the VJNT students who came first in State or first in board of 10th and 12th standard examination is provided to motivate VJNT students for Higher Education. Student should be First in State, or First in Board Examination of 10th or 12th standard and first boy and first girl student who stood first in state and board both are also eligible for the Award. The award for boy and girl students each who come first in state and board in SSC and HSC are awarded cash prize of Rs. 1.00 lakh for First in State in S.S.C. Exam; Rs. 0.51 lakh trophy and Certificate First in each Board in S.S.C. Exam; Rs. 1.00 lakh trophy and Certificate for First in State in H.S.C. Exam; and Rs. 0.51 lakh trophy and Certificate for First in each Board in H.S.C. Exam.

Payment of maintenance allowance to VJNT and SBC students studying in professional courses and living in hostel attached to professional colleges is introduced to facilitate completion of education of V.J.N.T and S.B.C students. Eligibility criteria include: students must be pursuing professional courses such as Medical, Engineering, Animal Husbandry etc and should submit Application form for admission in Govt. Hostel or must have been admitted in the hostels attached to professional colleges or approved private hostels. Professional courses are divided into A,B,C category and accordingly maintenance allowance is given to the students through the concerned Principal of the college. For 4 to 5 years courses (Medical, Engineering, Agriculture etc.), Rs. 700/- per month, for 2 to 3 years course (Engineering Dip., M.B.A, M.S.W etc.) Rs. 500/- and for 2 years and lesser duration courses (B.Ed., D.Ed.) Rs. 500/- per month for 10 months as maintenance allowance in addition to other Government Scholarships is provided to the students.

Maintenance allowance to Backward Class students under training in Sainik schools for VJNT and SBC students are provided to pay maintenance so that a maximum number of students can take admission to Sainik School with a view to seek admission in N.D.A. The entire expenditure on lodging, boarding, clothing, uniform, horse riding, pocket money, tuition fees and examination fees is reimbursed to the students admitted in old three Sainik Schools e.g. Satara, Pune and Nashik. For the remaining Sainik Schools, maintenance allowance of Rs.15,000/- is reimbursed to per student for a year. Student studying in 5th to 12th standard in Sainik School under VJNT and SBC category are eligible for the scholarship.

Vocational training for VJNT and SBC candidates studying in Government Industrial Training Institute was introduced in 2003-04 the scheme to create self-employment for unemployed youths and students of VJNT and SBC who apply for a Vocational Training. The candidate will be given the Vocational Training in Government I.T.I and undergo short duration vocational training courses. The short duration vocational courses will enable the youths to create their own employment in service sector. The training fees Rs.400/- to Rs.2400/- (as per course) is paid to concerned I.T.I. After completion of training, one Tool Kit of Rs.1000/- is provided to trainee through concerned Govt. I.T.I. In addition, award of stipend to VJNT and SBC students studying in ITI was also introduced to encourage V.J.N.T. & S.B.C. students and promote the interest in Technical education. For eligibility, student should be trainee of approved

ITI and the parent/guardian's income should not exceed Rs. 65290/- per year. Maintenance Allowance from Rs.40/- to Rs.100/- per month for 10 months is provided through concerned I.T.I.

Opening and running Ashram Schools for VJNT students through voluntary agencies was introduced as a special measure for providing educational facilities to the pupils belonging to Vimukta Jatis and Nomadic Tribes since 1954 through recognized NGOs. In these schools along with the academic educational facility, free lodging and boarding is provided. Also medical facilities, bedding and clothing, uniforms are provided to the residential students. This scheme is implemented on grant-in-aid basis to voluntary organisations. Cent percent salary and non-salary grants of Teaching, Non-teaching and Hostel approved employees are paid by Government. Rs. 900/- p.m. maintenance grant per residential student is admissible. Permission to open Ashram Schools is granted to such voluntary agencies which show interest in conducting schools for Vimukta Jatis / Nomadic Tribes etc., and are prepared to maintain the Ashram School as per terms and conditions prescribed by Government.

Opening and maintenance of Public School (Vidya Niketan) for Vimukta Jatis and Nomadic Tribes is yet another initiative wherein Government has granted permission to voluntary organization to run the Public School (Vidya Niketan) on grant-in-aid basis at Kamlewadi, Taluka Mukhed, District Nanded for the needy, brilliant and talented students belonging to VJNT Category. In this public school, students get education from 5th to 12th standard on merit basis. Eligibility criteria include that: beneficiary should be resident of Maharashtra and should belong to the VJNT community. Annual income of the parents should not be more than Rs. 24000 and the student should clear the competitive examination and those who are studying in 4th Standard are eligible to take admission in VJNT Ashram School on merit basis.

Opening and running Ashram Schools through voluntary agencies specifically for children of labourers engaged in sugarcane cutting were introduced since these labourers migrate for their work for 4 to 5 months anywhere in Maharashtra. To bridge the gap in education of their children, and to protect their educational career the government has sanctioned 2 residential Ashram Schools for the children of sugarcane labourers in Beed District. In these schools along with the academic educational facility, free lodging and boarding is provided. In addition, bedding and

clothing, uniforms, primary medical aid facilities are provided to the residential students. This scheme is implemented on grant-in-aid basis to voluntary basis. Cent percent salary and non-salary grants of Teaching, Non-teaching and Hostel approved employees are paid by Government & Rs.900/- per month per residential student is admissible.

Opening and running Junior Colleges for VJNT students run by voluntary agencies is yet another scheme by the Maharashtra government for the educational and social development of VJNT students. Govt. vide G.R. dated 26/6/2008 has started (11th and 12th class) Junior College education by upgrading the already existing 148 secondary Ashram Schools. Free lodging and boarding facilities along with necessary educational goods, stationery is being provided as per norms. The eligibility includes being resident of Maharashtra and belonging to the VJNT category; running of the school by voluntary agency, 60 per cent pass in secondary school results, availability of building, water supply, electricity; VJNT population near the school and there should not be many junior colleges around the ashram school and there should not be any dispute / Court matter pending against the Voluntary Agency. In these Junior Colleges along with the academic educational facility, free lodging and boarding is provided. Moreover, medical facilities, bedding and clothing, uniforms are provided to the residential students. This scheme is implemented on grant-in-aid basis to voluntary organisations.

The above discussion, thus, provides a glimpse of several schemes for the upliftment of DNTs in general and for their educational attainment in particular.

16. Conclusions

The discussion above clearly indicates that Maharashtra has been a forerunner with the setting up of a separate social category for affirmative action for DNTs in the state. The Department of Social Justice and Special Assistance has been instrumental in implementing several schemes for the economic and educational upliftment of the communities.

Out of the 48 communities in Maharashtra, 13 are identified as DNT while rest are nomadic communities. Among the surveyed DNT communities (8 out of 13), four were identified as the most stigmatized of which except Pardhi, others (Kanjarbhat, Rajput Bhamta, Kaikadi) were found be residing in urban areas. One could find that at home several of the

communities spoke their own tribal language; however a majority reported Marathi as not only the language spoken at school but also the medium of instruction. Three-fourths of the households surveyed could not communicate in English.

The primary occupation has been wage work in agricultural and non-agricultural spheres although it varied across the communities. Occupation as cultivator was high among Banjara, none from Pardhi (despite being concentrated in rural areas) while non-agricultural wage work was high among Pardhi, Wadar and Muslim Garudi-Madari communities. Only a negligible proportion of households indicated traditional work as the primary occupation, but around a quarter indicated traditional occupations as complementary source of income with more than 40 per cent being reported from Kaikadi, Kolhati and Muslim Garudi- Madari communities. In terms of migration, majority of households report livelihood as the main reason for migration.

In terms of possession of agricultural land, less than a quarter of households have land and the share is low among Pardhi, Kanjarbhat, Kolhati, Ramosi and Wadar communities. Majority of the households own their homes but only 30 per cent report pucca houses while a high proportion of Pardhi, Ramosi and Kaikadi households live in kutcha houses including huts.

While majority of households had access to piped drinking water (except Pardhi) toilet facilities were available only to 43 per cent of households of which Pardhi (near cent per cent) and Ramosi communities were worst off. In terms of electricity in households, 47 per cent did not have access and this proportion was high among Chapparband and Gosavi. Discrimination of several kinds has been reported by the households while records of arrests, detention reveal that Pardhi households have often experienced the same followed by Kaikadi, Kanjarbhat and Kolhati. Field level observations indicate deep rooted stigma against Pardhi community, while children belonging to Chhapparband community are often ridiculed as children of fakirs. Use of abusive language was documented across the communities as reflected in the field work.

In terms of education, of the total population surveyed 6 per cent had never enrolled, while 41 per cent indicated level of education as completed followed by 17 per cent as dropped out. More than quarter of them was

currently studying mainly at secondary level (51 per cent) while a significant 15 per cent were enrolled at graduation and higher studies.

The currently studying was primarily enrolled in government schools and the location of the educational institution was within 3 kilometres for majority of the respondents.

Among dropouts majority had indicated secondary level as the level of education and the incidence of dropping out after primary was high among Ramosi, Pardhi and Kaikadi. Moreover, among those who reported completed education, near half of the respondents had indicated primary level education. This was high among respondents from Muslim Garudi-madari, Chapparband, Gosavi and Wadar communities.

In terms of parental role in discussing education related issues with community, it was found to be marginal. Visit to school by parents were not reported by more than half of the households and among those visited it was reported only twice a year. Regular study at home by children was reported only by less than one-third of households and it was lowest among Pardhi. The involvement of children in domestic work was reported by less than one-third of households and it was high among Kanjarbhat and Wadar households and children were engaged in at least two hours of domestic work at home. Involvement of parents in school management committees was not encouraging. In terms of financial support, among those households who availed loans for education, only 10 per cent had availed it for the educational purpose of daughters.

The Government of Maharashtra has had a special focus on education and training which included post-matric scholarships, special scholarships for girls, payment of maintenance allowance and vocational training. In addition, opening of ashram schools and public schools as well as junior colleges for DNTs have been some of the initiatives undertaken by the Department.

The discussion indicates that while there have been mobility in terms of educational attainment across communities, this needs to be strengthened for the upliftment of these communities in Maharashtra.



Communities Surveyed
Dhangar Gouly

*Field study coordinated by
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Chapter 3

GOA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

The state of Goa is home to a single pastoral nomadic tribe, namely the *Dhangar-Gouly*. The earliest folklore sources as well as Portuguese literature call them by the name *Gouly*, but in recent years the community has preferred to identify themselves by the dual name of *Dhangar-Gouly*. The Dhangar-Gouly accounts for only 0.7 per cent of the population in Goa and they are presently listed as OBC in the state. Goa is considered to be a highly urbanised state. Yet we find that as a community they are the most backward, least urbanised, and educationally lag behind even the ST and SC communities of the state.

Though it is difficult to trace the origin of pastoralism in the Konkan region, the available information identify the first settlers as Austric language speakers (Gadgil: 1992). The similarities in intonation and vocabulary used by the tribal communities of Goa with some Munda languages seem to support such suggestions. The Gavda Kunbi and Velip are recognised as the earliest hunter-food gatherers in Goa. Pastoral people such as the Dhangar-Gouly probably emerged in the second wave of migration through the Western Ghats with early Dravidian settlers and other Indo-European nomadic tribes.

There is a general perception amongst the Goan public that the Dhangar-Gouly is neither Goan nor Maharashtrians. The reason for this is two-fold: 1) They are the only people who speak Dhangari at home, which is generally accepted as a dialect of Marathi (Grierson: 2005 vol. IV) whereas the rest of the population speaks Konkani. 2) They were the only nomadic community within the political boundaries of Goa. They were entirely forest dwellers, using the plateaus and some elevated grasslands for grazing, and was publicly seen sporadically every few years.

Goa's folklore traditions are, however, certainly indicative of the antiquity of the Dhangar-Gouly's in the state. Several old folksongs, sung during folk festivals like *denlo padvo*, *ranmalé*, and *shigmo*, mention the

community. However, they are always been identified as people from outside the social space, or people who descend from the Ghats laden with milk and fine ghee. The present study is aiming at addressing the phenomenon of exclusion which the community face in different spheres of life.

2. Methodology

2.1 Sample Design

For the state of Goa, the entire population of Dhangar Gouly has been surveyed. This study is therefore a census of the community.

The Dhangar-Gouly are scattered in small cluster hamlets, more dense in the eastern longitudinal half of the state. A closer look at their settlement pattern shows that they are settled mainly in the plateaus and still inhabit the hilly terrain in the Western Ghats within Goa (see Map No. 3.1). In the past, they had moved as entire clans. Today we can clearly see the remnants of this lifestyle in the clan-wise settlement pattern where Dhangar-Gouly hamlets are to be found, mainly on the plateaus, where grass was available in plenty (see Table 3.1 and Table 3.2).

The community gradually adjusted to their predicament of having to live as a settled one. Even so, the whole process of settlement was conducted under stealth and threat of eviction. The plight of the Dhangar-Gouly did not get better even after Goa got liberated from Portuguese rule in December 1961. The Portuguese had brought in fruit trees such as the cashew, and their hybrid variety of mango. Large parcels of land were leased to the village communities for plantations (*aforamentos*) on the hilly slopes bordering the villages. Villagers were wary of intruders coming into the plantations. Large bands of people and herds of cattle attracted too much attention and forced the Dhangar-Gouly to adopt discretion as a tactic. The clans had to split and settle with discretion as lands had been claimed by other, contesting groups and thus the tribe dispersed into smaller family groups for settlement. Wherever hostilities were low, a few more family groups joined to settle in and gradually led to the situation where Dhangar-Gouly got scattered in small remote hamlets. The larger settlements are to be found only in two places, namely Bhuimpali (Sattari taluka) and Collem (Sanguem taluka). Though settled, they faced acute hardships in obtaining water, pastures for their cattle, and free access to the forests.

The old conquest areas, namely the talukas of Bardez and Salcette (including Marmagaon) have very few hamlets. Tiswadi, which was the first to be colonised and is almost entirely a plain area, has no Dhangar-Gouly hamlets. Thus, the topography of the land played an important role even when they settled as a sedentary community. Pastoralism, though conducted under stressful conditions, remained the backbone of their economy for at least two decades after liberation.

Table 3.1: Clans and settlement pattern

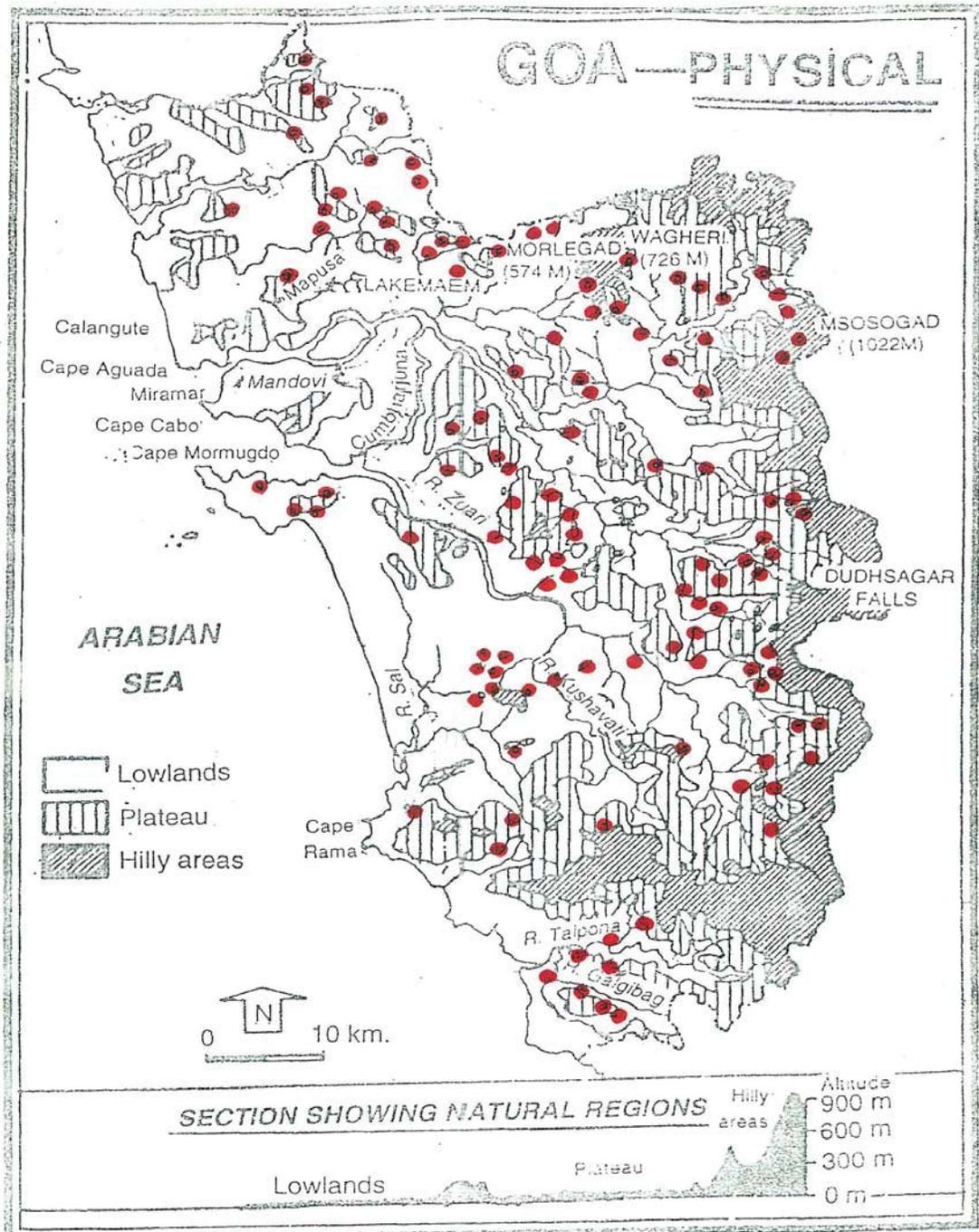
Taluka	Hamlet	Total No. of houses	Clan name	Clan houses
Pernem	Mopa	12	Varak	11
Sattari	Murmune	04	Kalo	04
	Bondir	18	Dhoiefodo	18
Ponda	Farmagudi	04	Zoro	04
	Kodar	08	Kholekar	08
	Bhutkhamb	12	Kholekar	11
Salcette	Paytemol	07	Shelko	06
Quepem	Padimol	13	Yemkar	13
	Karlamodi	06	Bavdano	06
	Ubi Fator	09	Bavdano	08
	Kupwada	11	Patil	08
Sanguem	Ambeamol	17	Rekdo Zoro	16
	Walkini Col III	07	Varak	06
	Devrem	18	Varak	10
Canacona	Sheli	09	Kholekar	09
	Bhatpal	6	Kharat	5

Table 3.2: Geographical location of Dhangar-Gouly hamlets in Goa

Location	Reserve forest	Wildlife sanctuary	Private land	Comunidade land	Mountainous terrain	Remote
North Goa	Nagvem	Bondir	Davshire	Khargali	Bondir	Bondir
	Malpona	Zarme	Kurti-Kerye	Olavnem	Naneli-Pali	Sanvardat
	Murmune	Zambulti	Farmagudi	Corjuem	Sanvardat	Mopa
	Bedsawado	Nagargaon	Kodar		Khargali	Nirankal
	Poriem	Pissurlem			Malpona	Kopardem
		Khodyem			Poriem	Poriem
		Golali-Pali			Donkhamb	Bondbag
South Goa					Keriyam	Donkhamb
	Karla	Karvem	Kesarval	Tatodi	Nirankal	Ubi Fator
	Davan	Dhabel	Sancoale	Padimol	Malolim	Karlamoddi
	Polaskate	Padimol	Kondimol	Bogmallo	Mapa	Devrem
	Gurkhem	Karemol	Poytemol	Naquerim	Koparwado	Wadem
	Wadem	Pokarmol	Ubi-Fator	Pedamol		Padimol
		Deugatimol	Potrem	Deulmol		Deulwado
			Satpali	Hodlemol		Keriyam
			Mastimol	Devrem	Karlamoddi	Karvem
			Zamblimol	Dhullagal	Hodlemol	Mapa
			Deulwado		Deulmol	
			Mattimol		Naquerim	
			Belatem		Barcem	
		Kupmoda		Hudona		
Total hamlets	10	13	17	12	18	17

Map 3.1

TOPOGRAPHY OF LAND AND GOULY SETTLEMENTS



Based upon Survey of India outline Map with the permission of Surveyor General of India
 The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from
 the appropriate base line.
 Responsibility for corrections of a total of 1000 copies of this map is assumed by the Survey of India.

2.2. *Introducing DNT under study*

2.2.1 Etymology and Ecological foundation of Dhangar-Gouly homeland

The name 'Gouly' is derived from the root 'Gou' which means cattle. This community's intimate relationships with their animals and their antiquity with pastoralism are well displayed by the fact that the dwelling place is common to both people and cattle. It is called a gou-vol, where vol stands for an enclosure or shelter. Thus, the Gouly are the people who dwell with their cattle in a gouvou.

Traditionally, the community was a semi-nomadic self-sufficient pastoral tribe roaming the vast elevated grasslands and plateaus of the eastern side of the state. The western part of the state is dominated by sandy beaches, and low lying plains. As we move eastwards, the landmass rises to merge with the foothills of the Western Ghats. Some of Goa's highest mountain peaks such as Sonsogad, Catlanchi Mauli, Wagheri and Saleliare found in this region. The most important river systems such as that of the Mandovi and Zuari have their origins here, from the rapids of the Mhadei and Dudhsagar falls. The numerous plateaus spread around the mountains abound in a variety of grasses provide rich fodder for cattle. The forests provided rich sources of edible tubers, vegetables, fruits as well as timber trees, bamboo and cane. This is the portion of the state where the Dhangar-Gouly had long established their ecological niche. Over the centuries they carved out an ecological belt for themselves, within which they moved and evolved into a thriving pastoral community.

2.2.2 Historical Background

In order to understand the community's exclusion from education and mainstream socio-cultural life in the state, we have to commence with the ethnicity of the community. What kind of people were the ancestors of the Dhangar-Gouly? How and why have they found themselves in such a situation today?

2.2.2.1 Who are the Dhangar-Gouly of Goa?

In September 1986, the Mull Goemkarancho Ekvott was formed. It was an organization meant to work towards getting ST status for four communities in Goa, namely Gawda, Kunbi, Velip and Dhangar-Gouly. Politically and socially, a lot of dust has been raised since then on the

origin, racial and regional background of the Dhangar-Gouly. Who are these people? Are they from the same racial stock as the Kunbi tribe of Goa? Why did they live in such isolation? The fact that the general population was questioning the presence of the pastoral community laid bare the level of their isolation and exclusion from mainstream society.

It is difficult to place them in a single racial file. The members show significant Dravidian and Mediterranean racial traits. An average Gouly is well built and medium to tall in height. They do not display exclusively proto-Austroloid traits (such as the Kunbi of Goa) or Mediterranean traits (such as the Toda of Nilgiris). Fuchs (1973:23) says that the aboriginal people are survivors from later prehistoric population groups and the Goulys are a semi-aboriginal tribe clinging to their animal breeding past. J.H. Hutton calls them Proto-Asians. In Maharashtra, they form a large group identified as Dhangar, and amongst them are several functional groups that have become specialized and entrenched in the village communities as castes.

Pastoral communities calling themselves Gavli Gollas, Gollar are found in Karnataka too. They are entrenched as castes in the village communities. K.S. Singh (2005:10-11) points out that in India, as compared to other parts of the world, tribes had some reciprocal contact with other communities. Such contact often led to a tribe evolving as a functional group within the village community system. Not all the tribes developed uniformly. Often, patronage given by local kings quickly transformed some into caste-like groups who became entrenched in the villages as functional groups. The village groups had taken on a caste character and the two did not even intermarry.

In Goa, the Dhangar-Gouly lived, and still lives, as independent tribe. They were never a part of the village community system (*comunidade/gaunkari*) an institution that was established by the people of various castes in order to manage the land and river resources of the plains. They did sell milk and ghee to people who came to them or to the other tribes in the region, but never lived in the villages along with other peoples. Though they bartered from time to time for silver ornaments, beads, and other items, being nomadic, they never entered into any jajmani relations with people of other castes. The community consists of 28 exogamous clans. In the past they lived and moved from place to place as entire kin

groups. They lived as a society by themselves, a sturdy, proud and fearless population. They had their own kinship system, their own political system and council of Elders called the Agarkhase, and their own territorial divisions called Mhal.

Whilst the Dhangar elsewhere may have evolved as caste groups within the village community system, the Dhangar-Gouly in Goa remained insulated from the rest of Goan society. As a result of this physical and social isolation, their tribal character has remained intact. In March 2002, only the Kunbi, Gawda, and Velip were given ST status. The Dhangar-Gouly were excluded, citing a comment by the Commissioner for SC/ST in 1963, saying that they were a Marathi-speaking caste of shepherds and had no tribal traits even though they lived in the forests of Goa. Thus, the Dhangar-Gouly remained as one of the most backward communities in the state of Goa and leading a life depicting a riches-to-rags story.

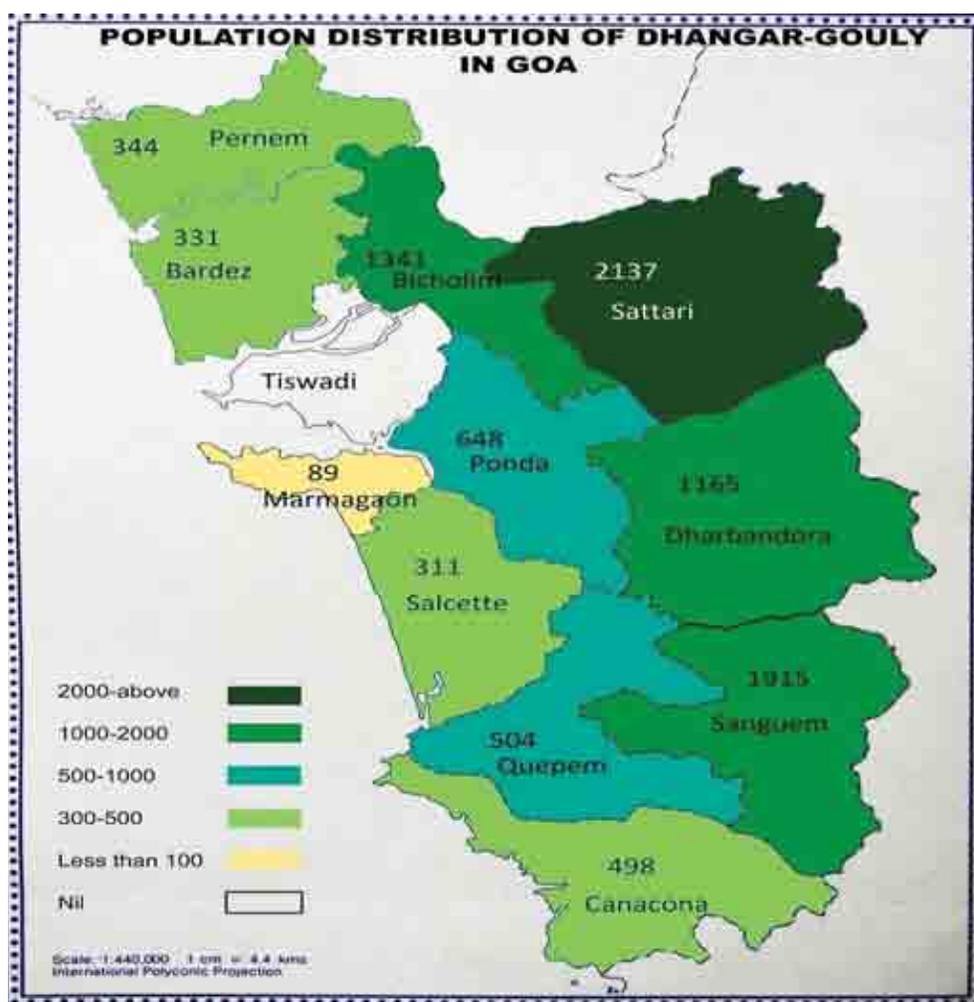
2.2.2.2 Geographical location, colonial history and the isolation of the Dhangar-Gouly

The exclusion of the Dhangar-Gouly from mainstream society arises from four factors:

1. The context of their ecological setting
2. The colonial history of Goa
3. Pastoralism
4. Political apathy

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Goa had been under Adilshahi rule since 1471. Adilshah's political boundaries then consisted of Kudal, (today in Maharashtra) Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari, Antruz, Chandravadi, Hembadbarcem, Canacona, Balli and Salcette and Karwar talukas. These were the areas along the foothills of the Western Ghats. The Portuguese conquered Tiswadi which was a coastal taluka in 1510 then added Bardez and Salcette a few decades later, which were also coastal areas. For nearly two centuries, the map of Goa was the area outlined by these three talukas was known as the *Velhas Conquistas* (old conquests) (see Map No. 3.2). The other hinterland areas such as Ponda, Quepem, Canacona and Bicholim were still under Adilshahi rule.

Map No. 3.2: Taluka-wise population distribution



Accounts from early European travellers on the people of the territory called 'Goa' or *Estado da India* are very revealing. The *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires (1990) written between 1512 and 1515 makes no mention of the Gouly amongst the people of Goa. John van Linschoten (1988), a Dutch traveller who came around 1598, makes no mention of the Goullys in the old conquests of Goa. Francois Pyrard de Laval (1990), who travelled to Goa in 1619 and Abbe Carre (1990) who came in 1682, make no mention of the Gouly either. The reason for this is that, that in the old conquest areas, there were no Dhangar-Gouly communities. The Portuguese finally annexed Bicholim in 1781, Sattari in 1788, and by 1791 had 11 talukas under their control. The new areas came to be known as the *Novas Conquistas* (new conquests). Together, they formed the present political boundaries of Goa.

The first Portuguese mention of the name 'Gouly' appears in their official recordings or *Relatorio* (1865:17) at the time of demarcating the new areas of Sattari. They are mentioned as '*tribus*' (tribe). The Portuguese ethnographer Lopes Mendes (1886:239) writes about the Gouly as 'a pastoral people who live in the mountains of the New Conquests, they live as wanderers and are very wild.' Later, Oliveira Mascarenhas (1898:113) mentions a pastoral community called the Gouly. Braganza Pereira finally gives a more graphic account of the Dhangar-Gouly, calling them *Dangores* or *Gouly* in the New Conquest areas. This is the first substantial account of the presence of the community within the region of Goa. The local population as well as the Portuguese distinguished between pastoral Gouly as *pastores* and other village milkmen as *leiteiros*.

The nature of Portuguese colonialism differed from that of the British. Goa was colonised two and a half centuries before the rest of India. The British were more interested in raw materials, industrialization, commerce and enterprise, a fact that is seen in the way industrial towns and ports grew. This also led to a marked increase in mobility for different population groups in search of work and a better life.

In Goa, the Portuguese seem to have focused more on cultural colonialism: proselytization, building churches, convents and of course, trade. Hence, the pastoral people remained more or less insulated as compared to their counterparts in neighbouring states. Once the Dhangar-Gouly came under the shadow of Portuguese rule, they became further isolated within the unified territories of Goa. Being pastoral nomads, the community preferred to remain within the confines of the elevated grasslands and plateaus where fodder was available in plenty. They could also freely practice swidden agriculture, mainly growing millet. Reciprocal relations existed with other tribes for obtaining commodities not otherwise available to them. Being nomadic, they never forged jajmani relations with any community of the plains. They were never a part of the composite society of the plains. They were however self-sufficient and undisputed lords of the surrounding lands.

Certain colonial dictates added to their territorial exclusion. In the mid-19th century, when the local chieftains, the Ranés, introduced the weekly markets, the Dhangar-Gouly began to venture out to the villages more frequently. The minimal clothing worn by Dhangar-Gouly men as well as

women was seen as an affront to the Portuguese orthodoxy as well as the upper castes. In 1851, the Portuguese passed an order in the official gazette, the *Boletim do Governo* (1851, No.32:232), banning women without cholis and men without trousers from entering the towns.

In 1885, the Portuguese introduced a grazing tax (*imposto cabeca do gado*) of half a rupee per cattle head (*Boletim*, 1885, No. 73: 290). There was a fine of Rs. 25/- for those who failed to pay the tax and fear of confiscation of cattle. The community therefore preferred to remain in the Ghats, following their way of life. They maintained only selective contact with other communities.

Under colonialism, the village *comunidades* too underwent changes. Many temple lands were confiscated, common lands often went into the hands of the churches, or were given as gifts to influential families. New lands from the New Conquest areas were demarcated for dry crop cultivation. Some of these were pastures earlier used by the Dhangar-Gouly for grazing. In order to protect the borders, and contain insurgency from the local chieftains like the Ranés and the Desais, the Portuguese took control of patrolling forests. As new players came to occupy the forest lands, Dhangar-Gouly's found themselves forced to seek new ways of living. Their regular cycle of movement to different plateaus was disrupted.

There was a border on the eastern side controlled by a foreign power, and the lands on the western side were rendered out of bounds because of the new laws passed by the same authorities. The community felt trapped within the confines of the limited grasslands. They were forced to abandon their pastoral nomadic past, and settle wherever they had set up their temporary abode. Some were caught in wildlife sanctuaries, some on forestlands, some on temple lands, and some on *comunidade* lands. Wherever they tried to move within their traditional grasslands, they were met with hostility from people who were now new claimants to the lands. Thus, the community faced existential problem.

Such an enforced settlement left the community uprooted and with a fractured sense of self. Under the new political system, they found themselves relegated from a position of natives to outsiders in their own lands. They were labelled as 'encroachers' by most village panchayats. They remain so till date.



Dhangar-Gouly with Portuguese officials marking out new roads in the New Conquests, 1923

2.3 Sample Size

The study covered 1722 households spread across only 02 districts (namely North Goa and South Goa) (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Sample distribution

DNT Community	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)	Social Category
Dhangar Gouly	1722	100.0	NT (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

2.4 Profile of the Sample

The primary survey canvassed a total of 1722 households across Goa (Table 3.3) of which 93 per cent were residing in rural areas (Table 3.4). In terms of spread of the households across districts, it was more or less similar, with 51 per cent of the households belonging to South Goa (Table 3.5). The households canvassed also covered a total population of 9001, distributed across different age groups (Tables 3.6 and 3.7). One fourth of the population belonged to the age group of 6-18 while a little more than one-third (37 per cent) were in the age group of 19-35 years. Among the total population, nearly 43 per cent are currently married while 6.3 per cent reported as separated and less than 1 percent found divorced and widowed (Table 3.8). The share of currently married and never married was found to be high among the males, whereas the share of divorced, separated, and widowed found was high among the females.

Table 3.4: Area-wise sample distribution

DNT Community	Urban	Rural
Dhangar Gouly	7.0	93.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 3.5: District-wise sample distribution

Districts	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)	Social Category
North Goa	838	48.7	NT (100.0)
South Goa	884	51.3	
Total	1722	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

Table 3.6: Household population of the sample

DNT Community	Population	Households
Dhangar Gouly	9001 (100.0)	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 3.7: Age-wise population distribution

Age group	Population	Population (%)
0 to 5	819	9.1
06 to 18	2169	24.1
19 to 35	3340	37.1
36 to 45	1129	12.5
46 to 60	971	10.8
Above 60	573	6.4
Total	9001	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 3.8: Marital status of the population

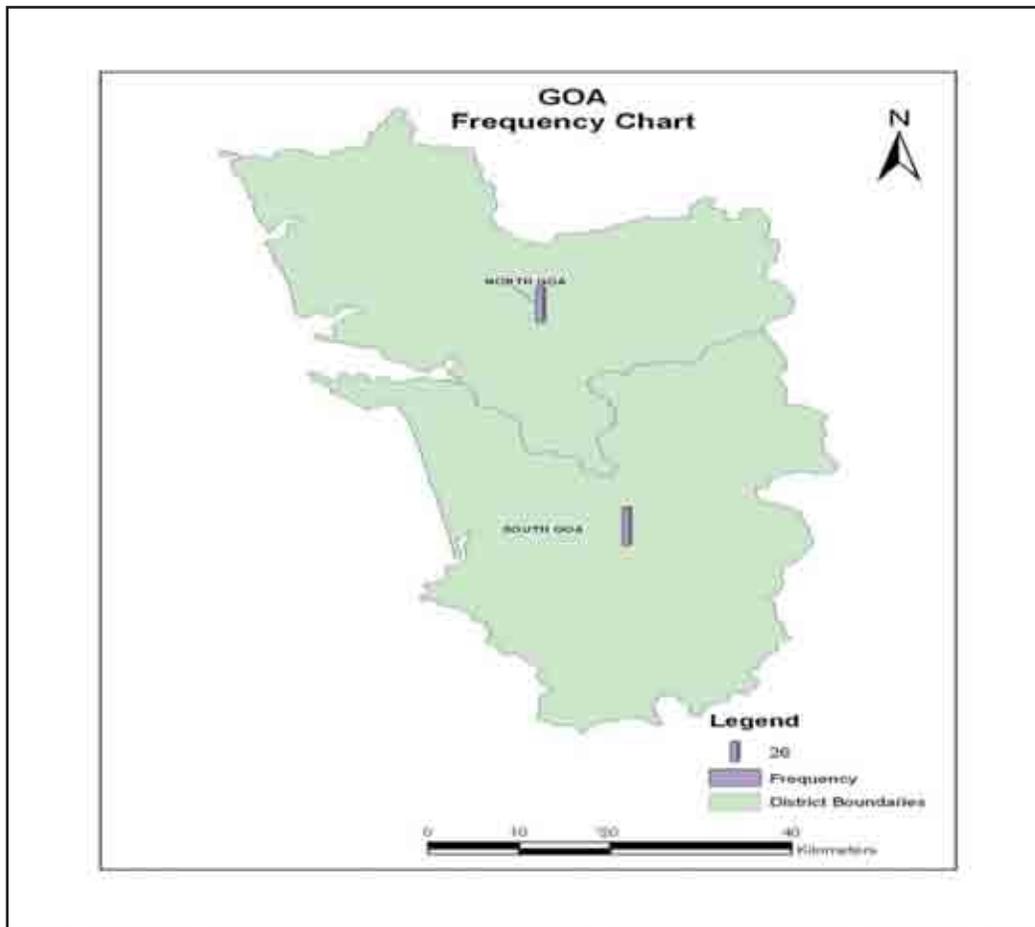
Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Married	1961 (50.6) (43.2)	1917 (49.4) (43.0)	3878 (100.0) (43.1)
Never Married	2523 (55.4) (55.5)	2031 (44.6) (45.6)	4554 (100.0) (50.6)
Divorced	-	4 (100.0) (0.1)	4 (100.0) (0.0)
Seperated	59 (10.5) (1.3)	505 (89.5) (11.3)	564 (100.0) (6.3)
Widowed	1 (100.0) (0.0)	-	1 (100.0) (0.0)
Total	4544 (50.5) (100.0)	4457 (49.5) (100.0)	9001 (100.0) (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

The main aim of this section is to examine the social status, pattern of asset holding and other location-specific factors related to Dhangar-Gouly community in the state of Goa. It also looks into the pattern of livelihood reported among the Dhangar-Gouly community spread across both the districts of the state (Map 2.1).

Map 3.3: Sample districts from which the respondents were selected



Source: Field Survey

3. The Tribe and its Social Status

The Dhangar-Gouly are scattered in small, cluster hamlets mainly in the eastern longitudinal half of the state. Though some have found themselves settled in the plateaus and plains, most still inhabit the hilly terrain in the Western Ghats within Goa. About 93.0 per cent of the Dhangar-Gouly tribes are located in rural areas (Figure 3.1). The settlement profile shows

that the community is almost entirely rural/forest based. The community has a significant population in eco-sensitive zones, which need special consideration, as they are listed as 'encroachers' in no-development zones.

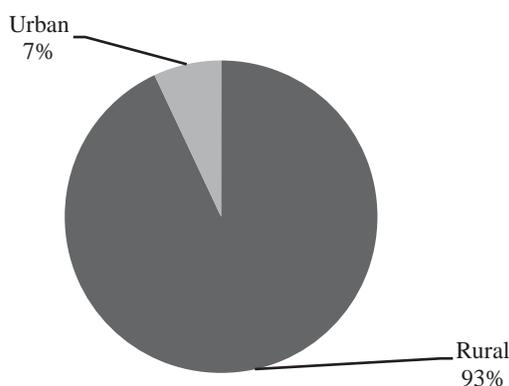
“Most of us feel that our nomadic past is the reason why we were never a part of any village. We would like to be considered as ST for two reasons. We have always lived in such isolation, and we have our own council, the Agarkhase. Our gods are different from others, and we are nature worshippers.

Some say we are the same as Dhangars of Maharashtra. So what? We have been nomadic. We have no land. The Government should at least recognize us as a nomadic tribe. History is witness to our misery. We were called ‘outsiders’ everywhere. Even at the places where our forefathers had their sacred groves. If the Central Government feels that we do not satisfy the criteria for ST, then we should at least be recognized as a nomadic tribe”.

Bhomo Mote

Reporter for the Marathi daily Gomantak, Bhedshewada
Sattari taluka

Figure 3.1: Location of the tribes



Source: Field Survey

About 52.6 per cent of households reported staying in the place of residence for between 21 to 30 years, followed by 37 per cent between 11 and 20 years; 7 per cent have lived there for longer than 30 years. Only 2.6 per cent of households covered in this study had been in the same location from between 1 to 10 years (Table 3.9).

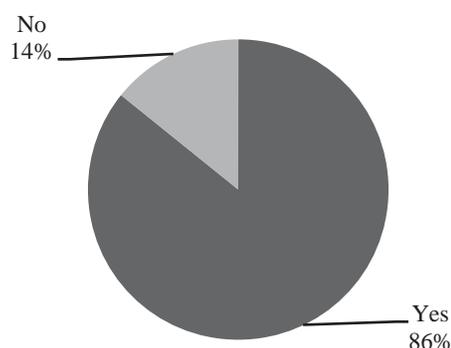
Table 3.9: Duration of stay in the present location

Duration	Frequency
Since 1 to 10 Years	45 (2.6)
Since 11 to 20 Years	643 (37.3)
Since 21 to 30 Years	906 (52.6)
Above 30 Years	128 (7.4)
Total	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

4. Spoken Language

The main language of communication of this community is Dhangari. All households reported that their children speak Konkani in school. On social occasions, when the community comes together, they communicate in Dhangari language (100.0 per cent). All respondents from the Dhangar community reported they speak Konkani in public places.

Figure 3.2: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

English as a language of communication is known to at least one family member of 85.8 per cent households in the sample (Figure 3.2). The total number of households reporting knowledge of English by at least a single member was 1,477. Of this, 89.7 per cent of households reported that only one member knew English in the family. About 10.1 per cent reported that about two members know English and only 0.1 per cent each of respondents reported that three and four members know English (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Number of English-knowing members in the family

Persons	Frequency
One person	1325 (89.7)
Two people	149 (10.1)
Three people	2 (0.1)
Four people	1 (0.1)
Total	1477 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

5. Livelihood and its sources

This section discusses the primary occupation of the households of Dhangar-Gouly tribe in Goa. We identify the primary occupation as the occupation which contributes the major share of the household income and the economic activity that takes considerable share of working hours of the year. The Table 3.11 shows significant variation in the primary occupation reported in Goa.

“Our pastoral lifestyle was the reason why we could not take advantage of the benefits of education and jobs. Those who never had to move from place to place were fortunate. A settled life offered many more benefits for the younger generations. Our ancestors never thought of their lives that way. For them, freedom lay in moving from place to place, which was a higher form of living compared to those who had to stick to one place. Look at our situation today. Only a few families have managed to get proper house numbers. Most of our people are ashamed to even talk about house papers because we are listed as encroachers.

Today we don't face any strong discrimination from other communities, though we are still treated as if we are a separate part of the state. It is not open, but there are indirect “ways. Only we Dhangar-Gouly know and can identify them. Only education and jobs can change our situation. We are more or less accepted as part of the society. We have never had any trouble with police harassment. We are in such small numbers and the police know we are not capable of causing any trouble”.

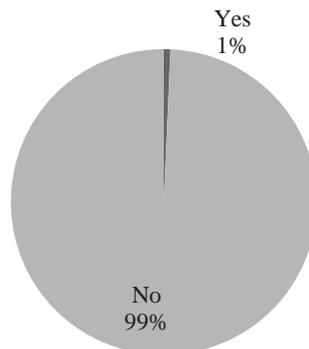
Daku Pavno
Govt. employee 'D' category
Forest check post wada
Bhuimpali, Sattari taluka

Table 3.11: Primary Occupation of the tribe

Primary Occupation	Frequency
Cultivation	3 (0.2)
Allied agriculture	31 (1.8)
Agricultural wage labour	7 (0.4)
Non-agricultural wage labour	833 (48.4)
Traditional occupation/Skills	111 (6.4)
Petty shop/trade/manufacturing/Business	151 (8.8)
Organized trade business	55 (3.2)
Govt. salaried employment Grade III	35 (2.0)
Govt. salaried employment Grade IV	71 (4.1)
Teacher (school/college) (Govt./Private)	2 (0.1)
Private supervisor/clerk	79 (4.6)
Private peon	154 (9.0)
Professionals (doctors/lawyers/engineers)	1 (0.1)
Factory worker	184 (10.7)
Artisan	5 (0.3)
Total	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

While 48.4 per cent of the respondents reported that they have discontinued their traditional occupation and moved to non-agricultural labour, about 6.4 per cent households have reported that they still continue with their traditional occupation. The chief calling of Dhangars, who practice traditional occupation is that of shepherds, cattle-breeders, cattle-sellers and blanket-weavers. They also deal in wool, and weave coarse blankets called *chavales*. During the fair season they graze over the country, and collect considerable quantities of grain in return for folding their sheep and goats in fields which are in want of manure. They are famous as weather prophets, foretelling rain and other changes of weather by observing the planets. However, many of them have abandoned their traditional occupation and works as non-agricultural workers, petty shopkeepers, messengers, factory worker, government employees. Ten per cent reported being factory workers, 8.8 per cent are petty businessmen, 6.1 per cent are government salaried workers and 14.6 per cent reported being clerk, supervisors and peons in private sector.

Figure 3.3: Possession of agricultural land (share in per cent)

Source: Field Survey

Only one per cent of the households (i.e. 12 households) possess agricultural land (Figure 3.3). All the 12 households are cultivating their land independently. It is revealed that all the households (except one) have land within the range of below one acre (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12: Land distribution among the households

Landholding	Frequency
Below 0.5 acre	11 (91.7)
0.6 to 1 acre	01 (8.3)
Total	12 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

6. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

While about 12.7 per cent of the 1722 households own the house in which they live, 87.3 per cent do not possess own homes with titles (Table 3.13). The housing condition of Dhangar Goulys is very precarious in this state.

“Our community faces a major problem due to lack of land. Legalizing housing is the main issue. Educational facilities and other benefits have been given to some extent. At least the Government has recognized that we are backward in education. But nobody seems to understand the problem of land. Nobody wants to touch this issue, because they think they will face a major obstacle from landlords. There should be some commitment to take on the land owners, and grant us proper houses. People cannot live in tiny houses any more. They cannot expand because they have no papers. Our community has the smallest houses amongst all other tribal communities in Goa”.

Rajesh Baragde
Autorickshaw driver Bondbhag
Ponda taluka

Table 3.13: Status of ownership of house

House ownership	Frequency
Own with title	219 (12.7)
Own house without title	1503 (87.3)
Total	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Only 6.6 per cent of houses are reported as *Pucca*; 8.1 per cent are *Semi-Pucca* and 21.9 per cent of the households live in *Kutchha* houses. Large number of households stay in temporary shelters (81.3 per cent) and in huts and removable tents (4.1 per cent). The data shows that the housing conditions among all the tribes except very few are quite similar. A high proportion of the households are staying in huts and temporary shelters (Table 3.14), while 93.0 per cent of the households reported houses (irrespective of titles) with three rooms (Table 3.15).

Table 3.14: Type of house

Type of House	Frequency
Pucca house	113 (6.6)
Semi-Pucca	139 (8.1)
Temporary	1400 (81.3)
Removable shelter	70 (4.1)
Total	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 3.15: Number of rooms in the house

Number of Rooms	Frequency
2	3 (0.2)
3	1601 (93.0)
4	113 (6.6)
5	4 (0.2)
6	1 (0.1)
Total	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The living conditions of these tribes, in terms of access to water, were also probed. The source of drinking water is tube/bore well for 45.1 per cent of the households and about 25.6 per cent depend on piped water. 16.4 per cent of the households are dependent on spring/stream whereas 8.4 per cent on hand pump and 5.6 per cent on open well respectively (Table 3.16). Toilet facilities are available to only 30.5 per cent of

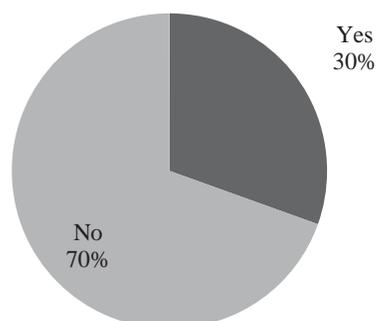
households and 69.5 per cent defecate in an open space (Figure 3.4). In nutshell, the facilities of drinking water and toilets in the state are very precarious.

Table 3.16: Main source of drinking water

Source of drinking water	Frequency
Tube/bore well	777 (45.1)
Protected well	17 (1.0)
Open well	96 (5.6)
Spring/stream	282 (16.4)
Piped water	440 (25.6)
Hand pump	144 (8.4)
Tanker	82 (4.8)
Total	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 3.4: Status of toilet facilities / access



Source: Field Survey

About 99.8 per cent of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. 95.9 per cent of households have electricity in their homes (Table 3.17).

Table 3.17: Status of electricity

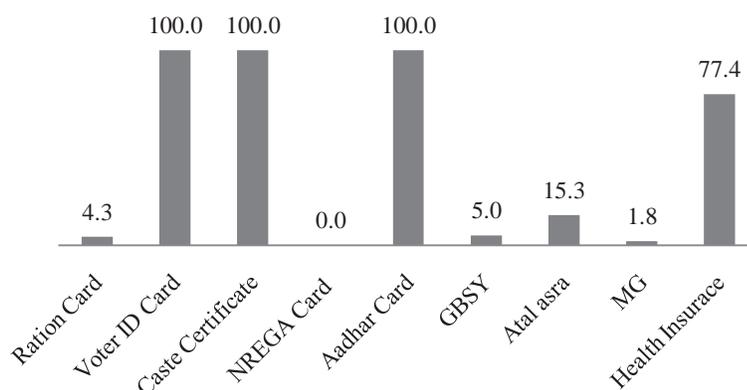
Status	Availability of electricity in the neighborhood	Percentage of respondents having electricity
Yes	1718 (99.8)	1651 (95.9)
No	4 (0.2)	71 (4.1)
Total	1722 (100.0)	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

7. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

In terms of possession of entitlements, 100 percent of the households possess voter ID card, Aadhar card and caste certificates. None of the respondents possess NREGA card. Only 4.3 per cent of the households have ration cards but at the same time 15.3 per cent possess the benefit of ATAL ASRA scheme. Health insurance is popular among 77.4 per cent of the households (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Access to Entitlements



Source: Field Survey

All households (100 percent) have access to Primary Health Centre (PHC) and 90.3 per cent households have access to Anganwadis (Table 3.18). The fact that majority of these households have access to these institutions which address the issues related to primary healthcare and nutrition may be taken as a positive factor.

Table 3.18: Access to ICDS & PHC by households

Government schemes	Frequency
Anganwadi/ICDS	1555 (90.3)
Primary Health Centre	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

“We Dhangars have got the worst treatment. During our nomadic days we were innocently roaming throughout the Ghats. We fought with the chieftains, we helped the Portuguese to discover the route through the Western Ghats for the first railway. We have got transformed from a land-rich to a landless community. We ask the Government to legalize the houses of our community. We have to be guaranteed pastures. What’s the point of giving us a cattle-rearing scheme? We cannot take our cattle to the pastures. We have only limited land to which we can go.

We have seen how the SC and ST communities have benefitted from reservations. That’s why we are also demanding the same. Kumbi, Gawda, Velip and Dhangar-Gouly all faced the same situation, but now only we have been left behind. If not ST, then we want to be given NT status. What’s the point of giving us only educational benefits? For jobs, we have to compete with 17 other communities who were already ahead of us at the time of liberation. We have to get special reservations in jobs. There is no other way for our children to go ahead”.

Laxman Kavlekar

Taxi driver, Bogmallo hamlet, Dabolim, Marmagaon taluka

8. Assets

The study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. About 97.6 per cent of households have kitchen appliances and 95.9 per cent of them possess mobile phones. About 88.5 per cent of households have electric fans and 64.5 per cent have television. Less than 50 per cent of households reported having a cycle, refrigerator, computer, scooter, or four-wheeler (Table 3.19).

Table 3.19: Possession of assets in the household

Assets	Frequency
Chairs	1722 (100.0)
Electric fan / cooler	1524 (88.5)
Kitchen appliances like cooker	1681 (97.6)
Radio	1722 (100.0)
Cycle	740 (43.0)
Refrigerator	57 (3.3)
Television	1116 (64.8)
Computer/ laptop	16 (0.9)
Telephone/mobile	1652 (95.9)
Scooter/motorcycle	59 (3.4)
Four wheeler	29 (1.7)

Source: Field Survey

“The truth is that we are very few in number. If we were greater in population, then at least our politicians would pay attention to us. We are doubly unfortunate. One is the fact that we were nomadic, second is the fact that we are so few in number. Politicians look for votes. Their tendency is to pay attention to large communities.

Some of our youth are educated. This is through sheer struggle and willpower. Nobody should expect the entire community to live a life of constant hardship. What else can we do to make our politicians see our plight? Nobody is interested in us. We are still struggling to get rightful housing. There are other tribes who lived in the forests like us. They have leases from the forest department to use some forest lands for vegetable and fruit cultivation, whereas our people are still living close to forests and away from villages, but only a handful have land leased to them for cultivation. I feel that the two issues should go hand in hand: land rights and education. We cannot renovate houses because we do not have papers. Some of the people have huts, but the electricity department will not give power for electrification because you need to have a pucca house. So most of our woes are related to land rights and housing”.

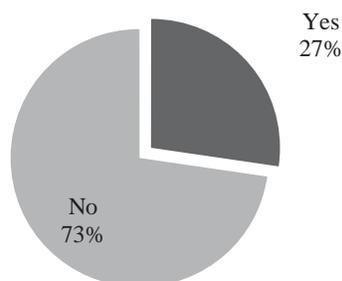
Toko Lambor

Ex-Panch, Baripwada, Collem

Sanguem taluka (now deceased)

Dhangar Gouly households did not report significantly much about discrimination against the children in the school. However about only 27 per cent of respondents report that they have educated neighbours (Figure 3.6). The interaction with neighbours with regard to children’s education is discussed in Section III.

Figure 3.6: Incidence of education among neighbours



Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS

This section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Goa. Along with the findings based on the primary data on the educational status of the denotified tribes in the state, the study also provides an overview of the initiatives of the government to facilitate access to education among denotified tribes.

9. Status of Education

The household survey provides detailed information on various indicators that reflect on the educational status of household members including the pattern of enrolment, reasons for non-enrolment, dropout, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education.

Among the total population covered under the survey (9001), child population (below 6 years) accounts for nearly 9 per cent and the remaining population can be classified as (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education. We find relatively larger share of population reported as completed or dropped out of the education (41.9 per cent) followed by never enrolled and currently studying (respectively 25.2 per cent and 23.8 per cent) in the total population (Table 3.20).

Table 3.20: Education status of members of respondent households

Educational status	No. of Persons (Share in per cent)
Child (< 6 years)	819 (9.1)
Studying	2142 (23.8)
Never enrolled	2271 (25.2)
Dropped out	2728 (30.3)
Completed	1041 (11.6)
Total	9001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

There are many who do not identify any particular reason for stopping their education. Instead, they reported that they have completed their education at different levels. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. Out of 1041 who have reported that they have completed education (Table 3.20), majority has completed secondary level education (46 per cent) followed by higher secondary (22.5 per cent), primary (19.8 per cent), and graduation and above (10 per cent) level of education.

Table 3.21: Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled

Level of Education	No. of Persons (Share in per cent)
Primary	1155 (53.9)
Secondary	596 (27.8)
Higher secondary	240 (11.2)
Graduation	80 (3.7)
Post-graduation	12 (0.6)
Professional courses	58 (2.7)
Research degree	1 (0.0)
Total	2142 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who reported as currently studying, more than half were enrolled in primary level (53.9 per cent) followed by secondary (27.8 per cent) and higher secondary (11.2 per cent) levels. Only 3.7 per cent were studying in graduate level courses while 2.7 per cent enrolled in professional courses; the enrolment at post graduate and research degrees remain low at 0.6 per cent (Table 3.21). For majority of those enrolled and currently studying the medium of instruction was English (79 per cent) followed by Marathi (20.2 per cent) and Others (Table 3.22). Interestingly, three-fourths (74 per cent) were studying in government institutions (Figure 3.7).

Table 3.22: Choice of medium of instruction

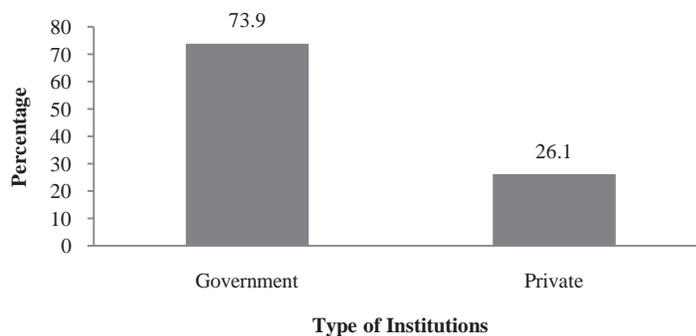
Language	No. of Students (share in per cent)
Marathi	433 (20.2)
English	1693 (79.0)
Others	16 (0.7)
Total	2142 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

“I am from the Dhangar-Gouly community, so I know how difficult it is for families to educate their children. When I was growing up, we lived in several different places. I joined one school, then we had to shift, so I went to another school, and so on. It was just by luck that I was allowed to take the matric exam and cleared it. Our people live in such isolated areas. There was no settlement land given to us, so we had to hide and settle down. Even today, besides education, our main demand is land. That’s why we are asking for ST status, because we will be secure wherever we have settled.

Every monsoon we find that Dhangar-Gouly children are absent for several days. They have to walk such long distances. The rains make it very difficult for them to walk through the forests”.

*Navu Kulekar
Primary school teacher
Pedamol, Quepem taluka*

Figure 3.7: Type of educational institutions

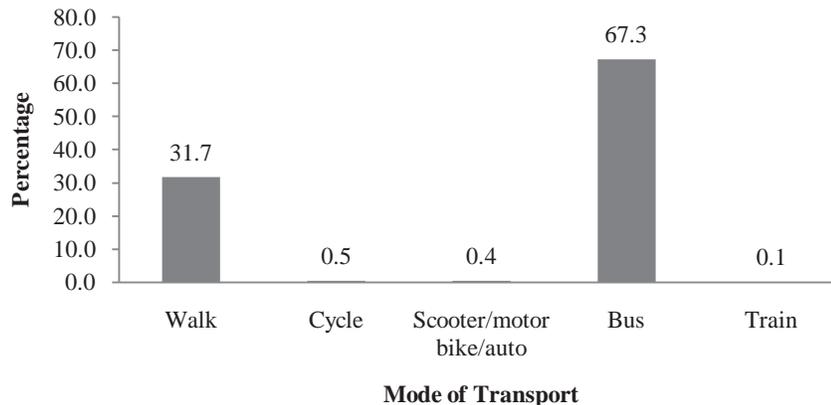
Source: Field Survey

Table 3.23: Distance to educational institution

Distances	No. of Students (share in per cent)
Upto 1 km	132 (6.2)
1.1-3.0	578 (27.0)
3.1-5.0	596 (27.8)
5.1-10	747 (34.9)
Above 10 kms.	89 (4.2)
Total	2142 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

For reaching the institutions they study in, we find that 34.9 per cent has to travel between 5 and 10 km while only 6.2 per cent have their educational institutions located within one Km. While more than 54 per cent have their schools or colleges within 5 km distance, 4.2 per cent of them have to travel more than 10 km reach their educational institutions (Table 3.23). As a reflection of the distances, a majority (67.3 per cent) use bus as the main mode of transport followed by 31.7 per cent who walk to their place of study (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Mode of transport to educational institutions

Source: Field Survey

Among those who never enrolled in school education, about 42 per cent of individuals reported distance to educational institutions (from place of residence) followed by necessity to engage in work (26 per cent) as the main reasons. Around 16 per cent reported that parents did not consider studying as important and necessary while 14 per cent could not enroll in school because of parents' migration for livelihoods. Others reported the difficulty in availing the required documents like birth certificate of the child and illness.

I am the first person in my family to graduate. Being a school teacher, I use my position to encourage young members of the community to study. We are the first generation to live a settled life. If we were given some additional benefits, we could at least compete with the rest of the communities. We are last in the line. Our children must also get good quality English-medium education. Every other community is sending their children abroad to study. We cannot even think about it because we don't have the means and we don't have fluency in English.

Absenteeism during the monsoon is a big problem in our community. When there is heavy rain, children cannot cross streams. They miss out on classes. Often, their performance is affected because they cannot catch up when they go a few days later.

Vitu Pavno

*School Teacher, Forest check post wada
Bhuimpali, Sattari Taluka*

Table 3.24: Dropout and level of education

Level of Education	No. of Persons (Share in per cent)
Primary Level	2251 (82.5)
Secondary Level	398 (14.6)
Higher Secondary Level	72 (2.6)
Graduation	4 (0.1)
Professional Courses	3 (0.1)
Total	2728 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who reported “dropped out” of school, data reveals that majority (82.5 per cent) had completed their primary education, followed by 14.6 per cent who had completed secondary-level education (Table 3.24). As many of them do not enter the higher levels of education, most of them have left their education at the early stages. About 43 per cent of drop-outs reported that parents’ financial problem/poverty was the main reason for dropping out of schools. More than one fourth (26.6 per cent) of them reported distance to educational institutions from their place of residence as a deterrent followed by 18.3 per cent who had to seek work to support the family and left their schools. Others reported lack of awareness on the importance of education, pressure for marriage, illness, poor performance in studies, lack of employment opportunities, language difficulties and situations like elder child being forced to need to look after younger siblings (due to the arrest of parents by police or parents’ absence caused by other reasons) as the reasons for dropping out of their school education.

10. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental Motivation and Other Support for Education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents’ participation and community involvement in decision making at different levels of children’s education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

Table 3.25: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

Taken suggestions from	Admission of the Children to School	Selection of School/ College	Financial Matters	Guidance on children's education
Family members	165 (9.6)	-	7 (0.4)	-
Community leaders	309 (17.9)	73 (4.2)	-	-
Neighbours/Friends	691 (40.1)	66 (3.9)	218 (12.7)	-
Educated members of the community	146 (8.5)	133 (7.7)	1329 (77.2)	1623 (94.3)
Not consulted	411 (23.9)	1450 (84.2)	168 (9.8)	99 (5.7)
Total	1722 (100.0)	1722 (100.0)	1722 (100.0)	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

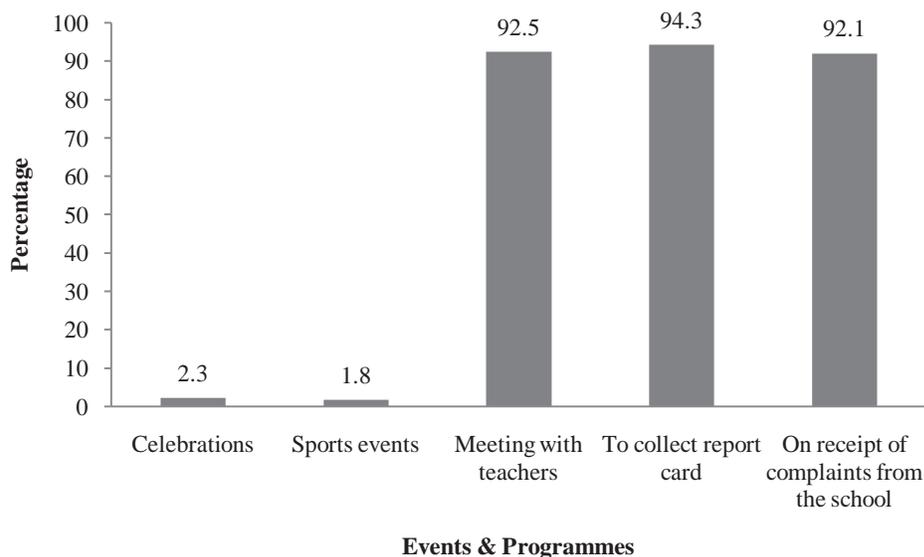
The data suggest differences in the pattern of support which students receive from their parents and community. In terms of admission to school, majority of the parents had consulted neighbours and friends (40 per cent), community leaders (18 per cent), family members and educated members of the community (around 9 per cent each) while almost one-fourth had not consulted anyone. In case of selection of school/college specifically, majority (84 per cent) had not consulted anyone. Whereas majority of the parents had consulted educated members of the community (77 and 94 per cent respectively) to receive support on financial matters and guidance on children's education (Table 3.25).

Table 3.26: Frequency of parents visit to school

No. of times	No. of Households (Share in per cent)
None	89 (5.2)
1	173 (10.0)
2	377 (21.9)
3	915 (53.1)
4	168 (9.8)
Total	1722 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

In terms of interaction of parents with their children's school, more than half visited school thrice in a year followed by 22 per cent twice and 10 per cent each once and four times in a year. Only a negligible proportion (5 per cent) of parents reported not visiting the schools (Table 3.26).

Figure 3.9: Parents visit to school for different events & programmes

Source: Field Survey

Most of the parents visit their children's schools or colleges to collect report cards (94 per cent), meeting with teachers and on receipt of complaints from school (92 per cent each). Only a small number of them attended the celebrations and sports events held in the schools or colleges (Figure 3.9). Thus, it was mostly for interaction with teachers related to academic matters rather than extra-curricular activities. This was evident from the low levels of participation of children in various programmes organised at their schools or colleges (Table 3.27). The main reason for the lack of children's participation in school programmes was lack of interest of the child, the necessity to engage in domestic work and lack of understanding about the importance of such activities.

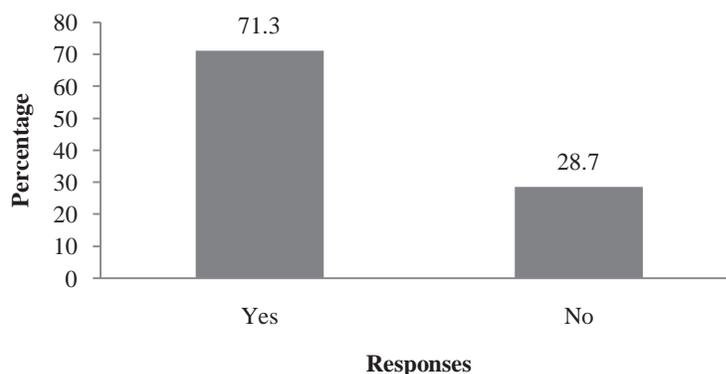
Table 3.27: Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes

Children's Participation	No. of Households (Share in per cent)
Cultural activities	58 (3.4)
Sports events	26 (1.5)
Co-curricular activities	21 (1.2)

Source: Field Survey

With regard to regular study-time at home, 71 per cent of the parents of the households surveyed replied in the affirmative (Figure 3.10). Nearly two thirds of parents of households (66 per cent) leave their children engaged in self-study to complete their home work, while around 28 per cent have arranged private tutor to help the children with homework and study. Near cent percent of the households with private tutor for children paid Rs 600 per month as fee.

Figure 3.10: Parents reporting regular study at home by children



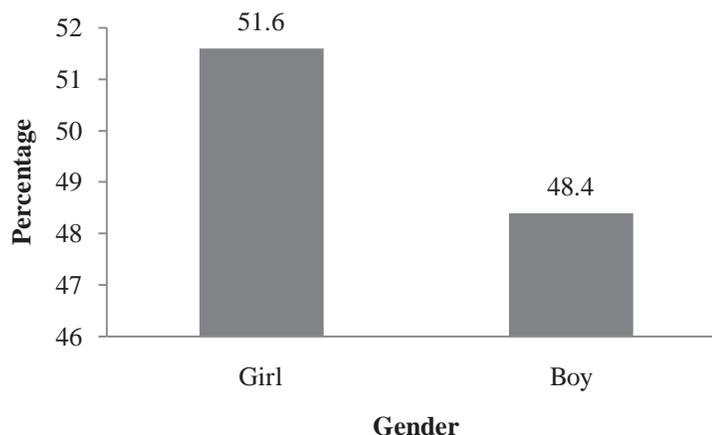
Source: Field Survey

Table 3.28: Perception about progress and performance of children

Performance of children	Sample
Satisfactory	1465 (85.1)
Can Write	1629 (94.6)
Can Read	1629 (94.6)
Can Speak	1629 (94.6)

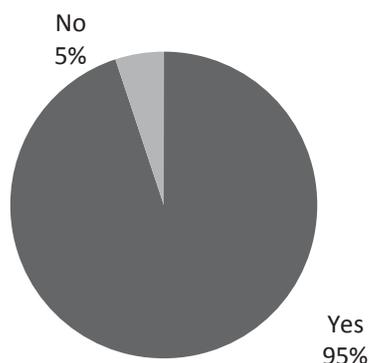
Source: Field Survey

Overall, we find that the parents of the households were satisfied with the level of progress of their wards in education (Table 3.28). Parent's involvement in school management was strikingly low. None of the parents was aware of the school management committee, hence not active participants. Financial support is one of the main drivers of educational access. In this regard, we noticed some difference in the pattern of availing the loan for boys and girls - (Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.11: Gender of children for whom education loan was taken

Source: Field Survey

Out of 1,722 of households, majority (95 per cent) reported that children help them with domestic chores (Figure 3.12). It was observed from fieldwork as well as primary data that while both male and female child helped in housework, and engaged in household domestic chores and cattle grazing. Majority of the children were engaged for around an hour of work at home.

Figure 3.12: Involvement of children in housework

Source: Field Survey

Aspirations of parents in relation to the future of their children were also elicited. Majority (63.5 per cent) of parents wanted their son to join government service, followed by 12.7 per cent who wanted their son to pursue a professional career (doctor/engineer). Additionally, 7.0 per cent each also indicated that their son's career depended on level of education

and his wishes/luck. Around 52.1 per cent wanted their son to pursue graduation and post-graduation. Around sixty percent of parents reported that if a boy is educated and takes up a job, he can contribute to the economic stability of the household as well as increase awareness about life, while 38.7 per cent of respondents stated that education enables one to lead a happy and comfortable life. Around 2.4 per cent reported that if their son is educated, he will be better equipped to know about government schemes and benefits.

Around 60 per cent of respondents wanted their daughters to pursue graduation and post-graduation. A little more than one third of parents believed that their daughter should become a teacher, while 20.0 per cent wanted their daughters' career to be in government service, followed by 17.1 per cent who state their daughter's career is dependent on her level of education. About 5.7 per cent of respondents reported that it would be as per her wish or luck. About 48.0 per cent of respondents reported that if a girl is educated and takes up service, she can contribute to the economic betterment of the family along with increased awareness about life. Nearly 37 per cent of respondents stated that education would enable her to take care of her family while 15.3 per cent reported that better education for their daughter will help them to get better marriage alliance.

11. Marginalised Communities and Education in Goa

Any discussion of education in Goa must take into account the vast period of Portuguese colonial rule. Before the arrival of the colonial rulers, many villages had small instruction centres (*patshalas*) where a teacher (*Xenvi*) taught the basic reading, writing and arithmetic. These were centred around the temple or the private residences of wealthy families.

Education during Portuguese rule

After the conquest of 1510, the King of Portugal passed a decree (in 1546) wherein schools were to be set up to impart Portuguese language education and decided to close the local schools to make way for the new Portuguese schools. These were parochial schools attached to churches and funded by village communities. The policy continued for over a century. By the end of the 17th century, there were some Jesuit schools in the Old Conquest areas, imparting instruction in Portuguese and Konkani as indoctrination in the Christian faith was more effective through the

local language. Some attempts were made by the then-Governor to introduce public primary education in Goa. However, it was only in 1836, when Portugal adopted a new educational policy and made applicable to Goa, that the public school system (*escolaprimaria*) was actually introduced in the state.

There have been many rapid changes since then. In 1845, by yet another decree, the Portuguese encouraged private parties to set up schools. Three decades later, they allowed dual languages to be taught, namely Portuguese and Marathi. There were no books in Konkani and the Hindus favoured Marathi for religious purposes. In the early twentieth century, many Goans began going to Mumbai in search of work. The city was then in British India and hence English language was seen as having more value for jobs. Subsequently, enrolment in Portuguese schools dropped and enrolment in private English schools went up considerably.

The Post-Liberation Period

After liberation in December 1961, primary education was made free and compulsory. This was the first opportunity for the underprivileged sections to access education. English replaced Portuguese as the medium of instruction. At the same time, there were many Marathi medium primary schools introduced by the MGP party that came to power after the first elections.

Though free and compulsory, education still eluded the marginalised groups, not to mention the Dhangar-Gouly. A new surge in political awareness emerged amongst four communities in Goa after the Mandal Commission report, and the Kunbi, Gawda, Velip, and Dhangar-Gouly became assertive, demanding for ST status. Until then, they had been identified as OBC for the state of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The OBC list for Goa had 18 communities at the time, and the Dhangar-Gouly had the least population, making less than 1 per cent of the total. Any educational benefits that they could get would be drowned out by the 17 communities that made up the rest of the list.

The continued exclusion from mainstream education was perpetuated by the fact that:

1. Dhangar-Gouly hamlets were so remotely located that children often had to walk long distances to reach schools.
2. The community mostly had access to only a few Marathi-medium primary school.
3. English-medium schools were fewer and located mainly in the areas of the rich villages.
4. Poverty pushed most youngsters of the tribe to seek jobs as agricultural labourers in the rice paddies belonging to the villages. They also got absorbed as mine labour in the flourishing mining industry in the neighbourhood.
5. The nature of pastoralism involving family labour and time-consuming travel to and from the grazing grounds did not permit children to be spared for education.

Young adults who had never enrolled in schools found opportunity for employment as drivers for buses, autorickshaws and trucks. Since the hinterland had several mining belts, trucks were needed in large numbers to transport ore. It suited these youngsters well as this profession did not require any academic qualifications.

12. Further Exclusion from Equitable Education

The Konkani language was given official status in May 1987, and entered the 8th schedule of the constitution. The unique situation in Goa was that, while Konkani was being demanded as the official language, most parents favoured English as the medium of instruction for their wards. It was seen as the language that gave better access to higher education, as well as job opportunities abroad. Goa already had a considerable tradition of good convent schools and institutions run by Jesuits. Nevertheless, marginalized communities still had to contend with basic education being given in the vernacular.

In 1990, the new educational policy favoured grants only to Konkani/Marathi medium schools. This was in keeping with the spirit of the new official language, to adopt teaching in Konkani. Schools were however given the choice to continue teaching in English by charging fees if they so desired.

Most schools in the rural areas, including Diocesan schools, switched to Konkani medium as most parents in rural areas would be unable to pay fees and allied expenses. As a sequel to this policy, affluent families and upper castes began to enrol their wards in private English-medium schools. The demand for English saw the mushrooming of several exclusive English-medium schools who charged huge fees. A divide was created between the poor rural sections and the affluent urbanized sections; it played out through the medium of instruction and difference in quality education-English for the rich and basic education in vernacular for the poor.

This policy adversely affected marginalized groups such as the Dhangar-Gouly, and they were further excluded from the little English education that they had had access to. Amongst them the spoken language is Dhangari. As they live exclusively, there is hardly any tradition of speaking in English. The 1990 policy denied them the equality of opportunity to learn and compete with other educationally-forward classes. Education in English medium was unaffordable in terms of fees, and too distant in terms of daily commute. Parents were left with no choice but to enrol children in vernacular medium schools.

The 2005 education policy envisioned free and compulsory education of equitable quality for all. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan was also launched to cover all children, aged 6 to 14, with special emphasis on SC/ST and Dhangar-Gouly. The case of the Dhangar-Gouly had been brought to the fore by the Gomes Committee report in 2003, which was the first ever in-depth report on the community. It was the result of the Central Government asking for information on the community in order to consider it for inclusion in the ST list along with the other tribes of Goa.

The findings were very revealing. Literacy was hardly at 50 per cent. The community had only 32 graduate individuals, one post-graduate, two doctors, two school teachers, four police constables, and 64 persons employed as 'D' category Government employees (peons, cleaners). It was a grim picture of exclusion from education as well as Government service.

In 2012, the then-Chief Minister of Goa, as a special case, extended all educational benefits of STs to the Dhangar-Gouly (state sector schemes). As of February 2013, the following schemes have been extended:

1. *Antyasanskaryojana*: To carry out last rites in a decent manner.
2. *Atal Asra*: House construction/repair scheme.
3. *Sanskriti Bhavan*: To provide multipurpose community halls in Dhangar-Gouly areas.
4. *Gagan Bharari Shiksha Yojana*: Additional financial support for pursuing higher education.
5. *Mundkar Ghar*: Financial assistance to tenants in order to purchase the house in which they dwell.
6. *Prashikshan Yatra*: Financial assistance for educational tours.
7. Orphan Child/Children of Widow: Financial support for orphans or children of widows, received till the age of 18.
8. Merit Based Award: Financial awards to motivate academically bright students from the poorest families.

They also have a special scheme called *Pashupalan* from the Animal Husbandry Department for breeding local cows and buffaloes.

The regular schemes for OBC applicable to the community in Goa are:

1. *Saral Vidya Sahay* Scheme- financial assistance to the student's family to check dropouts due to poverty
2. Meritorious Scholarships-financial assistance per annum for good academic performance
3. Post Matric Scholarship - payment of tuition fees for all higher education courses
4. Book Bank Scheme in Educational Institutions
5. Grant-in- Aid to NGO's for running hostels for OBC students
6. *Kanya Dhan*- for girls pursuing post-matric studies
7. Scholarship for Nursing - specifically for girls who wish to pursue nursing courses

13. Conclusions

In Goa, there exists only one Nomadic Tribe, the Dhangar Gouly which falls under OBC category, but is more backward than SC and ST communities. Interestingly, most of the households surveyed were residing in rural areas. The language spoken at home was Konkani and during

social occasions, Dhangari language was used. English as a language of communication was known to at least one family member among majority of the households.

Non-agricultural labour was the primary occupation while they have diversified into petty shops, trade, government employees, and salaried workers in private sector and so on. Only a miniscule proportion of the households report possession of agricultural land.

In terms of housing, majority possess (87 per cent) own house but with no title indicative of the vulnerability of the households. Moreover, only less than 7 per cent have reported pucca houses while majority (81 per cent) reported temporary shelter. Source of drinking water was tube / bore well for 45 per cent of the households while 16 per cent depended on spring/stream. Toilet facilities were available only to less than 31 per cent of the households. Thus living conditions were not encouraging for the households from the Dhangar Gouly community.

In terms of status of education, dropouts (30 per cent), those who report completed (11.9 per cent) and never enrolled (25 per cent) account for more than two thirds of population surveyed indicative of the dismal educational status. Among the currently studying, majority were enrolled in primary (more than half) and their medium instruction was English. Around three-fourths were studying in government institutions and more than 60 per cent of the currently studying had their educational institution located within five kilometres.

In terms of reasons for non enrolment, distance to educational institutions and the necessity to engage in work were cited as the main reasons along with lack of awareness among parents about the importance of education as well as migratory nature of work of parents which render regular schooling problematic. An overwhelming majority (83 per cent) completed their primary education before dropping out while among those who reported educational status as completed, majority had completed secondary, followed by higher and primary education. A small proportion had also indicated graduation and above.

Parental interaction with community on children's education was discussed with educated members of the community mainly on financial matters and general guidance. In case of selection of college majority had

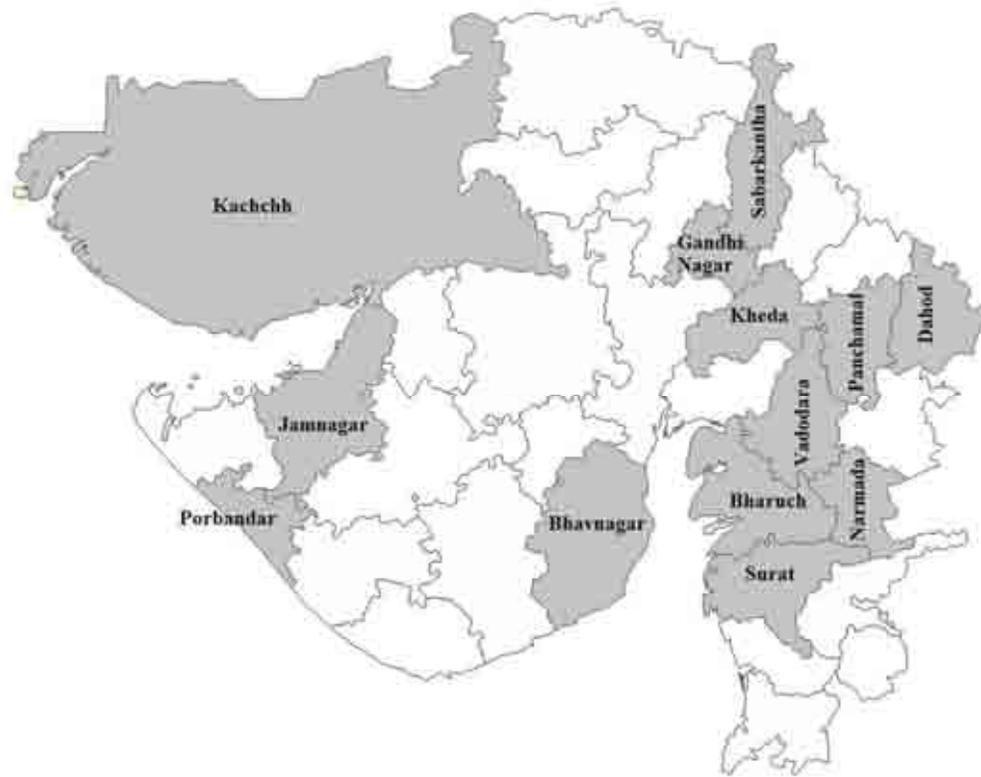
not consulted any community or family member. Frequency of visit to school was thrice a year (reported by more than half of the households). Only a negligible proportion of households indicated no visit by parents. The visit was mostly to meet with teachers, collect report cards or as and when directed by schools.

Low levels of participation in various programmes were reported while more than 70 per cent of the parents of the households surveyed indicated that children regularly study at home while two thirds of them are engaged in self study. More than a quarter of households engage private tutors too. In addition, majority (95 per cent) of households reported children helping the family with household work. Interestingly with regard to financial support, loans availed for girls were more than boys.

The high incidence of never enrolled and dropouts as well as completed indicate that there is concerted need to focus on education of Dhangar Gouly community.

However, the fact that around one-quarter of the population surveyed was currently studying is encouraging. This could be attributed to the concerted efforts of state and central governments in extending facilities to the community. In fact in 2012, the state government had extended all educational benefits of STs to the Dhangar Gouly community in addition to the regular schemes available for OBC category.

Gujarat



Communities Surveyed

Chhara, Chuvalia Koli, Dafer
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Chapter 4**GUJARAT****I. INTRODUCTION****1. Context**

India is perhaps the only country in the world where certain groups of people/communities are stigmatized as ‘Born Criminals’ during the British rule. The stigma of ‘Born Criminality’ has continued to haunt these communities for the past one and half centuries. In last few decades, many scholars, activists and artists have written about the Denotified Tribes and tried to voice their issues and understand this complex subject from different perspectives. Literature created awareness about Denotified Tribes and theatre helped the oppressed communities initiate the dialogue necessary to transform the people and change the historically stigmatized identity of DNT communities. In Gujarat, Budhan Theatre, an umbrella organization of the Baroda-based Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, has been engaged in activism through theatre at state, national and international levels to raise awareness about the social and political rights of India’s Nomadic and Denotified Tribes. This small group reaches out to lakhs of people and after every performance, asks the question, “Are we second class citizens?”

It has been a challenging task to conduct this survey in the absence of any information about these communities and their localities in Gujarat. In addition to the survey, a lot of effort was put together for community profiles, including village profiles, attempts to estimate their population in the state and gather some general information about the communities.

2. Methodology

The study was conducted in two phases – pilot survey followed by the main survey. The pilot survey took four months to complete including planning, communication with community leaders and field surveys. The three communities in three districts covered by the pilot study were: Vaghari (now, Devipujak) (DNT), Madari (NT) and Nat (NT).

Table 4.1: Summary table of pilot survey

DNT/SNT/NT Community	District Covered	Taluka Covered	Number of Villages	Total
3 Tribes	7	20	35	412

Source: Field Survey

The main survey covered on the basis of 10 DNT and NT communities, detail the criteria such as vulnerability of the tribe, their social status, and geographical locations such as small towns, big towns, villages, hamlets, deep forests, ghettos and so forth were taken into consideration for sample selection. Based on the discussion with experts, the following communities were selected for the main survey.

DNT 1: Wagher, Koli, Chuvaliya Koli and Sandhi

DNT 2: Chhara, Dafer and Miyana

Nomadic Tribes: Turi, Vanjara and Salatghera

Among Denotified Tribes, there are many who are vulnerable but do not carry the stigma of Criminal Tribe. Over time, this has declined, but communities are still excluded from mainstream society. There are many other communities in Gujarat who continue to be treated as Criminal Tribes by the society and system. The classification of DNT 1 and DNT 2 in the study aimed at capturing this distinction. From DNT 2, we hoped to arrive at an understanding of whether the ‘Criminal Tribe’ stigma prevents children from receiving an education and if it does then in what specific ways.

In Gujarat, most of Denotified Tribes are included in Baxi Panch’s Other Backward Communities list. The Turi tribe, a nomadic tribe, is also listed as SC in Gujarat - the only community to be listed in two schedules. The listing of the communities have been cross verified with the report of Renke Commission.

2.1 Mapping

As stated earlier, the coordinators and surveyors were selected from the NT and DNT communities from different districts of Gujarat. Although it was not difficult to access communities and their locations in the different districts, there were several challenges faced by the survey team especially arising from the fact that some communities no longer use their official

community name. For example, the Turi community is referred to as Turi Barot or just Barot in Sabarkantha district of Gujarat. Identifying community members required probing after which respondents opened up - if they had a caste certificate, it was shown to the investigator before filling the survey form.

Another challenge the team faced was with the Sandhi community. Sandhi is a different clan of Dafer Community, but they do not accept this, as the Dafers are considered notorious. Also, in their document they mention their community name as 'Sindhi' and not "Sandhi". When clarification was sought, they said that government officers said that there is no "Sandhi" community, you are "Sindhi" community and in this way they have given us such government documents.' 'Sindhi' is a minority business community but the 'Sandhi' is a Muslim community and live in extreme poverty in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat. Some 'Sandhi' tribes people own land but the majority work as drivers. Encountering these kinds of challenges, the survey team had mapped out the community location with network and field visits. The survey was designed in two phases.

Phase 1

In Phase 1, the survey was conducted in the districts where surveyors and coordinators resided. Before the survey, they identified hamlets, villages and ghettos of particular DNT communities through field visits and telephonic conversations. They spent 15 days identifying the communities and their locations in their respective districts, and one and half months on the actual field survey. In Phase 1, the survey was completed in Ahmedabad, Lunawada, Sabarkantha, Chhota Udeipur, Bhiloda and Dahod.

Phase 2

In Phase 2, the surveyors and coordinators travelled to other districts like Mehsana, Bhavnagar, Dwarka, Baroda, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Godhra, Kutch and so on. The team split into three groups and began the survey in nearby districts so they would not have to spend much time on travelling. In Bhavnagar district, when they approached the Koli leaders on the phone about the survey, they agreed to meet but when the surveyors reached the location, people refused to give them any information. The team stayed in

Bhavnagar for a day and tried to convince the leaders, but they were not ready to give information. Finally, the survey team travelled to another district and had one-to-one interactions with the Koli and Chunvaliya Koli tribes. When the team reached Dwarka district to fill up the Wagher community's forms, they learned that the tribe was split into two groups (due to internal politics) and were told that if they conducted the survey in one group then they would be unable to canvass the others and might even result in violence. Political forces were very active while the surveyors were filling up forms. Even in places where the work had been completed, some youth of the village accompanied the team to the bus station to see them off and confirm that they were not going to approach another Wagher group.

As discussed earlier, there were some crucial questions in the questionnaires that needed to be asked particularly with respect to the DNT 2 communities. These questions were about police arrest and harassment. When the team asked these questions in the pilot survey, the surveyors were viewed with suspicion. The respondents were not comfortable with answering these questions and were suspicious of how these information might be used. The team tried to convince the respondents that the study would like to analyse the implications of such arrests for example on children's education or well-being; but they were not convinced.

Table 4.2: Details of main survey

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Summary of Main Survey			Total Households
	Districts Covered	Talukas Covered	Villages/ Area covered	
10	15	34	123	1574

Source: Field Survey

A total 1574 NT-DNT households were surveyed from the following 15 districts of Gujarat:

1. Ahmedabad
2. Lunawada
3. Sabarkantha
4. Chhota Udaipur
5. Bhiloda
6. Dahod
7. Mehsana
8. Bhavnagar

9. Dwarka
10. Baroda
11. Jamnagar
12. Junagadh
13. Godhra
14. Kutch
15. Baruch

The DNT communities studied were divided into three groups depending on the extent of marginalization faced by them. DNT communities that are no longer considered ‘criminal’ tribes but are still marginalized and vulnerable were placed in the category DNT-1.

DNT communities who are still labelled ‘criminal’ tribes and hence discriminated against were placed in the DNT-2 category and DNT communities who are still living a nomadic lifestyle are in the Nomadic Tribes category. Among the sample covered, 38 per cent were from DNT1, 33 per cent belonged to DNT2 and rest were from NT (Table 4.3, Figure 4.1(1) & (2)).

Table 4.3: Sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (per cent)	Social Category
Sandhi	150	9.5	DNT1 (38.4)
Chuvalia Koli	151	9.6	
Wagher	157	10.0	
Koli	147	9.3	
Dafer	157	10.0	DNT2 (33.0)
Miyana	186	11.8	
Chhara	177	11.2	
Salat Ghera	147	9.3	NT (28.4)
Turi	147	9.3	
Vanjara	155	9.8	
Total	1574	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Figure 4.1(1): Classification of tribes

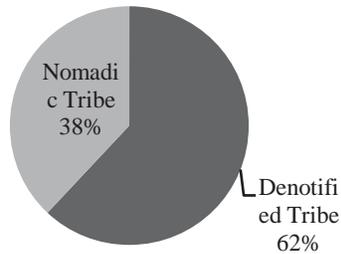
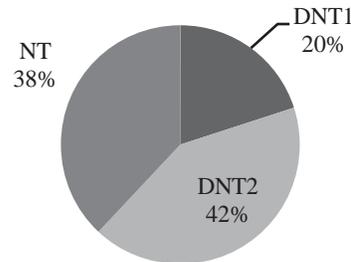


Figure 4.1(2): Classification of tribes



Source: Field Survey

3. Profile of the Sample

3.1 Geographical spread of the Sample

The sample covered 1574 Denotified Tribes households and these are well spread across 10 tribes living in 15 districts of Gujarat. Their distribution shows that Ahmedabad accounts for 24.8 per cent of the total respondents canvassed, followed by Sabarkantha (11.5 per cent), Porbandar (10.7 per cent), Jamnagar (10.0 per cent), Panchmahal (9.3 per cent), Mehsana (9.0 per cent) and Kutch (8.1 per cent) (Table 4.4). Other districts account for less than 5 per cent each of the sampled respondents (Table 4.4). Among the tribes of Miyana (80 per cent), Chhara (67 per cent) and Koli (61 per cent), a major proportion of respondents were covered from the district of Ahmedabad (Table 4.4).

Majority of the respondents live in rural areas (64 per cent). This however varied across the tribes. The concentration in urban areas is high among Sandhi (100 per cent), Turi (71 per cent) and Wagher (69 per cent). It was also relatively high among Salat Ghera (43 per cent) and Vanjara (32 per cent). The concentration was very low among Koli (5 per cent) and Chuvalia Koli (4 per cent) (Table 4.5). Around one-fourth of the sample is concentrated in the district of Ahmedabad followed by around 11 per cent each from Porbandar and Sabarkantha. Around 9-10 per cent is also covered from the districts of Jamnagar, Mehsana and Panchmahal followed by Kutch (8 per cent).

Table 4.4: Community-wise sample distribution

DNTS/NT Community	Ahmed abad	Bhav nagar	Bharuch	Dahod	Jam nagar	Khedda	Kutch	Mehsana	Panch mahal	Por bandar	Sabar kantha	Surat	Vado dara	Gandhi nagar	Narmada	Total
Cbhara	119 (67.2)	25 (14.1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33 (18.6)	-	-	-	-	177 (100.0)
Chovalia Koli	11 (7.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	140 (92.7)	-	-	-	-	-	151 (100.0)
Dafer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	141 (89.8)	-	-	16 (10.2)	-	-	-	-	157 (100.0)
Koli	89 (60.5)	29 (19.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29 (19.7)	-	-	-	-	-	147 (100.0)
Miyana	149 (80.1)	-	-	-	-	-	37 (19.9)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghena	23 (15.6)	-	7 (4.8)	6 (4.1)	-	2 (1.4)	-	-	23 (15.7)	-	31 (21.1)	16 (10.9)	38 (25.9)	-	1 (0.7)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	-	-	-	-	-	28 (18.7)	91 (60.7)	-	-	-	31 (20.7)	-	-	-	-	150 (100.0)
Turi	-	-	-	-	-	20 (13.6)	-	-	88 (59.9)	-	39 (26.5)	-	-	-	-	147 (100.0)
Wagher	-	-	-	-	157 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	-	-	-	28 (18.1)	-	-	-	-	35 (22.6)	-	31 (20.0)	29 (18.7)	31 (20.0)	1 (0.6)	-	155 (100.0)
Total	391 (24.8)	54 (3.4)	7 (0.4)	34 (2.2)	157 (10.0)	50 (3.2)	128 (8.1)	141 (9.0)	146 (9.3)	169 (10.7)	181 (11.5)	45 (2.9)	69 (4.4)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 4.5: Area-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Urban	Rural
Chhara	18.6	81.4
Chuvalia Koli	4.0	96.0
Dafer	10.2	89.8
Koli	5.4	94.6
Miyana	17.7	82.3
Salat Ghera	42.9	57.1
Sandhi	100.0	-
Turi	70.7	29.3
Wagher	68.8	31.2
Vanjara	31.6	68.4
Total	36.2	63.8

Source: Field Survey

3.2 Household Population of the Sample

Sample households are spread across the tribes with Miyana (11.8 per cent), Chhara (11.2 per cent), Dafer and Wagher (10 per cent each), Vanjara and Chuvalia Koli (around 10 per cent each) account for more than 60 per cent of the total sample (Table 4.6). A total population of 9143 were covered of which around one third each were in the 6-18 and 19-35 age group (Table 4.7). Of the total population 51 per cent were married, 47 per cent were never married and the rest were either divorced or separated or widowed (Table 4.8).

Table 4.6: Households population of the sample

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Population (per cent)	Households (per cent)
Chhara	10.5	11.2
Chuvalia Koli	8.4	9.6
Dafer	10.5	10.0
Koli	7.4	9.3
Miyana	10.3	11.8
Salat Ghera	11.6	9.3
Sandhi	8.8	9.5
Turi	9.9	9.3
Wagher	9.0	10.0
Vanjara	13.7	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 4.7: Age-wise population distribution

Age Group	Population	Population (per cent)
0 to 5	990	10.8
06 to 18	2806	30.7
19 to 35	3157	34.5
36 to 45	1115	12.2
46 to 60	785	8.6
Above 60	290	3.2
Total	9143	100.0

Source: Field Survey

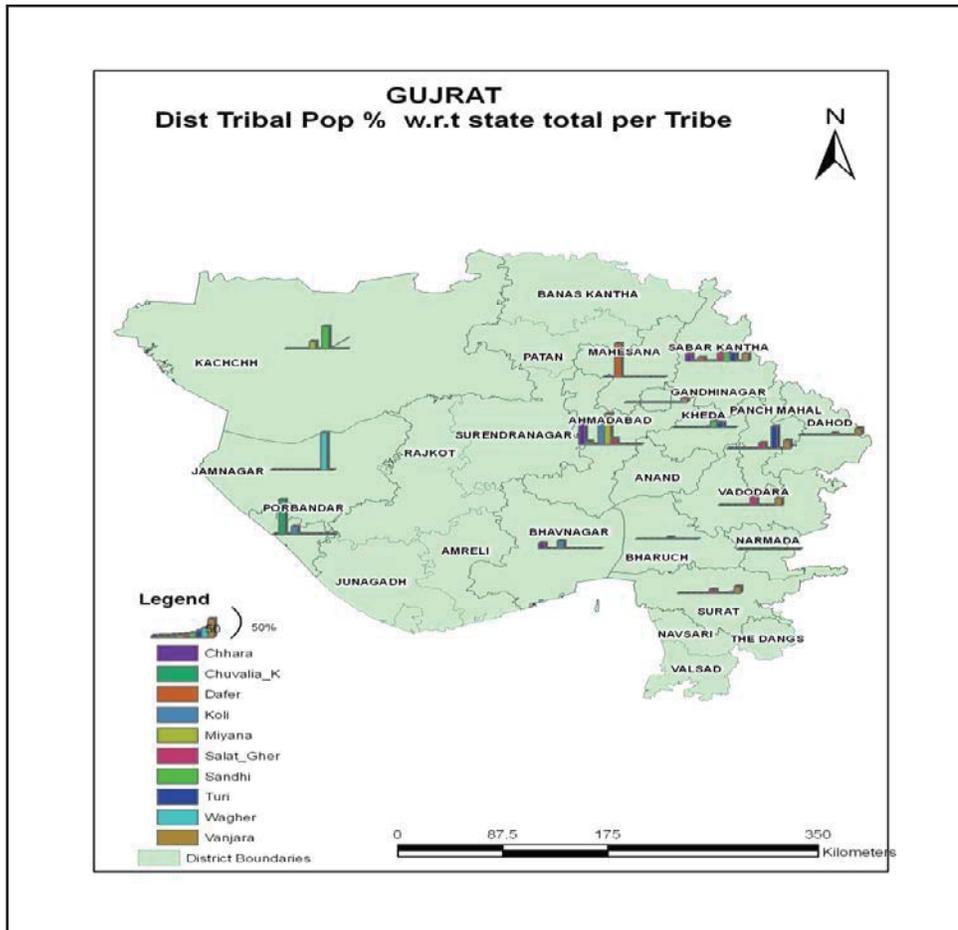
Table 4.8: Gender-wise marital status

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Married	2198 (46.9) (47.8)	2486 (53.1) (54.7)	4684 (100.0) (51.2)
Never Married	2375 (55.7) (51.6)	1890 (44.3) (41.6)	4265 (100.0) (46.6)
Divorced	3 (37.5) (0.1)	5 (62.5) (0.1)	8 (100.0) (0.1)
Separated	22 (12.0) (0.5)	161 (88.0) (3.5)	183 (100.0) (2.0)
Widowed	2 (66.7) (0.0)	1 (33.3) (0.0)	3 (100.0) (0.0)
Total	4600 (50.3) (100.0)	4543 (49.7) (100.0)	9143 (100.0) (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

The main aim of this section is to examine the social status, pattern of asset holding and other location-specific factors related to different Denotified tribes in the state of Gujarat. It also looks into the pattern of livelihood reported among different Denotified tribes spread across different districts of the state (Map 4.1).

Map 4.1: Sample Districts from where the respondents were selected

Source: Field Survey

4. Tribes and their Social Status

Within the total sample, majority of the household (62.0 per cent) belongs to the DNT Communities and the rest as NT (38.0 per cent) (Figure 4.1(1)). The classification of these 10 communities into DNT 1, DNT 2, and NT category are provided in (Figure 4.1(2)). About 42.6 per cent of tribes are covered under DNT2, 37.9 per cent of tribes are NT and 19.6 per cent of tribes covered under DNT1.

Although all 10 communities covered in the study come within the category of DNT, in terms of official categorization it is extremely significant to note that 20 per cent of the households reported as others, while 66 per cent reported as OBC. Of these, an equal number of Chhara households returned themselves as OBC and Others. A majority of Chuvalia Koli, Koli and Miyana also returned themselves as Others rather

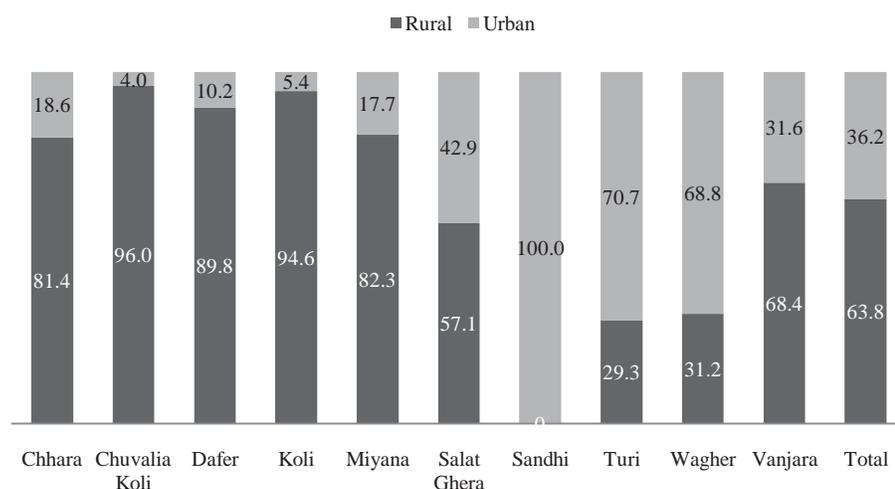
than OBC. This is indicative of the fact that there is a lack of clarity among respondents on the official categories from which they can draw support for reservations, affirmative action and/or special protections (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9: Social status of the tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Other Backward Class	Others	Don't know	Total
Chhara	-	15 (8.5)	78 (44.1)	78 (44.1)	6 (3.4)	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	-	-	109 (72.2)	42 (27.8)	-	151 (100.0)
Dafer	-	-	157 (100.0)	-	-	157 (100.0)
Koli	-	-	93 (63.3)	54 (36.7)	-	147 (100.0)
Miyana	-	-	75 (40.3)	111 (59.7)	-	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	-	-	102 (69.4)	14 (9.5)	31 (21.1)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	-	-	147 (98.0)	-	3 (2.0)	150 (100.0)
Turi	147 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	147 (100.0)
Wagher	-	-	136 (86.6)	21 (13.4)	-	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	-	-	151 (97.4)	-	4 (2.3)	155 (100.0)
Total	147 (9.5)	15 (1.1)	1054 (66.3)	320 (20.4)	38 (2.7)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

In terms of the rural-urban distribution of the communities, five communities, namely Chhara, Chuvalia Koli, Dafer, Koli and Miyana were concentrated in rural areas (i.e. above 80 per cent) whereas Turi, Wagher had a predominantly urban presence at 71 per cent and 69 per cent respectively and Vanjara had a significant rural presence at 68.4 per cent. The Sandhi, who constituted 150 households in the sample, were located entirely in urban areas.

Figure 4.2: Location of the tribes

Source: Field Survey

A majority (90.8 per cent) of the respondents have stayed in the same place since birth. This proportion is hundred per cent among Chhara, Chuvalia, Dafer, Koli, and Sandhi (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Duration of stay in the present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1 to 10 Years	11 to 20 Years	21 to 30 Years	Above 30 Years	Since Birth	Total
Chhara	-	-	-	-	177 (100.0)	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	-	-	-	-	151 (100.0)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	-	-	-	-	157 (100.0)	157 (100.0)
Koli	-	-	-	-	147 (100.0)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	31 (16.7)	4 (2.2)	1 (0.5)	-	150 (80.)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	12 (8.2)	26 (17.7)	4 (2.7)	2 (1.4)	103 (70.1)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	-	-	-	-	150 (100.0)	150 (100.0)
Turi	5 (3.4)	2 (1.4)	3 (2.0)	9 (6.1)	128 (87.1)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	12 (7.6)	3 (1.9)	-	-	142 (90.4)	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	12 (7.7)	4 (2.6)	4 (2.6)	10 (6.5)	125 (80.6)	155 (100.0)
Total	72 (4.6)	39 (2.5)	12 (0.8)	21 (1.3)	1430 (90.8)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

5. Spoken Language

This study looks into the language proficiency and pattern of languages used at home, educational institutions, within the community and public place separately. This analysis is followed with a brief discussion on the knowledge of English among these communities.

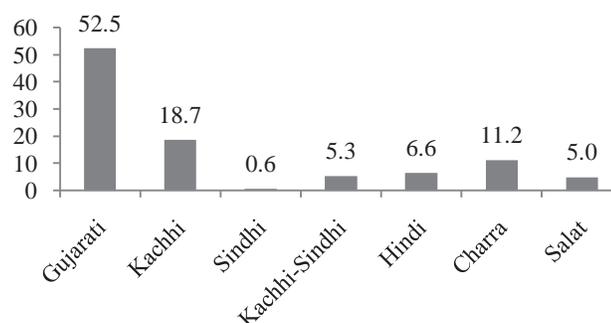
Table 4.11: Language spoken at home by different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Gujarati	Kachhi	Sindhi	Kachhi-Sandhi	Hindi	Chhara	Salat	Vanjhari	Total
Chhara	07 (4.0)	-	-	-	-	170 (96.0)	-	-	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	151 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	151 (100.0)
Dafer	04 (2.5)	35 (22.3)	17 (10.8)	3 (1.9)	98 (62.4)	-	-	-	157 (100.0)
Koli	147 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	147 (100.0)
Miyana	08 (4.3)	177 (95.2)	-	-	1 (0.5)	-	-	-	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	12 (8.2)	-	-	-	13 (8.8)	7 (4.8)	115 (78.2)	-	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	-	-	3 (2.0)	88 (58.7)	59 (39.3)	-	-	-	150 (100.0)
Turi	147 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	147 (100.0)
Wagher	38 (24.2)	119 (75.8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	17 (11.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	138 (89.0)	155 (100.0)
Total	531 (33.7)	331 (21.0)	20 (1.3)	91 (5.8)	171 (10.9)	177 (11.2)	115 (7.3)	138 (8.8)	1574 (100.0)

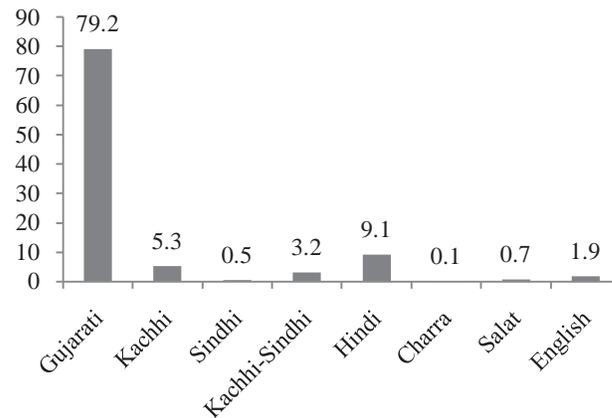
Source: Field Survey

Table 4.11 shows that around 33.7 per cent of households use Gujarati as the main communicative language at home. Among Dafer community, 62.4 per cent of the households speak Hindi at home while in case of Sandhi the corresponding figure stood at 39.3 per cent. Chhara and Salat Ghera speak their own Chhara (96.0 per cent) and Salat (78.3 per cent) language respectively. All the Turi households under study speak Gujarati at home whereas 89.0 per cent of the Vanjara speak Vanjhari at home (Table 4.11).

Figure 4.3: Languages spoken within the communities

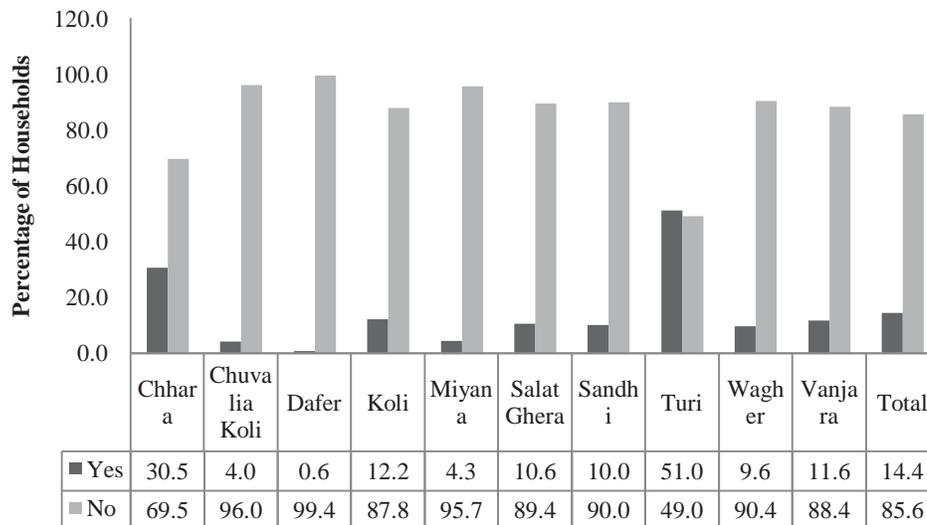


Source: Field Survey

Figure 4.4: Languages spoken at the public place

Source: Field Survey

During social gatherings, more than half reported use of Gujarati as the language of communication (Figure 4.3). About 79.2 per cent of the 10 DNT communities which were studied reported that they speak in Gujarati in public places, followed by 9 per cent who reported the use of Hindi as normally people at market place do not understand their dialects and they have to communicate with them in the state language (Figure 4.4). Knowledge of English among family members was reported for 14 per cent of households and this was highest among Turi households and lowest among Dafer (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

Among these households, about 89.6 per cent of households reported that only one person knows English in the family. Another 9.1 per cent of respondents report that two people speak English and 1.3 per cent of respondents reported that three people know English in the family (Table 4.12). English language education in school is extremely poor. Many children are interested in learning English but attributed their inability to learn it due to the lack of interest on the part of government school teachers.

“The Government has also initiated the SCOPE program to sharpen English language skills among Gujarati learners. Desirous schools to set up language laboratory are supported by learning software for improving pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. The software includes self learning program for improving pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. The students can master the English language skills and gain confidence”.

However its implementation is very tough because of the disparity found in the dissemination stage. Even in rural areas, people understand the importance of English language in order to avail of a good job but poor quality education is a key problem. Another indicator observed through this study that brings differences in English language proficiency among the DNT student is the education of the parents and grandparents. Through FGDs it is learnt that majority of the parents and grandparents of these tribes are non-literate. There is a huge demand of introducing the tribal dialect in primary education so that the children can understand the fundamentals of primary education where they can speak their own language and express themselves properly.

Table 4.12: Number of English-knowing members in the family

DNT/SNT/NT Community	One Person	Two Persons	Three persons	Total
Chhara	51 (89.5)	5 (8.8)	1 (1.8)	57 (100.0)
Chuvaliya Koli	4 (57.1)	3 (42.9)	-	7 (100.0)
Dafer	1 (100.0)	-	-	1 (100.0)
Koli	18 (100.0)	-	-	18 (100.0)
Miyana	8 (100.0)	-	-	8 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	16 (100.0)	-	-	16 (100.0)
Sandhi	12 (80.0)	3 (20.0)	-	15 (100.0)
Turi	64 (85.3)	9 (12.0)	2 (2.7)	75 (100.0)
Wagher	15 (100.0)	-	-	15 (100.0)
Vanjara	17 (94.4)	1 (5.6)	-	18 (100.0)
Total	206 (89.6)	21 (9.1)	3 (1.3)	230 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

6. Livelihood and its Sources

This section discusses the primary occupation of the households of different tribes. We identify the primary occupation as the occupation which contributes the major share of the household income and the economic activity that takes considerable share of working hours of the year. Table 4.13 shows significant variation in the primary occupation reported across different tribes in Gujarat.

Table 4.13: Primary occupation of different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultivator/ Farmer	Agriculture Labour	Non-Agri Labour	Trade/ Business	Service	Traditional Work	Total
Chhara	2 (1.1)	-	119 (68.0)	27 (15.4)	12 (6.9)	15 (8.6)	175 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	-	1 (0.7)	94 (62.3)	18 (11.9)	5 (3.3)	33 (21.9)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	1 (0.6)	8 (5.1)	20 (12.7)	2 (1.3)	-	126 (80.3)	157 (100.0)
Koli	-	3 (2.0)	61 (41.5)	28 (19.0)	24 (16.3)	31 (21.1)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	2 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	159 (85.5)	9 (4.8)	-	14 (7.5)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	-	-	93 (63.3)	8 (5.4)	1 (0.7)	45 (30.6)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	21 (13.8)	5 (3.3)	94 (61.8)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	29 (19.1)	152 (100.0)
Turi	4 (2.7)	-	90 (61.2)	14 (9.5)	17 (11.6)	22 (15.0)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	58 (36.9)	5 (3.2)	67 (42.7)	8 (5.1)	4 (2.5)	15 (9.6)	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	24 (15.5)	-	45 (29.0)	13 (8.4)	5 (3.2)	68 (43.9)	155 (100.0)
Total	112 (7.1)	24 (1.5)	842 (53.5)	128 (8.1)	70 (4.4)	398 (25.3)	1574 (100.0)

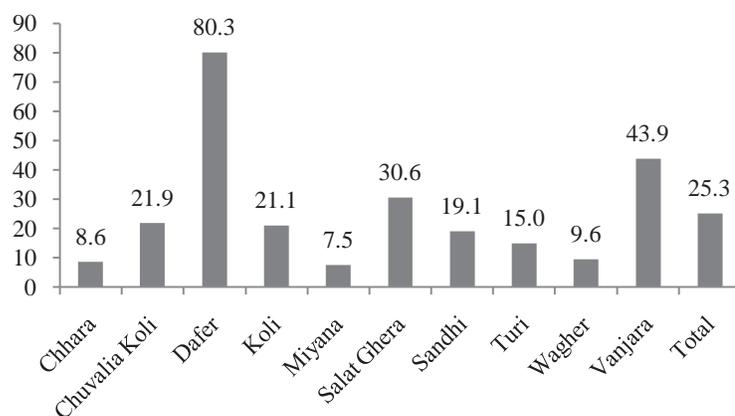
Source: Field Survey

More than half the respondents (53.5 per cent) reported that their main occupation is non-agricultural labour, which is highest among Miyana (85.5 per cent) and Chhara (68.0 per cent) households. Around 7.1 per cent of the households reported agriculture as their main occupation. Among the tribes, 36.9 per cent of the Wagher households are involved in cultivation. Another significant percentage (25.3 per cent) of tribes reported that their main occupation is traditional work while 4.4 per cent reported service as their main occupation (Table 4.13).

There are many households who continue their engagement with traditional occupation but find other forms of occupation for their livelihoods also. Historically, NT and DNT were on move from one place to another pace for their livelihood and they used to do traditional performances like dancing, performing, singing, acrobats, transporters etc. During the colonial rule, their traditional livelihood got affected and due to changing technology their traditional arts become irrelevant today,

especially in urban areas. We found 25.3 per cent are continuing with the traditional occupation as the complementary source of income. This pattern varies significantly across the communities. The proportion is more with Dafer tribe with 80.3 per cent and less with Miyana tribe (7.5 per cent). Vanjara, Salat Ghera, Koli, Chuvalia communities have more than 20 per cent workers while Chhara, Wagher and Miyana have less than 10 per cent who continue their engagement with various traditional occupations (Figure 4.6). For instance Salats live by stone-cutting, the working in the oolitic limestone and the sandstone affording employment to a large number masons. Besides being used for house building the stones are worked into articles of domestic use and ornaments such as images, filters and water-bottles. Some of them, have a talent for portrait painting. Hunting is a subsidiary occupation for the Dafer tribe in Gujarat. Turis cultivate during the rains. In the fair season they wander about, playing the drum called tur, and reciting tales half prose half verse to the accompaniment of a guitar, saranji. Owing to the competition of the Ravalias, their income has, of late years, greatly decreased, and they are now a poor class.

Figure 4.6: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation

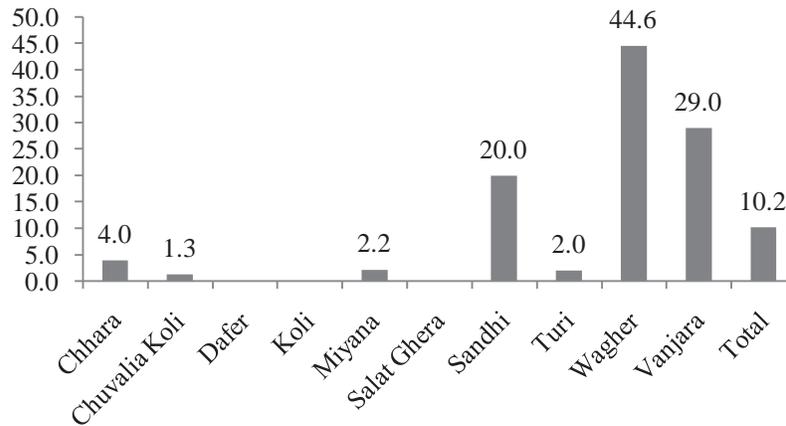


Source: Field Survey

About 10.2 per cent of the respondents possess their own agricultural land. The share is relatively more among the Wagher (44.6 per cent), Vanjara (29.0 per cent) and Sandhi tribe (20.0 per cent) compared to the rest of the other communities. Among the tribes, Dafer, Koli and Salat Ghera do not possess agricultural land. In other words, a majority of the respondents (89.8 per cent) reported that they do not own land (Figure 4.7). People who have their own land, generally grow millets, wheat and corn.

Ownership of land is one of the major issues found in this study area. The land possessed by large number of households was inherited from their grandparents. A meager amount of land is government land. Landlessness is one of the major causes to live in extreme poverty, which definitely have impact on their children's education.

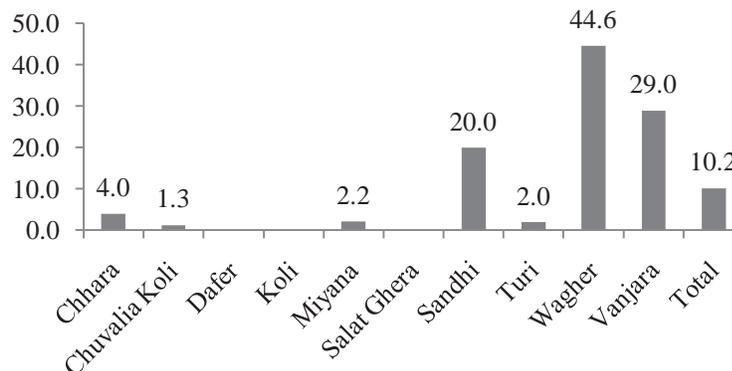
Figure 4.7: Possession of agricultural land (share in per cent)



Source: Field Survey

Among those who possess the agricultural land, 56.5 per cent of the households are cultivating their land independently. Across the communities, this pattern varies significantly. For instance, this share found high as 69.0 per cent among Wagher against nil among Dafer, Koli and Salat Ghera (Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8: Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (per cent)



Source: Field Survey

It is revealed that 71.4 per cent households have land within the range below 1 acre, 18.6 per cent have between 1 to 5 acres, 6.2 per cent have between 6 to 10 acres and rest 3.7 per cent have land more than 10 acres. Larger landholding is found among the Turi tribe (8.6 per cent with more than 10 acres). Dafer, Wagher and Koli households do not possess any land. A very low proportion of households from Chhara, Chuvalia Koli and Miyana tribe possess land (Table 4.14).

Table 4.14: Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Below 1 acre	1 to 5 acres	6 to 10 acres	11 to 15 acres	Total
Chhara	7 (100.0)	-	-	-	7 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	2 (100.0)	-	-	-	2 (100.0)
Dafer	-	-	-	-	-
Koli	-	-	-	-	-
Miyana	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	-	4 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	25 (83.3)	3 (10.0)	2 (6.7)	-	30 (100.0)
Sandhi	3 (100.0)	-	-	-	3 (100.0)
Turi	42 (60.0)	20 (28.6)	2 (2.9)	6 (8.6)	70 (100.0)
Wagher	-	-	-	-	-
Vanjara	35 (77.8)	5 (11.1)	5 (11.1)	-	45 (100.0)
Total	115 (71.4)	30 (18.6)	10 (6.2)	6 (3.7)	161 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

7. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

While about 81.9 per cent of the 1,574 households own the house in which they live, 8.6 per cent live in rented homes and about 3.6 per cent in tents and temporary shelters. 16.3 per cent of the households from Salat Ghera community do not have home to stay, while 23.1 per cent stay temporarily in others' home. Among all the communities, 16.8 per cent of the Vanjara stay in temporary shelter (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own	On Rent	Relatives/ Neighbours house without rent	Temporarily in others' homes	No home	Temporary shelter	Total
Chhara	153 (86.4)	12 (6.8)	-	11 (6.2)	-	1 (0.6)	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	125 (82.8)	15 (9.9)	-	2 (1.3)	-	9 (6.0)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	152 (96.8)	-	-	3 (1.9)	2 (1.2)	-	157 (100.0)
Koli	115 (78.2)	29 (19.7)	-	-	-	3 (2.0)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	123 (66.1)	48 (25.8)	-	8 (4.3)	1 (0.5)	6 (3.2)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	76 (51.7)	4 (2.7)	2 (1.4)	34 (23.1)	24 (16.3)	7 (4.8)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	139 (92.7)	5 (3.3)	-	-	2 (1.3)	4 (2.7)	150 (100.0)
Turi	141 (95.9)	5 (3.4)	1 (0.7)	-	-	-	147 (100.0)
Wagher	149 (94.9)	7 (4.5)	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	116 (74.8)	11 (7.1)	1 (0.6)	-	1 (0.6)	26 (16.8)	155 (100.0)
Total	1289 (81.9)	136 (8.6)	5 (0.3)	58 (3.7)	30 (1.9)	56 (3.6)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Overall, the housing conditions were extremely bad and unhygienic, especially in Urban Areas. DNT people live in congested ghettos, exposed to open drainage and the danger of flies and mosquitoes.

Only 22.4 per cent of houses are reported as Pucca; 58.7 per cent are Semi-Pucca, 3.1 per cent of the households live in Kutcha houses and 15.8 per cent in huts and removable tents. The data shows that the housing conditions among all the tribes except Chhara, Koli and Miyana households are quite similar. A high proportion of Chhara, Koli, Miyana and Salat Ghera live in huts and Kutcha houses (Table 4.16). This tells us that while majority of the tribes have pucca and semi-pucca housing, Chhara, Koli and Miyana are relatively worse off.

Table 4.16: Type of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca house	Semi-Pucca	Temporary Hut	Kutcha	Total
Chhara	79 (44.6)	46 (26.0)	42 (23.7)	10 (5.6)	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	21 (13.9)	106 (70.2)	22 (14.6)	2 (1.3)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	79 (4.5)	126 (80.3)	22 (14.0)	2 (1.2)	157 (100.0)
Koli	38 (25.9)	74 (50.3)	35 (23.8)	-	147 (100.0)
Miyana	52 (28.0)	72 (38.7)	56 (30.1)	6 (3.2)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	23 (15.6)	81 (55.1)	16 (10.8)	27 (18.3)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	8 (5.3)	119 (79.3)	23 (15.3)	-	150 (100.0)
Turi	43 (29.3)	99 (67.3)	4 (2.7)	1 (0.7)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	40 (25.5)	91 (58.0)	26 (16.6)	-	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	42 (27.1)	110 (71.0)	3 (1.9)	-	155 (100.0)
Total	353 (22.4)	924 (58.7)	249 (15.8)	48 (3.1)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Most of the households (68.9 per cent) have houses with single room. Twenty seven per cent of respondents reported that they are living in houses with two rooms. The proportion is high among Turi, and Koli tribe. Only 5 per cent of the households have houses with 3 rooms or more. The proportion is high among the Turi tribe. Dafer tribe does not have houses with 3 or more houses (Table 4.17). Large numbers of households have houses with only one room. With relatively big family size these people have relatively small area and fewer rooms for their house.

Table 4.17: Number of rooms in the house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4 and More	Total
Chhara	92 (52.0)	68 (38.4)	6 (3.4)	11 (6.2)	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	127 (84.1)	18 (11.9)	5 (3.3)	1 (0.7)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	150 (95.5)	7 (4.5)	-	-	157 (100.0)
Koli	71 (48.3)	69 (46.9)	6 (4.1)	1 (0.7)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	140 (75.3)	44 (23.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	118 (80.2)	24 (16.3)	4 (2.7)	1 (0.7)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	132 (88.0)	18 (12.0)	-	-	150 (100.0)
Turi	62 (42.2)	71 (48.3)	13 (8.8)	1 (0.7)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	101 (64.3)	50 (31.8)	4 (2.5)	2 (1.3)	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	92 (59.4)	56 (36.1)	4 (2.6)	3 (1.9)	155 (100.0)
Total	1085 (68.9)	425 (27.0)	43 (2.7)	21 (1.3)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

There are schemes for housing to DNTs in Gujarat but a very negligible number of people are allotted with these houses. In one of the case study of Ahmedabad in Maninagar ghetto, the study found that Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) has demolished the ghettos of DNT people for 12 times in 8 years. Dabgar (Chharas) and Rajbhoi Tribe (slum dwellers) fought case in honorable Gujarat High Court and in Supreme Court of India for 4 years and finally they got the order on April 11, 2012, which says *“In response to the Court's query, learned counsel representing the State of Gujarat gave out that as and when the Corporation approaches the Government, additional land will be placed at its disposal for the purpose of rehabilitation of the petitioners”* (Final SC Order for SLP (Civil) No. 602-603 of 2009). However the implementation had not begun at the time of writing.

The living conditions of these tribes, in terms of access to water, were also probed. The source of drinking water is tube/ bore well for majority of households (61.9 per cent) and about 32.2 per cent depend on open wells. Water from pond as a source of drinking water is 8.3 per cent for Wagher households and 6.8 per cent of the Salat Ghera households. Around 10.2 per cent of Turi households and 6.2 per cent of the Chhara households use pipe water for drinking purpose (Table 4.18).

Table 4.18: Main sources of drinking water

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tube/ Bore well	Protected Well	Open well	Pond	Pipe Water	Total
Chhara	141 (79.7)	1 (0.5)	24 (13.6)	-	11 (6.2)	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	77 (50.9)	-	74 (49.1)	-	-	151 (100.0)
Dafer	97 (61.8)	4 (2.5)	55 (35.0)	1 (0.6)	-	157 (100.0)
Koli	118 (80.3)	-	26 (17.7)	-	3 (2.0)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	149 (80.1)	-	37 (19.9)	-	-	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	97 (65.9)	3 (2.0)	35 (23.8)	10 (6.8)	2 (1.4)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	63 (42.0)	7 (4.7)	72 (48.0)	-	8 (5.3)	150 (100.0)
Turi	76 (51.7)	4 (2.7)	52 (35.4)	-	15 (10.2)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	69 (43.9)	10 (6.4)	65 (41.4)	13 (8.3)	-	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	88 (56.8)	-	67 (43.2)	-	-	155 (100.0)
Total	975 (61.9)	29 (1.8)	507 (32.2)	24 (1.5)	39 (2.4)	1574 (100.0)

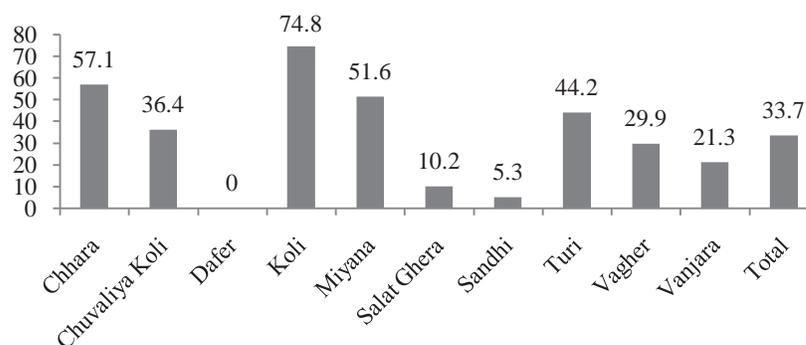
Source: Field Survey

These issues were validated from different FGDs from different stakeholders especially with women as in these areas the women are responsible for fetching water. The data pertaining to time spent on fetching drinking water clearly reflects the increased drudgery in the DNT women of the study areas. This is not only due to the irregular and erratic availability water but also due to the reason that women and children walk distances (sometimes more than 2 Km) to fetch water from far off sources. Most importantly the children are pressed into service to fetch drinking water. Untouchability especially with Sandhi and Dafer people in Lunawada and Banaskantha districts of Gujarat, is a major form of discrimination and atrocity that primarily affects access to sources of drinking water.

Toilet facilities are available to only 33.7 per cent of households and 66.3 per cent defecate in open space. The entire Dafer community do not possess toilet. Salat Ghera, Sandhi, Vanjara, Wagher and Chuvalia Koli

tribes account for a larger proportion of households without a toilet facility. Koli (74.8 per cent) communities possess the largest number of households with toilet facilities (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9: Status of toilet facilities / access



Source: Field Survey

About 88.9 per cent of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. This proportion is more than 90 per cent in the case of Chuvalia Koli, Koli, Miyana, Sandhi, Turi, Wagher and Vanjara whereas the same is low among Salat Ghera (55.1 per cent). About 13.1 per cent of households do not have electricity in their homes. This proportion is high among Salat Ghera (48.3 per cent), Dafer (29.3 per cent) and Chhara (27.1 per cent) (Table 4.19).

Table 4.19: Status of electricity (N=1574)

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of electricity in the Neighborhood**	Access to Electricity in Households**
Chhara (175)	128 (72.3)	129 (72.9)
Chuvalia Koli (151)	150 (99.3)	150 (99.3)
Dafer (157)	129 (82.2)	111 (70.7)
Koli (147)	142 (96.6)	141 (95.9)
Miyana (186)	184 (98.9)	184 (98.9)
Salat Ghera (147)	81 (55.1)	76 (51.7)
Sandhi (152)	147 (98.0)	141 (94.0)
Turi (147)	145 (98.6)	145 (98.6)
Wagher (157)	146 (93.0)	146 (93.0)
Vanjara (155)	147 (94.8)	145 (93.5)
Total (1574)	1399 (88.9)	1368 (86.9)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

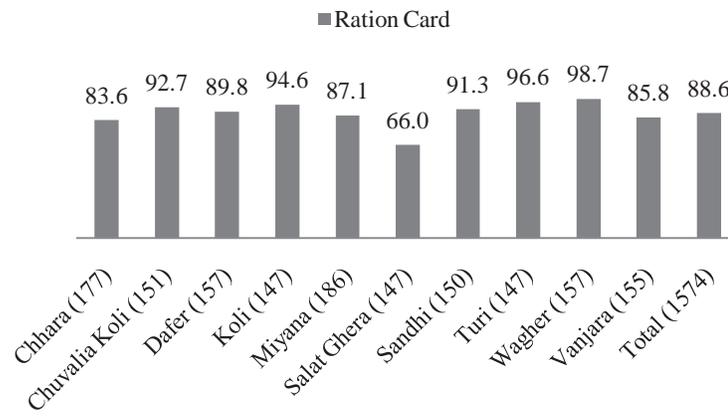
** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

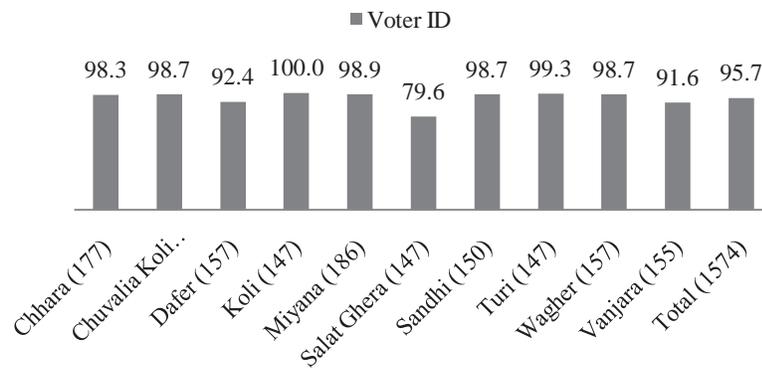
8. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

More than 90 per cent of Chuvalia Koli, Koli, Sandhi, Turi and Wagher households possess ration cards whereas the same is more than 80 per cent but less than 90 per cent for Chhara, Dafer, Miyana and Vanjara tribe. Having ration card shows that people are aware about free rations provided by the government but in personal interviews the study found that it is extremely difficult to obtain ration supplies from ration shops. Due to extreme level of illiteracy, DNTs are exploited by ration shop owners. Across all the cards among the households surveyed, the situation is relatively better in case of voter identity card, (more than 90 per cent cases except Salat Ghera). It is good to note that majority people among DNTs have their voting cards, which means that they have the potential to take part in democratic process. However, personal talks and interviews with community leaders show that in spite of having potentiality, they are the most exploited section of the society. Koli community has considerably good political representation in Gujarat. Despite this however nothing has still happened in order to frame development plan exclusively for DNT and NT of the state. The possession of Aadhar card, Caste certificate, NREGA card and Health Insurance are not popular (when compared to Ration Card and Voter ID Card). Eighty five per cent of Turi households possess the Caste certificate whereas the same is very low (5.3 per cent) among the Chuvalia Koli households. From the FGDs, it shows that when they apply for Caste certificate in the State's Social Justice and Welfare Department, they face a lot of procedural hurdles in the department e.g. domicile certificate, religion certificate and etc. Some people are not aware of these documents also. Also, sometime they have to produce documents like reference letter, which should be given by Community Panchayat member/Municipal Council or / MLAs for which they are asked for big amount of bribe. This can be the reason of possession of less number of Caste Certificate. The possession of NREGA card is highest among the Sandhi tribe with 39.3 per cent. Dafer households possess highest number of Aadhar Cards (57.3 per cent) and Health Insurance (62.4 per cent) (Figure 4.10).

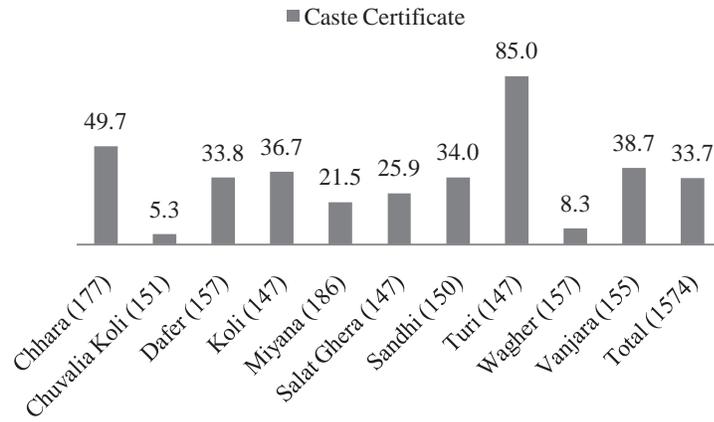
Figure 4.10: Access to entitlements



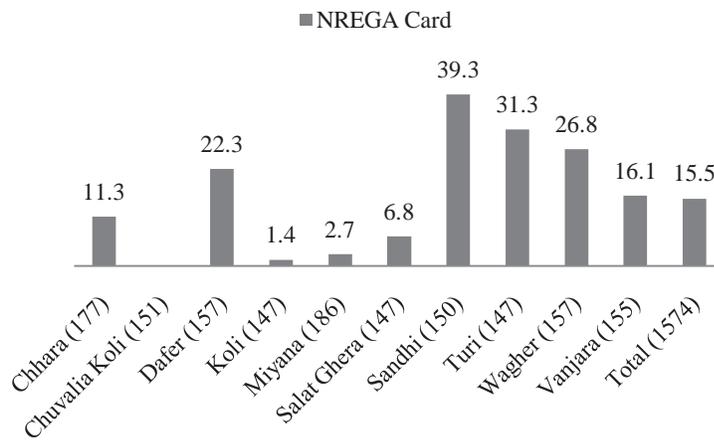
Source: Field Survey



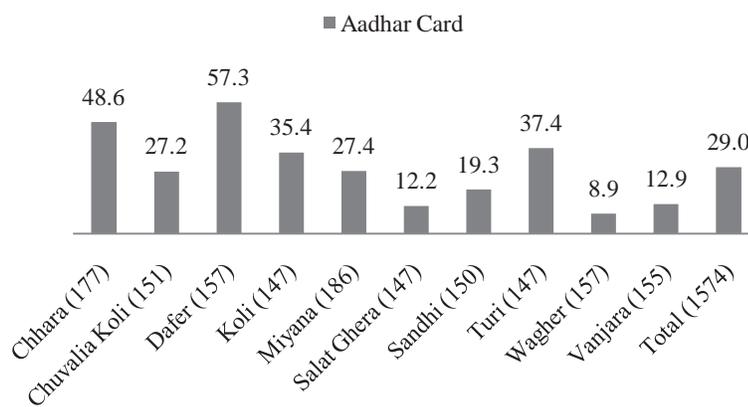
Source: Field Survey



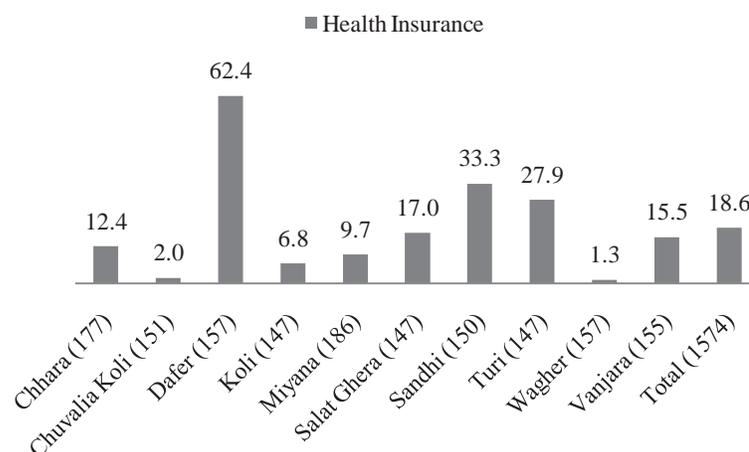
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

As Gujarat is being projected as a model State of India, it was interesting to know the basic facilities available for Nomadic and Denotified Tribes of the state such as Anganwadis and PHCs. Around 67.3 per cent of the households have Anganwadis in their villages and urban ghettos. Rest of the households have not heard about Anganwadi at all. This shows the lack of awareness of the communities as well as the inability of the Government to reach each and every household. This was cross verified by various FGDs. Some Anganwadi *Karyakartas* had never been to the locality of the DNT people. The other very important issue that has been discovered is that a non- DNT household does not send his/ her child in the presence of a DNT kids to the Anganwadi centers. This is clear-cut discrimination with DNT children and only societal acceptance is the solution for this kind of problems. Around 43.8 per cent of the households have access to Primary Health Centers (PHCs) and they regularly make use of it. Majority people are from urban Gujarat or from small towns. Majority of the households who don't have PHCs, are from rural Gujarat. This shows that Government has to improve access of health facilities centers for DNTs and all other marginalized communities in rural Gujarat (Table 4.20).

Table 4.20: Access to ICDS & PHC by households (N=1574)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Anganwadi/ ICDS	PHC
Chhara (175)	28 (15.8)	124 (70.1)
Chuvalia Koli (151)	105 (69.5)	33 (21.9)
Dafer (157)	152 (96.8)	137 (87.3)
Koli (147)	82 (55.8)	32 (21.8)
Miyana (186)	87 (46.8)	58 (31.2)
Salat Ghera (147)	74 (50.3)	69 (46.9)
Sandhi (152)	144 (96.0)	30 (20.0)
Turi (147)	142 (96.6)	73 (49.7)
Wagher (157)	125 (79.6)	63 (40.1)
Vanjara (155)	120 (77.4)	71 (45.8)
Total (1574)	1059 (67.3)	690 (43.8)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

9. Assets

In order to understand DNTs life style which definitely has affect on children's education, the study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. They have the possession of appliances like chairs (64.8 per cent), Electric cooler (74.5 per cent), Kitchen Appliances (32.1 per cent), Radio (4.6 per cent), Cycle (4.4 per cent), Refrigerator (5.3 per cent), Television (28.3 per cent), Computer Laptop (2.6 per cent), Telephone/mobile (78.3 per cent), Scooter/Motorcycle (9.4 per cent), Four Wheeler (1.9 per cent) and 1.6 per cent other sort of appliances. It is striking to know that among DNTs only 2.6 per cent people have computer or laptops. On the other side, the State Government has stated,

“Computer Training is enhanced for Primary Level Education. The Government adopted Technology by promoting Computer aided Learning, which is expected to benefit around 8,50,000 students of Government run schools of Gujarat. It also aims for education in rural places to set path of development with continuous power supply and broadband connectivity”.

The data found in this study shows contradiction to the above stated promise. Most of the households are from the rural and small towns of Gujarat and majority of the students go to government run schools but computer education is extremely low among DNT students. As a result it is very difficult for them to compete with the non-DNT students (Table 4.21).

Table 4.21: Possession of assets in the household (N=1574)

DNT/SNT/ Community	Chair	Electric fan/ cooler	Kitchen appliances	Radio	Cycle	Computer/ laptop	Telephone/ mobile	Scooter/ motorcycle	Four wheeler	Refrigerator	Television	Others
Chhara	115 (65.6)	138 (78.6)	75 (42.4)	24 (13.6)	30 (16.9)	12 (6.8)	142 (80.2)	37 (20.9)	-	37 (20.9)	113 (63.8)	5 (2.8)
Charvaha Koli	120 (78.5)	122 (80.8)	34 (22.5)	-	-	1 (0.7)	111 (73.5)	3 (2.0)	-	2 (1.3)	39 (25.8)	-
Dadar	56 (35.7)	117 (74.5)	45 (28.7)	9 (5.7)	6 (3.8)	4 (2.5)	140 (89.2)	2 (1.3)	3 (1.9)	3 (1.9)	12 (7.6)	-
Koli	110 (74.8)	138 (93.9)	69 (46.9)	3 (2.0)	-	1 (0.7)	136 (92.5)	7 (4.8)	3 (2.0)	8 (5.4)	76 (51.7)	2 (1.4)
Miyana	152 (81.7)	171 (91.9)	54 (29.0)	2 (1.1)	-	1 (0.5)	160 (86.0)	8 (4.3)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.6)	38 (20.4)	1 (0.5)
Salat Ghera	89 (66.5)	55 (37.4)	43 (29.3)	7 (4.8)	4 (2.7)	1 (0.7)	112 (76.2)	12 (8.2)	-	4 (2.7)	22 (15.0)	11 (7.5)
Sandha	40 (26.7)	90 (60.0)	16 (10.7)	5 (3.3)	3 (2.0)	-	124 (82.7)	10 (6.7)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	20 (13.3)	-
Turi	165 (71.4)	122 (83.0)	69 (46.9)	6 (4.1)	20 (13.6)	9 (6.1)	108 (73.5)	42 (28.6)	14 (9.5)	14 (9.5)	55 (37.4)	4 (2.7)
Wagher	100 (63.7)	99 (63.1)	15 (9.6)	-	-	-	99 (63.1)	1 (0.6)	-	1 (0.6)	27 (17.2)	-
Vaniana	133 (85.8)	121 (78.1)	85 (54.8)	16 (10.3)	6 (3.9)	12 (7.7)	100 (64.5)	26 (16.8)	8 (5.2)	9 (5.8)	44 (28.4)	2 (1.3)
Total	1020 (64.8)	1175 (74.5)	505 (32.1)	72 (4.6)	69 (4.4)	41 (2.6)	1232 (78.3)	148 (9.4)	30 (1.9)	83 (5.3)	446 (28.3)	25 (1.6)

Source: Field Survey

10. Discrimination

Caste based discrimination is major factor in low rate of education among DNT children. Calling by caste name, untouchability, humiliation, punishments, manual work in schools like cleaning of classrooms, toilets and pouring water etc are important factor that prevent DNT children to go to the school. Colonial ‘Criminal Tribe’ Stigma is still haunting to DNT people. In 5.7 per cent cases they are called as “thieves” or by their community names by school teachers and classmates.

“I am from Bhiloda Taluka of Gujarat from the Salat Ghera tribe. Right now I am grazing cattle in my village. Before that I used to go school. My friends and teacher used to call me by my community - ‘Hay...Salat...come here’, ‘Hay Ghera, bring that glass for me’- Once I resisted in the school about this insult and humiliation based on my caste. The school authority did not find any solution for this and they reported my parents designating me as violent. Nobody supported me. Hence I stopped going to school and entered into this activity”.

A Salat child who dropped out of school from Bhiloda Taluka of Gujarat

Many households were scared to reveal about the social tension between them, non-DNT households and the school authorities. When the study probed for more details about various discrimination in the schools, 3.6 per cent children reported that they are made to sit in the backbench. 3.8 per cent children said that they are not paid any attention by teacher and 3.7 per cent for only scholarships. 3.2 per cent respondents were not happy with humiliating seating arrangement in classroom. Only 3.2 per cent children reported mid day meal in the school whereas Government of Gujarat’s report says that MDM is being provided in 37,134 schools including government, grant in aid, local bodies and AIE centers. Further, the report says that beneficiary among OBC students (Most of DNTs and Nomadic Tribes are in OBC list in the state of Gujarat) of MDM are 21,47,040 in the State of Gujarat. Among 21,47,040 students 8,90,587 are boys, 7,98,250 are girls in Standard 1 to 5 and 2,38,719 are boys and 2,03,518 are girls in Standard 6th and 7th. The present study result contradicts this claim. When we tried to get more information about discrimination in the schools, 1.7 per cent children said that teacher’s attitude towards them is offensive/insulting and 2.9 per cent students said that fellow students attitude towards them is offensive/insulting. Only 1.8 per cent children are encouraged to participate in playground and cultural activities and rest of the children are not active due to non-encouragement.

About 45.1 per cent respondents reported that non-tribe students humiliate them in the instance of drinking water from the same pot and glass. This shows clear-cut caste based discrimination with school children of Denotified Tribes.

Table 4.22: Incidence of discrimination against children in school (N=1574)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Asked to sit in the back	Teacher inattentive	Comes for scholarship only	Dislikes sitting arrangements	Mid-Day Meal users	Teacher's attitude is offensive / insulting
Chhara	9 (5.1)	7 (4.0)	4 (2.3)	3 (1.7)	3 (1.7)	3 (1.7)
Chuvalia Koli	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dafer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Koli	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miyana	-	-	-	-	-	-
Salat Ghera	24 (16.3)	27 (18.4)	28 (19.0)	26 (17.7)	26 (17.7)	11 (7.5)
Sandhi	-	-	-	-	-	0
Turi	1 (0.7)	3 (2.0)	2 (1.4)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
Wagher	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vanjara	22 (14.2)	23 (14.8)	24 (15.5)	21 (13.5)	21 (13.5)	11 (7.1)
Total	56 (3.6)	60 (3.8)	58 (3.7)	51 (3.2)	51 (3.2)	26 (1.7)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Called by community name	Fellow students attitude is offensive/ hurtful	Active in sports and cultural events	Drink water from the same pot and glass	Taking tea or water to the teacher is prevented	Manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	Others
Chhara	14 (7.9)	5 (2.8)	3 (1.7)	86 (48.6)	3 (1.7)	3 (1.7)	4 (2.3)
Chuvalia Koli	-	-	-	112 (74.2)	-	-	-
Dafer	-	-	-	18 (11.5)	-	-	-
Koli	1 (0.7)	-	-	99 (67.3)	-	-	-
Miyana	-	-	-	144 (77.4)	-	-	-
Salat Ghera	33 (22.4)	23 (15.6)	14 (9.5)	44 (29.9)	18 (12.2)	13 (8.8)	1 (0.5)
Sandhi	-	-	-	11 (7.3)	-	-	-
Turi	13 (8.8)	-	1 (0.7)	54 (36.7)	-	-	-
Wagher	-	-	-	83 (53.2)	-	-	-
Vanjara	29 (18.7)	18 (11.6)	11 (7.1)	58 (37.4)	15 (9.7)	10 (6.5)	9 (5.8)
Total	90 (5.7)	46 (2.9)	29 (1.8)	709 (45.1)	36 (2.3)	27 (1.7)	24 (1.5)

Source: Field Survey

11. Seasonal Migration

About 8.9 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 91.1 per cent reported their current location as the place of their origin. Salat Ghera (29.9 per cent), Vanjara (19.4 per cent) and Miyana (17.2) have a higher proportion of households who report that they are migrants compared to other tribes (Table 4.23). Among people who migrated, 4.3 per cent migrated due to the displacement due to construction of Panam Dam, 5.0 per cent due to flood, 10.7 per cent because of earthquake in Kutch region and 1.5 per cent for demolition by government bodies (Table 4.24).

Table 4.23: Current location reported as place of origin

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Original Place	Migrant	Total
Chhara	177 (100.0)	-	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	151 (100.0)	-	151 (100.0)
Dafer	157 (100.0)	-	157 (100.0)
Koli	147 (100.0)	-	147 (100.0)
Miyana	154 (82.8)	32 (17.2)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	103 (70.1)	44 (29.9)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	150 (100.0)	-	150 (100.0)
Turi	129 (87.8)	18 (12.2)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	141 (89.8)	16 (10.2)	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	125 (80.6)	30 (19.4)	155 (100.0)
Total	1434 (91.1)	140 (8.9)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 4.24: Reasons for Migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Dam Construction	Floods	Livelihood	Earth quake	Children education	Livelihood & children education	Due to Demolition	Get new house	Govt. houses	Demolished Katcha house	People don't allow to stay	Total
Chhara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chuvaia Koli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dafer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Koli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miyana	-	1(3.1)	3(9.4)	5(15.6)	-	-	23(71.8)	-	-	-	-	32(100.0)
Salat Ghera	-	5(11.4)	26(59.1)	3(6.8)	2(4.5)	2(4.5)	2(4.5)	-	1(2.3)	-	3(6.8)	44(100.0)
Sansdhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turi	-	-	17(94.4)	1(5.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18(100.0)
Wagher	-	-	9(56.3)	-	-	7(43.7)	-	-	-	-	-	16(100.0)
Vanjara	6(20.0)	1(3.3)	-	6(20.0)	5(16.7)	-	-	8(26.7)	1(3.3)	3(10.0)	-	30(100.0)
Total	6(4.3)	7(5.0)	55(39.3)	15(10.7)	7(5.0)	9(6.4)	25(17.9)	8(5.7)	2(1.4)	3(2.1)	3(2.1)	140(100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The frequent migration of Turi (1 to 6 times) and Vanjara (1 to 5 times) is for selling their wares, which they believe have poor local demand (Table 4.25). About 73.6 per cent of the households reported that the duration of their migration is more than 6 months. This proportion is high among Wagher, Miyana and Salat Ghera. Around 7.1 per cent of households reported that the duration of migration is less than one month (Table 4.26).

Table 4.25: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	No. of times migrating in a year						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Miyana	32 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	32 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	33 (75.0)	5 (11.4)	2 (4.5)	4 (9.1)	-	-	44 (100.0)
Turi	2 (11.1)	1 (5.6)	1 (5.6)	7 (38.9)	6 (33.3)	1 (5.6)	18 (100.0)
Wagher	15 (93.6)	1 (6.4)	-	-	-	-	16 (100.0)
Vanjara	22 (73.3)	2 (6.7)	3 (10.0)	3 (10.0)	-	-	30 (100.0)
Total	104 (74.3)	9 (6.4)	6 (4.3)	14 (10.0)	6 (4.2)	1 (0.7)	140 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 4.26: Duration of stay at migrated place

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration			Total
	Below 1 Month	1-6 Months	More than 6 Months	
Miyana	-	-	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	-	9 (23.1)	25 (76.9)	44 (100.0)
Turi	10 (55.6)	6 (33.3)	02 (11.1)	18 (100.0)
Wagher	-	-	16 (100.0)	16 (100.0)
Vanjara	-	12 (40.0)	18 (60.0)	30 (100.0)
Total	10 (7.1)	27 (19.3)	105 (73.6)	140 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

12. Neighbourhood

About 80.6 per cent of respondents live among the same tribe and 14.6 per cent have houses in isolated places; 4.9 per cent of the total households stay with other communities. Among all the tribes large number of Wagher (21.0 per cent) stay with other communities whereas the proportion for the same is relatively smaller for the remaining nine tribes studied in Gujarat (Table 4.27).

Table 4.27: Social location of neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own Caste/ tribe people	Other caste/ tribe people	Segregated house	Total
Chhara	171 (96.6)	2 (1.1)	4 (2.3)	177 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	133 (88.1)	5 (3.3)	13 (8.6)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	149 (94.9)	-	8 (5.1)	157 (100.0)
Koli	80 (54.4)	3 (2.0)	64 (43.5)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	95 (51.1)	19 (10.2)	72 (38.7)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	129 (87.8)	12 (8.2)	6 (4.1)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	136 (90.7)	-	14 (9.3)	150(100.0)
Turi	133 (90.5)	2 (1.4)	12 (8.2)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	95 (60.5)	33 (21.0)	29 (18.5)	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	147 (94.8)	1 (0.6)	7 (4.5)	155 (100.0)
Total	1268 (80.6)	77 (4.9)	229 (14.6)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 36.5 per cent of respondents report that they have educated neighbours. This proportion is high among Turi, Chhara, Vanjara and Koli tribe and comparatively low among Dafer, Miyana and Salat Ghera (Figure 4.11). The interaction with neighbours with regard to children's education is discussed in Section III.

Figure 4.11: Incidence of education among neighbours

Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES - STATUS

This section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Gujarat. Along with the findings based on the primary data on the educational status of the denotified tribes in the state, the study also provides an overview of the initiatives of the government to facilitate access to education among denotified tribes.

13. Status of Education

The household survey provides detailed information on various indicators that reflect on the educational status of household members including the pattern of enrolment, reasons for non-enrolment, dropout, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education.

Among the total population covered under the survey (9143), child population (below 6 years) accounts for nearly 10 per cent and the remaining population can be classified as (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education. We find relatively larger share of population reported as completed or dropped out of the education (38.7 per cent) followed by never enrolled and currently studying (respectively 31.1 per cent and 20.3 per cent) in the total population (Table 4.28). The incidence of never enrolled were more than half of the respondents among Dafer (53 per cent) and Salt Khera (54 per cent), while it was almost 45 per cent among Sandhi respondents. Currently studying was spread across tribes though the proportion was more than one-fourth among (Chhara (29 per cent), Chuvaliya Koli (28 per cent) and Koli (24.7 per cent). In case of dropouts / completed, the proportion was relatively higher among Koli (64 per cent), Turi (56 per cent) followed by Miyana (47 per cent) and Chhara (43 per cent).

Table 4.28: Medium of Instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Child <6 years	Currently Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropouts	Completed	Total
Chhara	91 (9.4)	281 (29.2)	178 (18.5)	395 (41.0)	18 (1.9)	963 (100.0)
Chuvaliya Koli	49 (6.4)	214 (28.0)	207 (27.1)	293 (38.4)	1 (0.1)	764 (100.0)
Dafer	127 (13.3)	123 (12.9)	502 (52.5)	197 (20.6)	7 (0.7)	956 (100.0)
Koli	33 (4.9)	168 (24.7)	43 (6.3)	361 (53.2)	74 (10.9)	679 (100.0)
Miyana	116 (12.3)	180 (19.1)	205 (21.7)	267 (28.3)	176 (18.6)	944 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	102 (9.6)	151 (14.3)	575 (54.4)	224 (21.2)	5 (0.5)	1057 (100.0)
Sandhi	103 (12.8)	126 (15.7)	358 (44.6)	207 (25.8)	9 (1.1)	803 (100.0)
Turi	80 (8.8)	193 (21.3)	128 (14.1)	23 (2.5)	481 (53.1)	905 (100.0)
Wagher	64 (7.8)	167 (20.3)	256 (31.3)	319 (38.8)	17 (2.1)	823 (100.0)
Vanjara	143 (11.4)	251 (20.1)	392 (31.4)	140 (11.2)	323 (25.9)	1249 (100.0)
Total	908 (9.9)	1854 (20.3)	2844 (31.1)	2426 (26.5)	1111 (12.2)	9143 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Apart from those reporting as dropouts, there were others who identified themselves as those who had completed their education as indicated at a particular level. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. Out of 1111 who have reported that they have completed education (Table 4.28), majority has completed primary level education (51 per cent) followed by secondary (28.6 per cent), higher secondary (11 per cent), and graduation and above (9.3 per cent). The number of members who report completed education is abysmally low among Chuvala koli (1), Salat Ghera (5), Dafer (7) and Sandhi (9). In case of Turi, the incidence of secondary education among members were higher (41 per cent) followed by Koli (27 per cent) and Vanjara (23 per cent).

Table 4.29: Level of Education at which currently studying are enrolled (in Kms.)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8)	Secondary Level (9 and 10)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Total
Chhara	188 (66.9)	39 (13.9)	26 (9.3)	20 (7.1)	8 (2.8)	281 (100.0)
Chuvaliya Koli	160 (74.8)	36 (16.8)	13 (6.1)	3 (1.4)	2 (0.9)	214 (100.0)
Dafer	123 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	123 (100.0)
Koli	112 (66.7)	34 (20.2)	16 (9.5)	6 (3.6)	-	168 (100.0)
Miyana	161 (89.4)	18 (10.0)	1 (0.6)	-	-	180 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	125 (82.8)	14 (9.3)	7 (4.6)	5 (3.3)	-	151 (100.0)
Sandhi	108 (85.7)	7 (5.6)	7 (5.6)	3 (2.4)	1 (0.8)	126 (100.0)
Turi	106 (54.9)	41 (21.2)	24 (12.4)	14 (7.3)	8 (4.1)	193 (100.0)
Wagher	129 (77.2)	33 (19.8)	5 (3.0)	-	-	167 (100.0)
Vanjara	198 (78.9)	38 (15.1)	9 (3.6)	5 (2.0)	1 (0.4)	251 (100.0)
Total	1410 (76.1)	260 (14.0)	108 (5.8)	56 (3.0)	20 (1.1)	1854 (100.0)

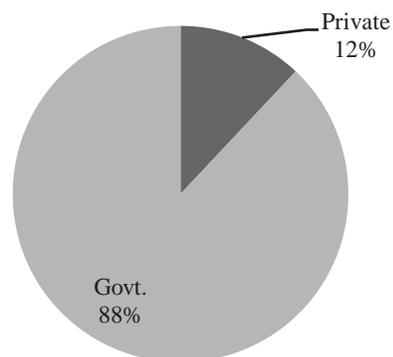
Source: Field Survey

Among those reported to have currently engaged in studying, 76 per cent were in primary level followed by 14 per cent at secondary and 6 per cent at higher secondary. Only a small proportion of 4 per cent were engaged in graduate and post-graduate studies (Table 4.29). Across tribes, one can discern variations. Among Dafer, 100 per cent were in primary level while more than 80 per cent were also engaged in primary schooling among Miyana (89 per cent), Sandhi (86 per cent), Salat Khera (83 per cent) followed by three-fourth or more among Chuvaliya Koli (75 per cent), Wagher (77 per cent) and Vanjara (79 per cent). Among Turi one could find higher proportion among secondary (21 per cent), higher secondary (12 per cent) and rest pursuing graduation and above (11.4 per cent). Among Chhara and Koli too one can find higher incidence of secondary level education among those respondents who are pursuing education unlike members of the other tribes who were surveyed. Data on medium of instruction in educational institution indicate Gujarati (88 per cent). English as medium of instruction as reported by respondents from Chhara (38 per cent), Miyana (22 per cent) and Koli (19 per cent) (Table 4.30). In addition, data reveals that 88 per cent of the respondents indicated government run schools as against private (12 per cent) (Figure 4.12).

Table 4.30: Medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Gujarati	English	Total
Chhara	174 (61.9)	107 (38.1)	281 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	202 (94.4)	12 (5.6)	214 (100.0)
Dafer	123 (100.0)	-	123 (100.0)
Koli	137 (81.5)	31 (18.5)	168 (100.0)
Miyana	140 (77.8)	40 (22.2)	180 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	145 (96.0)	6 (4.0)	151 (100.0)
Sandhi	123 (97.6)	3 (2.4)	126 (100.0)
Turi	186 (96.4)	7 (3.6)	193 (100.0)
Wagher	157 (94.0)	10 (6.0)	167 (100.0)
Vanjara	249 (99.2)	2 (0.8)	251 (100.0)
Total	1636 (88.2)	218 (11.8)	1854 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 4.12: Type of educational institutions

Source: Field Survey

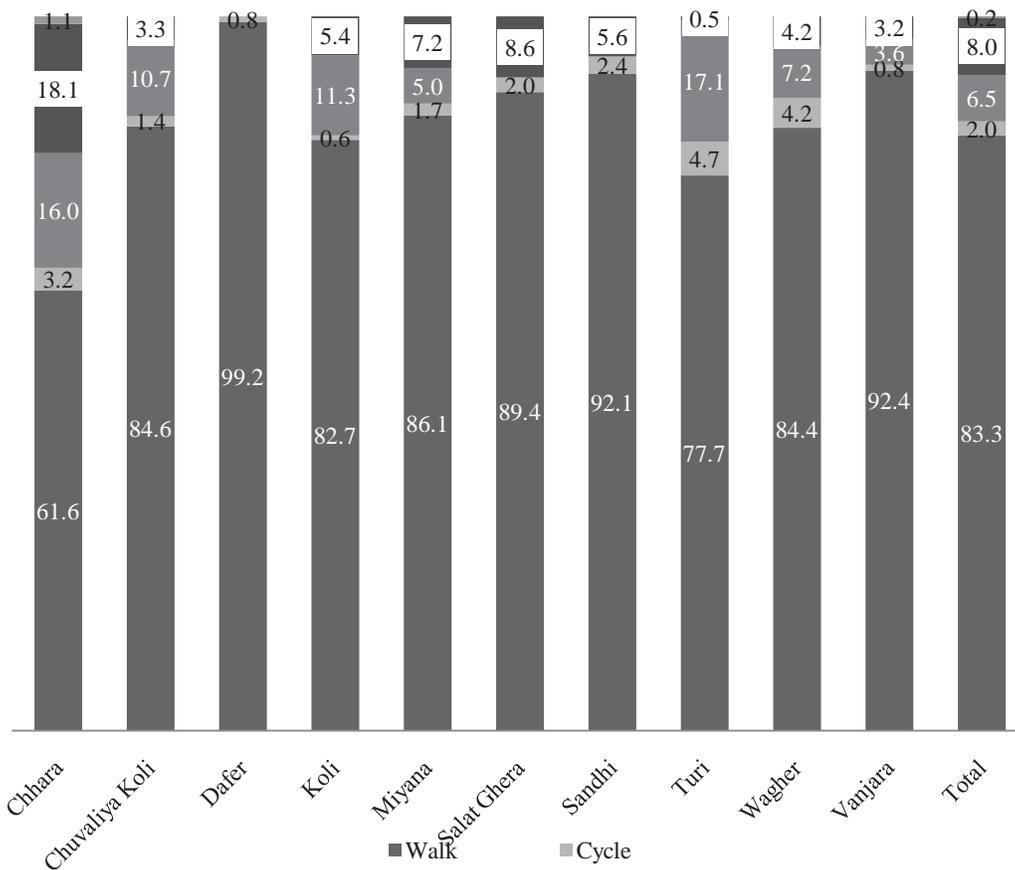
Table 4.31: Distance to educational institution of study (in Kms.)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Upto 1 Km	1.1-3.0	3.1-5.0	5.1-10	Above 10 Kms	Total
Chhara	130 (46.3)	86 (30.6)	18 (6.4)	12 (4.3)	35 (12.5)	281 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	134 (62.6)	67 (31.3)	8 (3.7)	3 (1.4)	2 (0.9)	214 (100.0)
Dafer	112 (91.1)	9 (7.3)	-	-	2 (1.6)	123 (100.0)
Koli	113 (67.3)	45 (26.8)	4 (2.4)	2 (1.2)	4 (2.4)	168 (100.0)
Miyana	146 (81.1)	22 (12.2)	9 (5.0)	2 (1.1)	1 (0.6)	180 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	118 (78.1)	17 (11.3)	3 (2.0)	6 (4.0)	7 (4.6)	151 (100.0)
Sandhi	108 (85.7)	13 (10.3)	-	1 (0.8)	4 (3.2)	126 (100.0)
Turi	119 (61.7)	32 (16.6)	16 (8.3)	14 (7.3)	12 (6.2)	193 (100.0)
Wagher	137 (82.0)	15 (9.0)	9 (5.4)	3 (1.8)	3 (1.8)	167 (100.0)
Vanjara	213 (84.9)	27 (10.8)	-	7 (2.8)	4 (1.6)	251 (100.0)
Total	1330 (71.7)	333 (18.0)	67 (3.6)	50 (2.7)	74 (4.0)	1854 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Distance to institution of study is an important determinant of easy access to school and retention. More than 70 per cent indicate that the distance to institution is less than 1 km and upto 3 km (18 per cent). Those reporting institution of study more than 3 kilometers account for around 10 per cent (Table 4.31). This incidence of farther distance of more than 3 kms was reported by Chhara (23 per cent) and Turi (21.8 per cent); and this is reflected in the higher proportion among these communities who report use of scooter/bike and bus as mode of transport. Majority however report by foot as the mode of transport to reach institution of study with variations across the tribe as evident in the Figure 4.13.

Figure 4.13: Mode of transport to school



Source: Field Survey

The major reasons for non-enrollment revealed from the data indicate that the respondents were not aware about the importance of education (28 per cent) and thus did not feel a necessity to pursue education whereas, the necessity of working or earning also restricted the respondents from accessing education (24 per cent). Other reasons included lack of school in the vicinity (18 per cent), improper documentation in the form of birth certificates (17 per cent), illness, migration, rejection by schools and to look after younger siblings.

Table 4.32: Level at which currently studying are enrolled

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8)	Secondary Level (9 and 10)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Total
Chhara	269 (68.1)	78 (19.7)	24 (6.1)	16 (4.1)	8 (2.0)	395 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	211 (72.0)	75 (25.6)	7 (2.4)	-	-	293 (100.0)
Dafer	192 (97.5)	5 (2.5)	-	-	-	197 (100.0)
Koli	208 (57.6)	123 (34.1)	20 (5.6)	7 (1.9)	3 (0.8)	361 (100.0)
Miyana	224 (83.9)	42 (15.7)	-	1 (0.4)	-	267 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	153 (68.3)	58 (25.9)	12 (5.4)	1 (0.4)	-	224 (100.0)
Sandhi	159 (76.8)	30 (14.5)	14 (6.8)	3 (1.4)	1 (0.5)	207 (100.0)
Turi	12 (52.2)	7 (30.4)	2 (8.7)	2 (8.7)	-	23 (100.0)
Wagher	250 (78.4)	62 (19.4)	4 (1.3)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.6)	319 (100.0)
Vanjara	110 (78.6)	24 (17.1)	6 (4.3)	-	-	140 (100.0)
Total	1787 (73.7)	504 (20.8)	89 (3.7)	31 (1.3)	14 (0.6)	2426 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The data about the educational status of those who responded as drop outs reveal that around three-fourths (73.7 per cent) had dropped out at primary level of education followed by secondary (21 per cent), higher secondary (4 per cent) and rest graduation and above (less than 2 per cent) (Table 4.32). The proportion of those who dropped out at primary level was relatively lower among Koli (58 per cent) and Turi (52 per cent) in comparison with Dafer (98 per cent), Miyana (84 per cent) Wagher, Sandhi, Vanjara (around 78 per cent each) and Chuvalia Koli (72 per cent). Around one fourths had dropped out at secondary level among Chuvalia Koli and Salat Khera, while among Koli the proportion stood at 34 per cent and Turi at 30 per cent.

14. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental Motivation and Other Support for Education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents' participation and community involvement in decision making at different levels of children's education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

Table 4.33: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

Particulars of Seeking Suggestions	Family members	Teacher	Neighbours/ Friends	Educated members in the community	Not Consulted	Total
Admission of the children to school	26 (1.7)	17 (1.1)	84 (5.3)	15 (0.9)	1432 (91.0)	1574 (100.0)
Selection of subjects	21 (1.3)	14 (0.9)	68 (4.3)	18 (1.1)	1453 (92.3)	1574 (100.0)
Selection of School/College	18 (1.1)	12 (0.8)	80 (5.1)	20 (1.3)	1444 (91.7)	1574 (100.0)
Financial Matters	22 (1.4)	11 (0.7)	73 (4.6)	18 (1.1)	1450 (92.1)	1574 (100.0)
Guidance on children's education	23 (1.5)	13 (0.8)	77 (4.9)	17 (1.1)	1444 (91.7)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Interaction of parents with community with regard to children's education is an important indicator of the focus education receives in the families of the households. It was seen that in case of Gujarat, the participation and involvement of parents in decision making about education was abysmally low. More than 90 per cent indicated that they did not interact with any member of the community or family or neighbours regarding admission, selection of school/college/ subjects, financial and guidance in general about their children's education (Table 4.33).

Table 4.34: Frequency of parents visit to school

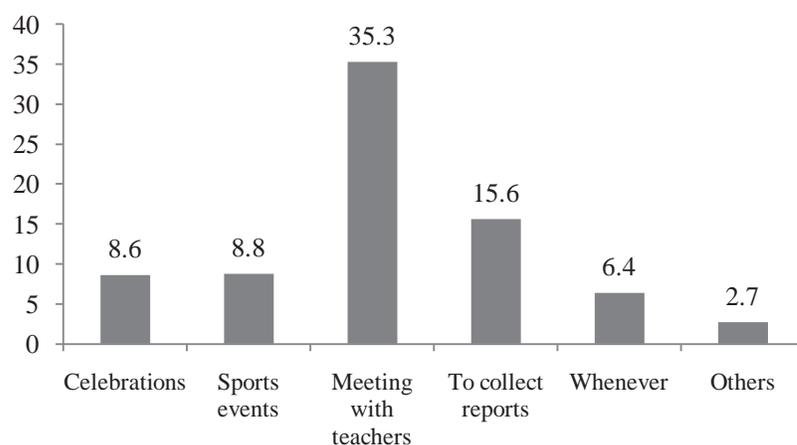
DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	6 & above	Not Visited	Total
Chhara	15 (8.5)	56 (31.6)	12 (6.8)	20 (11.3)	5 (2.8)	16 (9.0)	53 (29.9)	177 (100.0)
Chuvialia Koli	4 (2.6)	44 (29.1)	8 (5.3)	21 (13.9)	20 (13.2)	8 (5.3)	46 (30.5)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	13 (8.3)	4 (2.5)	-	-	-	1 (0.6)	139 (88.5)	157 (100.0)
Koli	9 (6.1)	46 (31.3)	14 (9.5)	16 (10.9)	2 (1.4)	12 (8.2)	48 (32.7)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	99 (53.2)	50 (26.9)	-	-	-	-	37 (19.9)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	13 (8.8)	20 (13.6)	3 (2.0)	7 (4.8)	-	3 (2.0)	101 (68.7)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	7 (4.7)	18 (12.0)	13 (8.7)	7 (4.7)	1 (0.7)	4 (2.7)	100 (66.7)	150 (100.0)
Turi	43 (29.3)	32 (21.8)	8 (5.4)	3 (2.0)	2 (1.4)	5 (3.4)	54 (36.7)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	6 (3.8)	38 (24.2)	9 (5.7)	19 (12.1)	10 (6.4)	7 (4.5)	68 (43.3)	157 (100.0)
Vanjara	22 (14.2)	53 (34.2)	3 (1.9)	4 (2.6)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.6)	70 (45.2)	155 (100.0)
Total	231 (14.7)	361 (22.9)	70 (4.4)	97 (6.2)	42 (2.7)	57 (3.6)	716 (45.5)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

With regard to frequency of visits to schools around 46 per cent of households reported that parents never visited school while a little less than one-fourth indicated that the parents visited twice in a year followed by 15 per cent who reported once a year (Table 4.34). High incidence of no visit was seen among Dafer (88.5 per cent), Salat Ghera (68.7 per cent)

and Sandhi (66.7 per cent) in comparison with other communities for example, Miyana (19.9 per cent) and Chhara and Chuvalia Koli (around 30 per cent each). Majority of the visits were to meet the teachers (35 per cent) followed by to collect reports (16 per cent), celebrations and sports (9 per cent each) and as and when called to the school (6 per cent) (Figure 4.14). Thus, it was mostly for interaction with teachers related to academic matters rather than extra-curricular activities. This was evident from the low levels of participation of children in various programmes organised at their schools or colleges (Table 4.35). The main reason behind lack of children's participation in school programmes was lack of interest of the child and being engaged in domestic work, as well as lack of awareness about these activities. Moreover, majority of the parents from households (64 per cent) were not aware of the reason behind their children's non-participation in activities.

Figure 4.14: Parents visit to school for different events & programmes



Source: Field Survey

Events

Table 4.35: Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultural	Sports	Extra Curriculum	Total
Chhara	71 (39.5)	66 (37.3)	5 (2.8)	178 (100.0)
Chuvalia Koli	74 (49.0)	55 (36.4)	3 (2.0)	151 (100.0)
Dafer	-	4 (2.5)	9 (5.7)	157 (100.0)
Koli	45 (30.6)	59 (40.1)	4 (2.7)	147 (100.0)
Miyana	35 (18.8)	48 (25.8)	3 (1.6)	186 (100.0)
Salat Ghera	28 (19.0)	26 (17.7)	4 (2.7)	147 (100.0)
Sandhi	17 (11.3)	25 (16.7)	13 (8.7)	150 (100.0)
Turi	65 (44.2)	45 (30.6)	13 (8.8)	147 (100.0)
Wagher	49 (31.4)	31 (19.9)	2 (1.3)	156 (100.0)
Vanjara	57 (36.8)	41 (26.5)	4 (2.6)	155 (100.0)
Total	441 (28.0)	400 (25.4)	60 (3.8)	1574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 4.15: Parents reporting regular study at home by children

Source: Field Survey

Activities at school need to be complemented with regular study at home by children along with completing home assignments. A little more than half of the total households reported in the affirmative (53 per cent) that the children study regularly at home. This was highest among Chhara households (78 per cent) and lowest among Dafer (24 per cent) (Figure 4.15). Data indicates that about 41 per cent of respondents reported that no one helps children with homework and this proportion is predominant among Miyana (75.3 per cent), Wagher (71 per cent) and Turi (46.3 per cent) households. Around 8.3 per cent of respondents

reported that parents help with completion of homework with 4.2 per cent of households reporting use of the services of the private tutor or siblings (2.2 per cent). In terms of payment, private tutors were paid as high Rs 500 and above per month.

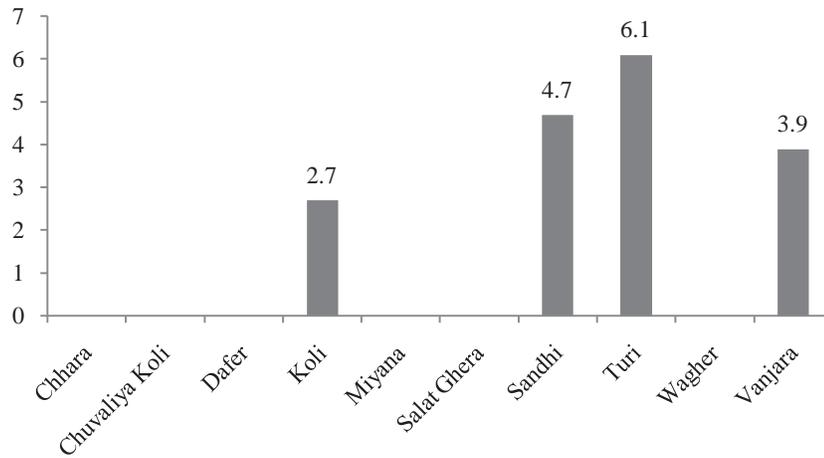
With regard to progress in study, among the households, 60 per cent responded that they were happy with the progress which included writing, reading and speaking. However, across tribes, the level of satisfaction differed. This was lowest among Dafer, Salat Ghera and Sandhi (Table 4.36). Moreover, parents' involvement in school management was strikingly low or absent across tribes (Figure 4.16). Financial support is one of the main drivers of educational access. Of those households which availed loan for educational purposes (82 out of 1574), interestingly, 72 per cent was to meet the expenses of the education of the daughters (Figure 4.16).

Table 4.36: Perception about progress and performance of children (N=1574)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Happy with Progress	Writing	Reading	Speaking
Chhara	140 (79.1)	141 (79.7)	141 (79.7)	141 (79.7)
Chuvalia Koli	110 (72.8)	112 (74.2)	112 (74.2)	111 (73.5)
Dafer	45 (28.7)	56 (35.7)	56 (35.7)	56 (35.7)
Koli	101 (68.7)	104 (70.7)	104 (70.7)	104 (70.7)
Miyana	129 (69.4)	131 (70.4)	129 (69.4)	140 (75.3)
Salat Ghera	58 (39.5)	70 (47.6)	68 (46.3)	73 (49.7)
Sandhi	74 (49.3)	74 (49.3)	74 (49.3)	75 (50.0)
Turi	100 (68.0)	101 (68.7)	101 (68.7)	101 (68.7)
Wagher	91 (58.3)	89 (57.1)	89 (57.1)	90 (57.7)
Vanjara	99 (63.2)	109 (70.3)	107 (69.0)	110 (71.0)
Total	947 (60.1)	987 (62.7)	981 (62.4)	1001 (63.6)

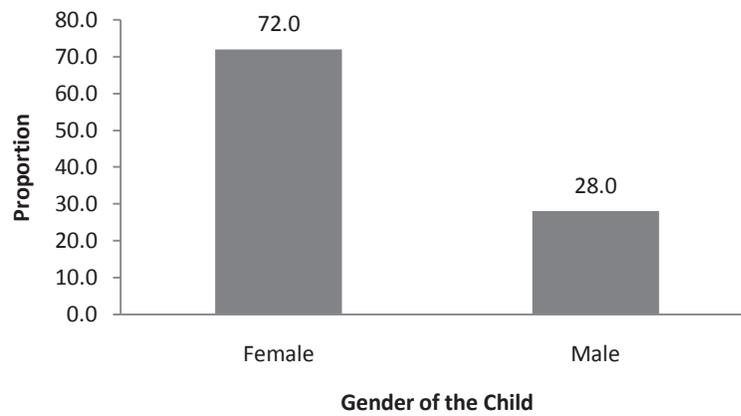
Source: Field Survey

Figure 4.16: Level of awareness about school management committee among parents

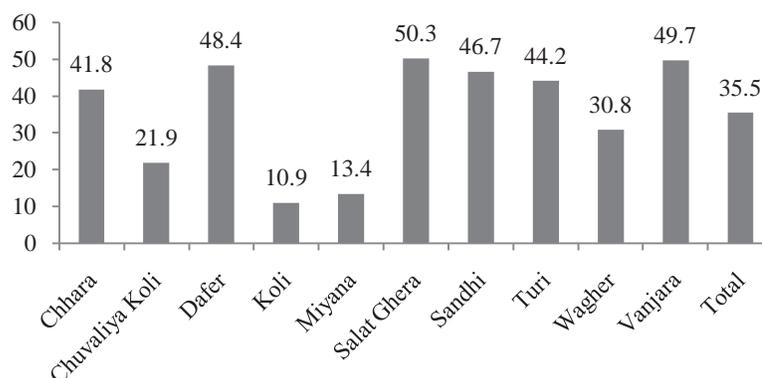


Source: Field Survey

Figure 4.17: Gender of child for whom education loan was taken



Source: Field Survey

Figure 4.18: Involvement of children in housework

Source: Field Survey

Out of 1574 of households, more than one-third of the households (35 per cent) reported that children help them with domestic chores (Figure 4.17). The proportion varied across tribes. The incidence was lowest among Koli (10.9 per cent), Miyana (13.4 per cent) and Chuvalia Koli (21.9 per cent). It was observed from fieldwork as well as primary data that while both male and female child helped in house work, female children were more engaged in tailoring and male children in lending a hand during farming and were engaged in household domestic chores and cattle grazing. Majority of the children were engaged for around four hours in work at home.

Out of 1574 respondents, 30 per cent believe that their son should become a government employee. Around 16 per cent of respondents believe that their son should pursue a professional career and less than 10.0 per cent reported that it would depend on his/ her wish or luck and on education. More than one-third of respondents from households had not thought about their son's future. Fifty seven per cent of respondents wanted their sons to pursue graduation, post-graduation and professional degrees. Only a negligible proportion of less than one per cent were disillusioned with the education system and believed that there was no use in educating their sons.

In case of aspirations for daughters, around 41.0 per cent of respondents wanted their daughters to pursue higher educational courses while a significant proportion of the respondents (46 per cent) had not thought about it in detail. With respect to daughter's employment, around 22 per cent of respondents believed that their daughter should become a government employee followed by about 10 per cent who indicated that their daughters should be professionals and less than 10.0 per cent reported that it would be as per her wish or luck and depend on education. About 48.5 per cent of respondents from households had not thought about their daughter's future. This proportion is high among Wagher and Dafer and relatively low among Chhara and Vanjara.

Twenty per cent of households reported that if the boy is educated, he can change the economic and social condition of his family members. About 19.3 per cent of respondents reported that if girl is educated and employed, she can change economic condition of the family and also become a good housewife. Nearly 16.9 per cent stated that if she is educated, it will enable self development and the development of society. Less than 5.0 per cent of respondents reported that if their girl is educated, she would get a good life, increase critical thinking and could live independently.

15. Marginalised Communities and Education in Gujarat

The State government has many schemes to promote girls' education such as Kanya Kelvani Yojna, Vidhyalaxmi Bond Yojna, insurance schemes like Vidhyadeep Yojna, National Education for Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL), Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan Mission (SSAM), and Education for All among others, but despite these schemes, girls' education is very low in DNT communities. The state government has stated, 'Girl Child Education program is initiated in villages across Gujarat. It covers almost 18,000 villages esp. where the literacy rate is below 20 per cent and focus on identified suburbs of the urban areas to spread the message of education.'¹

The government has also stated 'Under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan Mission (SSAM), all the 25 districts and Municipal Corporations in Gujarat are being covered.'²

¹<http://www.gujaratindia.com/initiatives/initiatives.htm?InitiativeId=Ow74LqwpdaExxK3FbmJQew==>

²<http://www.gujaratindia.com/initiatives/initiatives.htm?InitiativeId=Ow74LqwpdaExxK3FbmJQew==>

‘Under the umbrella of SSAM, it is implementing National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) in 1093 clusters of 78 rural Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs) and 39 clusters of 13 urban slums in 21 districts (excluding Bharuch, Dang, Porbandar and Valsad) in the state.’

The Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) scheme was launched by the Government of India in August 2004 to set up residential schools at upper primary level for girls belonging predominantly to the SC, ST, OBC and minority groups in difficult areas. The KGBV ran as a separate scheme but in harmony with the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) and Mahila Samakhya (MS) for the first two years, but since 1 April 2007 it has merged with the SSA programme as a separate component of the same.

‘The Department executed Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Yojana (KGBV), under which, 30 residential elementary schools with boarding facilities are being set up for girls belonging to the disadvantaged groups of SC/ST/ OBC/ Minority and BPL in difficult areas.’³

“Smart Goals” with a future vision “Education for All” is a major Project of the Education Department with its Continuous Education and Literacy Policies geared to promote Literacy, reduce dropout rates, Focus on Girl Education, Teachers’ Training and a series of other Initiatives being implemented. Girl Education, Infrastructure, Health and Sanitation are the many areas in the process of continuous Education, Literacy, Edu Awareness and on path to enhancement in quality implementation. The Government vision is for SEE (Socio-Economic-Education) growth with primary education, secondary education, higher education, continuous education, literacy education, technical education, pharmacy education etc.’

Vidyalaxmi Bonds is another initiative by the government where the focus is on the role of education in poverty eradication. The campaign is aimed at ensuring maximum enrollment of boys and girls in primary schools across the state. To encourage girl child education, Vidhyalaxmi Bonds are entrusted among areas with low literacy rates, with below 35 per cent

³ <http://www.gujaratindia.com/initiatives/initiatives.htm?InitiativeId=Ow74LqwpdaExxK3FbmJQew==>

among women, and this serves as an incentive to poor parents to send their daughters to school.⁴

Kanya Kelavani⁵ is another scheme, also known as the Educated Girl Child Initiative, through which the government charts out plans to enroll 525,000 girls in the state. It covers 1,865 routes and has resulted in 100 per cent enrollment and reduction in the drop-out rate from 40 per cent to 2.29 per cent. Its vision 2010 was that, when Gujarat celebrates its golden jubilee, there should be a zero per cent dropout rate in the state (Literally No Dropouts). This Girl Child Education program has been initiated in villages across Gujarat. It covers almost 18,000 villages, concentrating on those where the literacy rate is below 20 per cent and focusing on identified suburbs in urban areas to increase awareness about the significance of education.

Apart from these, there are the following schemes for the education of marginalized communities that come under the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment:⁶

- i. Subedar Ramji Ambedkar Scheme of GIA for hostels.
- ii. GIA for building construction for Boys Hostels for backward classes.
- iii. GIA for building construction for Girls Hostels for backward classes.
- iv. Additional coaching centers in Grant-in-aid and government hostels.
- v. Establishment and development of Government Hostels for Boys and Girls.
- vi. Construction of Government Hostels for Boys.
- vii. Renovation and modernization of Government buildings, hostels and Residential School etc.
- viii. Mama Saheb Fadke Ideal Residential Schools for Scheduled Caste Scheme
- ix. Shri Jugatram Dave Ashram Schools Scheme.
- x. Award of prizes to student securing higher rank in public examination of Std.X and XII.
- xi. Parikshitlal Majumdar Scholarship to Pre-SSC Students.

⁴ <http://www.gujaratindia.com/initiatives/initiatives.htm?InitiativeId=Ow74LqwpdaExxK3FbmJQew==>

⁵ <http://www.gujaratindia.com/initiatives/initiatives.htm?InitiativeId=Ow74LqwpdaExxK3FbmJQew==>

⁶ <https://www.sje.gujarat.gov.in/showpage.aspx?contentid=1551&lang=english>

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- xii. Upgradation of standard of quality of Scheduled Caste children (C.S.S.)
 - xiii. Scholarship to Scheduled Caste bright students in selected secondary and higher secondary schools
 - xiv. Muni Metraj State Scholarship for Pre-SSC students whose parents are engaged in unclean occupations
 - xv. State Scholarship for post SSC girls students not eligible because of income criteria, services
 - xvi. State Scholarship for Post SSC students (C.S.S.)
 - xvii. Coaching fees to Scheduled Caste students studying in Std.XI and XII (science stream)
 - xviii. Coaching fees to Scheduled Caste students studying in Std.XI and XII (other than science stream)
 - xix. Food bill assistances for the Engineering and Medical students.
 - xx. Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad Fellowship to the M.Phil and Ph.D. Students.
 - xxi. Financial Assistances for study equipments of Medical, Diploma and Engineering students.
 - xxii. Scholarship for ITI, Technical and professional courses students of Scheduled Castes.
 - xxiii. Loan assistance to Scheduled Caste students for pilot training.
 - xxiv. Dr.Baba Saheb Ambedkar Loan for higher study in foreign countries.
 - xxv. Schedule Caste student free uniform scheme for 1 to 8 std students
 - xxvi. Special Scholarship for boys and girls students belonging to Valmiki, Hadi, Nadiya, Senva,
 - xxvii. Construction of Government Hostels for Girls.
 - xxviii. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Award, Mahatma Gandhi Award, Sant Shri Kabir Dalit Sahitya Award
 - xxix. Pre-Matric scholarship for Schedule Caste students for 6th and 10th Standard students
 - xxx. Coaching fees support for CEPT, NIFT, NLU
 - xxxi. Talent-pool scheme
 - xxxii. Coaching fee support for NEET-JEE for commerce stream students
 - xxxiii. Provision of tablets for Schedule tribe students of Std. 12th
 - xxxiv. Pre S.S.C Scholarship (S.E.B.C, E.B.C and Minority)
 - xxxv. Scholarship to S.E.B.C and EBC students of standard 1 to 4
 - xxxvi. Post SSC Scholarship to girls
 - xxxvii. Concession in Food Bill to students studying in Medical and

-
- Engineering
- xxxviii. Financial assistance to purchase Medical and Engineering Instruments
- xxxix. Post-SSC scholarship for boys
- xl. Post-SSC scholarship for SEBC students
- xli. Post-SSC Scholarship to students of Minorities
- xlii. Scholarships for courses of Higher Secondary Std. XI and XII
- xliii. Merit-cum-Means Scholarship (for Minority Communities)
- xliv. Scholarship for Technical and Professional Courses
- xlv. Financial Loan for Training of Commercial Pilot
- xlvi. Uniform Assistance of two Pairs to the Children studying in Std. I to VIII
- xlvii. Book Bank for students of Medical and Engineering
- lxviii. Incentive prizes to students of std. 10 and 12 scoring top marks in board examination
- lxlix. Bi-cycle to girls studying in Std. IX
- l. Scholarship for courses of M.Phil and Ph.D.
- li. Loan for Study Abroad
- lii. Training for Airhostess/Hospitality Management
- liii. Sewing Classes for Women
- liv. Pre SSC Scholarships to Most Backward Class Students Studying in Std. I to X (50 per cent CSS)
- lv. Assistance to students of Nomadic / Denotified Tribes studying in self finance institutes
- lvi. Govt. of India's Pre-matric Scholarship for students of Minority Communities
- lvii. Incentive to Most Backward and NTDNT students for private tuition
- lviii. Free Tablet to SEBC students of std. 12 science stream
- lix. Financial assistance to SEBC students for coaching of test of IIM, NIFT, NLU
- lx. Talent pool scheme for NTDNT
- lxi. Stipend for I.A.S and I.P.S. training
- lxii. Pre S.S.C Scholarship (Nomadic and Denotified Tribes)

16. Conclusions

As discussed above, the field survey of 7 DNTs and 3 NTs were conducted covering 15 districts across Gujarat. Except Turi, which is an NT that is listed as SC, rest of the communities canvassed fall under the social category of OBC. It is however interesting to note that many of the households from across communities identified themselves under Others category than OBC. In terms of duration of stay at the residence, an overwhelming majority indicated the present stay as place of birth. Gujarati emerged as the main communicative language for one-third of households though one could discern variations across communities – two third of households from Dafer community speak Hindi, majority of Vanjara, Chhara and Salat Ghera speak their own tribal dialect at home. At social gathering of communities and in public places use of Gujarati and Hindi were reported while knowledge and use of English was low among household members.

Livelihood indicators reveal that non-agricultural labour is the main occupation for more than half of the households but a significant proportion, one quarter reported traditional work as main occupation. Land was possessed by only ten per cent of households and the share was high among DNT1 and NT communities. Majority of the households live in own houses while temporary shelters were reported by Salat Ghera and Vanjara households. Irrespective of the ownership of houses, pucca houses were reported by less than a quarter of households while less than 20 per cent reported living in huts and removable tents. The condition of Koli, Chhara and Miyana communities were relatively worse. A low proportion of less than 3 per cent are dependent on piped water whereas the toilet facilities were unavailable for two thirds of households which include Dafer community with no access to toilet. In terms of electricity, the households are better off with only 13 per cent of households without electricity. Migration for livelihood was frequent among Turi and Vanjara tribes, but the duration of stay was less a month. Several households mentioned discrimination based on caste especially at school at several instances.

Status of education reveals disappointing levels of education – one third was never enrolled, more than a quarter was drop outs and a low proportion reported education as completed. More than three-fourths of currently studying was enrolled in primary which is an encouraging picture.

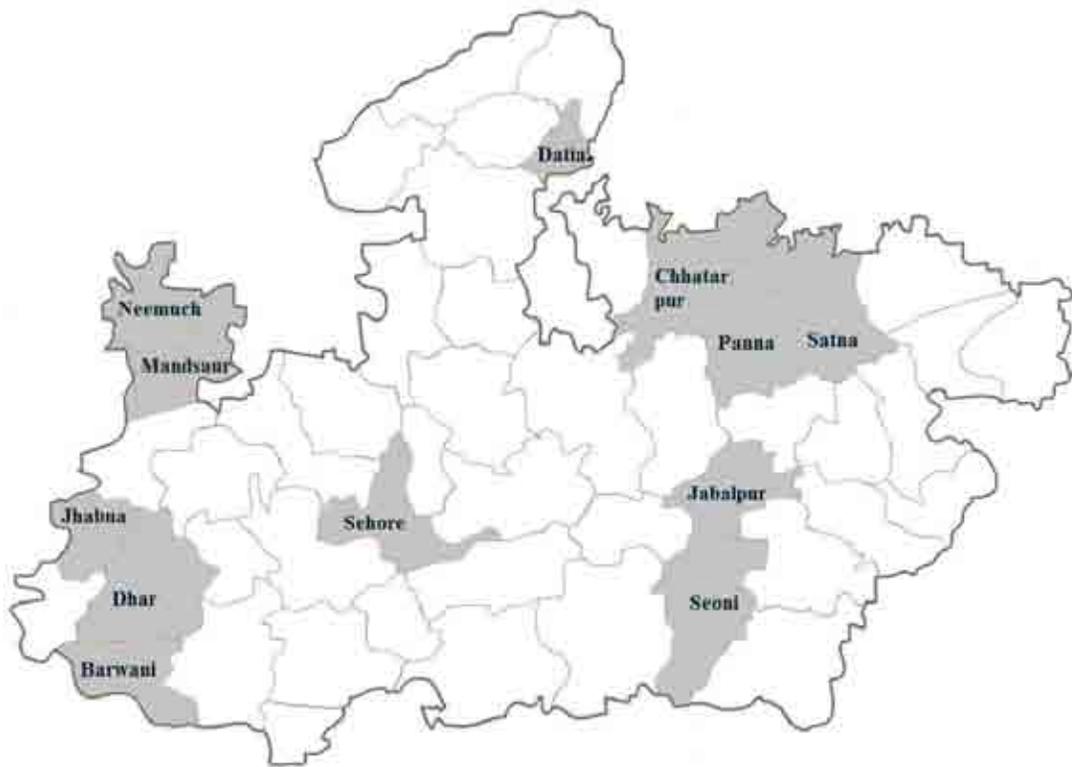
Medium of instruction has been Gujarati and English as medium is preferred by Chhara, Koli and Miyana households while majority studies in government run institutions which were near to the place of residence.

Among dropouts too majority had dropped out at primary level whereas among those who reported education as completed, while more than half of the respondents indicated primary, a significant proportion of more than a quarter indicated secondary and around ten per cent as graduation and above.

Parental interaction with community on children's education was practically absent whereas more than half of the households report visiting schools mostly to meet teachers or to collect reports. Low levels of participation in cultural, sports and extracurricular activities were also indicated while study at home was reported by more than half the households, though it was lowest among Dafer community.

In fact, the government has introduced several initiatives for education especially at the school level, but these are yet to gain fruits for children from DNT communities. There is a need to focus on educational initiatives with special emphasis on these communities rather than clubbing them under other social categories.

Madhya Pradesh



Communities Surveyed

Loharpita, Sikligar, Bagri, Anchada
Kalbelia, Nat, Kanjar, Banjara,
Nayakda Bhil, Pardhi

*Field study coordinated by
Dr. D.C. Sah
Madhya Pradesh Institute of
Social Science Research, Ujjain*

Chapter 5

MADHYA PRADESH

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

The educational status of the DNTs of Madhya Pradesh is not very different from that of the rest of the country and the state government is aware of this failure. The state is also aware that (i) there is a lack of data on district specific population of different DNTs in the state; (ii) the literacy rate of these communities is low; (iii) the living conditions of these communities are below the standard and many DNTs reside in tent houses; (iv) most NT-DNTs live in abject poverty; (v) they do not have Caste Certificates issued as DNTs and so do not have access to special schemes meant for them. For educating the NT-DNTs, special provision and budgetary allocation were made, but as most of these communities are illiterate and have had fewer chances of getting quality education, are underfunded and poorly managed. Consequently, special efforts are being initiated for their education, by providing self-employment schemes, giving them training and finance for setting up enterprises and also helping them in acquiring the NT-DNT Caste Certificate.¹

2. Methodology

2.1 Sample Design

There are 21 Denotified Tribes and 34 Nomadic tribes in Madhya Pradesh as noted by the Renke Commission (2008). Before conducting the main survey, a qualitative pilot study conducted in February - March 2013 revealed that the ground realities are rather disturbing. Twenty-five families each of *Banjara*, *Loharpita* and *Banchada* community were interviewed in Mandsaur and Bhopal districts to understand the problems of the DNT communities in Madhya Pradesh. The dismal findings of this pilot study showcased the need for a full-fledged study on educational status, aspiration and constraints in NT and DNT communities.

¹ Letter No. F. 12-55-2009-4-Twenty five, dated November 18, 2010, from *Adim Jati* and Scheduled Tribes *Kalyan Vibhag*, Bhopal; and Letter No. Raseky/RTE/2011/Q1/1885 of March 4, 2011 from the Secretary, School Education Department Government of Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal. Given this context, the present study is undertaken.

Consequently, Sehore, Jabalpur, Badwani, Datia and Panna were identified as regional centres where data collection would take place. A quick assessment by the principal investigators located in these centres revealed that Dhangar, Sikligar, Loharpita, Nayakda Bhil, and Bhanu (among Nomadic Tribes) and Bedia, Kanjar, Banjara, Banchada, Kalbelia, Bagri, Nat, Pardhi, and Sansi (among Denotified Tribes) were located in and around these centres. The main benefit of decentralising data collection was that by doing so, control on the quality of the collected quantitative data would increase. Moreover, it would be easy to conduct qualitative interviews with leaders of the community, police personnel and school teachers. From the list, it was decided that the study would concentrate on the following 10 De-notified and Nomadic Tribes for an in-depth quantitative survey.

Table 5.1: Profile of selected DNTs in Madhya Pradesh

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Social status	Number of district	Respondents
Nomadic Tribes			
<i>Sikligar</i>	OBC	4	150
<i>Loharpita</i>	Neither	6	150
<i>Nayakda Bhil</i>	OBC	2	150
Stigmatised Tribes			
<i>Kanjar</i>	Scheduled Caste	5	152
<i>Pardhi</i>	Scheduled Caste	4	157
De-notified Tribes			
<i>Bagri</i>	Scheduled Caste	3	150
<i>Banjara</i>	OBC	6	149
<i>Banchada</i>	Scheduled Caste	2	150
<i>Kalbelia</i>	Scheduled Caste	4	137
<i>Nat</i>	Scheduled Caste	4	152
<i>10</i>	3	12	1497

Source: Field Survey

After finalising and translating the questionnaire, the Hindi version was sent to the regional centres, with an expectation that any discrepancy and misrepresentation of the local situation would be discussed at the orientation meeting. An orientation of the research team was conducted soon after. The main objective of this orientation session was to discuss each of the questions. It was decided that 10 community leaders per tribe would be interviewed to understand the historical discrimination faced by the tribe; their social and political institutions; their religion and culture, main occupations; access to social and economic security; status of education of the tribe; and problems encountered by the community. The leading questions were discussed with principal investigators for in-depth

interviews. It was very difficult to get the information from leaders for some of the communities had a poor understanding of their past as well as their institutions. Leaders were also hesitant to speak about their encounters with police or their involvement with crime. Consequently, it was decided that no more than three interviews with community leaders would be conducted per tribe.

3. DNTs under Study

This section seeks to introduce the DNT communities covered in the study. For this, we use the available ethnographic literature and the interviews with community leaders.

Kanjar

Kanjar associate themselves with Sisodia Rajputs of Rajasthan, who migrated to Madhya Pradesh to escape proselytization by Mughal conquerors. They were rendered homeless and took shelter in forests, consequently resorting to hunting, looting and heinous crimes. They are known as Sansi, Charra, Bhanu, Bijawat or Kanjarbhat in different parts of western and northern India (ASI, 1998). They are infamous for their criminal activities. In Madhya Pradesh, the Kanjar are found on the outskirts of major towns and cities, and their population was about 9000 in 1981. The community follows endogamy (marrying within the Kanjar) and clan/*gotra* exogamy (marrying outside their *gotra*). Men are labourers both on and off farms. Kanjar women take part in family management and household work. The Kanjar profess Hinduism and are categorised as Scheduled Caste (SC). According to Hema Rani Kanjar (Kanchanpur village of Chandla block, Chhatarpur), Kanjars were entertainers in royal courts. After independence and at the end of Rajput rule, they began brewing country liquor. Almost all the families in the surveyed locality are in the liquor business. British liquor policy also affected their livelihood adversely, says Hema Rani. They first banned country liquor brewing and then started selling liquor through organised *thekedars* (contractors). This not only took away liquor from the community's control but also made every tribal liable to tax whenever they purchased liquor themselves. Thus, traditionally, the Kanjars were engaged in brewing liquor and in crimes, says Hema Rani. Some families were engaged in making handicrafts like bags and other thread-based artefacts but, due to modernisation, there are significant changes in their livelihood. Now they work as auto drivers, labourers, contractors, brewers, sellers of

goods and also in private and government jobs. The women are skilled *Rai* dancers and are in great demand during marriage and festive season. Khub Chandra, a retired factory worker living in Jabalpur *Kanjar Mohalla* says that the Kanjar have seen significant occupational mobility over the last two decades. Police raids and atrocities due to their traditional occupations are quite common and in this respect they are still a stigmatised community. They speak a mix of Rajasthani and Hindi within their own group and Hindi with outsiders. Their earlier attire was Rajasthani, but with changes over time, they have begun dressing like other residents of Madhya Pradesh. Kubh Chandra, indicated that Kanjar follow the Hindu religion. Even after decades, many old rituals still continue such as in marriage, and the ritual of begging for cremation of a body. They do not demand dowry and practise arranged marriages. Inter-caste / inter-clan marriages are not allowed, and defaulters are cast out. Since they are part of an urban community, Kanjar children do not face the problem of finding a school. In city government schools, there is no discrimination against the children, but in government schools in rural areas, the Kanjar face severe discrimination. Many parents prefer to enrol their children in private schools in the rural areas due to this discrimination. The medium of instruction in most schools is Hindi. The Kanjar face serious problems getting caste certificates. As a result, their children do not benefit from reservation in schools and government jobs.

Pardhi

Pardhi also known as Bhellia, Pardhis consider themselves Rajputs and trace their origin from Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh. They claim that the rulers of the area became angry with them and to save their lives, they migrated to different parts of the country (ASI, 1998). The Pardhi are scattered in the rural areas of Bhind, Morena, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna, Ujjain, Dhar, West Nimar, Rajgarh, Panna and Vidisha. They speak Hindi within and outside the community. In Panna they are also known as Bhellia and are hunters and gatherers. The Pardhi are divided into many clans to regulate marriage alliances. Women among Pardhi, apart from performing domestic work, also collect firewood and date palm leaves for making mats. They also work as agricultural labourers to supplement the family income. Some Pardhi own small agricultural land but many still work as skilled traditional healers, landless agricultural labourers and share-croppers. Using tubers and different plant materials, they manufacture traditional medicine which is sold in villages. As agricultural labourers, they are linked by labourer relationships with dominant landowning

communities. Except for the *Chamar* and *Bhangi*, other communities do not accept cooked food from the Pardhi. They profess to follow the Hindu religion and are categorised as SC in Madhya Pradesh (ASI 1998). Talbabu Singh Bhellia, a community leader (village Mahuakheda, Shahnagar block, Panna) says that, traditionally, hunting provided the Pardhi meat for eating. As people have lost faith in their medicine, the Pardhi are facing serious problems of survival. Owing to the ban on hunting and killing of birds, the situation has deteriorated further. The Pardhi still follow a traditional lifestyle and are ignorant of their history and their role in the freedom struggle against the British. Their semi-nomadic behaviour continues. As trespassing into the forest is not appreciated by the Forest Department and hunting is banned, their life and livelihood have significantly deteriorated. Now their livelihood means are mainly working as labourers, and doing a little cultivation and traditional medicine. The government has started providing hostels for Pardhi children, which has nudged them into attending school. There is, however, no attempt to change their pathetic situation; as there is no attempt to provide them with alternative source of livelihood, nor there is any attempt to provide them with a settled lifestyle. They are discriminated against, says Talbabu Singh Bhellia, branded as encroachers and hunters, and are helpless. Despite changes in the government over the years, their problems have remained unsolved, and their relations with the government are not very pleasant. Pardhi are, proclaims Talbabu, located in Panna, Ajayghar, Shahnagar blocks and speak a Gujarati-Hindi mix within their community and speak Hindi while hawking their medicines. The Pardhi profess Hinduism and respect all other religions, says Talbabu. They worship Durga and Shiv and traditionally their social practices are similar to those of mainstream Hindus. They also follow and celebrate all the Hindu religious festivals. Marriage in the same clan (*gotra*) is not allowed and a practice of bride-price is followed in Pardhi marriage, which could be as high as one lakh rupees. After the father's death, both sons and daughters have equal rights but daughters do not generally demand the assets being distributed. The situation of women in the family is comparatively better than that of dominant caste women due to bride price. Women participate equally in household decision making; however, the decisions are finally taken by men. Being a migrant community, most of the Pardhi do not have ration cards and voter cards, says Talbabu Singh. Consequently, they do not vote and also have serious problems in getting food from fair price shops. The only support from the government is special hostels for Pardhi children and access to education up to Class 8. Due to their semi-nomadic

behaviour, their children migrate with them. This has an adverse effect on the education of the children. If there are proper arrangements for hostels, their children, says Talbabu Singh, can be educated.

Sikligar

Spelt differently in different parts of the country, Sikligar are concentrated in Madhya Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The word 'Sikligar' means 'occupation relating to armour', or metal burnishing (ASI, 1998), and casting country made revolvers. In Madhya Pradesh, Sikligars have three groups, which are endogamous in nature. They trace their migration from Marwar (Rajasthan) to Dewas and finally to Bhopal around the early 1900s. They live in Bhopal, Dewas, Indore, Jhabua, Ratlam, Katni, Shahdol, and parts of Chhattisgarh. Hindi is their mother tongue and Devanagiri script is used for written communication. The Sikligar are an endogamous community with many clans. Women share the labour of their husbands and are responsible for household work. Property of the father is shared equally by sons. Some Sikligar profess Sikh and Hindu religion and inter-marriage between the two groups is common. Marriage is settled at a young age and solemnised by a Brahman priest or at the Gurdwara. An informal Caste Panchayat is responsible for resolving family conflicts. Sikligar purchase scrap metal and are still engaged in casting armour and making, repairing and selling locks and keys. The community's educational status is poor, though of late they have started sending their children to schools (ASI 1998). Bridge Kaur, an old Sikligar Sikh leader of Jabalpur, could only specify that the British ruled India in the past, but could not elaborate on the kind of relations the community had with them- either in general or in particular for their struggle against stigmatisation as a Criminal Tribe. There are notable changes, says Ms Kaur, in the way they now live and earn their livelihood; earlier they were engaged in casting, making and selling iron goods like weapons, swords, knives, spears, but now as the government does not allow these to be manufactured, the Sikligar are manufacturing equipment like shackles, cutters, iron utensils, locks and keys and so on. They sell these goods by moving from place to place in the city as well as in weekly markets in rural areas. Their economic condition has not improved and many of them lead a poor existence. Their relationships with other communities are quite amiable and the Sikligar participate in religious and social functions of other communities. They are not concentrated in rural areas, says Ms Kaur, and live mainly on the outskirts

of cities like Jabalpur, Indore, Bhopal, Hoshangabad and Burhanpur. The Gurdwara is the main social and religious institution for the Sikligar, states Ms Kaur. As they live in urban areas, their access to institutions like a Panchayat is poor. The PDS shops provide grains and lately a few of the families have been issued ration cards, and thus some of them have access to subsidised food. They are unaware of any civil society organisations working in Jabalpur. Political participation of the community is negligible but the Sikligar have good access to schools for children. The livelihood struggles of the community do not provide opportunity or time to participate in politics; the community has a dearth of educated people, and most of them are hawkers and do not encourage girls education and employment. A large part of the Sikligar community follows the Sikh religion and are externally disciplined when it comes to their religion. Religion works as a binding force for the community, as at least one person from the family visits the Gurdwara every day. This helps in sharing and mixing with the community. The religious rituals and norms are strictly followed by the Sikligar. Women do not participate in marketing of the goods - they are homemakers and working outside the home is strictly prohibited. The male members are responsible for work, while Sikligar women are only allowed to work from home. There is no established structure or social institution, but the *Gurdwara Granthi* (sometimes referred to as the Sarpanch) helps in decision making. The Sikligars' livelihood depends on their ability to manufacture and market goods from iron. State support in marketing the manufactured goods is non-existent. Sikligar children attend school regularly, states Ms Kaur, and are as enthusiastic about education as other children are. Teachers are sensitive to them, and discrimination against these children is unheard of. Young Sikligar children attend government primary and secondary schools and their medium of learning is Hindi. Scholarships and hostel facilities are not provided to children of this community.

Loharpita

In Madhya Pradesh, the Loharpita are also called Vishwakarma and claim that they had inhabited Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh at one time (ASI, 1998). The community is concentrated in Jabalpur, Narsinghpur, Mandla, Seoni, Chhindwara, Sagar, Damoh, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Hoshangabad and Ratlam districts. The primary occupation of Loharpita is smithing and allied trades. Agricultural labour and share-cropping is their subsidiary occupation. Recalling his discussion with Nathu Singh, a well-known leader of the community, Hazari Prasad (from Ajaygarh block and Panna)

states that the Loharpita are Rajputs from Rajasthan. After their defeat by the Mughals, the Rajputs fled their ancestral land and migrated to different parts of the country. The community, at that time, decided that they would go back to their ancestral land only after defeating the Mughals. Although their exile is the main cause of their current existence, it also gives them satisfaction and pride, as this serves as a reminder of their vow. They are Hindus and celebrate all the Hindu festivals. After giving a name to a newborn child, they prepare his horoscope or *Janmkundali*. Loharpita children are often shut out from schools as they migrate from village to village. Their history is lost and is not being documented and preserved, and they are still in their traditional profession, devoid of modern amenities, services, state support or political space. The Loharpita like to live in rural areas or on the side of roads, where there is a thick canopy of trees and adequate availability of drinking water. They speak a Rajasthani dialect within the group, and Hindi while they are with others. The Loharpita follow the Hindu religion and worship Hindu gods. They are the only De-notified community under review that has not been categorised as either Scheduled Caste or Other Backward Class. The Loharpita are in the business of making and selling iron tools like axes, shackles, pans and buckets, and repairing agricultural implements. Loharpita extend their services to agricultural communities and get paid in cash (ASI 1998). Jati Panchayat as a social institution, says Prasad, is important in bringing the community together. Their struggles and poor living conditions, as well as their low numbers, does not give the Loharpita the luxury of political participation. As they are inactive politically, they are unable to get any support from the government. They do not even possess PDS and voter cards. Loharpita women are hard-working and help their husbands in the family business of making and marketing of iron utensils and equipment. They participate in all the decisions of the family. The Loharpita are Hindus by faith and celebrate all religious festivals like Holi, Sankranti, Rakhi, Vijaya Dashmi, and Diwali. Although the community strictly observes endogamy in marriage, *Gotra* exogamy is not followed very strictly. Remarriage is allowed for both genders. The eldest son becomes the head of the family after the demise of the father and all sons have an equal right to the father's property. Loharpitas being small in number, according to Prasad, have poor links with government programmes; they do not have voter cards, caste certificates and ration cards therefore, they do not receive subsidised food grains from PDS. Their livelihood consists of selling iron tools and equipment and as demand for these products is low, they face serious economic problems. Moreover, as most of the

community is illiterate and do not possess caste certificates, they are unable to avail of facilities of reservation in education and government jobs. Their children are not provided with facilities of hostels and schools and scholarships, and as a result most of them dropout after Class 5. Of late, the children have got enrolled in government schools but, due to poverty, they drop out of school by the time they are 12 years old and join the labour force. Loharpita, says Prasad, purchase scrap-iron from various places and use it for casting iron utensils and equipment for domestic use. Their occupation is not as economically rewarding as it was a few decades ago, chiefly because of the availability of similar factory-made items in the market at competitive rates. This has deteriorated their economic condition and most of them live in abject poverty.

Nayakda Bhil

Mostly found in Jhabua and adjoining Gujarat, Nayakda Bhil or Naikads are the least civilised among the South-western tribals, the Bhil and Bhilala. In 1918, when they came under the British, the Nayakda had the worst possible reputation for savage cruelty (Channa, 1998). The Nayakda, along with other tribes, came to Madhya Pradesh from Gujarat in the last 150 years, first to Alirajpur and then to other parts of Jhabua and Dhar districts of the state (*ibid*). Duor Singh Badela, an old Nayakda Bhil, is not a *Nayak* (leader) but is often asked to solve problems of the community. He is an agricultural labourer, unaware of the historical background of the community. Nayakda Bhil community is concentrated in remote tribal villages of Badwani and Jhabua. Being small in number, they have no political clout but socially, the community has a traditional Panchayat. Nayakda Bhil speak *Nimadi* within the group and Hindi with outsiders. Nayakda Bhil of this area profess the Hindu religion. Marriage takes place within the community, and is solemnised with traditional rituals. There is a system of bride-price and the bride lives with the groom's family after marriage. Women are treated equal to men and there is no discrimination against them. The eligible families, says Duor Singh, are supported by PDS, social security and other government support. Most of the members are migrant labourers who are not supported by any of the schemes meant for tribals. They are also unaware of these schemes. Nayakda Bhil community is mainly engaged in marginal farmers-cum-agricultural labourers. Earlier, they used to depend on the forest for a livelihood (especially wood and medicinal plants) but of late, because of dwindling forest cover, they depend on farm labour and have migrated to Gujarat and other places. Education among the children of Nayakda Bhil

is a recent phenomenon. They are aware of the benefits children get from school, especially mid-day meals, books and uniforms. Some Nayakda believe that even after educating them, children remain unemployed and will have to work as labour, so they do not send them to school.

Bagri

The Bagri consider themselves a clan of Rajputs from Rajasthan, and are a Denotified Tribe in Madhya Pradesh. They are spread all over Dhar, Ratlam, Indore, Ujjain, Dewas in the Malwa region as well as in Satna, Rewa, Panna and Chhatarpur (ASI, 1998). They are now categorised as Scheduled Caste. They speak pure Hindi with outsiders and within their clan they speak Malvi and Gavai-Hindi. They are concentrated in rural areas and are associated with agriculture as small farmers, landless labourers, animal husbandry, mat-weaving. Some have jobs in government services. Bagri women are engaged in agricultural labour and animal husbandry. Rearing of milch animals and selling milk is mainly done by Bagri women. The community follows the Hindu religion and celebrates all the religious festivals and rituals. The sacred specialists (brahmins) come from the community. Their traditional Panchayats (*Jati Sabha*) are almost defunct now. The inter-community relationships are guided by the monetised economy, which were earlier governed mainly through landlord-labour patron-client relationships. The Bagri were educationally backward but of late have become one of the Denotified Tribes who have availed themselves of various government programmes to their advantage (ASI 1998). Bagri, says Arun Bagri – a respected leader of Jhali village of Satna – is a dominant caste in about 25 villages of Satna district. They are small size land-owning farmers and agriculture is their main occupation. The community has a pleasant relationship with the local and district administration and is highly influential in governing political decisions. The community, says Arun, is politically very dynamic. A number of known political leaders like Jugal Kishor, Devandra Singh, Rani Bagri, and Man Singh operate at state, district, block and panchayat level. The political clout of the community has helped the Bagri in establishing friendly links with other dominant communities of the region. Elected Bagri leaders in block and district Panchayats as well as Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assembly have helped the community access government schemes and reservations. Bagri are socially, a well-knit community and despite having individualistic decision making qualities, have a sense of community welfare and identity. This attitude of Bagri, says Arun, has helped the community

operate in political spheres without friction in society. The Bagri speak Hindi within the group and at a local level, they prefer Gawai-Hindi. With outsiders, they speak in refined Hindi and use Devanagri script for written communication. The Bagri follow Hindu religion in their social and cultural spheres. Their religious functions are guided by Hindu rituals and customs, right from the birth of a child to death. Women of Bagri family are responsible for household chores, according to Arun. They also participate in on-farm operations and agriculture along with their husbands. Being uneducated, Bagri women's participation in the job market is negligible. Women, nevertheless, enjoy equal status in the family, though family assets are generally not shared with them, nor do they get a share of the ancestral property. Bagri children go to schools and receive all the benefits like MDM, school dresses, cycle and books, as do eligible children of other communities. Bagri community, being small-holders, are receiving agricultural subsidy and reservation in education and government jobs. Education is a norm in the Bagri family and all the children go to school to study. In primary schools of the village, the medium of teaching is Hindi. Bagri children are never discriminated against and are treated as well as the other dominant communities' children. Educated youth also receive the benefits of reservation in higher education and in government jobs.

Banchada

A small group, the Banchada is spread in Mandsaur, Ratlam, Indore and Ujjain districts of Madhya Pradesh (ASI, 1993). The community is traditionally known for their profession as sex workers but now they are involved in agriculture. Some are cultivators but most are landless labourers. Some of the educated Banchada are in various government services too. The community professes to follow the Hindu religion and speaks Hindi. The eldest son succeeds the father as head of the family. Banchada Jati Samaj, a reformative association, undertakes welfare activities for the community though its main interest is political. Those who have political connections have taken advantage of most of the government programmes, including education. The Banchada are categorised as Scheduled Caste in Madhya Pradesh. Most marriage alliances take place between adults and are arranged by elders in the family. The households of those who are involved in sex work are less inclined to educate their children, while others educate their children at least up to graduation (*ibid*). A leader of the community, Ravi Malvia (Kadiantri village, Mansa block, Neemuch), says that the Banchada are

stigmatised for sex work in Neemuch and Mandsaur region. This is also their social identity and at times they face serious problems with the police. The Banchada are Hindus and celebrate all the important Hindu festivals. They recognise inter-caste marriages, though the two social groups, as mentioned earlier, do not encourage marriage alliances with each other. The prevalence of inter-caste marriages in the Banchada community, says Ravi, is due to high bride prices in the community. The groom's family has to pay up to Rs 10 lakh, a big sum by village norms, to the bride's family. This monetary demand is a burden to the groom's family. As a result, men remain unmarried for quite a long time, by village standards. The community, says Ravi, has access to all the amenities and services, especially subsidised food and social security pensions, which are being provided by the state to others. In spite of this, many of the deserving families are outside the ambit of the state support owing to corruption. Some educated families are in various jobs in Panchayats, as well as government offices. Their political clout has created a number of jobs, though low paying and temporary in nature, for educated girls as *Anganwadi* and health workers and also as SIs in police departments, and Revenue Officers (*Patwari*) in Panchayats. Some of these families also own agricultural land and are involved in cultivation and milch animal rearing. Those without agricultural lands have their dwellings on Panchayat or government land but do not own them. Speaking of education, Ravi proclaims that the overall situation of the Banchada community cannot be described as satisfactory. As primary schools are situated in the villages, children of both social groups attend school. It is common for children to dropout after completing Class 5 or 8. This is true of the group that is engaged in sex work.

Banjara

The name 'Banjara' is derived from the word 'Vanaj' meaning 'one who is involved in trade.' They are believed to be a community that used to carry small supplies (salt, grains, combs and bracelets) to various places using their bullocks (ASI, 1993). Today, the Banjara community in Madhya Pradesh has spread through all the rural areas and number around 3.5 million. After independence, most of the community took to petty trading and agricultural labour. The Banjaras of Madhya Pradesh are Hindu migrants from Rajasthan and categorised as Other Backward Class. They speak Hindi with outsiders and a Rajasthani-Hindi mix within the community. Their Jati Panchayatis well organised and involved with educating children, settling petty disputes and community welfare.

The Banjara in Madhya Pradesh accept food and water from higher castes and share water sources, visit temples and send their children to the same schools as the dominant communities of the area (*ibid*). At the time of independence, the community had no political voice and was preoccupied with livelihood, which was mainly salt and *Misree* trading. Relations with other castes in a *Dera* (location of stay) were uneasy and dominated by caste Hindus and the taboo attached to the Banjara because of their DNT origin. Their relationship with the administration was guided by their DNT status - dominated by administration without land rights; unskilled labouring; migrant traders with criminal tendencies. Today, the Banjara community is spread across the state in all the districts, villages and major cities of Madhya Pradesh. Among DNTs, the Banjara are one of the largest in population. The old stigma of DNT has dissipated for the Banjara due to their settled lifestyle, and the community is seen as hard working labourers who are also engaged in trade. Agriculture, labouring and trade, says Singh, are the three main livelihood options for the Banjara. Earlier, trading in salt and *misree* was quite common, along with migration. In the last 30 years, settled and living by trading, labouring and cultivation in villages, and labouring in urban areas has replaced the traditional occupations. In the village, the community is engaged in trading of blankets purchased from Punjab and Delhi. The men of the family sell these articles in the big cities of Madhya Pradesh, Kolkata, Chennai, Bengaluru and cities in Kerala. Women are involved in labouring in the village and animal husbandry and are not encouraged to enter trading spheres.

They have a harmonious social relationship with different communities, whether caste Hindu *Patidar* and other OBCs or lower strata like the Bavadi. The community in Madhya Pradesh is not as organised as they are in Rajasthan. However, economic power rests with traders and land owners, who are well off economically. These rich Banjaras do help the poor in times of crisis with loans (on interest) and other support. The stigma of DNT about the community has subsided and they have attained a new identity with labouring and trading. They speak Hindi with outsiders and within the community they speak Banjari, a dialect of Rajasthani Hindi. The Banjara follow the Hindu religion and rituals strictly within the community. The community has its own Brahmin. Religion holds the community together and provides them with an identity. *Dera*, or place of residence, is one of the main social identities of the Banjara, within a village as well as outside. *Dera* is used to identify the village or part of it by the most influential person. There are three main

sub-groups in the community: the Bamainya, the Dharam Bhai and Bharu. Each sub-group has roti *sambandh* with the other but Bamaniya has no *batisambandh* with Dharam Bhai and Bharu sub-groups. However, Dharam Bhai and Bharu have both roti and *batisambandh* with each other. The community follows Hindu rituals in marriage and birth. Banjara women have a say in family matters, especially work, marriage and schooling of children but not outside family affairs, especially in business and political participation. It is expected that women of the family will not open up and give views in front of elders of the community. Girls are asked if they want to study further when ready for marriage, but are generally not encouraged to study after Class 8. Very few girls opt for a career. Like caste Hindus, the society is a patriarchal one, wherein property rights rest with the men. Although women's participation in wage labour is high, they do not participate in trading at all. Social security schemes are available to the Panchayats with some criteria but, by and large, the community takes care of the old and disabled. MDM schemes are regular. The ICDS centre opens on time and the in-charge takes care of the nutrition of children and expectant mothers as well. NREGA now provides employment to the needy but the delay in payment is the main problem with this scheme. Women's participation is quite high in NREGA as men are engaged in trading-based migration. Second-generation learners are present in just a few Banjara households. Educated men take up jobs in administration and teaching, and educated women becomes ICDS workers remain unemployed. Boys are encouraged to study at least up to Class 10 and for girls, Class 8 is essential now. The community believes that education in a resource-scarce society like theirs is a means to access better jobs. The community does not think that their children are discriminated against. The teachers, even non-DNT ones (which is the actual situation), are sensitive to pupils and do not generally differentiate between DNTs and others. The medium of teaching is Hindi and the secondary school is about five kilometres away at the block. There is no special package for DNT children in Madhya Pradesh but children, if eligible, receive benefits like cycles and clothes and so on.

Kalbelia

The traditional occupation of the Kalbelia tribe was snake-charming and snake-catching. They still follow a semi-nomadic way of life and stay in makeshift tents (ASI, 1998). Kalbelia males are mainly engaged as wage labourers and some work as snake-charmers, palm-readers and do magic shows for a living. Kalbelia women, apart from performing household

chores, are also engaged in playing musical instruments and dancing, while their children are engaged in wage labouring and begging. The Kalbelia speak a Hindi-Marwari mix within their own groups, and Hindi with outsiders. Development and education has bypassed the community (*ibid*). The Kalbelia are categorised as Scheduled Caste. Foru Nath from Ranayyas village, Goroth block, Mandsaur is a Kalbelia leader. Kalbelia snake-charmers, he says, thanks to the ban on their traditional trade, are now hawking plastic goods and utensils in rural areas. This income is supplemented by income from casual labour. The Kalbelia have been given homestead land but do not possess any agricultural land. These casual labourers have to rely on wages for survival. As income remains lower than expenses, the Kalbelia are often indebted to local moneylenders and farmers. The community was semi-nomadic but of late they have begun to lead a settled life. As an illiterate and isolated community, the Kalbelia are unaware of where their own people are staying in Madhya Pradesh, and have no social organisation that binds them. Consequently, they are unable to break away from their identity as snake charmers. The community lives in isolation and is one of the socially, politically and economically excluded groups in society. The Kalbelia are Shiv-Hindus and worship Shiva. As Kalbelia are still a semi-settled community, says Foru Nath, they are considered nomads. Their dress has not changed over the years, and as a result, old perceptions about the tribe are still prevalent. Marriage alliances are solemnised within the community. If this is not followed, the couple is excommunicated. The age of marriage is between 12 to 14 years. Dowry system is prevalent among the Kalbelia, and this already economically-weak community faces further economic hardship because of the custom. Although women are treated well in the family, their participation in community decision making is not encouraged. The older generation of the Kalbelia community is illiterate but the younger generation are going to school, at least till the primary level. As the parents are illiterate, they are unable to help their children with homework. Consequently, children drop out of school after the primary level. Mid-day-meals are an attraction for enrolling in school. Poverty and unemployment, says Foru Nath, are among the serious problems faced by the community. Devoid of caste certificates, the community is unable to avail of reservation in education and government jobs. As an uneducated and unorganised community, the Kalbelia feel they are politically unimportant and for this reason, the government is not providing them any support and benefits.

Nat

The traditional vocation of the Nat, a semi-nomadic tribe, is rope dancing and gymnastics. They trace their origin from Rajasthan and claim to have migrated from Marwar owing to the Muslim invasion (ASI, 1998). They are concentrated on the outskirts of the main cities of Jabalpur, Indore, Bhopal and Gwalior and engaged mainly in their traditional trade of rope tricks and acrobatics, playing musical instruments, and labouring. They speak Hindi and use the Devanagri script for written communication. They are divided in four to five clans and call themselves Rajputs. Caste endogamy and clan exogamy are the marriage rules and marriages are negotiated within the community. They practise monogamy with patrilocal residence. The Nat pursue their traditional occupation (which is slowly dying) and to supplement income, work as labourers in industry and helpers in construction in the cities. They do not possess agricultural land and make a living through labour and rope tricks. A nomadic community, the Nat have no permanent houses and live in huts and makeshift tents. They are one of the poorest and most vulnerable communities of the society. Women also contribute to the family income. Their caste council is strict in enforcing their social norms. Migration, however, means changing their makeshift residence within the city. Now, the Nat are giving up their traditional trade and taking up various kind of labour. Their access to government programmes is poor. The Nat are Hindus by religion (*ibid*) and are classified as Scheduled Caste in Madhya Pradesh. Ram Chandra Makwana, a traditional leader (Nat-Bilkharva, Pnagar block, Jabalpur) only remembers his elders saying that British had notified them as Criminal Tribes. Families who are acrobats and earn their livelihood through roadside rope-shows are harassed by the police even today. This is the main reason for their discontinuing their traditional vocation and getting into labour. The Nat are isolated and have very few interactions with or benefits from the government. According to Ram Chandra, they are spread in villages of Jabalpur in small numbers. Patvar, Nat Bilkhrua, Natwara, Nat Basti are a few of the villages where the Nat are concentrated. Apart from Jabalpur, the Nat are also concentrated in Katni, Damoh, Narsinghpur, Seoni, Indore and Gwalior. There are Panchayats in the villages but generally the Nat are never elected as Sarpanch or Panch. Similarly, there are cooperatives in the villages, but the Nat are not a part of them. There is a PDS ration shop and members of the community who have cards receive subsidised rations. The village does not have any civil society organisation, nor has any NGO visited the community in the recent past. The community is small and does not participate in political

processes, except for voting. Although there is no PHC in the village, occasionally public health workers visit. There is no organised social institution – Jati Panchayat – of the community, says Ram Chandra. They meet for religious functions and marriage alliances and sort out community matters at that time. There is no permanent Nayak of the community and as need arises, a Nayak is selected for the purpose. The community is very small and they lack political clout. Within the community, the Nat speak a mix of Gujarati and Hindi. But outside the community, Nat, according to Ram Chandra, speak Hindi. The Nat profess Hinduism and celebrate Hindu festivals but they are not happy with the way they are treated by the caste Hindus. They dislike this attitude and therefore, the Nat have little interest in or respect for religion, though their rituals are guided by Hinduism. Inter-*gotra* marriage is not recognised by the community. Women are given due respect in the family and allowed to marry the person of their choice, provided he is not of the same *gotra*. After the death of the father, sons receive all the property and women are not given any share of the family wealth. The government is providing food security, social security pension, and other programmes to their community, but they are unaware of these programmes and schemes and hence cannot take advantage of them. As they live near cities, their access to educational institutions - government or private - is quite good. There is generally no discrimination against Nat children in schools but sometimes, it is observed, the Nat are discriminated against by the teachers and by upper caste children studying in the school. The medium of instruction is Hindi. As Nat do not possess any caste certificate, they are unable to avail of reservation in school and in service.

4. Sample Size

The survey covered 1497 households of which majority belonged to DNT (49 per cent), 30 per cent belonged to NT-1 and 21 per cent belonged to NT-2 (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (per cent)	Social Category
Loharpita	150	10.0	Nomad (30.1)
Sikligar	150	10.0	
Nayakda Bhil	150	10.0	
Bagri	150	10.0	DNT 1 (49.3)
Banchada	150	10.0	
Kalbelia	137	9.1	
Nat	152	10.1	
Banjara	149	9.9	
Kanjar	152	10.1	DNT 2 (20.6)
Pardhi	157	10.5	
Total	1497	100.0		100.0

Source: Field Survey

5. Profile of the Sample

In term of location, more than three-fourths of the households (77 per cent) were located in rural areas and rest in urban locations. Across tribes one can discern variations, more than 50 per cent of households among Sikligar (57 per cent), Kalbelia (59.9 per cent), Kanjar (61 per cent) were located in urban areas whereas cent per cent of Banchada and Nayakda Bhils were located in rural areas. The proportion was more than 90 cent per cent among Bagri and Pardhi (98 per cent) and Banjara (92.6 per cent) (Table 5.3). The survey covered 12 districts in Madhya Pradesh and the districts of Badwani (21.6 per cent), Jabalpur (13.5 per cent), Panna (12.7 per cent), Mandsaur (10 per cent) accounted for around 60 per cent of total sample households in the state (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3: Area-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Rural	Urban
Loharpita	66.7	33.3
Sikligar	42.7	57.3
Bagri	98.0	2.0
Banchada	100.0	-
Kalbelia	40.1	59.9
Nat	88.2	11.8
Kanjar	39.5	60.5
Banjara	92.6	7.4
Nayakda Bhil	100.0	-
Pardhi	98.1	1.9
Total	77.0	23.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.4: District-wise sample distribution

Districts	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)
Dhar	45	3.0
Jhabua	91	6.1
Bad wani	323	21.6
Neemuch	123	8.2
Mandsaur	150	10.0
Panna	190	12.7
Jabalpur	202	13.5
Seoni	100	6.7
Sehore	39	2.6
Datia	30	2.0
Chhatarpur	112	7.5
Satna	91	6.1
Total	1497	100.0

Source: Field Survey

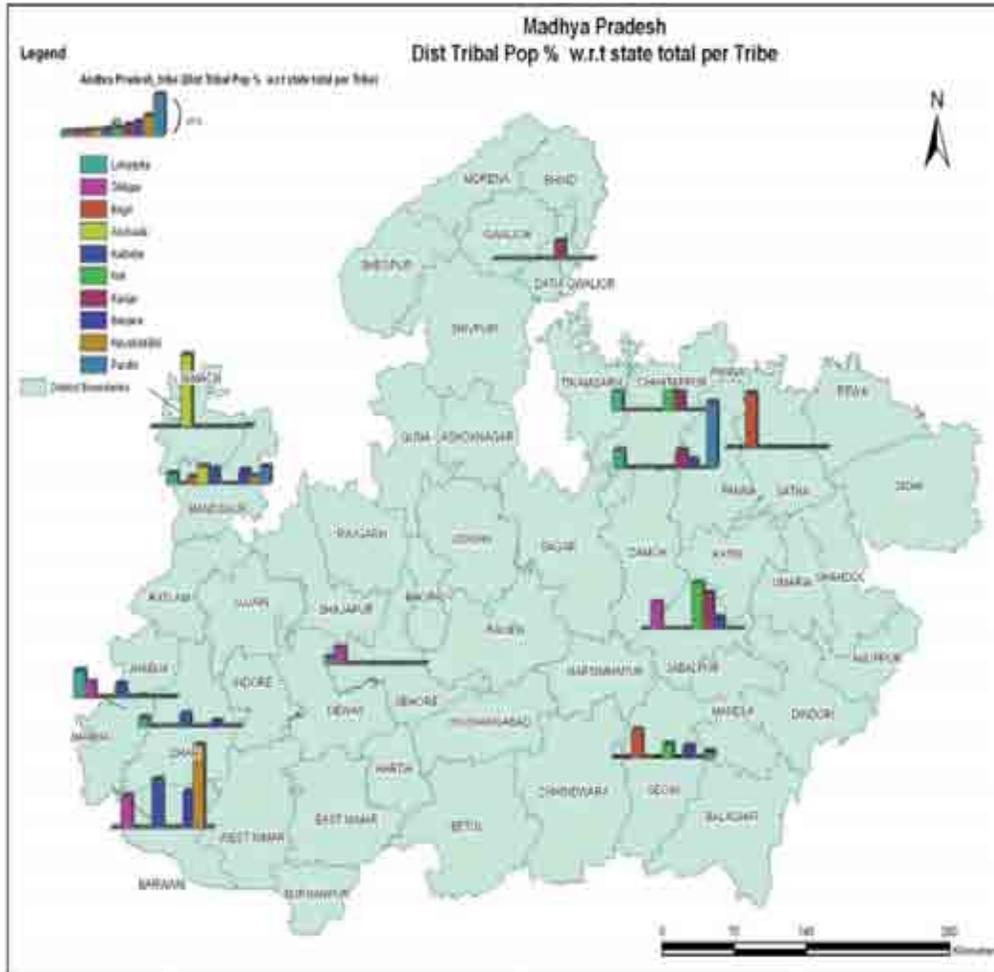
II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

The objective of this section is to understand the socio-economic condition of the selected tribes. Using data from 1,497 households, this section examines the social and locational advantage the selected tribes have in terms of their livelihood patterns and access to amenities and services. The analysis tries to link together the occupational pattern and migratory behaviour of these tribes. The pattern of occupational diversity and migratory behaviour may raise questions that will be examined in subsequent sections.

The present study was spread across the different geographical regions of the state covering 12 districts. The districts were grouped into 5 clusters for ease of data collection. These clusters included the economically backward regions of Bundelkhand (Panna and Satna districts). This is the poorest region of the state. Institutional delivery in Bundelkhand region is also lower than the average. The second cluster was from south-western Madhya Pradesh (Dhar, Badwani and Jhabua districts), which has the highest percentage of Scheduled Tribe population. The region has high rates of poverty in both urban as well as rural areas. Three districts were also taken from the Chambal region of Madhya Pradesh (Chhatarpur and Datia districts). This cluster has the lowest sex ratio in the state, and is where the Scheduled Caste population is concentrated. From the Jabalpur cluster, we have included the Jabalpur and Seoni districts. From the Nimar Region, two districts i.e., Neemuch and Mandsaur were studied. Sehore

district is also taken from central part of state, which is only 45 km from state capital. The coverage of different communities that were studied is given in Map 5.1.

Map 5.1: Sample districts from where the respondents were selected



Source: Field Survey

6. The Tribes and Their Social Status

Within the total sample, majority of the household (70.0 per cent) belongs to the DNT Communities and the rest are Nomadic Tribes (30.0 per cent) (Figure 5.1(1) and (2)). Apart from the Loharpita, other tribes who are still engaged in their traditional occupation are Sikligar (locksmith and iron tools), Kalbelia (snake charming and begging), and Pardhi (gathering plants and selling plant-based medicine). This (occupation) dimension is important for the fallout of livelihood patterns, as we will see in subsequent sections, and have far-reaching implications for education.

Although the Madhya Pradesh Government has identified Nayakda, Loharpita and Sikligar as Nomadic tribes, the findings show that the Pardhi and Kalbelia also show strong signs of nomadism.

Figure 5.1(1): Classification of tribes

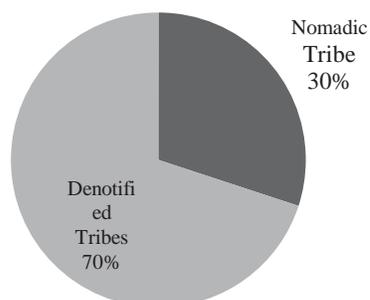
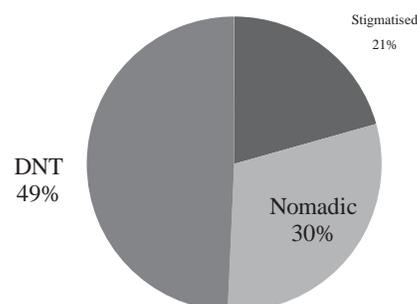


Figure 5.1(2): Classification of tribes



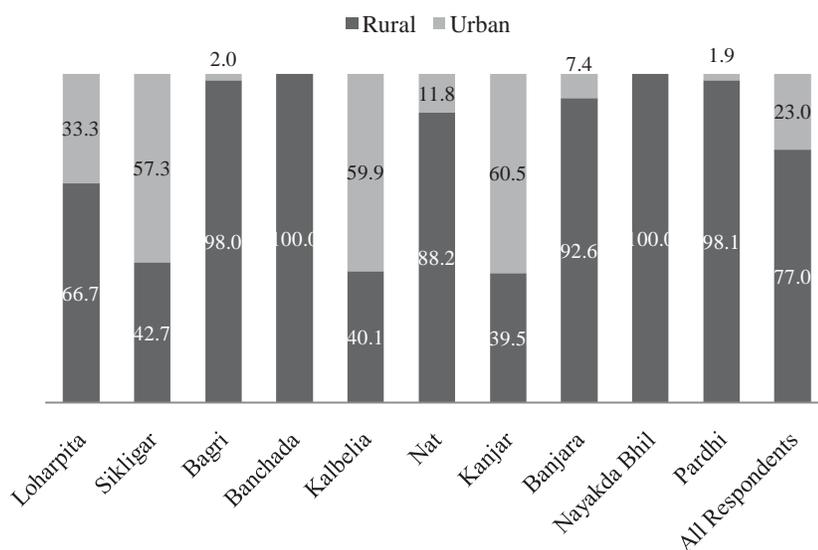
Source: Field Survey

Although the 10 DNT communities are well spread in these 12 districts, out of 1,497 DNT households about 21.6 per cent are located in Badwani while only 2 per cent of the sample is located in Datia district. Loharpita, a De-notified Tribe that is still engaged in the traditional occupation of casting iron tools, is located in Jhabua, Chhatarpur, Panna, Mandsaur, Dhar and Sehore districts. About two thirds of the sample (150 households) were located in rural areas. Except for the Banchada and Nayakda Bhil, who are concentrated in Mandsaur and Neemuch districts and the south-western tribal belt, the other tribes are spread across different districts (Map 5.1). While Banjara, Nayakda and Sikligar are considered part of Other Backward Classes, Bagri, Banchada, Kalbelia, Nat and Kanjar are grouped as Scheduled Caste. In Madhya Pradesh, Loharpita, as a De-notified Tribe, is neither grouped in Scheduled Caste nor in Other Backward Classes category (Table 5.5). Only 23 per cent of the 10 studied tribes are located in urban areas; the other 77 per cent are rural-based. While Nayakda, Banchada, Pardhi and Bagri are highly concentrated in rural areas, Kanjar, Kalbelia and Sikligar are relatively urban-based tribes (Figure 5.2).

Table 5.5: Social status of the tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	SC	OBC	Neither	Total
Loharpita			100.0	150 (100.0)
Sikligar		100.0		150 (100.0)
Bagri	100.0			150 (100.0)
Banchada	100.0			150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	100.0			137 (100.0)
Nat	100.0			152 (100.0)
Kanjar	100.0			152 (100.0)
Banjara		100.0		149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil		100.0		150 (100.0)
Pardhi	100.0			157 (100.0)
Total	60.0	30.0	10.0	1497 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.2: Location of the tribe

Source: Field Survey

The Loharpita frequently change their location. A third of the surveyed households of the Loharpita have been staying in the present location for less than 2 years. Putting another way, over 51 per cent of Loharpita have been staying in their present location for the last 5 years (Table 5.6). These households change their location every 3 to 5 five years. This makes the schooling of children very difficult.

Table 5.6: Duration of stay in the present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	< 2 years	2 to 4.99 years	5 to 9.99 years	10-30 years	Since birth	Total
Loharpita	35.3	16.0	9.3	12.0	27.3	150 (100.0)
Sikligar	0.7	0.7	2.0	2.7	94.0	150 (100.0)
Bagri		0.7	0.7	5.3	93.3	150 (100.0)
Banchada			0.7	0.7	98.7	150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	1.5			10.9	87.6	137 (100.0)
Nat	0.7	2.6	3.3	3.9	89.5	152 (100.0)
Kanjar					100.0	152 (100.0)
Banjara					100.0	149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil					100.0	150 (100.0)
Pardhi				0.6	99.4	157 (100.0)
Total	3.8	2.0	1.6	3.5	89.0	1497 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

7. Spoken Language

The main language of communication of the DNT communities is Hindi or a mix of Hindi and their tribal language (Table 5.7). The Pardhi and Nat also reported that a mix of Hindi and Gujarati is their main language of communication at home, and the Sikligar reported a mix of Punjabi and Hindi. On the other hand, the Loharpita, Kanjar and Banjara also speak a mix of Rajasthani and Hindi at home. Over 98 per cent of households reported that their school-going children speak Hindi at school (Table 5.8). On social occasions, when the tribes come together, they communicate in the tribes' own language and Hindi (64.3 per cent) or Hindi (35.7 per cent) (Figure 5.3). While the Kalbelia and Bagri prefer Hindi when they are within their own communities, Pardhi, Nayakda, Banjara, Banchada and Sikligar prefer to communicate in the tribes' own language. Nonetheless, over 82 per cent of the 10 DNT communities which were studied reported they speak Hindi in public places (Figure 5.4).

Table 5.7: Language spoken in home by different tribes

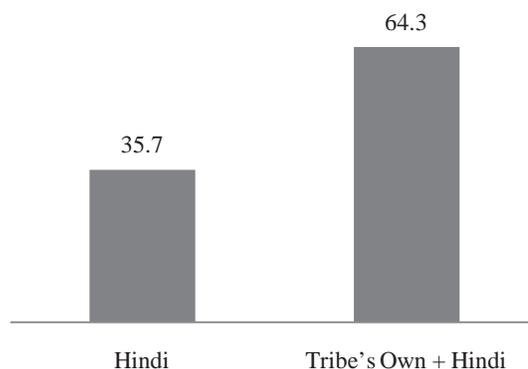
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Hindi	Tribes' + Hindi	Rajasthani + Hindi	Punjabi + Hindi	Gujarati + Hindi	Marathi + Hindi	Total
Loharpita	3.3	28.0	68.7				150 (100.0)
Sikligar	20.7	16.0	23.3	40.0			150 (100.0)
Bagri	92.0	8.0					150 (100.0)
Banchada	12.0	88.0					150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	90.5	1.5	8.0				137 (100.0)
Nat	40.1	0.7			59.2		152 (100.0)
Kanjar	50.0	17.1	32.9				152 (100.0)
Banjara	10.7	56.4	32.9				149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil		48.7				51.3	150 (100.0)
Pardhi		19.1			80.9		107 (100.0)
Total	31.3	28.5	16.6	4.0	14.5	5.1	1497 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

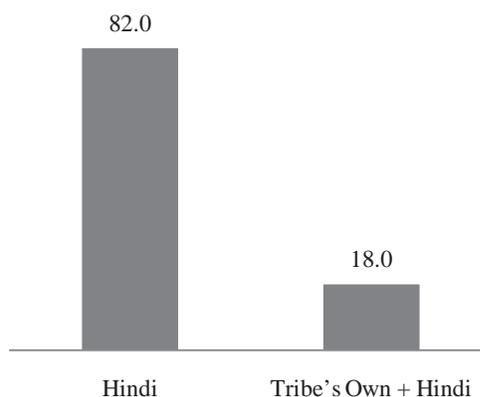
Table 5.8: Language spoken in schools by children

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Hindi	Tribes' + Hindi	Total
Loharpita	97.3	2.7	150 (100.0)
Sikligar	100.0	.0	150 (100.0)
Bagri	92.0	8.0	150 (100.0)
Banchada	100.0	.0	150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	99.3	.7	137 (100.0)
Nat	99.3	.7	152 (100.0)
Kanjar	100.0	.0	152 (100.0)
Banjara	97.3	2.7	149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	92.7	7.3	150 (100.0)
Pardhi	100.0	.0	157 (100.0)
Total	97.8	2.2	1497 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

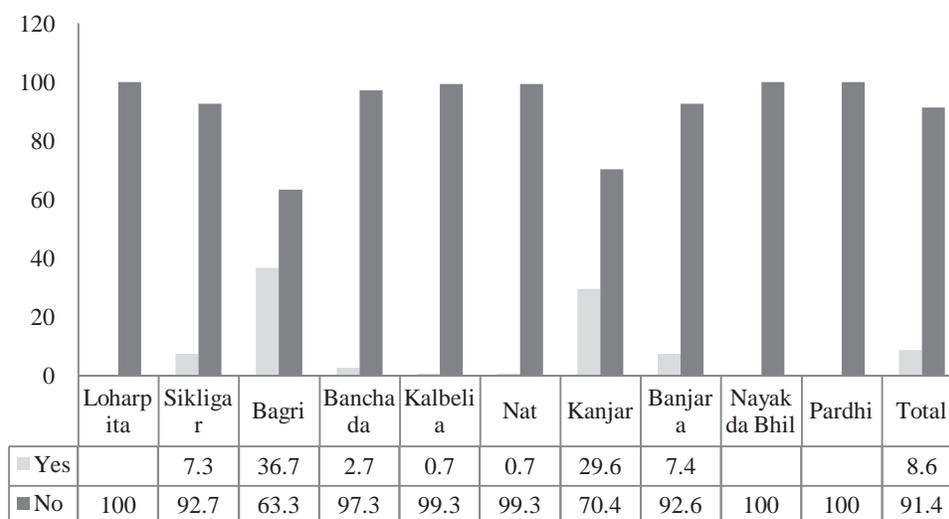
Figure 5.3: Languages spoken within the communities

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.4: Languages spoken at the public place

Source: Field Survey

English, as a communication language, is known to a family member of only 8.6 per cent of households (Figure 5.5). Among the Loharpita, Nayakda and Pardhi not a single person in the family knows English. The proportion of households knowing English among the Kalbelia and Nat is less than 01 per cent. However, a third of the Bagri and Kanjar households reported that some of their family members can speak and write English. Table 5.9 presents the person in the family who can speak English. It is usually the son, the respondents themselves or the sister who knows English.

Figure 5.5: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.9: Number of English-knowing members in the family

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Self	Brother	Sister	Son	Daughter	Spouse	Others	Total
Sikligar		45		37	9		9	11 (100.0)
Bagri	10	2	25	33		6	24	55 (100.0)
Banchada	25	25	50					4 (100.0)
Kalbelia				100				1 (100.0)
Nat		100						1 (100.0)
Kanjar	43	5	4	20	5	7	16	44 (100.0)
Banjara	18	18	18	18	27			11 (100.0)
Total	22	9	16	27	5	5	17	127 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

8. Livelihood and its Sources

Table 5.10 lists the main occupation of the households of different tribes. This was considered the one which contributes the most to the family income. On an average, taking all the tribes together, 49 per cent of households report that their main occupation is labouring. About 22 per cent of respondents reported that their main occupation is a traditional one. Agriculture is reported by 13 per cent of respondents and about 6 per cent stated that their main occupation is running a shop or hawking. While 4 per cent reported service as their main occupation, about 5 per cent list begging. Both the traditional occupations of the Pardhi and Loharpita and begging (by the Kalbelia) require significant movement of members and seasonal migration, and these occupations have a bearing on the education of the children of these tribes.

Table 5.10: Main occupation of different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Agriculture	Labour	Traditional	Shop & Hawking	Service	Begging	Total
Loharpita	-	25 (17.0)	116 (77.0)	3 (2.0)	1 (0.6)	5 (3.3)	150 (100.0)
Sikligar	3 (0.2)	20 (13.3)	90 (60)	35 (23.3)	2 (1.3)		150 (100.0)
Bagri	81 (54.0)	54 (36.0)	-	3 (2.0)	11 (7.0)	1 (1.0)	150 (100.0)
Banchada	5 (3.0)	139 (93.0)	-	2 (1.0)	4 (3.0)		150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	1 (1.0)	30 (22.0)	40 (29.0)	5 (4.0)	1 (1.0)	59 (43)	136 (100.0)
Nat	16 (11.0)	120 (79.0)	1 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	8 (5.0)	5 (3.0)	152 (100.0)
Kanjar	14 (9.0)	52 (34.0)	32 (21.0)	20 (13.0)	34 (22.0)	-	152 (100.0)
Banjara	56 (38.0)	86 (58.0)	1 (1.0)	-	4 (3.0)	1 (1.0)	148 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	7 (5.0)	141 (94.0)	-	-	2 (1.0)	-	150 (100.0)
Pardhi	9 (6.0)	74 (47.0)	51 (32.0)	23 (15.0)	-	-	157 (100.0)
Total	192 (13.0)	741 (49.0)	331 (22.0)	93 (6.0)	67 (4.0)	71 (5.0)	1495 (100.0)

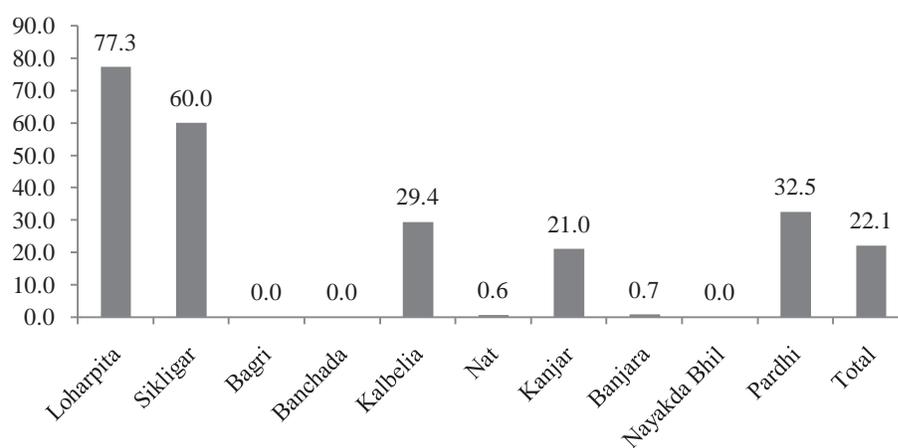
Source: Field Survey

While the Loharpita are predominantly engaged in making and selling iron tools, the Sikligar are in the traditional business of making and selling locks and keys. Snake catching is the traditional occupation of the Kalbelia but a significant portion of their income comes from begging. Kanjar, though predominantly in labouring and service, are traditionally also engaged in liquor brewing and the Pardhi, though they are engaged in

labouring, are still active in their traditional occupation of selling plant-based medicines. The Bagri are predominantly involved in self-cultivation and labouring, a large number of Banchada, Nat, Nayakda and Pardhi have reported labouring as their main occupation.

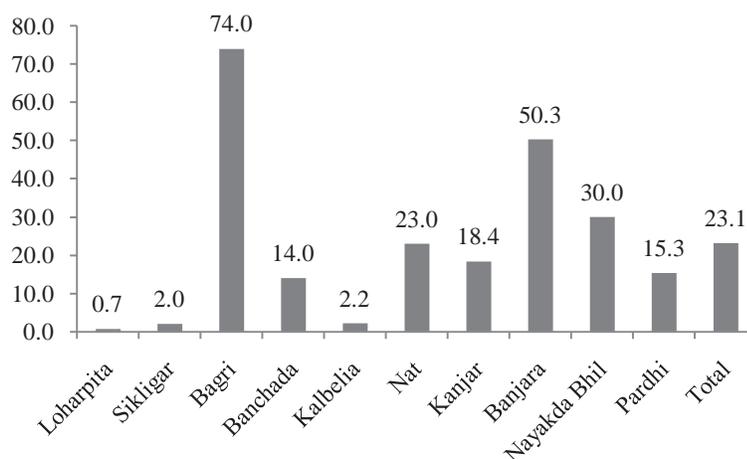
About 22 per cent of households reported that they continue with their traditional occupation (Figure 5.6). It should be noted that as the Nayakda Bhil and Bagri were traditionally engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour, when they report that they have discontinued their traditional occupation and moved to labouring or agriculture, there is some misreporting.

Figure 5.6: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation

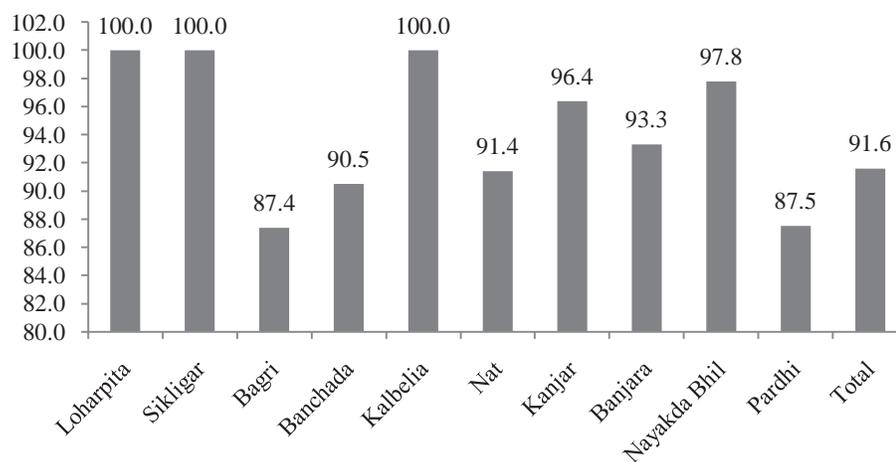


Source: Field Survey

About 23 per cent of the respondents possess agricultural land (Figure 5.7). Among the 10 studied communities, higher proportion of Bagri, Banjara and Nayakda possess agricultural land, and 92 per cent of the cultivating households till their land independently (Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.7: Possession of agricultural land

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.8: Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently

Source: Field Survey

The average landholding size of these tribes is about 3.9 acre per household (Table 5.11). Among the 3 tribes (Bagri, Banjara and Nayakda) who possess a substantive amount of land (collectively), the Bagri possess about 4.73 acre per cultivating household, while Banjara households have an average of 3.43 acre. The Nayakda possess about 2.16 acre per cultivating household.

Table 5.11: Average landholding of respondents

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Average Landholding Size (Acre)
Loharpita	1.00 (1)
Sikligar	2.33 (3)
Bagri	4.73 (111)
Banchada	4.94 (21)
Kalbelia	8.00 (3)
Nat	4.19 (35)
Kanjar	3.58 (28)
Banjara	3.43 (75)
Nayakda Bhil	2.16 (45)
Pardhi	3.63 (24)
Total	3.90 (346)

Source: Field Survey

9. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

While about 91.4 per cent of the 1497 families studied, own the house in which they live, 3.5 per cent live in rented houses and about 5 per cent live in tents (Table 5.12). The Loharpita are among those who do not own a house in substantial proportion (47 per cent); they either rent houses (8 per cent) or live in makeshift arrangement (38.7 per cent). Only 14 per cent of DNT houses are reported as *Pucca*; 58 per cent houses are semi-*Pucca*, 21 per cent of the community lives in huts and 6.8 per cent live in tents (Table 5.13). The Loharpita, Pardhi and Banjara live in huts and tents. A majority of the houses have one or two rooms (Table 5.14).

Table 5.12: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own	Own without papers	Rented	Make shift	Total
Loharpita	52.7	.6	8.0	38.7	150 (100.0)
Sikligar	90.0	4.7	.7	4.7	150 (100.0)
Bagri	92.7	3.3	4.0	.0	150 (100.0)
Banchada	92.7	6.7	.0	.7	150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	84.7	10.9	.7	3.6	137 (100.0)
Nat	89.5	2.6	7.9	.0	152 (100.0)
Kanjar	91.4	7.2	1.3	.0	152 (100.0)
Banjara	96.0	.7	3.4	.0	149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	95.3	.0	4.0	.7	150 (100.0)
Pardhi	87.3	5.7	5.1	1.9	157 (100.0)
Total	87.2	4.2	3.5	5.0	1497 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.13: Type of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Hut	Tent	Total
Loharpita	1.4	24.0	31.5	43.2	146 (100.0)
Sikligar	9.5	73.0	14.9	2.7	148 (100.0)
Bagri	24.0	75.3	.7	.0	150 (100.0)
Banchada	37.8	57.4	3.4	1.4	148 (100.0)
Kalbelia	2.2	91.9	2.2	3.7	136 (100.0)
Nat	3.9	71.1	25.0	.0	152 (100.0)
Kanjar	44.4	39.7	14.6	1.3	151 (100.0)
Banjara	6.1	36.1	57.1	.7	147 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	.0	76.7	23.3	.0	146 (100.0)
Pardhi	9.6	43.3	32.5	14.6	157 (100.0)
Total	14.0	58.5	20.7	6.8	1481 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.14: Number of rooms in the house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4 and more	Total
Loharpita	51.3	31.6	6.6	10.5	76 (100.0)
Sikligar	32.9	52.3	10.1	4.7	149 (100.0)
Bagri	29.5	46.3	8.1	16.1	149 (100.0)
Banchada	74.6	23.2	1.4		142 (100.0)
Kalbelia	49.6	48.1	2.2		135 (100.0)
Nat	55.9	31.6	7.9	4.6	152 (100.0)
Kanjar	32.9	43.4	12.5	11.2	152 (100.0)
Banjara	40.1	39.5	11.6	8.9	147 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	53.7	30.9	9.4	6.1	149 (100.0)
Pardhi	75.8	20.4	3.2	0.6	157 (100.0)
Total	49.6	36.9	7.4	6.1	1408 (100.0)

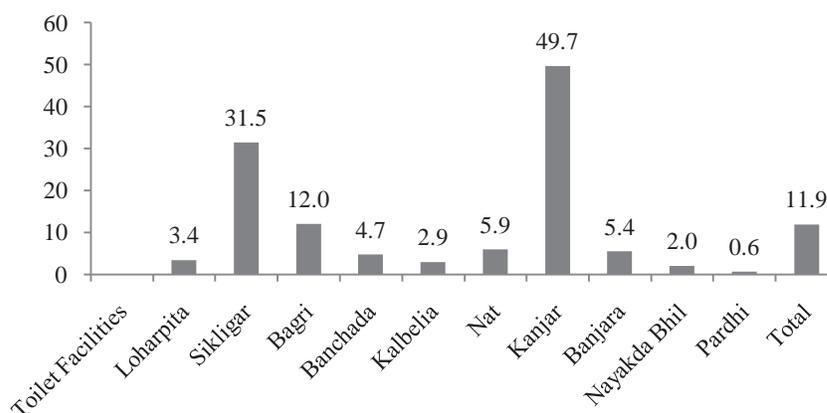
Source: Field Survey

The living conditions of these tribes, in terms of access to water, sanitation and electricity is, to put it mildly, appalling. Tapped drinking water is available only to 20 per cent of the families (Table 5.15) and 88 per cent defecate in the open (Figure 5.9). Around 27 per cent of households do not have electricity. The condition of the Loharpita and Pardhi is much worse than that of the rest (Table 5.16).

Table 5.15: Main source of drinking water

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tube well	Well	Bawdi	Spring	Tap	Tal	Hand Pump	Total
Loharpita	37.3	14.0	.0	11.3	28.7	7.3	1.3	150 (100.0)
Sikligar	40.7	7.3	1.3	2.7	22.0	0.7	25.3	150 (100.0)
Bagri	7.3	20.7	0.7		65.3		6.0	150 (100.0)
Banchada	12.7	66.7			0.7		20.0	150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	63.5	16.8			16.8		2.9	137 (100.0)
Nat	21.7	15.1	3.9		23.0	26.3	9.9	152 (100.0)
Kanjar	39.5	14.5	.0		18.4	27.0	0.7	152 (100.0)
Banjara	23.5	12.8	1.3	0.7	25.5	1.3	34.9	149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	10.0	2.0	.0	9.3	1.3	0.7	76.7	150 (100.0)
Pardhi	2.5	25.5	3.8		1.3	48.4	18.5	157 (100.0)
Total	25.5	19.6	1.1	2.4	20.2	11.5	19.7	1497 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.9: Status of toilet facilities / access

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.16: Status of electricity

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of electricity in the Neighbourhood**	Access to electricity in Households**
Loharpita (150)	42.0	24.7
Sikligar (150)	94.7	96.0
Bagri (150)	98.0	97.3
Banchada (150)	68.5	67.1
Kalbelia (137)	75.2	71.5
Nat (152)	65.1	58.6
Kanjar (152)	96.7	96.1
Banjara (149)	86.6	85.9
Nayakda Bhil (150)	94.6	90.6
Pardhi (157)	42.7	40.1
Total (1497)	76.3	72.6

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

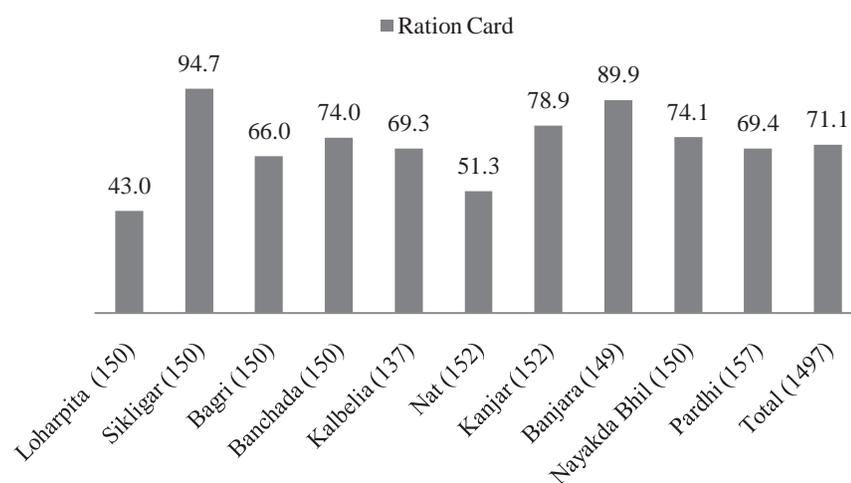
** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households.

Source: Field Survey

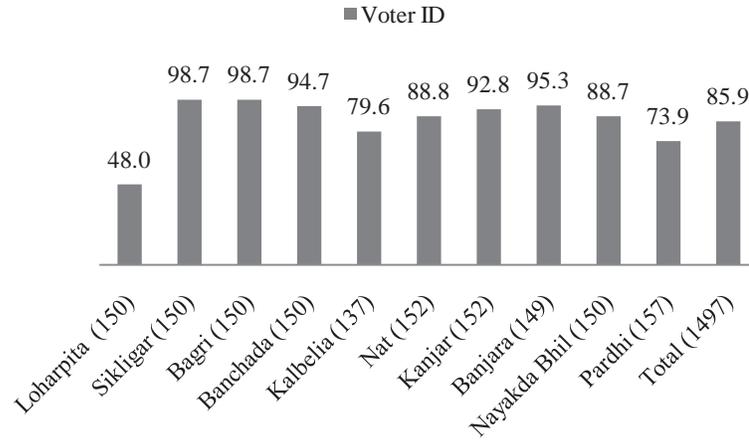
10. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

In terms of cards and certificates, 71 per cent of households possess ration cards, 86 per cent have voter cards. But their lack of caste certificate, NREGA cards, and *Aadhar* card is intriguing. Only 39.8 per cent of the households possess a caste certificate, which is necessary for reservation and access to subsidised schooling. Only 37 per cent possess NREGA cards, a prerequisite for labour employment in NREGS, and only 50 per cent of these households have *Aadhar* cards, which is important for cash transfer. The Loharpita, as always, have fared poorly in all these paper certificates. In possessing *Aadhar* card, Bagri and Pardhi have also fared poorly. Access to healthcare/health insurance and PHCs, as well as intensive child development support in Aganwadi Centres (AWCs), is poor among these ten tribes. Only 11 per cent of households have health insurance, only 62 per cent have access to public health institutions (PHCs) and only 49 per cent have access to AWCs. The Loharpita, Pardhi and Nat have poor access to these government services (Figure 5.10 and Table 5.17). The health expenditure of communities is substantial despite the government health support; the poor quality of the public health system probably forces these communities to spend on private healthcare.

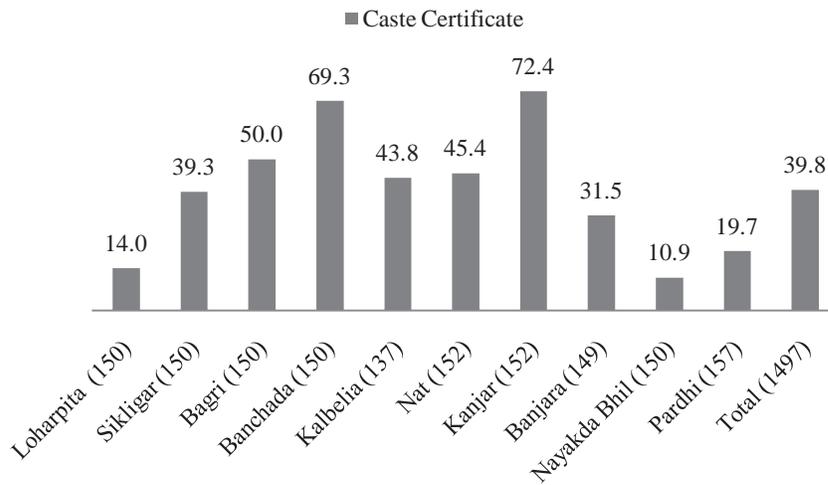
Figure 5.10: Access to entitlements



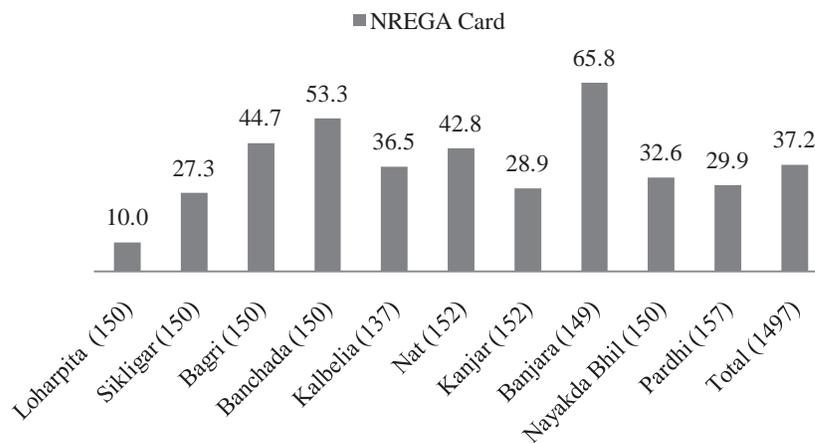
Source: Field Survey



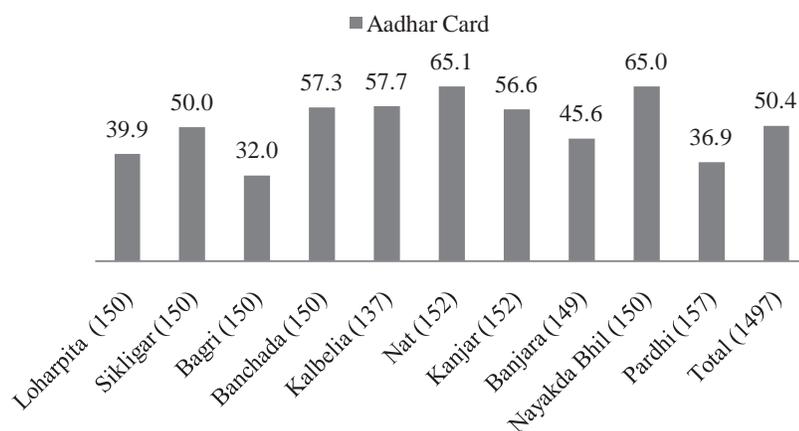
Source: Field Survey



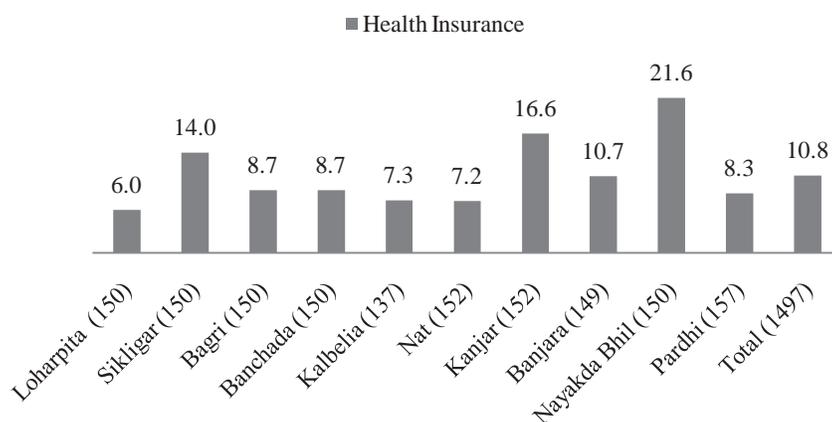
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

Table 5.17: Access to ICDS & PHC by households

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Anganwadi**	Primary Health Centre**
Loharpita (150)	36.7	31.7
Sikligar (150)	87.3	78.7
Bagri (150)	60.0	32.0
Banchada (150)	74.8	79.6
Kalbelia (137)	76.6	74.5
Nat (152)	45.4	22.4
Kanjar (152)	46.7	41.4
Banjara (149)	85.2	50.3
Nayakda Bhil (150)	76.5	57.0
Pardhi (157)	35.0	27.4
Total (1497)	62.1	49.1

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

11. Assets

Except for mobiles and to some extent fans, possession of goods like tables and chair, cycle, cooler, radio and tape recorder, two-wheeler, fridge and television is afforded by less than 20 per cent of the households (Table 5.18). On the other hand, domestic goods like the VCR, auto rickshaw, computer and four-wheelers are a pure luxury that can be afforded only by a few. About 53 per cent of the households have mobile phones and 34 per cent possess fans. While about 20 per cent of households have a table and chair, cycle, cooler and TV, less than 10 per cent reported two-wheelers, radio and fridge. Having a computer, auto rickshaw and two-wheelers is reported by less than 1.3 per cent.

12. Discrimination

Table 5.19 provides evidence of discrimination faced by children in school. About 14 per cent of respondents reported that teachers are inattentive to their children. About 13 per cent reported that their children faced discrimination while mid-day-meals were being served. About 8.3 per cent reported that their children felt discriminated against when they were called by their tribe name. Other types of discrimination against their children in the school were reported by less than 5 per cent of the households.

Table 5.18: Possession of assets in the household

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Table chair	Fan	Cooler	Radio & Tape Recorder	VCR	Fridge	TV	Computer/Laptop	Mobile	Cycle	Auto Rickshaw	Two Wheeler	Tempo & Four wheeler
Loharpin	8.0	9.3	2.0	2.0	0.7	1.3	2.7		44.0	6.0	0.7	4.7	
Sikligar	39.3	56.0	50.7	14.0	5.3	6.7	42.0	1.3	72.7	29.3		15.3	
Bagn	28.7	60.0	24.7	.7		4.0	16.7		56.0	29.3	1.3	11.3	
Barchada	4.7	42.7	6.0	2.7	2.0	1.3	35.3	2.7	52.0	8.7	2.0	16.7	3.3
Kalbelia	13.1	27.0	16.1	10.2	2.2	1.5	14.6		57.7	17.5		10.2	
Nut	11.2	29.6	17.8	6.6	2.0	1.3	22.4	0.7	49.3	28.3	0.7	2.0	
Kanjur	57.9	66.4	56.6	9.2	11.8	34.9	53.9	1.3	77.0	44.7	7.9	21.1	1.3
Banjara	20.8	36.2	22.8	8.1	6.7		19.5		81.2	22.1		15.4	
Niyakda Bhal	2.0	10.7	4.0	6.0	0.7		2.0		12.7	0.7		1.3	
Pardhi	3.8	3.8	1.3	4.5			3.8		34.4	8.3	0.6		4.5
Total	19.0	34.1	20.2	6.3	3.1	5.1	21.3	0.6	53.6	19.5	1.3	9.8	0.9

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.19: Incidence of discrimination against children in school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Asked to sit in back	Teacher Inattentive	Comes for Scholarship Only	Uncultured	In Sitting arrangements	Tribe Naming
Loharpita						
Sikligar	5.4	22.7	5.3	4.0	8.0	24.0
Bagri						.9
Banchada	1.1	44.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	4.3
Kalbelia						
Nat	22.7	26.8	7.2	5.2	11.3	22.4
Kanjar	9.2	21.0	10.1	.8	.8	16.0
Banjara	.8	2.3				4.6
Nayakda Bhil		41.7		8.3	9.1	3.2
Pardhi						.
Total	4.7	14.2	3.0	1.5	2.6	8.3

DNT/SNT/NT Community	MDM	Insensitive Teacher	By other Students	In Sports	Drinking Water
Loharpita					
Sikligar	9.3	22.7	21.3	14.7	1.3
Bagri	9.4				
Banchada	54.3	3.3		1.1	5.4
Kalbelia	2.5				
Nat	18.6	9.3	10.3	8.2	9.4
Kanjar	11.8	2.5	7.6		11.8
Banjara	6.3	3.1			
Nayakda Bhil	25.0	40.0	15.4		
Pardhi		1.2			
Total	13.7	5.1	4.6	2.5	3.6

Source: Field Survey

13. Seasonal Migration

It was identified in the earlier discussion that about 6 per cent of the households -- a large section of which are Loharpita -- keep changing their residence; about 4 per cent of the surveyed tribes have been living in their current location for just two years or less. As this phenomenon is a determinant in children's education, it is worth it to explore some other important aspects of seasonal migration.

About 17.9 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 82 per cent state that the current location is the place of their origin. Kalbelia, (87 per cent), Pardhi (37.6 per cent) and Loharpita (28.7 per cent) have a higher proportion of households who reported that they are migrants. Nat and Sikligar, though in small proportions (14 per cent and 11.3 per cent) have also reported that they are migrants (Table 5.20). There is no forced migration among the Denotified Tribes. The main reason for this seasonal migration is lack of gainful employment in the

place they were staying. Only 2 per cent of migrant Loharpita also reported discrimination as a reason for migration (Table 5.21).

Those who seasonally migrated reported that their children's education has been adversely affected by their behaviour. Some of them (like the Loharpita, Kalbelia and Nat) are migrating less frequently while others (like the Sikligar, Kanjar and Pardhi) move more frequently. The frequent migration of Sikligar (up to 8 to 12 times in a year) and Pardhi (up to 5 to 10 times in a year) is for selling their produce, which they believe has poor local demand (Table 5.22). The frequency of migration is less for Loharpita households but the duration is high (sometimes for eight months too) (Table 5.23). In order to explore new markets, both the Pardhi and Sikligar are constantly on the move. They are dissatisfied with their lives and livelihood but as they do not possess any other skill and are unfit for service, government or private, they continue to pursue their traditional occupations. At best, labouring and begging supplement the meagre income received from their traditional occupations for the Loharpita, Kalbelia and Nat.

Table 5.20: Current location reported as place of origin

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Current Location		Total
	Migrant	Original Place	
Loharpita	28.7	71.3	150 (100.0)
Sikligar	14.0	86.0	150 (100.0)
Bagri	1.3	98.7	150 (100.0)
Banchada		100.0	150 (100.0)
Kalbelia	86.9	13.1	137 (100.0)
Nat	11.3	88.7	151 (100.0)
Kanjar		100.0	152 (100.0)
Banjara	4.7	95.3	149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil		100.0	150 (100.0)
Pardhi	37.6	62.4	157 (100.0)
Total	17.9	82.1	1496 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.21: Reasons for migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Lack of Employment	Do not get work, hence	Better Prospects	Discriminated	Total
Loharpita	11.8	82.4	3.9	2.0	43 (100.0)
Sikligar	4.8	95.2			21 (100.0)
Bagri	100.0				2 (100.0)
Kalbelia	48.3	36.0	9.7	6.0	119 (100.0)
Nat	100.0				17 (100.0)
Banjara	25.0	75.0			6 (100.0)
Pardhi	36.5	63.5			60 (100.0)
Total	33.7	64.4	1.2	0.6	268 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.22: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	No. of times migrating in year											Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	10	12	24		
Loharpita	53.8	12.5	12.5	11.3	3.8	1.3	3.8					1.3	43 (100.0)
Sikligar			4.8	9.5	9.5		14.3	38.1	14.3	9.5			21 (100.0)
Bagri			100.0										2 (100.0)
Kalbelia		5.0	60.0	10.0		25.0							119 (100.0)
Nat		25.0	42.9	21.4	3.6	7.1							17 (100.0)
Kanjar			50.0					50.0					6 (100.0)
Pardhi					26.3				73.7				60 (100.0)
Total	25.1	10.5	22.8	11.1	6.4	2.3	3.5	6.4	10.0	1.2	0.6		268 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.23: Duration of stay at migrated place

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration									Total
	Below 1 month	1 Month	2 Months	3 Months	4 Months	5 Month	6 Month	7 Month	8 Month	
Loharpita	10.1	12.5	8.9	12.5	3.8	3.8	21.3	1.3	26.3	43 (100.0)
Sikligar		77.8	5.6	5.6	5.6				5.6	21 (100.0)
Bagri			100.0							2 (100.0)
Kalbelia	20.0	70.0			5.0		5.0			119 (100.0)
Nat	7.2	17.9	21.4	17.9	35.7					17 (100.0)
Kanjar		100.0								6 (100.0)
Pardhi	100.0									60 (100.0)
Total	19.7	27.4	8.3	9.5	8.9	1.8	10.7	0.6	13.1	268 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

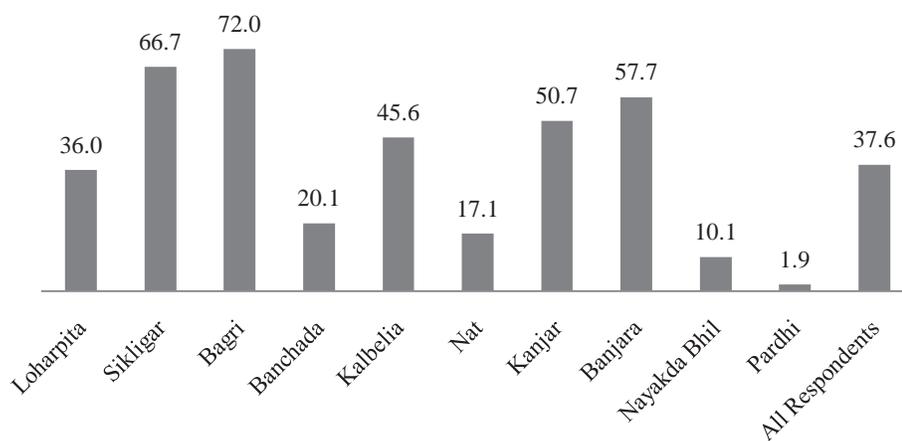
14. Neighbourhood

About 79.3 per cent of respondents live among same tribe and 6.9 per cent have their houses in isolated places (Table 5.24). Only 36.7 per cent of respondents have educated neighbours (Figure 5.11). The interaction with neighbours especially on children's education is discussed in section III.

Table 5.24: Social location of neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Same Tribe	Other Communities	Isolated	Total
Loharpita	64.0	30.0	6.0	150 (100.0)
Sikligar	66.7	30.7	2.7	150 (100.0)
Bagri	94.0	2.0	4.0	150 (100.0)
Banchada	97.3	2.0	.7	149 (100.0)
Kalbelia	67.2	10.9	21.9	137 (100.0)
Nat	87.5	6.6	5.9	152 (100.0)
Kanjar	88.2	9.9	2.0	152 (100.0)
Banjara	77.9	17.4	4.7	149 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	69.1	26.8	4.0	149 (100.0)
Pardhi	79.6	2.5	17.8	157 (100.0)
Total	79.3	13.8	6.9	1495 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.11: Incidence of Education among Neighbours

Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS

This section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Madhya Pradesh. This section details the findings on the educational status of the denotified from the primary data of the study and also provides a narrative of teacher's view on education to facilitate social change through access to education among denotified tribes.

15. Status of Education

The educational status of household members, reasons for non-enrolment, dropout, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education were explored in the household survey.

Among the total population covered under the survey, the population above five years has been classified into (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education. In terms of status of education, about 27.0 per cent of the respondents reported that they are currently engaged in education. Among Loharpita (9.8 per cent), Nayakda Bhil and Pardhi (around 15 per cent), the proportion of studying has been low, while this proportion is around 42 per cent of total population from Kanjar community, whereas it is marginally more than one-third of the total respondents among Banjara and Nat community; among Bagri and Banchada the corresponding proportion is around thirty per cent (Table 5.24). The never enrolled accounted for 48 per cent of the total respondents while one-fourth were dropouts. Three-fourth of Pardhi (75.8 per cent) and 64.4 per cent of Loharpita were not enrolled while among the latter one-fourth was also reported as dropouts. The non-enrolment was lowest among Kanjar (still accounted for 21 per cent). In case of dropout, more than one-third of respondents were reported among Bagri (39.2 per cent), Kanjar (37 per cent) and Pardhi (37.6 per cent). Banchada also had around 31 per cent of dropouts (Table 5.25).

Table 5.25: Education status of members of respondent households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropout	Total
Loharpita	9.8	64.4	25.8	632 (100.0)
Sikligar	28.4	49.3	22.3	619 (100.0)
Bagri	29.5	31.2	39.2	586 (100.0)
Banchada	30.0	38.9	31.1	650 (100.0)
Kalbelia	27.8	51.7	20.5	629 (100.0)
Nat	34.6	55.9	9.5	651 (100.0)
Kanjar	41.8	21.3	37.0	682 (100.0)
Banjara	33.5	46.8	19.7	705 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	14.4	75.8	9.8	661 (100.0)
Pardhi	15.0	47.4	37.6	639 (100.0)
Total	26.6	48.3	25.1	6454 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.26: Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary	Middle	9-12	Graduation	Post-Graduation +	Total
Loharpita	88.7	8.1	1.6	1.6		62 (100.0)
Sikligar	66.5	22.2	10.2		1.1	176 (100.0)
Bagri	40.5	15.6	31.2	9.8	2.9	173 (100.0)
Banchada	62.1	24.1	11.3	2.6		195 (100.0)
Kalbelia	78.5	18.0	3.5			172 (100.0)
Nat	67.6	20.0	11.6	.9		225 (100.0)
Kanjar	61.1	25.3	9.8	3.5	.4	285 (100.0)
Banjara	49.6	29.1	20.5	.9		234 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	78.9	12.6	8.4			95 (100.0)
Pardhi	70.8	22.9	6.3			96 (100.0)
Total	63.2	21.5	12.7	2.2	.5	1713 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

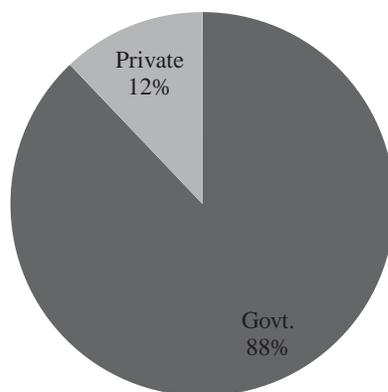
Of the currently enrolled, more than sixty per cent (63.2 per cent) were enrolled for primary, followed by 21.5 per cent in middle school and 12.7 per cent in 9-12th standards and a negligible proportion (2.7 per cent) for graduation and above. Among graduates and above one can see higher proportion of Bagri (12.7 per cent) and Kanjar (3.9 per cent) while in case if Kalbelia, Pardhi and Nayakda Bhil none was reported. Across tribes, except in case of Bagri and Banjar, a significant proportion of the respondents (more than 60 per cent) were pursuing primary education (Table 5.26).

Table 5.27: Medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Hindi	English	Total
Loharpita	98.4	1.6	62 (100.0)
Sikligar	98.9	1.1	175 (100.0)
Bagri	98.2	1.8	169 (100.0)
Banchada	87.6	12.4	194 (100.0)
Kalbelia	100		175 (100.0)
Nat	100		225 (100.0)
Kanjar	92.6	7.4	285 (100.0)
Banjara	100		235 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	100		95 (100.0)
Pardhi	100		95 (100.0)
Total	97.0	3.0	1710 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among the Kalbelia, Nat, Banjara, Nayakda and Pardhi, all the children are enrolled in Hindi medium schools. It is only among Banchada and Kanjar that about 12.4 per cent and 7.4 per cent respectively attend English-medium schools. Among Bagri, Loharpita and Sikligar, the proportion of children attending English-medium schools is less than 2 per cent (Table 5.27). In terms of type of school, while majority (88 per cent) was studying in government institutions, about 12.1 per cent of students are enrolled in private institutions (Figure 5.12).

Figure 5.12: Type of educational institutions

Source: Field Survey

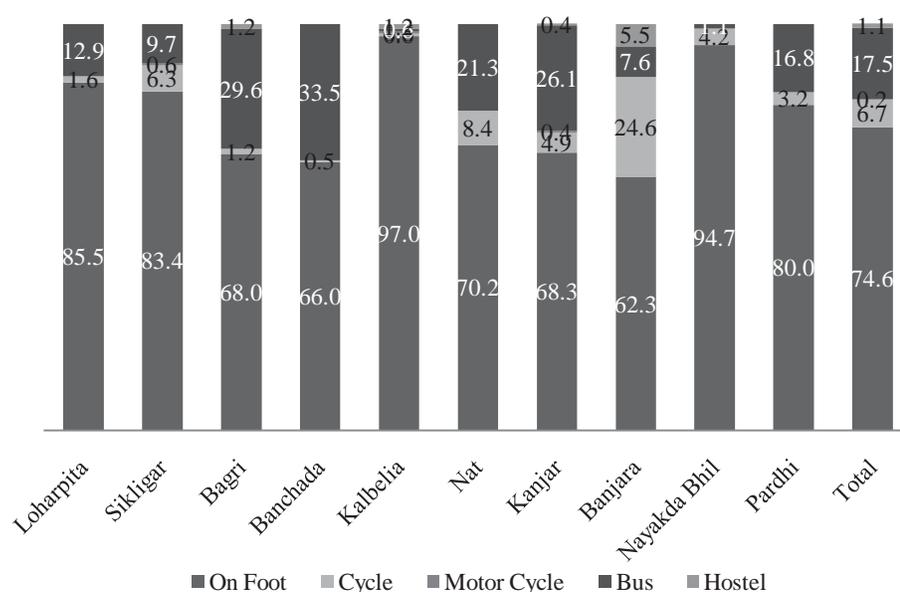
Table 5.28: Distance to educational institution of study

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Upto 1 Km.	1.1 to 3 Km.	3.1 – 5 Km.	5 – 10 Km.	> 10 Km.	Total
Loharpita	95.1	4.9				61(100.0)
Sikligar	68.6	29.7	.6	1.1		175(100.0)
Bagri	66.9	18.9	1.8	10.7	1.8	169(100.0)
Banchada	69.6	14.4	9.8	5.7	.5	194 (100.0)
Kalbelia	76.7	21.5		0.6	1.2	172 (100.0)
Nat	69.3	13.3		17.3		225 (100.0)
Kanjar	57.7	23.2	16.5	2.5		284 (100.0)
Banjara	40.8	36.5	14.2	4.3	4.3	233 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	82.4	9.9	7.7			91 (100.0)
Pardhi	73.7	24.2	2.1			95 (100.0)
Total	65.8	21.5	6.6	5.2	0.9	1699(100.0)

Source: Field Survey

While about 66 per cent of currently studying travel less than 1 kilometers to reach school, only 6.1 per cent have to travel more than 5 kilometers. The bulk of currently studying from the Loharpita (100 per cent), Nayakda, Kalbelia and Pardhi tribes travel less than 3 kilometers to reach their institutions of study. But significant proportion of respondents who are currently studying from of the Banjara (22.8 per cent), Banchada (16 per cent), Nat (17 per cent) and Bagri (14 per cent) travel more than 3 kilometers (Table 5.28).

Figure 5.13: Mode of transport to school



They also use different modes to reach school. While 75 per cent walk on foot and 17.5 per cent take a bus, 7 per cent of students use cycles or motorcycles to reach their schools. While a substantial proportion from Banjara community have used the cycle as the mode of travel to get to school, a substantial portion from Banchada, Bagri, Kanjar and Nat prefer the bus as a mode of transport (Figure 5.13).

Among dropouts three fourths (75.8 per cent) had dropped out after primary, 13 per cent (middle), 8.8 per cent in 9-12 and a negligible 2 per cent graduation and above. The high incidence of dropout after primary can be seen among Loharpita (98.8 per cent) and Kanjar (88.9 per cent) (Table 5.29). Poverty, work, belief that there is no use for education and migration are cited as the main reasons for dropping out of school. About 9.4 per cent of individuals reported that migration was the main reason for their dropping out of school. On the other hand, poverty, lack of awareness of the importance of education and work are the main reasons reported by persons who never enrolled in school. About 10 per cent of all the individuals who never enrolled reported migration as a main cause.

Table 5.29: Level of education of among dropouts

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary	Middle	9-12	Graduation	Post-Graduation +	Total
Loharpita	98.8	1.2				163 (100.0)
Sikligar	76.1	21.0	2.9			138 (100.0)
Bagri	47.0	26.1	19.1	5.2	2.6	230 (100.0)
Banchada	67.3	18.8	11.4	1.5	1.0	202 (100.0)
Kalbelia	73.2	16.5	9.4		0.8	127 (100.0)
Nat	66.1	19.4	12.9	1.6		62 (100.0)
Kanjar	88.9	4.4	6.0	0.8		252 (100.0)
Banjara	52.5	23.7	19.4	4.3		139 (100.0)
Nayakda Bhil	69.2	13.8	15.4	1.5		65 (100.0)
Pardhi	100.0					240 (100.0)
Total	75.8	13.3	8.8	1.5	0.6	1618 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The level of education for all those who had attended school as well as those who are at present studying indicate that only 2.4 per cent of all the individuals who attended school reported that they are graduates plus or are studying in the last year of their degree. Bagri (10 per cent), Banchada (2.5 per cent), Kanjar (2.4 per cent), Banjara (2.1 per cent), and Nat (1 per cent) have reported that there are a few individuals who at least graduated or are studying in the final year of graduation from the community. This in

fact, in some sense, reflects the true picture of educational attainment of population in the community. It clearly indicates that the levels of higher education are low.

16. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental motivation and other support for education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents' participation and community involvement in decision making at different levels of children's education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

Table 5.30: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

Particulars of seeking suggestions	Family Members	Educated Community Leader	Teacher	Health Personnel	Local Politician	Neighbour	Total
Admission of the Children to school	34.0	11.8	46.1	-	1.0	7.1	100.0
Selection of Subjects	35.8	11.1	42.7	-	1.1	9.3	100.0
Selection of School/ College	12.0	4.6	76.2	-	1.1	6.2	100.0
Financial Matters	24.5	8.1	54.6	0.1	1.4	11.3	100.0
Guidance on children's education	47.5	17.4	13.6	-	2.2	19.3	100.0

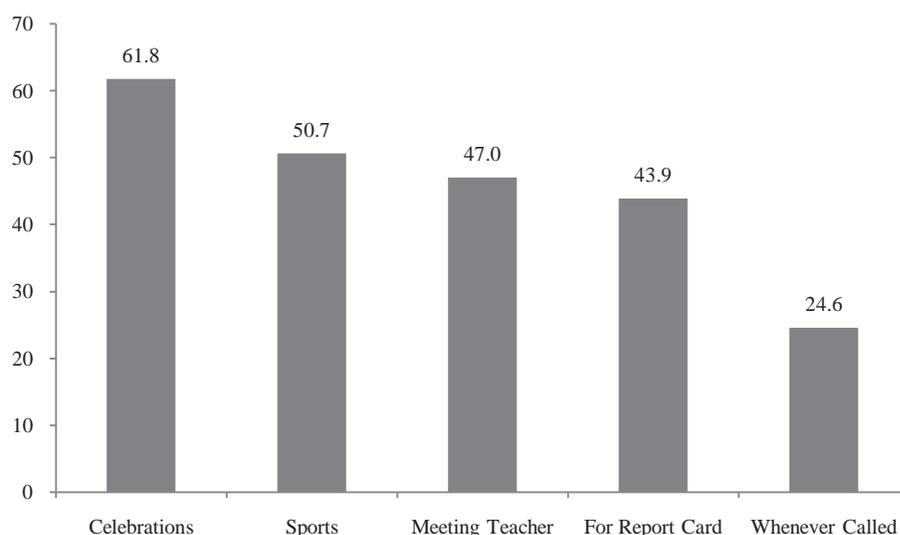
Source: Field Survey

In terms of admission to school, it was seen that 46 per cent of parents from households consulted teachers followed by family members (34 per cent), educated community leader (12 per cent) and neighbours (7 per cent). In case of selection of subjects too, teachers (43 per cent), followed by family members (36 per cent), educated community leader (11 per cent) and neighbours (9 per cent) were consulted. In case of selection of school/college, more than three-fourths of the households consulted teacher and even in case of financial matters (55 per cent). In case of general guidance on children's education, however, the opinion of family members (47.5 per cent) was sought followed by neighbours (19 per cent), community leader (17 per cent) and teacher (14 per cent). The role of local politicians was negligible (Table 5.30). However, irrespective of wide level consultations by parents on different aspects of education, 61 per cent of households reported that parents did not visit schools. Only less than 10 per cent reported visiting twice, 6 per cent visited thrice and 8 per cent visited once (Table 5.31).

Table 5.31: Frequency of parents visit to School

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Not Visited	Total
Loharpita	10.5	13.2											76.3	100.0
Sikligar	4.1	7.4	4.1	1.7	.8	1.7						.8	79.3	100.0
Bagri	17.6	2.4	2.4										77.6	100.0
Banchada	4.9	12.3	2.5					2.5	4.9	2.5	7.4	2.5	60.5	100.0
Kalbelia	22.0	30.5	4.9	4.9		1.2	2.4						34.1	100.0
Nat	1.1	6.5	12.0	8.7	2.2	7.6	1.1	1.1		5.4	2.2		52.2	100.0
Kanjar	10.5	7.7	6.3	8.4	4.9	9.1	5.6	4.2		5.6	.7		37.1	100.0
Banjara	4.9	7.0	4.2	9.1	1.4	1.4				0.7	1.4		69.9	100.0
Nayakda Bhil	2.3	6.8	25.0	2.3									63.6	100.0
Pardhi	3.3	7.4	4.1	4.1	.8	3.3	.8	.8		4.1	.8		70.2	100.0
Total	7.8	9.5	5.8	4.7	1.4	3.1	1.3	1.1	.4	2.2	1.3	.3	61.3	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.14: Parents visit to school for different events & programmes

Source: Field Survey

High proportion of parents visited schools during celebrations (62 per cent), followed by to attend sports events (51 per cent), to meet teacher (47 per cent), to collect report card (44 per cent) and as and when called by school management (25 per cent) (Figure 5.14). More than sixty per cent (63 per cent) of the households report that parents are aware that the children participate in various cultural programmes, 55 per cent in sports and 29 per cent in extracurricular activities. One can discern variations among tribes in the type of programmes they participate. In cultural and sports except Banchada and Bagri, there is high incidence of participation across tribes in varying proportion whereas in case of extracurricular, there is high incidence of participation by Kalbelia

(76.6 per cent) and Nayakda Bhil (63 per cent) while others range between 14 per cent among Kanjar to 46 per cent among Loharpita (Table 5.32).

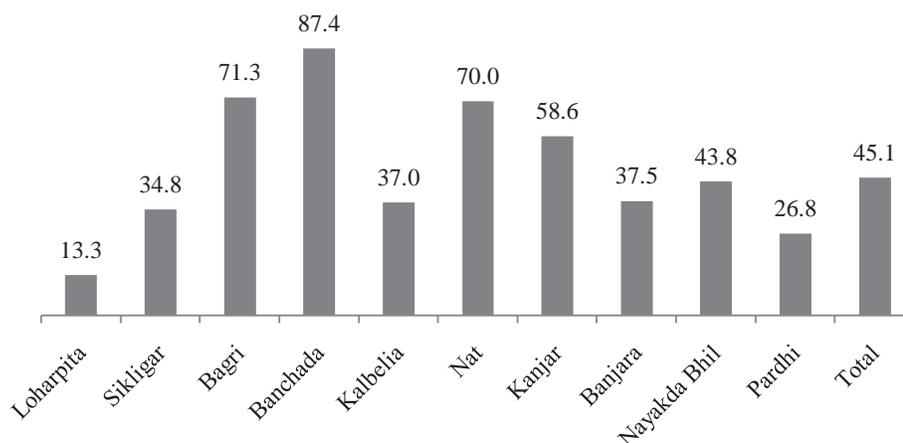
The main reason for the lack of children's participation in school programmes was lack of interest of the child and his/her involvement in domestic work. Surprisingly, about 52.6 per cent do not know the reason behind their children's lack of participation in these activities.

Table 5.32: Parents reporting children's participation to various programmes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultural	Sports	Extra-Curriculum	Others
Loharpita	60.6	64.7	45.5	33.3
Sikligar	49.3	52.0	18.7	12.0
Bagri	28.4	23.3	16.5	5.8
Banchada	45.2	44.1	23.7	14.0
Kalbelia	85.7	77.9	76.6	35.6
Nat	70.4	54.1	17.3	5.1
Kanjar	69.7	63.1	14.0	12.5
Banjara	64.3	55.8	28.6	4.1
Nayakda Bhil	75.0	65.9	63.4	15.8
Pardhi	92.2	70.6	25.5	2.0
Total	62.5	55.4	29.1	12.3

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.15: Parents reporting regular study at home by children



Source: Field Survey

Only less than half (45 per cent) of households report that parents indicate regular study at home by children. This was high among Banchada (87 per cent), Bagri (71 per cent), Nat (70 per cent) and Kanjar (59 per cent). It was lower among Pardhi (26.8 per cent) and Loharpita (13 per cent) (Figure 5.15). About 75 per cent of respondents who had

given affirmative responses relating to children's home work report that no one helps the children do it. Of 25 per cent who help the children, about 2.6 per cent get support from a tutor and about 22 per cent of students reported that help is given by parents. Although payment to the private tutor was reported to be as high as Rs 3000 per month, 52.6 per cent of respondents, who use the services of a private tutor, paid up to Rs 250 per month.

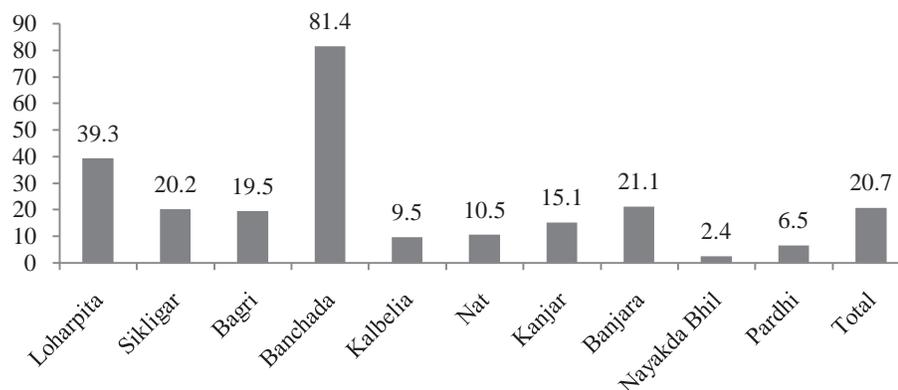
Table 5.33: Perception about progress and performance of children

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Happy with Progress	Writing	Reading	Speaking	Total
Loharpita	80.0	80.0	80.0	80.6	100.0
Sikligar	59.2	74.7	71.1	68.4	100.0
Bagri	81.1	93.3	93.3	88.9	100.0
Banchada	88.0	97.8	97.8	97.8	100.0
Kalbelia	78.8	93.5	90.9	97.4	100.0
Nat	80.8	87.8	83.7	85.7	100.0
Kanjar	77.0	87.7	86.1	81.1	100.0
Banjara	66.7	66.7	65.8	66.7	100.0
Nayakda Bhil	73.2	71.1	68.2	76.7	100.0
Pardhi	84.0	86.0	88.0	86.0	100.0
Total	76.6	84.5	83.0	82.8	100.0

Source: Field Survey

More than three fourths (76.6 per cent) of the parents were happy with the progress and performance of their children. In case of writing, reading, and speaking too more than 80 per cent replied in the affirmative. Though there are variations (in case of Banjara and Nayakda Bhil) and also in case of Silkigar (with respect to overall progress), more or less the parents were happy with the education of their currently enrolled wards (Table 5.33). However, the involvement of the parents in school management committee was not encouraging. Only 21 per cent were aware of it and the incidence of awareness was high among Banchada and Loharpita (Figure 5.16). Of these, only 9 per cent had membership in the school management committee (Table 5.34). Financial support is one of the main drivers of educational access. One can discern that 37.5 per cent of the educational loans were availed for the education of daughters while the majority (62.5 per cent) was used for educational progress of sons (Figure 5.17).

Figure 5.16: Level of awareness about school management committee among parents



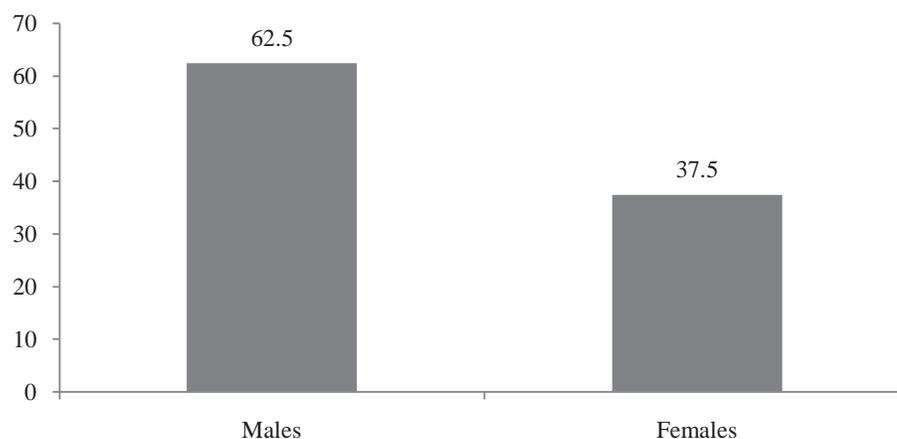
Source: Field Survey

Table 5.34: Membership in the SMC

DNT/SNT/NT Community	No	Yes	All
Loharpita	68.0	32.0	100.0
Sikligar	89.4	10.6	100.0
Bagri	100	-	100.0
Banchada	89.5	10.5	100.0
Kalbelia	92.9	7.1	100.0
Nat	94.7	5.3	100.0
Kanjar	88.5	11.5	100.0
Banjara	91.2	8.8	100.0
Nayakda Bhil	100	-	100.0
Pardhi	96.7	3.3	100.0
All	91.4	8.6	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.17: Gender of child for whom education loan was taken



Source: Field Survey

Figure 5.18: Involvement of children in housework

Source: Field Survey

Involvement of children in housework was reported by only 31 per cent of the households. This was highest among Nayakda Bhil (47 per cent) and Kalbelia (42 per cent). It was relatively lower among Loharpita, Bagri, Sikligar and Pardhi. This could be attributed to the fact that these communities had indicated that their children avail hostel facilities (Figure 5.18).

Aspirations of parents in relation to the future of their children were also elicited. A third of the respondents want their sons to become doctors, engineers, teachers and police officers. Another 41 per cent want their sons to join government service. About 22 per cent believed that the career of their sons will depend on their performance and education or believe that their sons are too young for these decisions. About 60 per cent want their sons to study for graduation and professional degrees. Only 1.4 per cent was disillusioned with the education system and believed there is no use in educating their sons.

About 29 per cent believed that the career of their daughters would depend on their performance and education or that their daughters are too young for these decisions while 51 per cent of respondents want their daughters to study at least until graduation or get a professional degree. Only 2.4 per cent believed there is no use in educating their daughters. Around 41 per cent of the respondents wanted their daughters to become doctors, engineers, teachers or police officers whereas only 29 per cent of respondents want their daughters to join government service.

About 53.1 per cent of respondents reported that their sons are interested in higher studies. This proportion is relatively high among the Banchada and Nat but quite low among Loharpita and Pardhi. Respondents believed that education is important because it opens up opportunity (46 per cent). Another 30.3 per cent reported that education is a route through which their sons will get better jobs and higher income.

Unlike for boys, the importance of education for girls is quite differently perceived by the respondents: 48.5 per cent respondents reported that education is important for their daughters because it will help her be a good housewife. Around 3.6 per cent said that they do not want their daughter to continue her studies. Nearly 29 per cent believed that education opens up avenues for a better life (by giving better opportunities). The Banjara believed that education for their daughters is important because it would provide her better opportunities in life. On the other hand, Loharpita respondents stated that, unlike others, that they do not want their daughters to continue studies (10 per cent compared to 1 per cent reported by Nayakda).

17. Education for Social Change: Teachers' View

Teachers' views elicited about the education on children of DNTs vary across tribes. Some tribes like the Bagri, Banjara and Banchada, who have witnessed economic mobility of late, have accepted school education as a necessity for their children. They are part of the education milieu of their respective areas, much like the dominant castes. In this group, a number of children are second generation learners, and some of the parents have studied up to graduation. Others, like the Kanjar, Sikligar and Pardhi, are still stigmatised as criminal tribes and are unable to send their children to school regularly, so only a minimal number of children get the opportunity to go to the level of middle school. Despite their relative affluence, their children remain dropouts. Still others like the Nat, Loharpita, Kalbelia and Nayakda Bhil, due to their economic struggles and ignorance, cannot afford to send their children beyond primary school.

18. Conclusions

In the state of Madhya Pradesh, special provision for DNTs was initiated by the government in the realm of education. In the state, the study was undertaken, as mentioned above, across 12 districts covering 7 DNTs and 3 NTs. Among the surveyed communities, Loharpita, a NT is neither categorised as SC or OBC while Sikligar, Banjara and Naykda Bhil were identified as OBCs and the rest as SCs. In terms of place of stay, one-third of Loharpita households report that they have been staying in the present location for two years.

The language spoken at home is Hindi along with tribal languages. Communication at school and public places happen in Hindi while at social gathering community members speak both tribal languages and Hindi. Knowledge of English has been low across communities.

The main occupation of the households was to be engaged in wage labour followed by less than a quarter who indicated engaged in traditional work. A quarter of them also hold agricultural land and the average size of landholding is around 4 acre per household. In terms of housing, overwhelming majority had own house with titles but only a very low proportion had pucca houses. Similarly, piped water was available only to 20 per cent of families and 88 per cent were defecating in the open. Access to electricity was however better with nearly three-fourths of households having electricity. In terms of migration, majority had reported current location as place of origin. However, there have been variations across communities especially in search of livelihood.

Discrimination at school across the board was reported by the communities. Status of education reveal that never enrolled and drop outs account for nearly three-fourths of the total respondents from households. The non enrolment was highest among Pardhi and Loharpita while dropouts were found to be one-third among Bagri, Kanjar, Pardhi and Banchada. Almost two thirds of the currently studying was enrolled in primary and the medium of instruction was Hindi and were studying predominantly in government institutions within 3 kilometers from place of residence. Among dropouts three fourths had completed only till primary education.

Parental interaction was encouraging, with consultation on educational matters with family members, teachers and educated members from the community. Visit to schools by parents however was not heartening with

around two thirds not visiting the school while those who visited school were mostly to attend celebrations, sports day, for meeting teacher or to collect report cards. Regular study at home was reported only by less than half of the households and it was lowest among Pardhi and Loharpita. Overwhelming majority did not have any engagements with school management committees indicating that parental involvement was marginal. However, most of the parents were ambitious about their sons and daughters and aspired for professional jobs and in government service.

Field work also indicated that some communities like Bagri, Banjara and Banchada have gained mobility and are aware of the importance of education whereas stigmatised tribes are yet to accommodate the educational aspirations of children as part of their everyday lives.

Chhattisgarh



Communities Surveyed

Kasai, Jogi, Rajgond, Pardhi, Bairagi
Dhangar, Devar, Gosai, Banjara

*Field study coordinated by
Mr. Rajendra K. Sail
Raipur Churches Development &
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Chapter 6

CHHATTISGARH

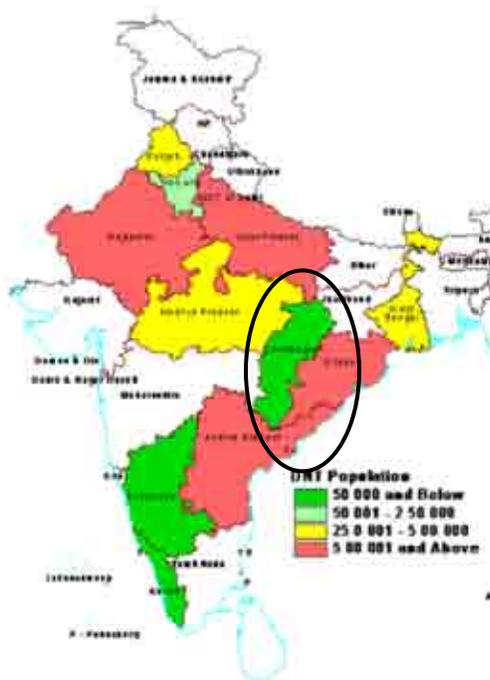
I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

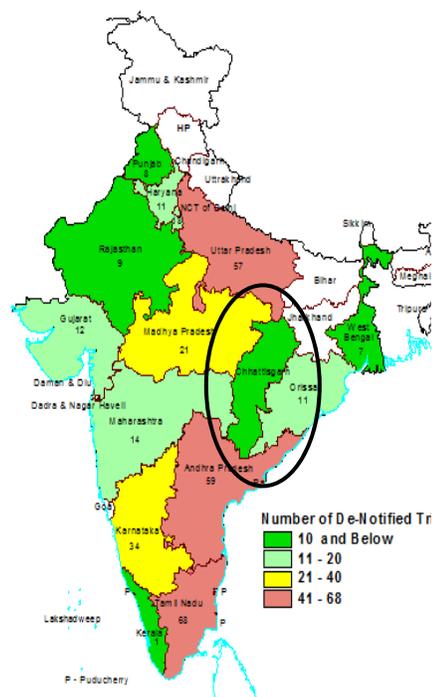
Chhattisgarh, also known as the tribal state, was formed on 1 November 2000, by partitioning 16 Chhattisgarhi districts of Madhya Pradesh. Chhattisgarh is synonymous to tribes. It is a tribal dominated state, majority of the population are tribal known as Adivasi. About 35 big and small tribes are spread all over Chhattisgarh. Chhattisgarh is home to DNT and NT population. As per Government of India the number and the corresponding population has been depicted in the Map 6.1.

Map 6.1: Details for the DNT/NT

DNT Population in Chhattisgarh



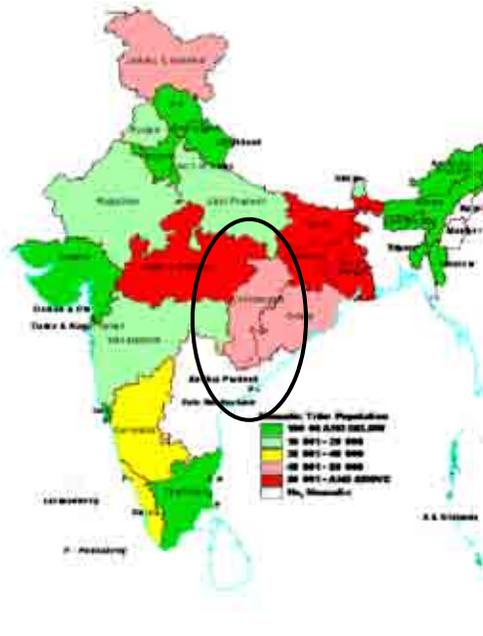
DNT Number in Chhattisgarh



Source: <http://ncdnt.gov.in/dntpopulation.php>
accessed on July 7, 2017

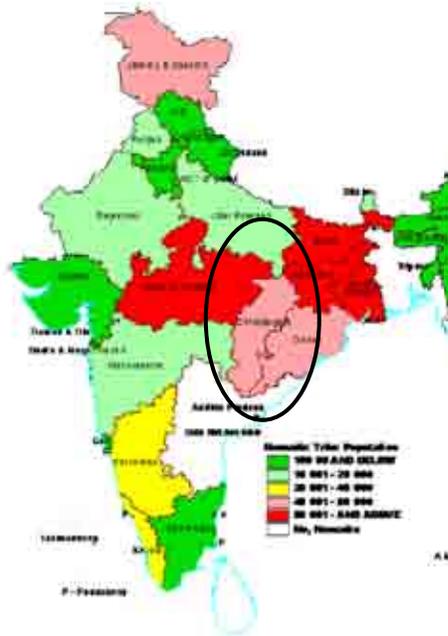
Source: <http://ncdnt.gov.in/numberofdenotifiedtribes.php>
accessed on July 7, 2017

NT Population in Chhattisgarh



Source: <http://ncdnt.gov.in/nomadictribepopulation.php>
accessed on July 7, 2017

NT Number in Chhattisgarh



Source: <http://ncdnt.gov.in/numberofnomadictribes.php>
accessed on July 7, 2017

There has been very little information on DNTs in Chhattisgarh. This necessitated that a field based study be undertaken to assess their socio-economic and educational status.

2. Methodology

The study was conducted in two phases – pilot survey followed by the main survey. The pilot survey took five months to complete including planning, communication with community leaders and field surveys. This was followed by the commencement of the main survey identifying nine DNT communities, in consultation with CSD. The criteria such as vulnerability of the tribe, their social status, and geographical locations such as small towns, big towns, villages, hamlets, deep forests, ghettos and so forth were taken into consideration for sample selection. Based on the discussion with experts, the study has selected the following tribes for the main survey.

DNT: Kasai, Pardhi, Bairagi, Gosai, Banjara and Dhangar
Nomadic Tribes: Jogi, Rajgond, Devar and Dhangar

The sample has been covered from the following districts:

- Mahasamund
- Raipur
- Garia band
- Balodabazar
- Raigarh
- Kanker
- Kondagaon
- Durg
- Bilaspur
- Kabirdham
- Rajnandgaon
- Balod

3. Sample size

The study covered 1467 households from 9 communities settled across 12 districts in Chhattisgarh. The communities are classified into 3 types. Those are DNT-1, DNT-2 and NT categories. About 52.1 per cent of communities covered under DNT and 47.9 per cent were listed under NT category (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (per cent)	Social Category
Pardhi	186	12.7	DNT 1 (35.8)
Bairagi	170	11.6	
Banjara	169	11.5	
Dhangar	239	16.3	DNT 2 (16.3)
Jogi	45	3.1	NT (47.9)
Rajgond	139	9.5	
Kasai	204	13.9	
Devar	169	11.5	
Gosai	146	10.0	
Total	1467	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

4. Profile of the sample

4.1 Geographical spread of the sample

Raipur – the capital city -- (39.5 per cent) and Mahasamund (25.8 per cent) together account for 65 per cent of total sample comprising majority DNT types (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: District-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (per cent)
Mahasamund	379	25.8
Raipur	579	39.5
Garia band	42	2.9
Balodabazar	82	5.6
Raigarh	21	1.4
Kanker	134	9.1
Kondagaon	17	1.2
Durg	49	3.3
Bilaspur	27	1.8
Kabirdham	71	4.8
Rajnandgaon	61	4.2
Balod	5	0.3
Total	1467	100.0

Source: Field Survey

The sample equally reflects both rural and urban characters, with 52.4 per cent from rural and remaining 47.6 per cent from urban areas. Individual communities vary in their rural–urban ratio: DNTs like Jogi, Rajgond, Pardhi, Gosai and Banjara are mainly rural based, while Kasai, Devar, Bairagi and Dhangar are mostly urban based (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Area-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Urban	Rural
Kasai	99.0	1.0
Jogi	2.2	97.8
Rajgond	-	100.0
Pardhi	5.4	94.6
Bairagi	61.2	38.8
Dhangar	57.3	42.7
Devar	95.3	4.7
Gosai	17.8	82.2
Banjara	33.7	66.3
Total	47.6	52.4

Source: Field Survey

The DNT sample households (1467) in Chhattisgarh (CG) are drawn from 12 different districts depending on their concentration (Table 6.4). Out of total sample, Dhangar (239) and Kasai (204) have the highest number, while Jogi has the lowest (45).

Table 6.4: Community-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Total
Kasai	204 (13.9)
Jogi	45 (3.1)
Rajgond	139 (9.5)
Pardhi	186 (12.7)
Bairagi	170 (11.6)
Dhangar	239 (16.3)
Devar	169 (11.5)
Gosai	146 (10.0)
Banjara	169 (11.5)
Total	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 6.5: Household population of the sample

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Population (per cent)	Households (per cent)
Kasai	12.4	13.9
Jogi	3.4	3.1
Rajgond	10.2	9.5
Pardhi	12.1	12.7
Bairagi	11.7	11.6
Dhangar	18.8	16.3
Devar	12.0	11.5
Gosai	9.4	10.0
Banjara	9.9	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 6.5 presents the sample distribution of households and population across tribes.

Table 6.6: Age-wise population distribution

Age group	Population	Population (per cent)
0 to 5	979	13.1
06 to 18	2186	29.3
19 to 35	2344	31.4
36 to 45	925	12.4
46 to 60	752	10.1
Above 60	286	3.8
Total	7472	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Majority of the household members belonged to the age group of 06-35 years (60.7 per cent) followed by 26.2 per cent of household members belongs to 45 years above and rest 13.1 per cent household members consists of below 5 years of age (Table 6.6).

Table 6.7: Gender-wise marital status

Marital status	Male	Female	Total
Married	1764 (48.3) (47.3)	1890 (51.7) (50.5)	3654 (100.0) (48.9)
Unmarried	1929 (53.5) (51.8)	1678 (46.5) (44.8)	3607 (100.0) (48.3)
Divorce	2 (18.2) (0.1)	9 (81.8) (0.2)	11 (100.0) (0.1)
Widow	19 (15.3) (0.5)	105 (84.7) (2.8)	124 (100.0) (1.7)
Single	13 (17.1) (0.3)	63 (82.9) (1.7)	76 (100.0) (1.0)
Total	3727 (49.9) (100.0)	3745 (50.1) (100.0)	7472 (100.0) (100.0)

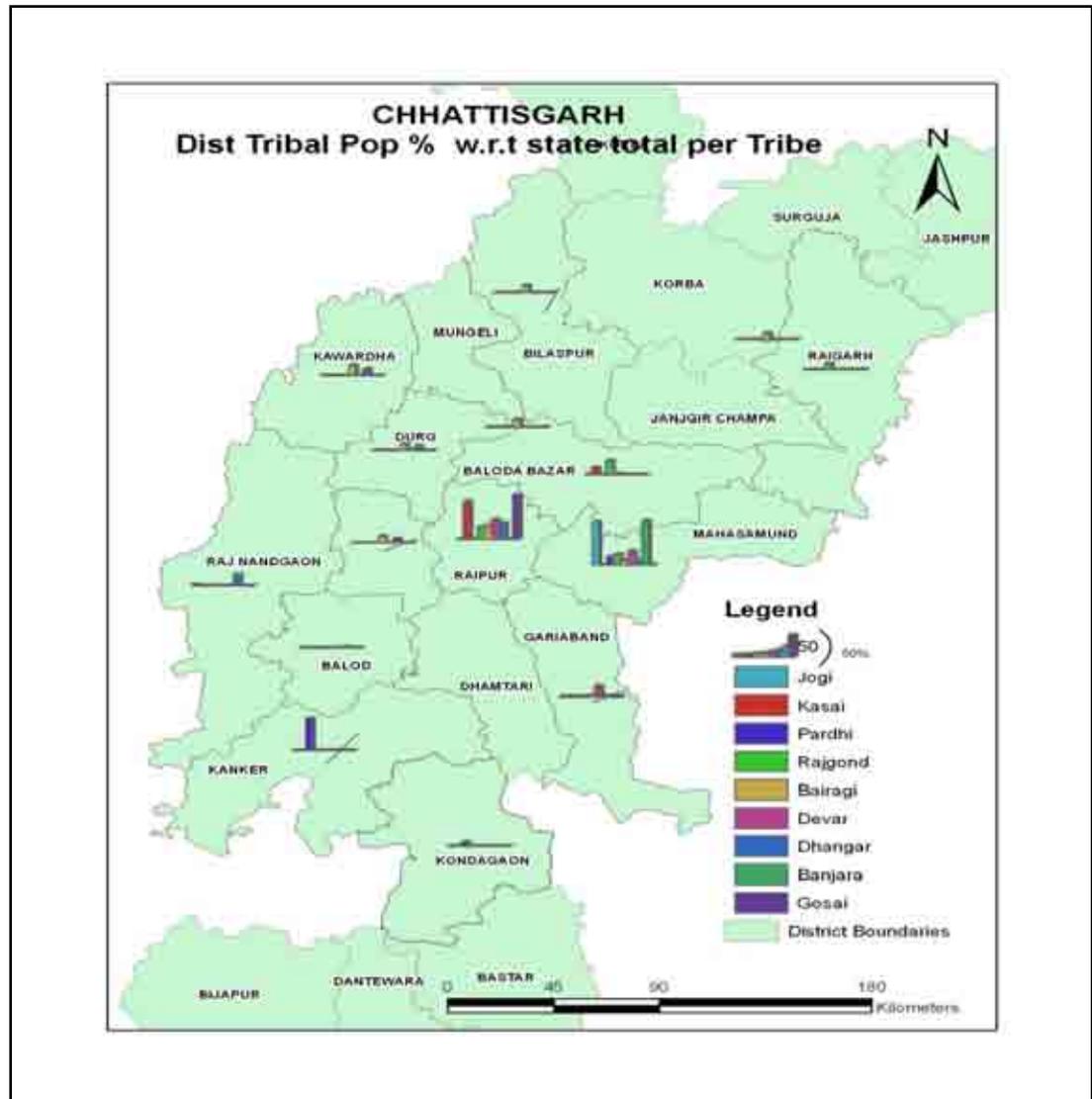
Source: Field Survey

The proportion of married and unmarried male and female population comprises equal share in sample. The proportion of divorced and widowed women is high compared to men, pointing out limited possibilities of remarriage (Table 6.7).

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

The main aim of this section is to examine the social status, pattern of asset holding and other location-specific factors related to different Denotified tribes in the state of Chhattisgarh. It also looks into the pattern of livelihood reported among different De-notified tribes spread across different districts of the state (Map 6.2).

Map 6.2: Sample districts from where the respondents were selected



Source: Field Survey

5. The Tribe and Their Social Status

More than 50 per cent returned themselves as De-notified Communities followed by the rest Nomadic Tribes (48 per cent) (Figure 6.1). Kasai, Pardhi, Bairagi, Gosai and Banjara belong to DNT and the rest Jogi, Rajgond and Devar registered as NT. However Dhangar are found both as DNT and NT. The tribes are classified into three types. Those are NT, DNT1 and DNT2 categories. About 36 per cent of tribes are covered under DNT1, 48 per cent of tribes are covered under NT and only 16 per cent are listed under DNT2 (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.1 : Classification of tribe (1)

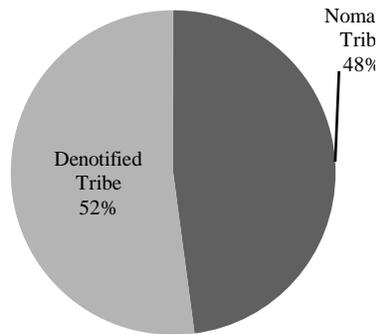
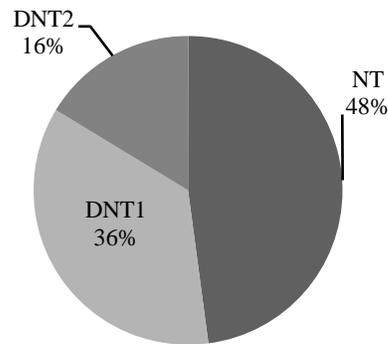


Figure 6.2 : Classification of tribe (2)



Source: Field Survey

The sample DNTs in the present study hail from different social status. Majority DNTs belong to OBCs (59 per cent), followed by STs (21 per cent), SCs (11.5 per cent), and VBC (Very Backward Castes) i.e. (9 per cent). Individually, Rajgond and Pardhi belong to ST, Some of the Bairagis belong to the VBC (65.3 per cent) while others belong to OBC (34.7 per cent), and the remaining 06 DNTs belong to OBCs (Table 6.8). This tells us that the DNT may have different caste identities in different places.

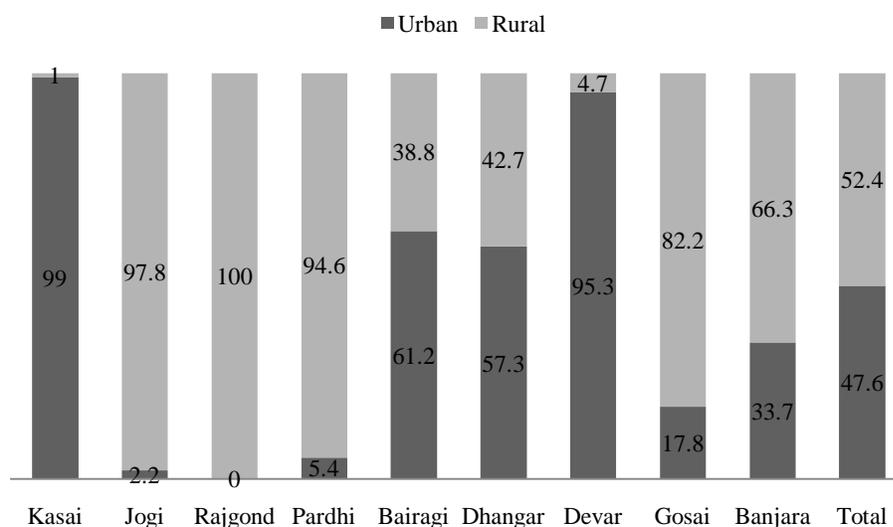
Table 6.8: Social category of sample households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Social Category				Total
	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Other Backward Castes (OBCs)	Very Backward Castes (VBC)	
Kasai			204 (100.0)		204 (100.0)
Jogi			45 (100.0)		45 (100.0)
Rajgond		119 (85.6)		20 (14.4)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	01 (0.5)	185 (99.5)			186 (100.0)
Bairagi			59 (34.7)	111 (65.3)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	01 (0.4)		238 (99.6)		239 (100.0)
Devar	167 (98.8)		02 (1.2)		169 (100.0)
Gosai			146 (100.0)		146 (100.0)
Banjara			169 (100.0)		169 (100.0)
Total	169 (11.5)	304 (20.7)	863 (58.8)	131 (8.9)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The households covered by the study were evenly distributed between urban and rural areas in the State as a whole. Of these, five communities, Jogi, Rajgond, Pardhi, Gosai, and Banjara had a predominantly rural location and the remaining four tribes, Kasai, Bairagi, Dhangar and Devar had a predominantly urban location with the Kasai households (202 out of 204 households) fully concentrated in urban areas (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3: Location of the tribes



Source: Field Survey

Nomadic character can influence the educational attainment of the people. It is generally understood that when people are mobile or nomadic, their chances for securing education for their children would be lower. The nomadic nature of DNTs can be captured by the duration of their stay at the present place at the time of survey. About 26.5 per cent of the households surveyed have been staying in the present place of residence since birth. This proportion is overwhelmingly high among Rajgond (76.3 per cent) and Banjara (85.2 per cent) and relatively low among Devar tribe (0.6 per cent). However 46.1 per cent of the households have been staying in the present place since more than 30 years. The proportion is found to be high among Devar (85.8 per cent), Dhangar (63.6 per cent) and Pardhi (60.8 per cent). Only 6.5 per cent indicated duration of stay between 1 to 10 years. This data also indicates us that the nomadic character was present till recently (before 10 years) among the Jogi community (Table 6.9). All other DNTs are mostly settled for over 30 years, suggesting that the nomadity among DNTs has gradually declined over the years in Chhattisgarh, leading to the expectation of increasing attainment of education, as a result.

Table 6.9: Duration of stay in the present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1 to 10 years	11 to 20 years	21 to 30 years	Above 30 years	Since birth	Total
Kasai	23 (11.3)	52 (25.5)	34 (16.7)	72 (35.3)	23 (11.3)	204 (100.0)
Jogi	2 (4.4)	41 (91.1)	1 (2.2)	1 (2.2)	-	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	6 (4.3)	4 (2.9)	4 (2.9)	19 (13.7)	106 (76.3)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	19 (10.2)	12 (6.5)	37 (19.9)	113 (60.8)	5 (2.7)	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	18 (10.6)	20 (11.8)	20 (11.8)	85 (50.0)	28 (16.5)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	9 (3.8)	18 (7.5)	25 (10.5)	152 (63.6)	35 (14.6)	239 (100.0)
Devar	6 (3.6)	6 (3.6)	11 (6.5)	145 (85.8)	1 (0.6)	169 (100.0)
Gosai	9 (6.2)	3 (2.1)	13 (8.9)	74 (50.7)	45 (30.8)	146 (100.0)
Banjara	3 (1.8)	2 (1.2)	4 (2.4)	16 (9.5)	144 (85.2)	169 (100.0)
Total	95 (6.5)	158 (10.8)	149 (10.2)	677 (46.1)	389 (26.5)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

6. Spoken Language

Of the total sample, majority of the DNTs speak Chhattisgarhi (53 per cent) at home, but about 92 per cent of DNTs speak Hindi at school. The DNTs of Rajgond, Bairagi, Dhangar, Dewar and Gosai mostly speak Chhattisgarhi at home, but Hindi at schools. Jogi speak both Marathi and Chhattisgarhi at home, but only Hindi at Schools. Pardhi speak mainly pardhi language at home, but only Hindi at schools. Banjaras speak

Banjara language at home, but Hindi at schools. Only Kasais speak same language (Hindi) both at home and schools. To some extent, only Rajgonds (23.7 per cent) and Dewars (25 per cent) speak mother tongue (Chhattisgarhi) at schools (Table 6.10 and 6.11).

Table 6.10: Language spoken at home by tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Hindi	Chhattisgarhi	Marathi	Pardhi	Gondi	Hulbi	Malwa	Bairagi	Banjara	Udia	Total
Kasai	204 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	204 (100.0)
Jogi	-	11 (24.4)	34 (75.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	3 (2.2)	94 (67.6)	1 (0.7)	-	31 (22.3)	-	-	-	-	10 (7.2)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	1 (0.5)	22 (11.8)	-	109 (58.6)	-	26 (14.0)	-	-	-	28 (15.1)	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	14 (8.2)	128 (75.3)	-	-	-	-	-	25 (14.7)	3 (1.8)	-	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	2 (0.8)	237 (99.2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	239 (100.0)
Devar	-	160 (94.7)	-	9 (5.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	169 (100.0)
Gosai	7 (4.8)	126 (86.3)	-	-	-	-	12 (8.2)	-	-	1 (0.7)	146 (100.0)
Banjara	-	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	168 (99.4)	-	169 (100.0)
Total	231 (15.7)	779 (53.1)	35 (2.4)	118 (8.0)	31 (2.1)	26 (1.8)	12 (0.8)	25 (1.7)	171 (11.7)	39 (2.7)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 6.11: Language spoken at school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Language Spoken			Total
	Hindi	Chhattisgarhi + Hindi	Bairagi + Hindi	
Kasai	100.0	0	0	100.0 (204)
Jogi	100.0	0	0	100.0 (45)
Rajgond	76.3	23.7	0	100.0 (139)
Pardhi	94.1	5.9	0	100.0 (186)
Bairagi	100.0	0	0	100.0 (170)
Dhangar	87.4	11.7	.8	100.0 (239)
Dewar	74.6	25.4	0	100.0 (169)
Gosai	96.6	3.4	0	100.0 (146)
Banjara	100.0	0	0	100.0 (169)
Total	91.7	8.2	.1	100.0 (1467)

Source: Field Survey

Chhattisgarhi emerged as the main language (51.5 per cent) used by the tribal people while conversing within the communities. It is followed by Hindi (21.8 per cent), Parsi (8.5 per cent), Banjara (7.5 per cent), Pardhi (3.9 per cent), Marathi (3.3 per cent) and Udia (1.0 per cent). Languages like Gondi, Hulbi, Malwa and Bairagi are rarely spoken within the communities in any kind of social occasions (Figure 6.4). All together they form only 2.4 per cent. Over 65 per cent of the households which were studied reported that they speak Chhattisgarhi in public places. Dhangar, Devar, Gosai and Rajgond and relatively low among Kasai and Jogi tribes (Figure 6.5). The language spoken at home, community and public places is almost same with small increase in Hindi at community and public places. This shows that the DNTs in Chhattisgarh mainly converse in their mother-tongue at home, community and public places but not at schools.

Figure 6.4 : Languages Spoken within the communities

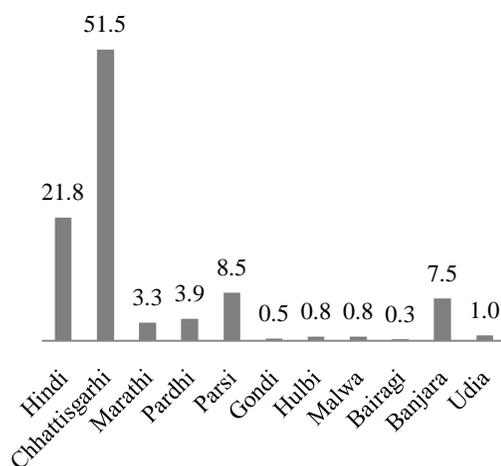
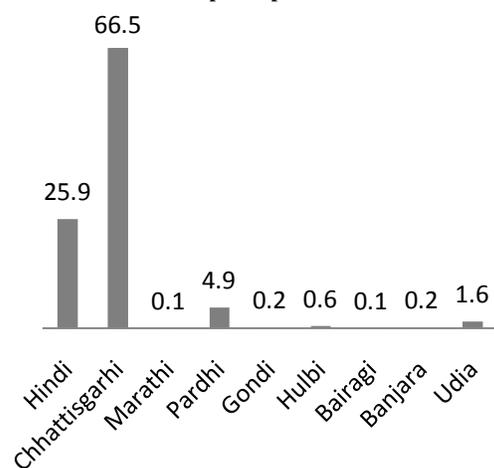
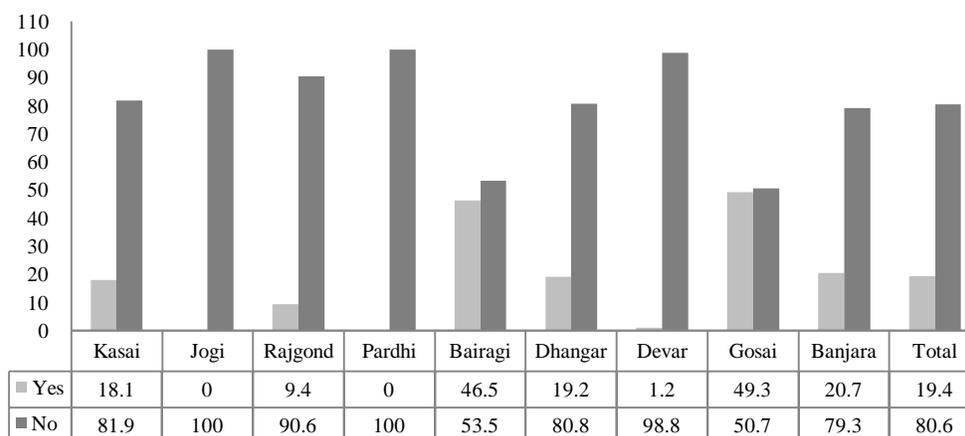


Figure 6.5 : Languages spoken at the public place



Source: Field Survey

More than 80 per cent of the surveyed households cannot communicate through English. Family members among one-fifth of the sampled households were found to know English and this share was high among Bairagi and Gosai and completely absent among Jogi and Pardhi (Figure 6.6). From FGD, it is observed that only the younger generation (sons and daughters) had knowledge of English, and not the older generations.

Figure 6.6: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

Around 97.5 per cent of households reported that only one person knows English in the family. 2.5 per cent of respondents report that two people know English in the family (Table 6.12).

Table 6.12: Number of English-knowing members in the family

DNT/SNT/NT Community	One person	Two Persons	Total
Kasai	37 (100.0)	-	37 (100.0)
Jogi	-	-	-
Rajgond	13 (100.0)	-	13 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	-	-
Bairagi	79 (100.0)	-	79 (100.0)
Dhangar	39 (84.8)	7 (15.2)	46 (100.0)
Devar	2 (100.0)	-	2 (100.0)
Gosai	72 (100.0)	-	72 (100.0)
Banjara	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)
Total	277 (97.5)	7 (2.5)	284 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

7. Livelihood and its sources

Regarding the present occupations, about 22 per cent of total sample are artisans (majority are from Jogi, Bairagi and Banjara communities), 19.4 per cent engage in agriculture (majority from Kasai and Pardhi), 24.4 per cent are wage labour (mainly from Rajgond, Kasai, Bairagi and Dewar), about 6 per cent run petty-business (mostly from Bairagi) and 12 per cent are in government services (major from Rajgond) (Table 6.13). This tells us that DNTs in Chhattisgarh are still engaged in lower strata of

occupations in the society which may place constraints on their educational attainments.

Table 6.13: Primary occupation of different tribes

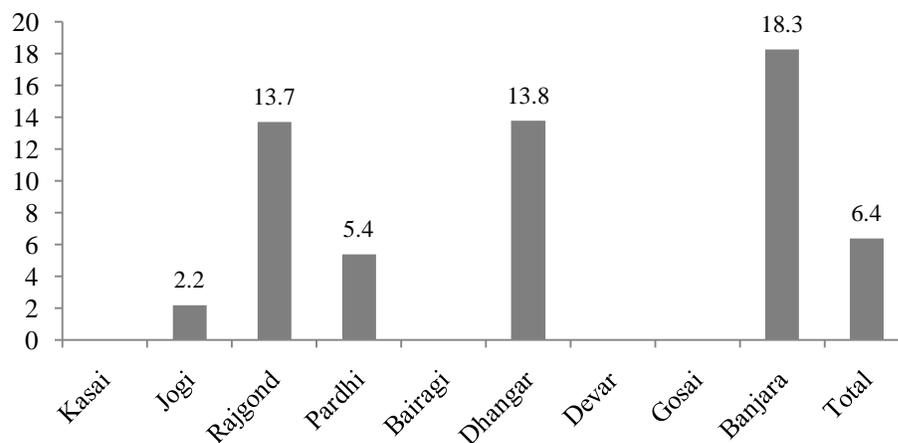
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Occupational Pattern							Total
	Traditional Occupation	Agriculture	Wage Labour	Artisans	Shop & Petty/ Organised Business	Service (Govt & Private Employment)	Others	
Kasai	-	98 (48.0)	63 (30.9)	36 (17.6)	3 (1.5)	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	100.0 (204)
Jogi	1 (2.2)	-	3 (6.7)	32 (71.1)	1 (2.2)	8 (17.8)	-	100.0 (45.0)
Rajgond	19 (13.7)	1 (0.7)	72 (51.8)	-	1 (0.7)	46 (33.1)	-	100.0 (139)
Pardhi	10 (5.4)	97 (52.2)	29 (15.6)	13 (7.0)	10 (5.4)	25 (13.4)	2 (1.1)	100.0 (186)
Bairagi	-	17 (10.0)	46 (27.1)	44 (25.9)	46 (27.1)	16 (9.4)	1 (0.6)	100.0 (170)
Dhangar	33 (13.8)	16 (6.7)	44 (18.4)	33 (13.8)	8 (3.3)	37 (15.5)	68 (28.5)	100.0 (239)
Dewar	-	50 (29.6)	67 (39.6)	23 (13.6)	5 (3.0)	17 (10.1)	7 (4.1)	100.0 (169)
Gosai	-	-	13 (8.9)	40 (27.4)	6 (4.1)	19 (13.0)	68 (46.6)	100.0 (146)
Banjara	31 (18.3)	5 (3.0)	20 (11.9)	100 (59.2)	3 (1.8)	2 (1.2)	8 (4.6)	100.0 (169)
Total	94 (6.4)	284 (19.4)	357 (24.4)	321 (21.9)	83 (5.7)	172 (11.7)	156 (10.6)	100.0 (1467)

Source: Field Survey

Out of the total sample, a very small proportion (6.4 per cent) of DNTs in Chhattisgarh still continue the traditional tribe-based occupation. They are mainly Banjara (18.3 per cent), Dhangar (13.8 per cent), Rajgond (13.7 per cent), Pardhi (5.4 per cent) and one household from Jogi tribe (Figure 6.7). Banjara households practice their age old plant based medicinal work whereas Dhangar deal in wool, and weave coarse blankets called chavales. Some of them have abandoned their original occupation and works as bricklayers, petty shopkeepers, messengers, money-lenders and cloth merchants. Rajgond households sell fancy items apart from their involvement in medicine based on plants. Pardhis are very skilful in making horse-hair nooses. They catch pig, antelope, peafowl, partridges, rock-quail, and parrots. Some of them fret stone for grinding grain. A few are husbandmen and jaglias or village watchmen. Some are day-labourers and some beg. Though they have taken to comparatively peaceful habits, they have not got rid of their thieving propensities. When in towns and villages selling game, they try to find a suitable place for robbery. They commit burglaries, rob fields, and steal when the chance offers. This tells

us that DNTs in Chhattisgarh are no more dependent on their tribe-based traditional occupations. Rather they depend on other mainstream activities. This may create an additional demand/pressure for them to get education to work within mainstream society on occupations other than tribe-based traditional occupations.

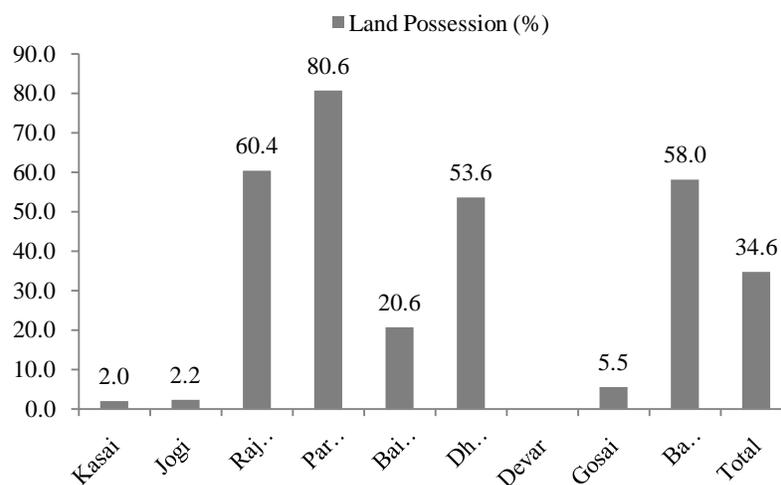
Figure 6.7: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation



Source: Field Survey

Regarding the possession of agricultural land, among all the samples, majority of the DNTs (65.4 per cent) in Chhattisgarh are landless and only 34.6 per cent have agricultural land. Out of which, it is mostly held by Pardhi (80.6 per cent) Rajgond (60.4 per cent), Banjara (58 per cent) and Dhangar (53.6 per cent). Rest of the DNTs is mostly landless (Figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8: Possession of agricultural land (Share in per cent)



Source: Field Survey

It is revealed that 74.6 per cent households have land within the range of 1 to 5 acres, 17.2 per cent have between 6 to 10 acres and 0.6 per cent have land more than 10 acres. Larger landholding is found among the Rajgond tribe (02 households with more than 10 acres). One household in Gosai tribe also have more than 10 acres of land (Table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Land distribution among the households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Below 1 acre	1 to 5 acres	6 to 10 acres	Above 10 acres	Total
Kasai	-	12 (80.0)	3 (20.0)	-	15 (100.0)
Jogi	-	1 (100.0)	-	-	1 (100.0)
Rajgond	1 (1.2)	54 (63.5)	28 (32.9)	2 (2.4)	85 (100.0)
Bairagi	33 (19.4)	129 (75.9)	8 (4.7)	-	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	5 (3.8)	103 (79.2)	22 (16.9)	-	130 (100.0)
Gosai	-	5 (62.5)	2 (25.0)	1 (12.5)	8 (100.0)
Banjara	-	74 (75.5)	24 (24.5)	-	98 (100.0)
Total	39 (7.7)	378 (74.6)	87 (17.2)	3 (0.6)	507 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

8. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

Interestingly, majority of DNTs (87.4 per cent) in Chhattisgarh live in their own house while only 5.7 per cent of all (mainly Kasai and Bairagi) live in rented houses. And very few live temporarily in others' house and negligible portion live in relative's house (Table 6.15). It is important to know what types of house they live in, and how many rooms it has. The data shows that majority of DNTs (61 per cent) live in Kutcha houses, 4.7 per cent live in semi-pucca house, and only about 26 per cent live in pucca houses, which is dominated by Kasai, and to some extent by Bairagi and Dhangar; six per cent live in tent house – these are predominantly Jogi, Dewar, Rajgond and Bairagi (Table 6.16).

Regarding the number of rooms in the house, majority of DNTs (38 per cent) have two rooms, 33 per cent have one room, 17.5 per cent have three rooms and only 7 per cent have four rooms. Few people (2 per cent each) have house of five or six rooms. Individually, mostly Jogis (67 per cent) and Dewars (73 per cent) have one room while most of Pardhis (57 per cent), Kasai (49 per cent) and Gosais (45 per cent) have two rooms. Three rooms are high among Kasai, followed by Dhangar and Bairagi (Table 6.17).

The above analysis shows the sorry state of housing among DNTs in Chhattisgarh. Though majority of them have own house but it is mostly a

Kutch house having up to two rooms only. While the DNTs of Kasai followed by Dhangar and Bairagi are in better off condition, and the Dewars and Jogis are in worse conditions of housing. These poor housing conditions may not provide conducive atmosphere for children's education (Table 6.17).

Table 6.15: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own	On rent	Relatives/ neighbours house without rent	Temporarily in others house	Others	Total
Kasai	159 (77.9)	44 (21.6)	1 (0.5)	-	-	204 (100.0)
Jogi	36 (80.0)	1 (2.2)	2 (4.4)	6 (13.3)	-	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	129 (92.8)	-	1 (0.7)	6 (4.3)	3 (2.2)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	184 (98.9)	1 (0.5)	-	1 (0.5)	-	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	114 (67.1)	23 (13.5)	1 (0.6)	26 (15.3)	6 (3.5)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	233 (97.5)	4 (1.7)	2 (0.8)	-	-	239 (100.0)
Devar	136 (80.5)	2 (1.2)	1 (0.6)	28 (16.6)	2 (1.2)	169 (100.0)
Gosai	135 (92.5)	8 (5.5)	-	-	3 (2.1)	146 (100.0)
Banjara	156 (92.3)	1 (0.6)	3 (1.8)	5 (3.0)	4 (2.4)	169 (100.0)
Total	1282 (87.4)	84 (5.7)	11 (0.7)	72 (4.9)	18 (1.2)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 6.16: Type of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Kutch house	Tent/Dera	Plastic sheet cover	Govt. housing	In the temple premises	Total
Kasai	145 (71.1)	20 (9.8)	39 (19.1)	-	-	-	-	204 (100.0)
Jogi	8 (17.8)	-	25 (55.6)	12 (26.7)	-	-	-	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	20 (14.4)	8 (5.8)	96 (6.1)	15 (10.8)	-	-	-	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	7 (3.8)	3 (1.6)	158 (84.9)	7 (3.8)	2 (1.1)	9 (4.8)	-	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	61 (35.9)	2 (1.2)	70 (41.2)	18 (10.6)	2 (1.2)	8 (4.7)	9 (5.3)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	89 (37.2)	24 (10.0)	125 (52.3)	1 (0.4)	-	-	-	239 (100.0)
Devar	-	1 (0.6)	129 (76.3)	37 (21.9)	-	2 (1.2)	-	169 (100.0)
Gosai	30 (20.5)	8 (5.5)	108 (74.0)	-	-	-	-	146 (100.0)
Banjara	19 (11.2)	3 (1.8)	145 (85.8)	2 (1.2)	-	-	-	169 (100.0)
Total	379 (25.8)	69 (4.7)	895 (61.0)	92 (6.3)	4 (0.3)	19 (1.3)	9 (0.6)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 6.17: Number of rooms in the house in which respondent lives

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	6 and more	Total
Kasai	7 (3.4)	100 (49.0)	76 (37.3)	16 (7.8)	3 (1.5)	2 (1.0)	204 (100.0)
Jogi	30 (66.7)	10 (22.2)	3 (6.7)	2 (4.4)	-	-	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	55 (39.5)	37 (26.6)	23 (16.5)	16 (11.5)	5 (3.6)	3 (2.2)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	61 (32.8)	106 (57.0)	15 (8.1)	2 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	-	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	53 (31.2)	61 (35.9)	37 (21.8)	10 (5.9)	5 (2.9)	4 (2.4)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	33 (13.8)	76 (31.8)	61 (25.5)	37 (15.5)	15 (6.3)	17 (7.1)	239 (100.0)
Devar	123 (72.8)	40 (23.7)	3 (1.8)	3 (1.8)	-	-	169 (100.0)
Gosai	50 (34.2)	66 (45.2)	16 (11.0)	6 (4.1)	4 (2.7)	4 (2.7)	146 (100.0)
Banjara	72 (42.6)	61 (36.1)	23 (13.6)	11 (6.5)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	169 (100.0)
Total	484 (33.0)	557 (38.0)	257 (17.5)	103 (7.0)	35 (2.4)	31 (2.1)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

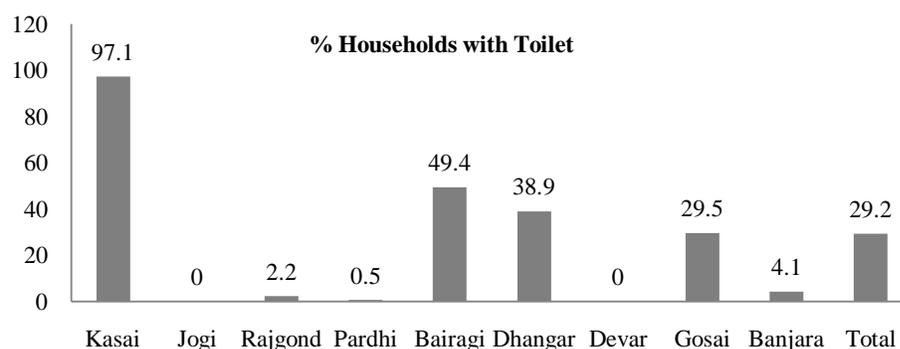
The quality of drinking water depends on its source. Only 39 per cent of DNTs in Chhattisgarh get tap water for drinking, whereas the majority of them (58 per cent) still depend on tube/bore well which is not safe as tap water. A very negligible proportion depend on either protected and open-well or spring/stream. Among tap water, Jogis are ahead (91 per cent) followed by Bairagi, Dewar, Kasai and Dhangar. Most of the Banjaras, Rajgonds, Pardhis and Gosais depend on tube/bore well. Some of the Pardhis (12 per cent) also depend on stream/spring which is highly unsafe source of drinking water. This tells us that the conditions of drinking water among DNTs in Chhattisgarh are still pitiable as majority of them depend on unsafe and untreated drinking water sources i.e. tube/bore well. The DNTs of Jogis, Bairagi, Dewar, Kasai and Dhangar are in a better situation, as they get tap water for drinking, which is relatively safe source (Table 6.18).

Table 6.18: Main sources of drinking water

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Source of drinking water					Total
	Tube/ Borewell	Protected well	Open well	Spring / Stream	Pipe water	
Kasai	93 (45.6)	-	-	-	111 (54.4)	100.0 (204)
Jogi	4 (8.9)	-	-	-	41 (91.1)	100.0 (45)
Rajgond	131(94.2)	-	-	-	8(5.8)	100.0 (139)
Pardhi	162 (87.1)	-	-	22 (11.8)	2 (1.1)	100.0 (186)
Bairagi	35 (20.6)	-	-	-	135 (79.4)	100.0 (170)
Dhangar	110 (46.0)	03 (1.3)	06 (2.5)	-	120 (50.2)	100.0 (239)
Dewar	44 (26.0)	-	07 (4.1)	01 (0.6)	117 (69.2)	100.0 (169)
Gosai	111 (76.0)	01 (0.7)	-	-	34 (23.3)	100.0 (146)
Banjara	161 (95.3)	4 (2.4)	-	-	4 (2.4)	100.0 (169)
Total	851 (58.0)	8 (0.5)	13 (0.9)	23 (1.6)	572 (39.0)	100.0 (1467)

Source: Field Survey

Toilet facilities are available to only 29.2 per cent of households and 70.8 per cent defecate in an open space. Cent percent of Jogi and Dewar tribes reported open defecation whereas 97.1 per cent of the Kasai households have their own toilets (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Status of toilet facilities/access

Source: Field Survey

About 89.1 per cent of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. This proportion is more than 90 per cent in the case of Kasai, Jogi, Bairagi, Dhangar, and Banjara whereas the same is relatively lesser among Rajgond, Pardhi and Gosai tribe. Around 80.2 per cent of households have electricity in their homes. This proportion is very high among Kasai (100 per cent), Dhangar (97.9 per cent) and Bairagi households (90 per cent) and relatively low among Jogi (40 per cent) and Devar (42.6 per cent) tribes (Table 6.19).

Table 6.19: Status of electricity

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of electricity in the neighbourhood**	Percentage of respondents having electricity**
Kasai (204)	204 (100.0)	204 (100.0)
Jogi (45)	45 (100.0)	18 (40.0)
Rajgond (139)	120 (86.3)	116 (83.5)
Pardhi (186)	137 (73.7)	125 (67.2)
Bairagi (170)	154 (90.6)	153 (90.0)
Dhangar (239)	233 (97.5)	234 (97.9)
Devar (169)	135 (79.9)	72 (42.6)
Gosai (146)	124 (84.9)	122 (83.6)
Banjara (169)	155 (91.7)	133 (78.2)
Total (1467)	1307 (89.1)	1177 (80.2)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households.

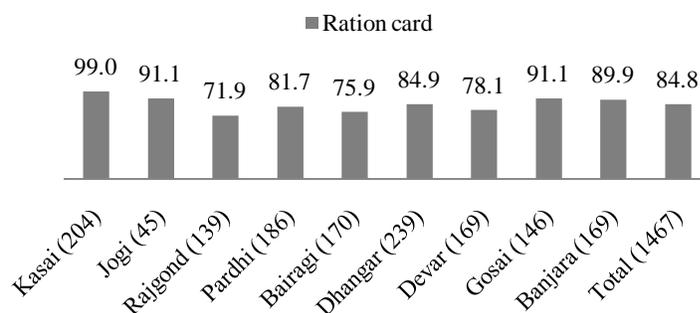
** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

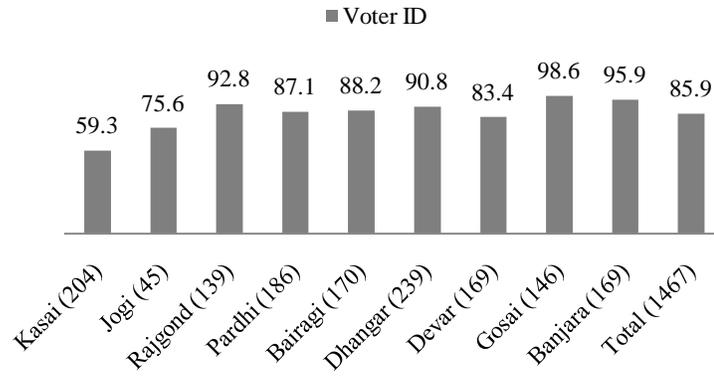
9. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

Possession of identity and job cards are important from the point of availing governmental welfare schemes, benefits, subsidies, employment, school or college admission and study scholarships etc., which will influence the education. More than 70 per cent of the total households possess ration card whereas the possession is found to be more than 90 per cent in the case of Kasai, Jogi and Gosai tribes. Possession of identity cards is necessary to avail the benefits of government schemes and programmes; 85.9 per cent of the households possess Voter ID; only 19 per cent of the households have Aadhar Card. Except Kasai households, the concept of Aadhar Card is not popular among other people. Only 22.5 per cent of the total households possess caste certificate. This proportion is very less among Kasai, Jogi and Gosai households. Surprisingly possession of health insurance is more than that of NREGA card. Among Kasai and Jogi households, nobody possesses NREGA cards. From the rest of the households, the proportion is alarmingly less among Bairagi and Dewar households. Health insurance is very much popular among the Kasai, Dhangar, Gosai and Banjara households (Figure 6.10). Since Aadhaar card is being made compulsory for all the governmental and public transactions, not having this will pose serious problems among DNTs in future. As larger proportion of people do not have Aadhaar cards and Caste Certificates, they might face problem in availing the student scholarships and job reservation benefits in future. Similarly, non-possession of MGNREGA cards will limit their work and income during the off-season in rural areas. As a result, it reduces the parents' capacity to support children's education too.

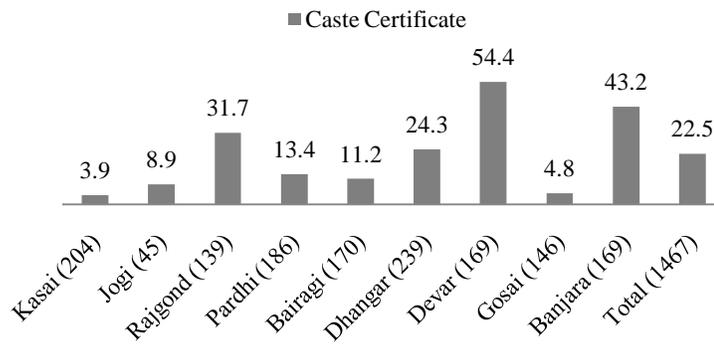
Figure 6.10: Access to entitlements



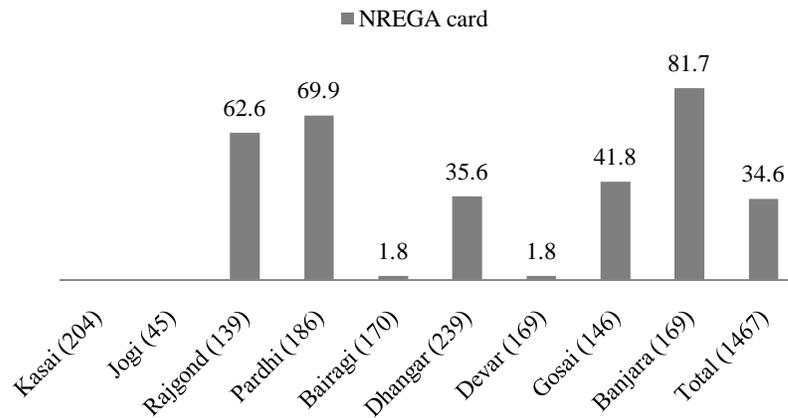
Source: Field Survey



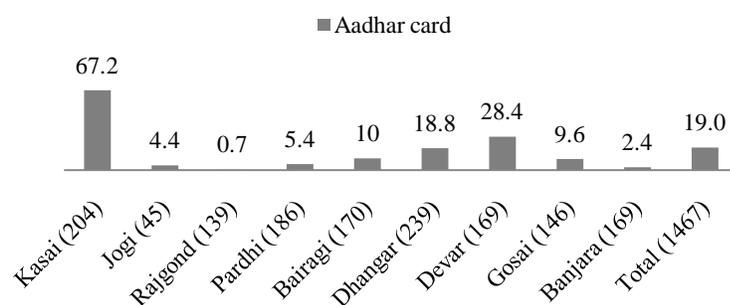
Source: Field Survey



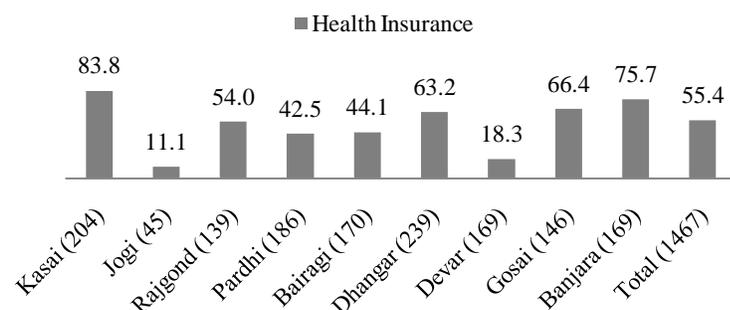
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

The data shows that about 8 per cent of DNTs in Chhattisgarh do not have access to Anganwadi Centers (AWC). This proportion is higher among Jogi and Pardhi. About 20 per cent do not have access to PHC (Primary Health Centre). This proportion is higher among Pardhi and Dhangar (Table 6.20).

Table 6.20: Access to ICDS & PHC

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	AWC**	PHC**
Kasai (204)	195 (95.6)	204 (100.0)
Jogi (45)	26 (57.8)	26 (100.0)
Rajgond (139)	124 (89.2)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi (186)	136 (73.1)	10 (5.4)
Bairagi (170)	158 (92.9)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar (239)	228 (95.4)	136 (56.9)
Dewar (169)	167 (98.8)	149 (88.2)
Gosai (146)	145 (99.3)	146 (100.0)
Banjara (169)	166 (98.2)	169 (100.0)
Total (1467)	1345 (91.7)	1168 (79.6)

Note:* Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

10. Assets

The study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. About 55.6 per cent of the total households have mobile phones and 55.4 per cent possess VCR/VCD. While about 50.3 per cent households reported availability of fans and coolers, 44.1 per cent households reported having television, 41 per cent households have scooter, 39.6 per cent households have chair, 38.4 per cent households have kitchen appliances and less than 30 per cent each households possess Radio, Refrigerator, Computer Laptop, Cycle and Auto Rickshaw. Kasai, Bairagi and Dhangar households have relatively better asset holding position compared to rest of the tribes (Table 6.21).

Table 6.21: Possession of assets in the household

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Chair	Electric fan/ Cooler	Kitchen appliances	Radio	VCR/ VCD/ DVD	Refrigerator	Television	Computer/ laptop	Telephone/ mobile	Cycle/cycle rickshaw	Auto rickshaw	Scooter/ motor bike
Kasai	183 (89.7)	204 (100.0)	200 (98.0)	9 (4.4)	54 (26.5)	168 (82.4)	198 (97.1)	4 (2.0)	192 (94.1)	137 (67.2)	4 (2.0)	110 (53.9)
Jogi	2 (4.4)	7 (15.6)	2 (4.4)	-	2 (4.4)	-	3 (6.7)	-	13 (28.9)	-	-	-
Rajgond	33 (23.7)	40 (28.8)	12 (8.6)	3 (2.2)	93 (66.9)	10 (7.2)	33 (23.7)	-	75 (54.0)	21 (15.2)	2 (1.4)	68 (48.9)
Pardhi	21 (11.3)	9 (4.8)	2 (1.1)	6 (3.2)	104 (55.9)	-	3 (1.6)	-	49 (26.3)	3 (1.6)	-	-
Bairagi	95 (55.9)	140 (82.4)	132 (77.6)	8 (4.7)	92 (54.1)	32 (18.8)	119 (70.0)	9 (5.3)	105 (61.8)	34 (20.0)	1 (0.6)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	136 (56.9)	176 (73.6)	139 (58.2)	9 (3.8)	178 (74.5)	67 (28.0)	145 (60.7)	8 (3.3)	172 (72.0)	43 (18.0)	4 (1.7)	-
Devar	1 (0.6)	9 (5.3)	-	1 (0.6)	99 (58.6)	1 (0.6)	3 (1.8)	2 (1.2)	30 (17.8)	8 (4.7)	1 (0.6)	8 (4.7)
Gosai	71 (48.6)	99 (67.8)	70 (47.9)	4 (2.7)	66 (45.2)	27 (18.5)	87 (59.6)	10 (6.8)	83 (56.8)	32 (21.9)	3 (2.1)	146 (100.0)
Banjara	39 (23.1)	54 (32.0)	14 (8.3)	3 (1.8)	125 (74.0)	9 (5.3)	56 (33.1)	1 (0.6)	96 (56.8)	22 (13.0)	-	100 (59.2)
Total	581 (39.6)	738 (50.3)	571 (38.9)	43 (2.9)	813 (55.4)	314 (21.4)	647 (44.1)	34 (2.3)	815 (55.6)	300 (20.5)	15 (1.0)	602 (41.0)

Source: Field Survey

11. Discrimination

The study also highlights many instances of discrimination faced by children in school. About 3.5 per cent of respondents reported that they have been addressed by their tribe name. Other types of discrimination including being made to sit in the back, not given any attention by the teacher, arrangement in sitting, obstructing student from offering tea and water to teachers and being accused of coming just for the scholarship have been reported by less than 2.0 per cent each by the households (Table 6.22). In addition, the important spheres where discrimination was found were forcing the student to drink water separately from other children, mid-day meals and sports.

Table 6.22: Incidence of discrimination against children in school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Called by community name	Asked to sit in the back	Teacher inattentive	Comes for scholarship only	Called Adivasis alluding to being uncultured	In sitting arrangements	Mid-day Meal	Teachers' attitude is offensive / insulting
Kasai	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)	-	17 (8.3)	1 (0.5)
Jogi	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 (33.3)	-
Rajgond	6 (4.7)	4 (3.1)	4 (3.1)	4 (3.1)	4 (3.1)	4 (3.1)	18 (14.2)	4 (3.2)
Pardhi	3 (1.6)	30 (16.1)	2 (1.1)	-	-	1 (0.5)	22 (11.8)	-
Bairagi	13 (12.1)	7 (6.5)	9 (8.4)	3 (2.8)	-	-	8 (7.5)	7 (6.5)
Dhangar	17 (7.1)	16 (6.7)	17 (7.1)	1 (0.4)	-	2 (0.8)	35 (14.6)	1 (0.4)
Devar	3 (1.8)	1 (0.6)	7 (4.2)	2 (1.2)	2 (1.2)	-	35 (21.2)	-
Gosai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Banjara	3 (2.3)	1 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	-	-	7 (5.4)	1 (0.8)
Total	45 (3.5)	59 (4.6)	40 (3.1)	11 (0.8)	7 (0.5)	7 (0.5)	157 (12.1)	14 (1.1)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Fellow students' attitude is offensive / hurtful	In Sports and Cultural	Drink water from the same pot and glass	Taking tea or water to the teacher is prevented	Manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	Others	Total
Kasai	-	4 (2.0)	174 (85.3)	16 (7.8)	-	-	204 (100.0)
Jogi	-	-	15 (33.3)	-	1 (2.2)	-	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	4 (3.1)	5 (4.0)	15 (11.8)	3 (2.4)	3 (2.4)	-	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	9 (4.8)	31 (16.7)	1 (0.5)	-	-	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	8 (7.5)	-	71 (66.4)	1 (0.9)	-	-	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	-	8 (3.3)	119 (49.8)	-	-	-	239 (100.0)
Devar	1 (0.6)	4 (2.4)	35 (21.2)	3 (1.8)	2 (1.2)	1 (0.7)	169 (100.0)
Gosai	-	-	55 (59.1)	-	-	-	146 (100.0)
Banjara	-	6 (4.7)	2 (1.6)	-	-	-	169 (100.0)
Total	13 (1.0)	36 (2.8)	517 (39.9)	24 (1.9)	6 (0.5)	1 (0.1)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

12. Seasonal Migration

Migration influences the educational attainment and its quality. The frequent migration hinders children's education. About 40.4 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 59.6 per cent reported their current location as the place of their origin. Bairagi (95.9 per cent), Banjara (68 per cent) and Pardhi (53.8 per cent) have a higher proportion of households who report that they are migrants (Table 6.23).

Table 6.23: Current location reported as place of origin

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Original	Migrant	Total
Kasai	153 (75.0)	51 (25.0)	204 (100.0)
Jogi	44 (97.8)	1 (2.2)	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	101 (72.7)	38 (27.3)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	86 (46.2)	100 (53.8)	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	7 (4.1)	163 (95.9)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	152 (63.6)	87 (36.4)	239 (100.0)
Devar	136 (80.5)	33 (19.5)	169 (100.0)
Gosai	141 (96.6)	5 (3.4)	146 (100.0)
Banjara	54 (32.0)	115 (68.0)	169 (100.0)
Total	874 (59.6)	593 (40.4)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 80.7 per cent of the total migrated households reported that livelihood is the main reason for moving from native place while 13.5 per cent of households reported that they migrate because of displacement. Denial of access to forest resources was perceived as one of the reasons for migration by 5 per cent of the households. Very few reported agriculture as the reason for migration (Table 6.24).

Table 6.24: Reasons for migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Displacement	Denial of access to forest resources	Livelihood	Agriculture	Total
Kasai	3 (5.9)	4 (7.8)	44 (86.3)	-	102 (100.0)
Jogi	1 (100.0)	-	-	-	1 (100.0)
Rajgond	4 (10.5)	2 (5.3)	30 (78.9)	2 (5.3)	38 (100.0)
Pardhi	44 (44.0)	19 (19.0)	37 (37.0)	-	100 (100.0)
Bairagi	-	-	163 (100.0)	-	163 (100.0)
Dhangar	19 (21.8)	5 (5.7)	63 (72.4)	-	87 (100.0)
Devar	7 (21.2)	-	26 (78.8)	-	33 (100.0)
Gosai	-	-	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
Banjara	2 (1.7)	-	113 (97.2)	-	115 (100.0)
Total	80 (13.5)	30 (5.0)	479 (80.7)	4 (0.7)	593 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Surprisingly, 47.9 per cent of sample DNTs in CG have migrated once; whereas the proportion is relatively high among Kasai, Rajgond, Pardhi, Bairagi and Dhangar. More than 50 per cent reported it twice. In this case the proportion is higher among Banjara, Devar, Dhangar and Pardhis (Table 6.25). In a large proportion of cases (98.8), the households migrate for around 6 months (Table 6.26).

Table 6.25: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	No. of times migrating in a year			Total
	Once	Twice	Three times and more	
Kasai	51 (100.0)	-	-	51 (100.0)
Jogi	-	-	1 (100.0)	1 (100.0)
Rajgond	35 (92.1)	-	3 (7.9)	38 (100.0)
Pardhi	50 (50.0)	50 (50.0)	-	100 (100.0)
Bairagi	100 (61.3)	63 (38.7)	-	163 (100.0)
Dhangar	41 (47.1)	46 (52.9)	-	87 (100.0)
Devar	1 (3.0)	30 (90.9)	2 (6.1)	33 (100.0)
Gosai	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	-	5 (100.0)
Banjara	4 (3.5)	111 (96.5)	-	115 (100.0)
Total	284 (47.9)	303 (51.1)	6 (1.0)	593 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 6.26: Duration of stay at migrated place

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration				Total
	1 to 3 months	3 to 6 months	6 months to a year	More than a year	
Kasai	-	51 (100.0)	-	-	51 (100.0)
Jogi	1 (100.0)	-	-	-	1 (100.0)
Rajgond	3 (7.9)	35 (92.1)	-	-	38 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	100 (100.0)	-	-	100 (100.0)
Bairagi	-	163 (100.0)	-	-	163 (100.0)
Dhangar	-	87 (100.0)	-	-	87 (100.0)
Devar	-	31 (93.9)	-	2 (6.1)	33 (100.0)
Gosai	-	5 (100.0)	-	-	5 (100.0)
Banjara	-	114 (99.1)	1 (0.9)	-	115 (100.0)
Total	4 (0.7)	586 (98.8)	1 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	593 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

13. Neighborhood

About 45.7 per cent of respondents live among their own community and 0.1 per cent have their houses in isolated places. Around 54.1 per cent of the total households stay with other communities. Among all the tribes large number of Kasai, Rajgond, Bairagi, Dhangar, Gosai and Banjara stay with other communities whereas the proportion for the same is relatively smaller for the remaining 3 tribes - Jogi, Pardhi and Devar- studied in Chhattisgarh (Table 6.27).

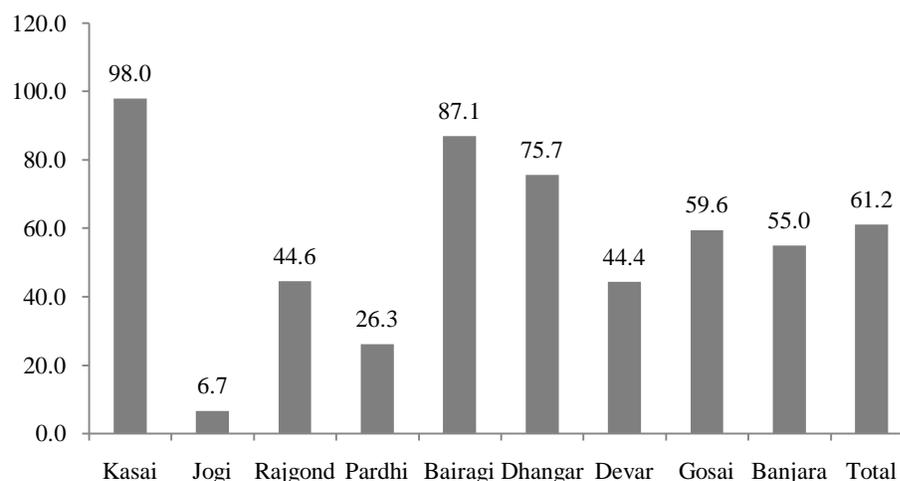
Table 6.27: Social location of neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own caste/tribe people	Other caste/tribe people	Segregated house	DNT Settlement	Total
Kasai	14 (6.9)	190 (93.1)	-	-	204 (100.0)
Jogi	44 (97.8)	1 (2.2)	-	-	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	55 (39.6)	83 (59.7)	1 (0.7)	-	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	157 (84.4)	29 (15.6)	-	-	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	29 (17.1)	141 (82.9)	-	-	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	64 (26.8)	173 (72.4)	-	2 (0.8)	239 (100.0)
Devar	152 (89.9)	17 (10.1)	-	-	169 (100.0)
Gosai	79 (54.1)	67 (45.9)	-	-	146 (100.0)
Banjara	76 (45.0)	93 (55.0)	-	-	169 (100.0)
Total	670 (45.7)	794 (54.1)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 61.2 per cent of respondents report that they have educated neighbours. This proportion is high among Kasai, Bairagi, Dhangar, Gosai and Banjara households (Figure 6.11). The interaction with neighbours with regard to children's education is discussed in Section III.

Figure 6.11: Incidence of education among neighbours



Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES –STATUS

The present section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Chhattisgarh.

14. Status of Education

The household survey provides detailed information on various indicators that reflect on the educational status of household members including the pattern of enrolment, reasons for non-enrolment, drop out, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education.

Of the total population (7472) in the households across tribes, 13 per cent were children below 6 years of age and the remaining could be classified based on their educational status as (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education. It is clear from the Table 6.28 that more than one-third (37 per cent) account for either dropped out or completed education followed by currently studying (22 per cent) and never enrolled (28 per cent) (Table 6.28). The proportion of currently studying were more than 20 per cent among Kasai, Pardhi, Bairagi, Dhangar, Gosai and Banjara

while never enrolled was high among Jogi (67 per cent), Devar (50 per cent) and Pardhi (40 per cent). Even among Rajgond (one-third), Banjara (more than one-fourth), Dhangar (24 per cent) significant numbers of persons had never enrolled for education. In case of drop outs, the incidence was higher among Kasai (58 per cent), Bairagi (48 per cent), Dhangar (43 per cent), and Rajgond (43 per cent).

Table 6.28: Education status of members of respondent households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Child <6 years	Currently Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropouts	Completed	Total
Kasai	91 (9.8)	249 (26.8)	54 (5.8)	22 (2.4)	513 (55.2)	929 (100.0)
Jogi	47 (18.7)	30 (11.9)	168 (66.7)	-	7 (2.8)	252 (100.0)
Rajgond	79 (10.4)	109 (14.3)	249 (32.7)	103 (13.5)	221 (29.0)	761 (100.0)
Pardhi	119 (13.1)	187 (20.7)	360 (39.8)	59 (6.5)	180 (19.9)	905 (100.0)
Bairagi	112 (12.8)	193 (22.0)	154 (17.6)	71 (8.1)	347 (39.6)	877 (100.0)
Dhangar	141 (10.0)	323 (23.0)	335 (23.8)	104 (7.4)	504 (35.8)	1407 (100.0)
Devar	210 (23.4)	143 (15.9)	451 (50.2)	43 (4.8)	52 (5.8)	899 (100.0)
Gosai	99 (14.1)	191 (27.2)	152 (21.6)	46 (6.5)	215 (30.6)	703 (100.0)
Banjara	94 (12.7)	179 (24.2)	199 (26.9)	39 (5.3)	228 (30.9)	739 (100.0)
Total	992 (13.3)	1604 (21.5)	2122 (28.4)	487 (6.5)	2267 (30.3)	7472 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Apart from those who reported the reason for dropping out of their education, there are many who do not identify any particular reason for stopping their education. Instead, they reported that they have completed their education at different levels. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. Out of 2267 who have reported that they have completed education (Table 6.28), majority has completed primary level education (60 per cent) followed by secondary (16 per cent), higher secondary (13 per cent), and graduation and above (10 per cent).

Table 6.29: Level of education of respondents who are currently studying

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8)	Secondary Level (9 and 10)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Total
Kasai	160 (64.3)	33 (13.3)	26 (10.4)	29 (11.6)	1 (0.4)	249 (100.0)
Jogi	22 (73.3)	8 (26.7)	-	-	-	30 (100.0)
Rajgond	57 (52.3)	36 (33.0)	14 (12.8)	2 (1.8)	-	109 (100.0)
Pardhi	168 (89.8)	13 (7.0)	1 (0.5)	5 (2.7)	-	187 (100.0)
Bairagi	141 (73.1)	26 (13.5)	15 (7.8)	10 (5.2)	1 (0.5)	193 (100.0)
Dhangar	188 (58.2)	77 (23.8)	34 (10.5)	19 (5.9)	5 (1.5)	323 (100.0)
Devar	127 (88.8)	9 (6.3)	-	7 (4.9)	-	143 (100.0)
Gosai	151 (79.1)	22 (11.5)	5 (2.6)	11 (5.8)	2 (1.0)	191 (100.0)
Banjara	95 (53.1)	52 (29.1)	23 (12.8)	7 (3.9)	2 (1.1)	179 (100.0)
Total	1109 (69.1)	276 (17.2)	118 (7.4)	90 (5.6)	11 (0.7)	1604 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

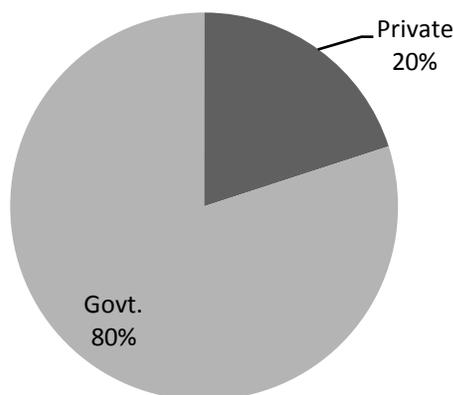
Among the currently studying, a significant proportion (69 per cent) were at primary level followed by secondary (17 per cent), higher secondary (7 per cent), and rest of them were graduates and post graduates. Across tribes, the incidence of primary level among currently studying was highest among Pardhi, Devar, Gosai, Bairagi and Jogi. Graduates were more among Kasai than other tribes (Table 6.29). The medium of instruction in schools were predominantly Hindi (83 per cent) followed by English (13 per cent) and rest Chhattisgarhi (4 per cent). The incidence of English education was higher among Gosai, Bairagi and Dhangar than other tribes (Table 6.30). Education in government run schools were reported by majority of the population (80 per cent) while private run schools were reported by 20 per cent (Figure 6.12).

Table 6.30: Medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Chhattisgarhi	Hindi	English	Total
Kasai	1 (0.4)	141 (56.6)	107 (43.0)	249 (100.0)
Jogi	-	29 (96.7)	1 (3.3)	30 (100.0)
Rajgond	15 (13.8)	92 (84.4)	2 (1.8)	109 (100.0)
Pardhi	4 (2.1)	176 (94.1)	7 (3.7)	187 (100.0)
Bairagi	-	169 (87.6)	24 (12.4)	193 (100.0)
Dhangar	18 (5.6)	268 (83.0)	37 (11.5)	323 (100.0)
Devar	13 (9.1)	122 (85.3)	8 (5.6)	143 (100.0)
Gosai	1 (0.5)	164 (85.9)	26 (13.6)	191 (100.0)
Banjara	4 (2.2)	172 (96.1)	3 (1.7)	179 (100.0)
Total	56 (3.5)	1333 (83.1)	215 (13.4)	1604 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 6.12: Type of educational institutions



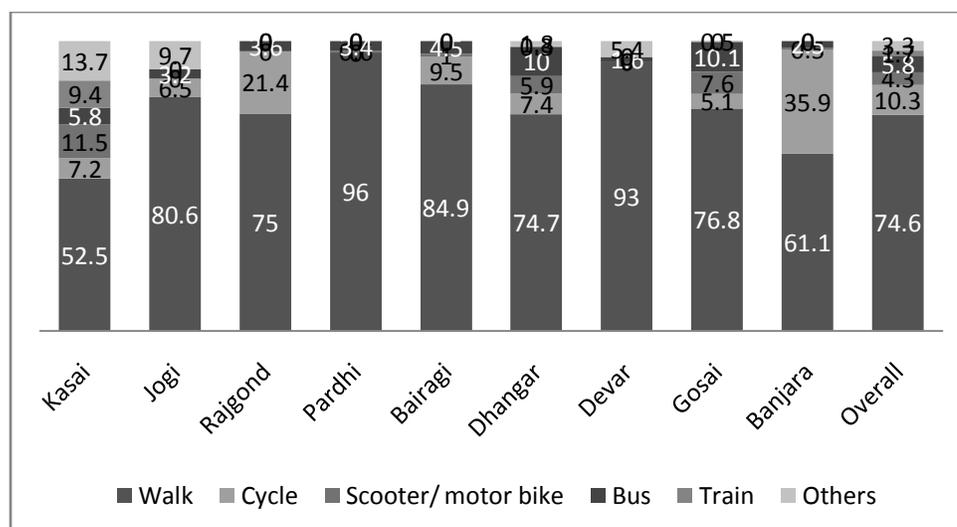
Source: Field Survey

Table 6.31: Distance to educational institution of study (in KMs)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Less than 1 Km.	1-2 Kms.	2-3 Kms.	More than 3 Kms.	Total
Kasai	95 (38.2)	125 (50.2)	23 (9.2)	6 (2.4)	249 (100.0)
Jogi	22 (73.3)	5 (16.7)	-	3 (10.0)	30 (100.0)
Rajgond	64 (58.7)	27 (24.8)	2 (1.8)	16 (14.7)	109 (100.0)
Pardhi	166 (88.8)	21 (11.2)	-	-	187 (100.0)
Bairagi	99 (51.3)	82 (42.5)	6 (3.1)	6 (3.1)	193 (100.0)
Dhangar	126 (39.0)	155 (48.0)	19 (5.9)	23 (7.1)	323 (100.0)
Devar	101 (70.6)	39 (27.3)	2 (1.4)	1 (0.7)	143 (100.0)
Gosai	150 (78.5)	21 (11.0)	3 (1.6)	17 (8.9)	191 (100.0)
Banjara	53 (29.6)	79 (44.1)	20 (11.2)	27 (15.1)	179 (100.0)
Total	876 (54.6)	554 (34.5)	75 (4.7)	99 (6.2)	1604 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

More than half of those currently studying reported less than one kilometer of travel to educational institution of study, closely followed by approximately one-third reporting 1-2 kilometers of travel, 5 per cent between 2-3 km while 6 per cent reported above 3 kilometers. Respondents from Banjara and Rajgond had indicated more than 3 kms of travel (15 per cent each) (Table 6.31). Not surprisingly, majority of the respondents (80 per cent) who were currently studying reported that they walk to school, while a significant proportion among Rajgond (21 per cent) and Banjara (35 per cent) report use of cycle to reach school (Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13: Mode of transport to school

Source: Field Survey

Table 6.32: Level of education of dropouts

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8)	Secondary Level (9 and 10)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12)	Total
Kasai	14 (63.6)	5 (22.7)	3 (13.6)	22 (100.0)
Rajgond	80 (77.7)	19 (18.4)	4 (3.9)	103 (100.0)
Pardhi	57 (96.6)	2 (3.4)	-	59 (100.0)
Bairagi	68 (95.8)	3 (4.2)	-	71 (100.0)
Dhangar	87 (83.7)	13 (12.5)	4 (3.8)	104 (100.0)
Devar	41 (95.3)	2 (4.7)	-	43 (100.0)
Gosai	43 (93.5)	3 (6.5)	-	46 (100.0)
Banjara	33 (84.6)	5 (12.8)	1 (2.6)	39 (100.0)
Total	423 (86.9)	52 (10.7)	12 (2.5)	487 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who had never enrolled the major reason for non-enrolment has been the necessity to work, while lack of school nearby, improper documentation of certificates, migration by parents were also reported. Among dropouts, majority (87 per cent) reported primary as level of education followed by secondary (11 per cent) and higher secondary (3 per cent) (Table 6.32). The incidence of secondary level of education was higher than other communities among Kasai (23 per cent), Rajgond (18 per cent), Dhangar and Banjara (approximately 13 per cent). Among Kasai around 14 per cent also reported higher secondary level of education before dropping out of education. Poverty, discrimination at school, parental migration, necessity to work or to look after younger siblings were reported as the major reasons for dropping out of school.

15. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental Motivation and Other Support for Education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents' participation and community involvement in decision making at different levels of children's education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

Table 6.33: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Family members	Community leader	Teacher	Neighbours/ friends	Educated members in the community	Not Consulted	Total
Admission of the children to school	327 (22.3)	11 (0.7)	29 (2.0)	59 (4.0)	10 (0.7)	1031 (70.3)	1467 (100.0)
Selection of subjects	82 (5.6)	8 (0.5)	7 (0.5)	11 (0.7)	4 (0.3)	1355 (92.4)	1467 (100.0)
Selection of School/College	95 (6.5)	-	11 (0.7)	10 (0.7)	7 (0.5)	1344 (91.6)	1467 (100.0)
Financial Matters	53 (3.6)	4 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	7 (0.5)	2 (0.1)	1400 (95.4)	1467 (100.0)
Guidance on children's education	97 (6.6)	4 (0.3)	5 (0.3)	8 (0.5)	5 (0.4)	1348 (91.9)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The interaction with parents of households canvassed had elicited information on their engagements with community with regard to education of children. Majority of them (more than 90 per cent) indicated that they did not consult community members which include family members, community leaders, teachers, neighbours/friends, educated members of the community with regard several aspects related to children's education such as selection of school/college, subjects, financial matters, general guidance and admission related queries. Only in case of admission related queries at least 30 per cent of the households indicate discussion with family members (22 per cent).

Thus, the involvement of parents with regard to education of children has been abysmally low (Table 6.33). This is also reflected in the low level of frequency of visits to school with three fourths of households reporting no visits by parents to school, high among Jogi, Pardhi, Devar and Banjara community in comparison with other tribes (Table 6.34). Among those visited the school, approximately one-fourth each had visited to attend celebrations or meet the teacher.

Eighteen percent each also visited when called for by the school or to collect reports while 13 per cent of households reported visit by parents to school related to participation of children for sports events (Figure 6.14).

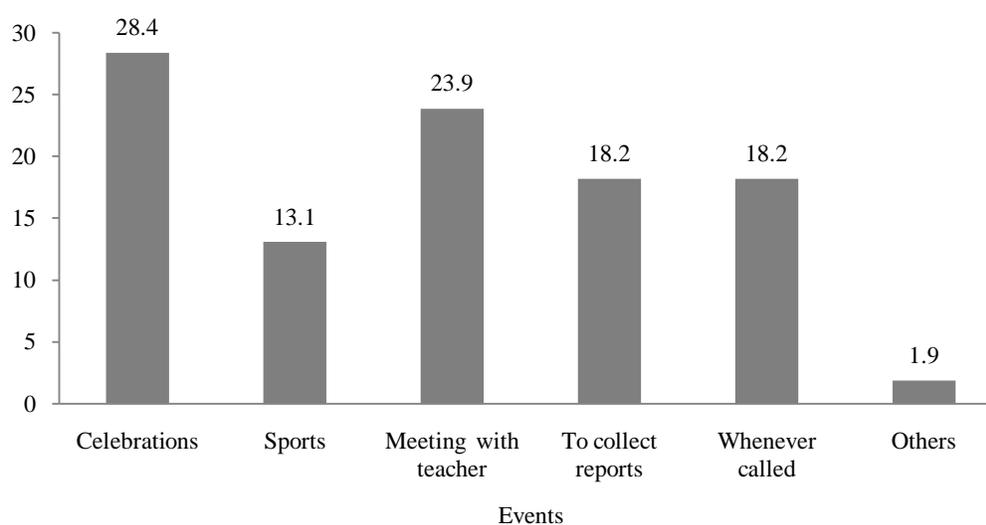
In terms of participation of children in different activities at school, around half of the households reported participation in cultural programmes and sports (lower among Jogi and Devar households); while only 20 per cent indicated involvement of children in extracurricular activities (Table 6.35). The main reason for the lack of children's participation in school programmes was lack of interest of the child, preoccupation with domestic work and lack of awareness about the importance of such activities. Interestingly, a majority (about 91.6 per cent) does not know the reason behind the children's non-participation.

Table 6.34: Frequency of parents' visits to school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	6 & above	No visits	Total
Kasai	-	3 (1.5)	5 (2.5)	6 (2.9)	28 (13.7)	38 (18.6)	124 (60.8)	204 (100.0)
Jogi	2 (4.4)	1 (2.2)	-	-	-	-	42 (93.3)	45 (100.0)
Rajgond	5 (3.6)	13 (9.4)	2 (1.4)	3 (2.2)	4 (2.9)	4 (2.9)	108 (77.7)	139 (100.0)
Pardhi	7 (3.8)	3 (1.6)	2 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	-	171 (91.9)	186 (100.0)
Bairagi	10 (5.9)	32 (18.8)	27 (15.9)	1 (0.6)	-	2 (1.2)	98 (57.6)	170 (100.0)
Dhangar	6 (2.5)	23 (9.6)	15 (6.3)	5 (2.1)	4 (1.7)	9 (3.8)	177 (74.1)	239 (100.0)
Devar	5 (3.0)	22 (13.0)	3 (1.8)	2 (1.2)	1 (0.6)	-	136 (80.5)	169 (100.0)
Gosai	5 (3.4)	15 (10.3)	21 (14.4)	-	-	11 (7.5)	94 (64.4)	146 (100.0)
Banjara	4 (2.4)	4 (2.4)	7 (4.1)	2 (1.2)	-	4 (2.4)	148 (87.6)	169 (100.0)
Total	44 (3.0)	116 (7.9)	82 (5.6)	21 (1.4)	38 (2.6)	68 (4.6)	1098 (74.8)	1467 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 6.14: Parents' visits to school for different events & programmes

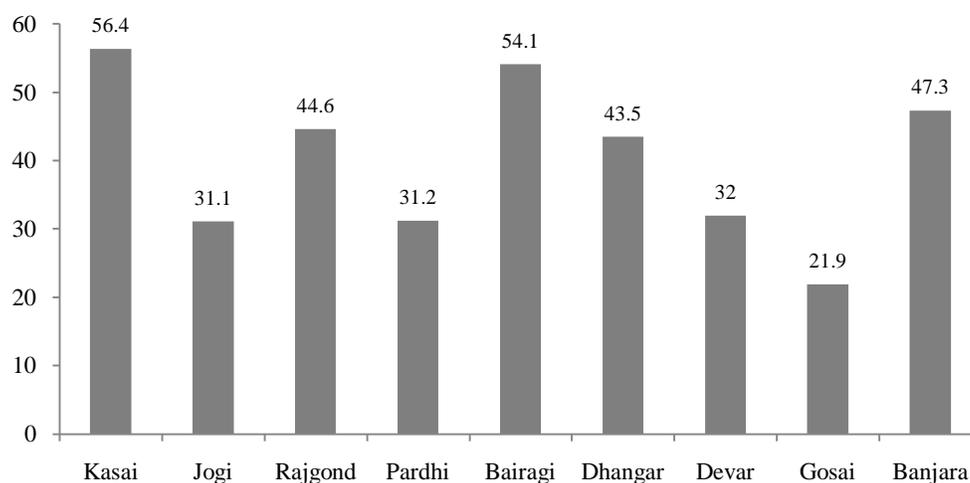


Source: Field Survey

Table 6.35: Percentage of respondents reporting their children's participation in various programmes (N=1467)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultural	Sports	Extra curricular
Kasai	169 (82.8)	170 (83.3)	24 (11.8)
Jogi	14 (31.1)	15 (33.3)	7(15.6)
Rajgond	69 (49.6)	68 (48.9)	48 (34.5)
Pardhi	59 (31.7)	85 (45.7)	8 (4.3)
Bairagi	91 (53.5)	91 (53.5)	60 (35.3)
Dhangar	149 (62.3)	145 (60.7)	57 (23.8)
Devar	40 (23.7)	57 (33.7)	4 (2.4)
Gosai	63 (43.2)	63 (43.2)	31 (21.2)
Banjara	68 (40.2)	71 (42.0)	61 (36.1)
Total	722 (49.2)	765 (52.1)	300 (20.4)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 6.15: Parents reporting regular study at home by children

Source: Field Survey

During the field level survey, information was also elicited on after-school study. In terms of regular study at home, 44.6 per cent of households reported that children study regularly at home. This proportion was relatively lower among Gosai (21.9 per cent) and Jogi, Pardhi and Devar (around 32 per cent each), while it was high, more than half of households among Kasai (56 per cent) and Bairagi (54 per cent) (Figure 6.15). In terms of help in regular study and home work, it was seen that around forty per cent of the households reported that children were engaged in self study. This proportion was overwhelmingly high among Rajgond, Pardhi and Bairagi and relatively low among Devar, Kasai and Banjara.

About 10 per cent of respondents reported that mothers helped children with home work, followed by 3.1 per cent of households reporting that the father helps with homework. Only a negligible 1.9 per cent of households reported that their siblings and neighbours help in completing homework.

Table 6.36: Perception about progress and performance of children (N=1467)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Happy with progress	Writing	Reading	Speaking
Kasai	178 (87.3)	193 (94.6)	193 (94.6)	193 (94.6)
Jogi	17 (37.8)	17 (37.8)	17 (37.8)	17 (37.8)
Rajgond	82 (59.0)	90 (64.7)	90 (64.7)	91 (65.5)
Pardhi	99 (53.2)	101 (54.3)	99 (53.2)	100 (53.8)
Bairagi	102 (60.0)	107 (62.9)	107 (62.9)	107 (62.9)
Dhangar	167 (69.9)	178 (74.5)	177 (74.1)	184 (77.0)
Devar	68 (40.2)	62 (36.7)	57 (33.7)	61 (36.1)
Gosai	95 (65.1)	96 (65.8)	96 (65.8)	96 (65.8)
Banjara	101 (59.8)	104 (61.5)	104 (61.5)	104 (61.5)
Total	909 (62.0)	948 (64.6)	940 (64.1)	953 (65.0)

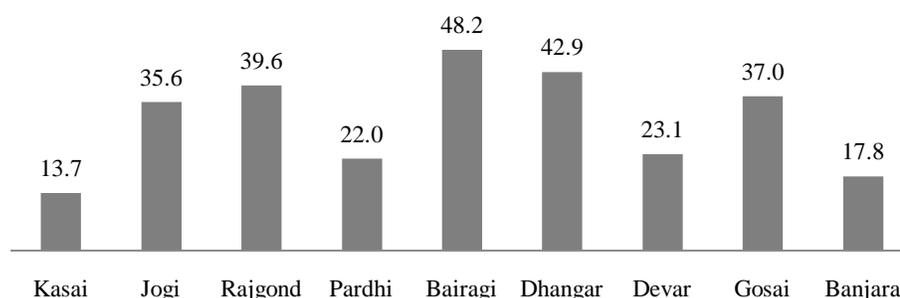
Source: Field Survey

About 60 per cent of households reported satisfaction with the level of progress and performance of children in their education. However, the level of satisfaction was lower among Jogi and Devar households (Table 6.36). The involvement of parents of households surveyed in school management committee was abysmally low and thus was unaware of its functioning and activities. In fact, a negligible portion of 0.5 per cent of households responded that they have been involved in SMC activities out of the total sample of 1,467. Access to finance is an important factor in determining uninterrupted education. In this regard, it was seen that among parents who had availed loan, majority of them (70 per cent) had availed the loan for the education of their sons (Figure 6.16).

With regard to involvement of children in household work, 30 per cent of the households reported in the affirmative. It was comparatively lower among Kasai, Pardhi, Devar and Banjara communities than Gosai, Jogi, Rajgond, Dhangar and Bairagi (Figure 6.17).

Figure 6.16: Gender of the child for whom education loan was taken

Source: Field Survey

Figure 6.17: Involvement of children in housework

Source: Field Survey

It was observed from field work as well as primary data that while both male and female child helped in housework, the duties and responsibilities differed. Male children were usually engaged in cattle grazing and farming and other outside the home activities whereas in case of girl child, she was predominantly engaged in domestic work which included care giving, stitching, and so on. Majority of the children were engaged for at least two hours of work at home. Aspirations of the parents in relation to their children were also elicited. Out of 1,467 households, about 30 per cent of those parents who answered wanted their son to become a government employee, followed by 13.2 per cent who wanted their sons to pursue a professional career. Less than 5.0 per cent of respondents reported that it would depend on his wishes or luck and the level of education. Similarly, around 32 per cent of respondents wanted their sons to pursue higher education and professional degrees.

Only a negligible proportion were disillusioned with the education system and believed there was no use in educating their sons. With respect to the implications of educating their son, the parents of about 10.3 per cent of households reported that if a boy is educated and has a job, he can change the

family's economic condition and increase awareness about life in general. Yet another ten per cent stated that education would provide him with a happy and comfortable life while less than 6.0 per cent reported that if their son is educated, he will get a good job, increase critical thinking, look after family members, and can live independently.

With respect to aspirations about daughters, data reveals that around one fourth parents from households (24.0 per cent) wanted their daughters to pursue higher education and professional degrees. Only marginal proportion (less than 1 per cent) of Kasai, Rajgond, Pardhi and Dhangar tribes were disillusioned by the education system and believed there was no use in educating their daughters. Of those who responded, about 27.3 per cent wanted their daughter to become a government employee while 12.5 per cent believed that her career should be that of a professional or should be engaged in business.

Less than 5.0 per cent of respondents reported that it would depend on her level of education and personal wishes. In terms of positive aspects of educational attainment, about 15 per cent of households (parents from) reported that if a girl is educated, she can prevent exploitation and enjoy a comfortable life. Further 7.6 per cent of respondents stated that if she is educated, a daughter can find a good job and better livelihood. Less than 5.0 per cent reported that if their girl is educated, she would get good life, and after studying she would take care of family members, increase awareness about life, and increase critical thinking so she can live independently.

16. Conclusions

As discussed above, there is little information about DNTs in Chhattisgarh which underscores the importance of the present study. The survey undertaken covered 6 DNTs and 4 NTs covering 12 districts. Majority of the DNTs belonged to OBCs followed by STs, SCs and VBC (Very Backward Castes) indicative of different social identities in different places. The migratory nature of households can have an impact on the educational attainment of the members. It was observed that only a little more than quarter of the households surveyed was staying in the present place since birth. However, a significant proportion has been staying in the present place since 30 years indicating stable residence. In the sample, more than half of the households speak Chhattisgarhi at home while more than 90 per cent speak Hindi at school. Chhattisgarhi remains the main language of communication between communities and in public places followed by Hindi. A significant proportion of households cannot communicate through English and among those who could, it was the younger generation who were aware

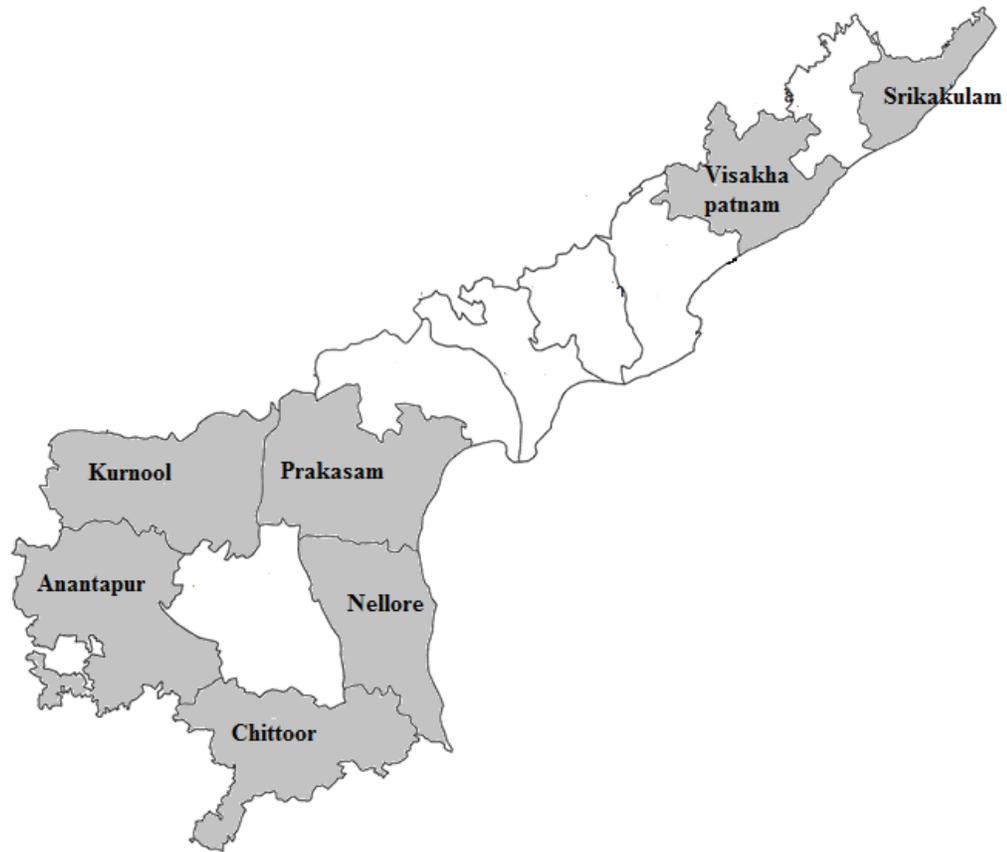
than the older generation. In terms of occupation, artisans form less than a quarter, followed by agriculture, wage labour labour, petty business and government services which alone account for 12 per cent. A small proportion (6 per cent) is still engaged in traditional occupation across communities. With regard to land holding, around two thirds are land less and the land owning communities included Pardhi, Rajgond, Banjara and Dhangar. Migration was reported by Bairagi, Banjara and Pardhi households for livelihood and for around 3 to 6 months in case of majority of households which report migration. The status of housing reveals that more than 85 per cent of the households live in own house but 61 per cent live in kutch house. Kasai and to some extent Bairagi and Dhangar have pucca houses. Less than 40 per cent of households have access to drinking water (especially among Jogi, Bairagi, Dewar, Kasai and Dhangar households) while Banjara, Rajgond, Pardhi and Gosai households depend on tube/bore well. Toilet facilities are available to less than one-third of households and 100 per cent of Jogi and Dewar communities defecate in open while near 100 per cent of Kasai households have own toilets. The status of education reveals that a significant proportion less than one-third each indicate never enrolled and completed education. Drop outs account for low proportion but currently studying were less than a quarter. Of the latter, significant proportion was in primary and the medium of instruction were predominantly Hindi followed by English and Chhattisgarhi.

The incidence of English education was more among some communities. Majority studied in nearby schools except from Banjara and Rajgond communities who indicate more than 3 kilometers of travel. Among drop outs, majority (87 per cent) dropped out at primary while among those who reported completed education too, 60 per cent indicated primary level indicative of the status of education among the population surveyed. Discrimination faced by children in school ranged from drinking water provided separately, calling by community name, indifferent attitude of teachers, accusations regarding affirmative action and so on. In terms of parental interaction with community, majority had reported that they had not consulted any one with regard to children's education as reflected in the low frequency of visits to schools. In case of regular study at home, the proportion was relatively lower among Gosai, Jogi, Pardhi and Devar households. Most of the households indicated that children were engaged in self study and help with home work by parents or siblings was low or negligible. Lack of parental involvement was also evident in the low awareness about school management committee and its functioning and activities. There is an urgent need for concerted efforts on part of the government to strengthen educational access through focused initiatives for DNTs and NTs in Chhattisgarh.

PART C

Southern State Reports

Andhra Pradesh



Communities Surveyed
Boya, Budabukkalas, Dasari, Guvvalakulam,
Hindu Koyas, Kati Kapari, Mutharasa,
Mondibanda, Pamula, Relli, Shikari

Field study coordinated by
Dr. Vijay Korra
CESS, Hyderabad

Telangana



Communities Surveyed

Budagajangalu, Dasari, Dommari,
Mudiraj, Yerukula,

*Field study coordinated by
Dr. Vijay Korra
CESS, Hyderabad*

Chapter 7

ANDHRA PRADESH AND TELANGANA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

There are 59 sections of denotified tribes in the undivided State of Andhra Pradesh according to a study conducted by the Tribal Welfare Department, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad. Among these are Yanadis, Lambadis, Yerukulas, Donga Waddars, etc. whose livelihood is based primarily on agriculture, rope-making, baskets and mat-weaving, chiselling grinding stones and other petty businesses (Gandhi nd). The Renke Commission lists 59 communities.

Nomadic communities or *sancharajatulu* in the Telugu Areas of Madras Presidency and in the Nizam's Dominions, while they were dependent of settled village society, marked themselves apart and 'remained by and large outside the new civilisation of settlement, private property, venality and vanity' in the colonial period observes Tirumali (2016). They lived by unconventional means, had no sense of wrong doing or guilt and were unwilling to transform themselves into agents of colonialism (ibid). Because of their resistance at an everyday level, they were constantly subjected to surveillance and harassment by villagers and police in concert. According to Tirumali in 1952, 66 communities were denotified by the Madras Government. Although there were only three tribes listed as 'criminal' in Hyderabad State (Vaddera, Dommara and Kaikadi), Tirumali points out that the Andhra Pradesh government included 30 nomadic and 3 semi-nomadic communities as well in the DNT (Vimukta jati) list, on the basis of their similarity to the original denotified tribes (2016). The Deccan is also home to a fairly significant group of Muslim nomadic communities – these communities occupy the bottom three positions in the social hierarchy mapped by PS Krishnan (cited in Tirumali 2016).

Apart from the Scheduled Tribes on the Central Government list, the inclusion of those nomadic communities left out of the central list made them eligible for educational benefits especially, for instance school books, scholarships, clothes, and separate hostels. The Tribal Welfare Department in the state was entrusted with the task of ensuring the

wellbeing of the scheduled tribes as well as the non-scheduled tribes (Tirumali 2016).

On the specific history of education and schooling for children of DNT communities, Gandhi provides a cogent account of the residential school run by the Salvation Army in the Stuartpuram Settlement, which separated parents from children and attempted to wean children away from the 'criminal tendencies' of the parents, while providing them education. While the benefits of the removal of children from their parents and communities has been the subject of debate at the national and international levels, especially with reference to children from tribal/indigenous communities, the development of education after the national government took charge of these schools after independence is important for our present purposes (Gandhi nd).

Also during the colonial period, of the reform groups active in the Andhra Areas, the Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak Sangh, and Andhra Rashtra Yerukula Maha Sangam focused primarily on education as a tool of social reform and uplift – through the setting up of schools and hostels and the publication of literature, magazines and newspapers like *Girijana Jyothi*, *Yekalavya Patrika* etc. The first school for tribal was started in 1934, and the first tribal hostel was started in 1939. Education of tribal girls was also an area of concern.

After Independence and the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952, national planning mandated state governments to introduce welfare schemes especially in the area of education. Gandhi point out that the Second and Third Five Year Plans had budget provisions for undertaking welfare schemes for denotified communities. Under the Fifth Five Year Plan, this was discontinued.

Schooling and education for the denotified communities remains grossly inadequate and levels of educational attainment woefully inadequate in the states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Indira, a young mother from the Mondri community, in conversation with Akhileswari and Simhadri asserted that they have aspirations of education for their children, but their lack of access to water, safe and secure housing, and basic amenities, leads to their children being turned out of schools for coming unbathed (Akhileswari and Simhadri 2016). There is no data on the communities listed in the Renke Commission Report for the state. The present study has attempted to fill in some gaps in information particularly pertaining to

education across two generations and the specific problems encountered by children in accessing education.

As the analysis is undertaken after the State reorganisation the remaining state report will be presented in two sections –

Section 1 – Andhra Pradesh

Section 2 – Telangana

Section 1: Andhra Pradesh

2. Methodology

2.1 Sample Design

In the absence of secondary information on DNTs' educational and livelihood status, the present study essentially relies on data collected through primary survey. In order to gather information, the field survey was conducted in undivided Andhra Pradesh during the months of April and May 2013. Subsequently, post state re-organisation, the data has been disaggregated for the two states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. The study adopted random sampling method in selecting DNT communities and districts and thus chose 14 DNT communities among the total (59) denotified communities that are placed in 11 districts in the undivided state. The selected communities in Andhra Pradesh are: Relli, Mutharasa, Budabukkalas, Hindu Koyas, Kati Kapari, Pamula, Mondibanda, Shikari, Guvvalakulam, Boya, and Dasari. The districts surveyed are: Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam, Prakasam, Nellore, Kurnool, Chittoor and Anantapur. The study aimed to capture the variations that exist among DNTs, and hence selected districts from both the regions of Andhra Pradesh – North Coastal Andhra and South Coastal Andhra. For convenience in analysis, the study further classified these groups as DNT-1, DNT-2 and Nomadic, based on their characteristics such as socio-economic status, vulnerability associated with stigma, discrimination and nomadic nature. This was done bearing in the mind the pilot survey experience. The communities were selected also keeping in the mind their availability in the randomly selected districts. This is because the presence of DNT communities is not the same, nor even extant, in all districts. The selected communities include those who are both slightly economically

better off as well as especially vulnerable ones, so as to find the variations between them in manifold aspects.

2.2. Introducing DNT Communities under Study

This section seeks to introduce the DNT communities covered in the study. For this, we use the available ethnographic literature (Thurston and Rangachari [1909] 2010) and the interviews with community leaders.

Shikari

Shikaris are also known as Neelishikari in undivided Andhra Pradesh. They are related to the Pardhi community in central India but are now settled in various parts of Andhra Pradesh, especially in the Rayalaseema region. Shikaris claim that they are Rajasthani Rajputs and speak a language similar to Rajasthani and Banajara. The community was listed in criminal tribes list during the colonial period and de-notified in post-independent India. They were put in camps for rehabilitation during British rule. Owing to the continued stigma they are isolated, discriminated against and deprived of economic development.

They are traditionally hunters, forest produce gatherers, and acrobatic performers, but they now live by begging for food, brewing illicit liquor, or working as casual labourers and watch men. A majority of them live in makeshift tents, huts, government provided pucca houses and open places. They do not have access to basic facilities in their localities. They live in unhygienic environments and encounter huge health problems. More than 95 per cent are without land and other economic resources. They do not get employment or work on the open market due to stigma. Children are their main feeders and income earners. Adults rarely work and often sit at home without employment. Poverty, sub-standard living, health issues, unemployment and illiteracy are rampant. There is no data available on their community, and therefore they do not know about their own population and whereabouts of fellow tribes people.

Their lack of caste certificates and other basic entitlements deprives them of the opportunity to avail of government benefits. They claim they belong to the ST category but have been mistakenly put under OBC, which denies them educational and employment opportunities.

Budabukkalas

The Budabukkalas are traditionally storytellers, folk singers and dramatists and perform while travelling from one village to another. During their performances, they wear traditional attire and perform with age-old musical instruments. This has been their tradition for centuries. Based on their nomadic nature, the British rulers labelled them a Criminal Tribe, even though the tribal elders say that there are no anecdotes or evidence of their committing any criminal act. After de-notification, they have been included in the BC-A category in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. They have little knowledge of their origin and history. Most of them agree that they come from south India and that Mahabubnagar district is their ancestral home. They speak their own language which is quite similar to other Dravidian tongues. In modern society, their occupations have lost significance which has led to loss of livelihood. They have resorted to begging for food and money. They possess little to no land or resources. Due to their isolated and nomadic lifestyle, they have been deprived of legal documents like caste certificates, ration cards, MGNREGA job cards and so on. They have taken to petty trading like selling onions, mangoes, plastic materials, hair care products and collecting paper and scrap metals. Along with poor living conditions, they are subject to educational backwardness, which prevents their finding good and stable employment.

Pamula

The Pamula are traditional snake catchers who travelled from one village to another in order to get work. Society's progress in terms of modernization and deforestation has led to their inability to practice their traditional trade, and hence, they have taken up newer occupations such as brewing illicit liquor, begging for food and money and sex work. Adult members often resort to petty trades like selling plastic products and scrap metal. They often live in isolated areas, in huts, makeshift house, tents and open places. They do not have access to safe drinking water, electricity or sanitation facilities. Their children do not go to school and the adults are largely illiterate and unaware of the value and benefits of education. They lack land and any other productive resources. They receive no benefits from government schemes due to the absence of legal documents and their invisibility in society. They have been placed in the OBC category and most do not possess caste certificates, ration cards, MGNREGA job cards and other essential documents. Because of the nature of their occupation,

especially sex work, they are often treated as the most base group in society.

Katikapari

Katikaparis traditionally conducted funerals and guarded the graveyard. Other work included menial works like drainage work, rag picking and so on. The nature of their occupation prompted the British to include them under the Criminal Tribes Act. They are largely illiterate even today, with few skills individuals and thus can vie for few employment opportunities. Due to their traditional occupation there are regarded as untouchables and therefore discriminated against and mistreated. After de-notification, they were placed in the OBC category. However, they possess no land, assets or other productive resources.

Recently, the younger generation has turned its back on their traditional occupations and focused on other economic activities such as casual labour, gate keeping and working in hotels. Their families are often large in size and daily sustenance is a big challenge. The women are vulnerable to being forced into sex work and trafficking. There are very few educated and employed people in the community, and a majority lack basic legal documents and are hence deprived of government benefits. The elders and leaders say that they must be recognized as SC and given reservation so that they can improve their social and economic conditions. They are plagued by stigma and want to lead a dignified life in society.

Boya

The Boya claim that they are one of the most primitive groups in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. They are traditional hunters and forest produce gatherers, and were nomadic in their lifestyle. They speak a language called boya basha. Due to their nomadic nature, they were considered criminal and also labeled as robbers and dacoits. Now they rank among the OBCs in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Due to modernization, economic development, deforestation and government restrictions they are unable to pursue their traditional occupation of hunting and collecting forest products. As a result, they have been forced to adopt newer occupations like cultivation, livestock, casual labour and so on. However, they possess little land and a majority of them have inadequate access to assets and economic resources. They claim that they

have wrongfully been included in the OBC category, and seek to be numbered among the STs.

Relli

The Relli are also known as Sachari, and belong to Sabri family. 'Relli' mean 'king of grass'. They are spread across coastal Andhra Pradesh and also in Odisha and Karnataka. They speak Relli Bhasha, a dialect which is similar to Oriya. In public places they speak Telugu. They practice Hinduism, though a few consider themselves Christians. Their traditional occupation is collecting and selling of grass. They also sell fruits, salt, vegetables and seeds, and since these activities demand mobility, they were placed under the CTA. Now they have been placed in the SC category. They are mostly illiterate and depend on selling grass, fruits and seeds to make a living. Now they also depend on agriculture and leasing fruit gardens and selling the product. Due to lack of assets and minimum resources, they are forced into poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy and therefore remain socially and economically backward. Another problem they claim is that most of the reservation in SC category is utilized by forward castes like Mala and Madiga. Hence, the Relli want ST status, which they believe can solve many of their problems.

Hindu Koyas

Hindu Koyas are from the Koya community which is spread across the districts of Kurnool, Prakasam and Guntur. Their traditional occupation is fortune telling, for which they move from one place to another. They speak a language that is very similar to Koya. There is no information on the total population and the areas across which the community is spread. They are landless, poor, and live mostly in makeshift tents, huts and under trees. They are plagued by illiteracy, unemployment, poverty and health problems. Due to losing out on their traditional occupation, they have begun working in other sectors as casual labourers, petty traders and beggars. They have large families and children do not go school because they need to help with begging. Due to extreme poverty, the women of the community often enter into sex work. The girl children often fall victim to trafficking. Most importantly, this small community is not recognized by the government, which still treats them as some kind of Koyas. As a result, they do not get legal entitlements like caste certificates, ration cards, MGNREGA job cards and so on. This community faces exclusion in all aspects and is discriminated against by mainstream society. They need

reservations for social and economic upliftment. Their main demand is ST status so that they can overcome their identity crisis as well as economic hurdles.

Dasari

Dasari are also known as Mala Dasari and are traditionally petty vendors who sell household appliances, utensils, hair care products and travel from one village to another. They are also involved in agriculture and casual labour. They speak Telugu and are spread across Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. They sell traditional cosmetic items. Due to the nature of their traditional occupation the British placed them under the CTA. After de-notification, they were placed in the OBC category, but they claim that they are from the Mala community, even though the Mala consider them their subordinates. A large number of Dasari are landless, poor, asset-less, and resource weak. They are illiterates, unemployed and live on the periphery of villages or towns in huts and tents, except for the few who live in pucca houses. Their children are not given proper education and some families send them to beg for food early in the morning. There are very few who are well educated and settled in government jobs. Their youth are not interested in their traditional occupation and some have adopted modern employment. Due to their migratory lifestyle, the children are not sent to school regularly and the dropout rate is high in the community. They often lack investment to do business hence fall into debt traps. Due to their migratory nature the women are prone to prostitution and girls are targets for the trafficking mafia. They are discriminated against and excluded from government benefits. They have entitlements but most of the benefits go to other forward OBCs. They cannot compete and have hence begun demanding SC reservation.

Mondibanda

The Mondibanda are traditional hair collectors and sellers of decorative hair products. They also sell mirrors, combs and traditional cosmetics. They are found mostly in Andhra Pradesh, in areas like Nellore, Visakhapatnam and Chittoor. They speak Telugu and follow Hindu traditions. They travel from one place to another throughout the year and hence largely do not possess permanent houses or an address. There is no data on their population and the spread of the community in the state. They do not possess any land, assets, or resources and subsist on trading. They are largely illiterate and not aware of the value and benefits of

education. Their daily earnings largely go towards food. Most of them have a large number of children. Due to inadequate income from their occupation, the children are forced to beg for food and money early in the morning. Their women and elders have begun collecting waste paper, metal, bottles and selling them to scrap shops. Today's rag pickers are largely from this community. They live in slums, small makeshift houses and huts in the city and village peripheries. Their environment is highly unhygienic and dirty, and hence a large number of them encounter health problems. On the other hand, due to their migratory nature, they do not possess basic government documents and hence do not avail of any social welfare benefits. As a result, they and their children are excluded from education and employment. They claim that they should belong to the SC community and hence want SC reservations. They believe this can change their lives for the better.

Guvvalakulam

The Guvvalakulam are also called Guvvalollu and are spread across the Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. They speak Telugu. Their traditional occupation is selling cosmetic materials and traditional medicines. This community has so far not been listed in any category due to their invisibility and marginalization. They practice their occupation by travelling from one village to another. They are landless and resource-poor. Their condition is so poor that many of the families subsist on begging for food from others. Their children do not go to school and there is no evidence of this people working in any government or private sector employment. The community is scattered and they have no idea about the total population. They do not have proper residences, though there are a few exceptions. Modernization and globalization has affected their traditional occupation and many have now shifted away from practicing the same. They have entered into agriculture and non-agricultural activities as casual labourers and also adopted activities like collecting and selling of old iron, plastic and paper materials. They lack almost all the basic documents and are hence excluded from social welfare benefits. They live poor lives in slums and dilapidated buildings and open places. The women are susceptible to sex work due to impoverishment.

Mutharasa

The Mutharasas claim that they are descendants of a kshatriya dynasty and were once rulers. Others say that they are descendants of aboriginal tribes

who held small kingdoms. Whatever the case, there is no evidence of their having had a criminal past, despite their being included under the CTA. They were de-notified in independent India and placed in OBC reservation category. At present, the community largely practices agriculture, fishing, selling fruits, vegetables and so on. They are one of the few developed communities among the OBCs. Their socio-economic conditions are much better than those of many other de-notified communities in the state. They are moderately educated and most of the children get education up to higher levels. The children work in both government and private sectors after schooling. This community is one of the most united and politically organized in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. There are number of political leaders from the community who have occupied the highest political positions. However, a majority still consider themselves economically backward and want more upliftment and recognition in political, administrative and other sectors.

2.3 Sample Size

The study covered 1100 households from 11 communities settled across 7 districts in Andhra Pradesh. Cent percent of tribes comes under Denotified tribes (DNT) category. However, 75.8 per cent belong to DNT2 and 24.2 per cent belong to DNT1 (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Sample distribution in Andhra Pradesh

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (Nos.)	Households (Per cent)	Social Category
Boya	150	13.6	DNT1 24.2
Mutharasa	117	10.6	
Budabukkalas	148	13.5	DNT2 75.8
Dasari	18	1.6	
Guvvalakulam	79	7.2	
Hindu Koyas	61	5.5	
Kati Kapari	59	5.4	
Mondibanda	142	12.9	
Pamula	23	2.1	
Relli	152	13.8	
Shikari	151	13.7	
Total	1100	100.0		100.0

Source: Field Survey

2.4. Profile of the Sample

2.4.1 Geographical distribution of the sample

Out of the total sample, 57.3 per cent were located in rural areas and the rest (42.7 per cent) in urban. Individual tribes vary in their rural–urban ratio: DNTs like Mutharasa, Kati kapari, Boya, Relli and Budabukkalas are mainly rural based, while Dasari, Hindu Koyas, Pamula, Shikari, Guvvalakulam and Mandibonda have significant proportion of households from urban areas (Table 7.2). The present study was spread across the different geographical regions of the state. Although the 11 Denotified tribes are well spread in these 7 districts, the sample covered 1100 DNT households. Out of total sample of 1100 households, Prakasam accounts for 26.5 per cent of the respondents canvassed, followed by Srikakulam (13.8 per cent), Kurnool (13.7 per cent), Anantapur (13.6 per cent), Nellore (12.9 per cent), Visakhapatnam (10.6 per cent) and Chittoor (8.8 per cent) (Table 7.3).

Table 7.2: Area-wise sample distribution in Andhra Pradesh

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Rural (Per cent)	Urban (Per cent)
Boya	92.7	7.3
Budabukkalas	66.9	33.1
Dasari	-	100.0
Guvvalakulam	24.1	75.9
Hindu Koyas	-	100.0
Kati Kapari	98.3	1.7
Mutharasa	100.0	-
Mondibanda	45.1	54.9
Pamula	8.7	91.3
Relli	77.6	22.4
Shikari	9.3	90.7
Total	57.3	42.7

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.3: District-wise sample distribution in Andhra Pradesh

Districts	Households (Nos.)	Households (Per cent)
Srikakulam	152	13.8
Visakhapatnam	117	10.6
Prakasam	291	26.5
Nellore	142	12.9
Kurnool	151	13.7
Chittoor	97	8.8
Anantapur	150	13.6
Total	1100	100.0

Source: Field Survey

2.4.2. Household Population of the Sample

Out of the total sample, Relli (13.8 per cent) and Shikari (13.7 per cent) account for larger proportion while Dasari was the lowest (1.6 per cent) (Table 7.4). Majority of the household members belonged to the age group of 06-35 years (66.0 per cent) followed by 12.8 per cent of household members belongs to 0 to 5 years of age, 12.4 per cent of them were in the age group of 36 to 45 years of age and rest 8.8 per cent belonged to 46 years and above (Table 7.5).

Table 7.4: Household population of the sample in Andhra Pradesh

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Population (Per cent)	Households (Per cent)
Boya	12.4	13.6
Mutharasa	10.1	10.6
Budabukkalas	14.7	13.5
Dasari	1.4	1.6
Guvvalakulam	5.9	7.2
Hindu Koyas	6.8	5.5
Kati Kapari	6.4	5.4
Mondibanda	11.0	12.9
Pamula	2.4	2.1
Relli	13.5	13.8
Shikari	15.5	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.5: Age-wise population distribution in Andhra Pradesh

Age Group	Population (No.)	Population (Per cent)
0 to 5	583	12.8
06 to 18	1414	31.0
19 to 35	1597	35.0
36 to 45	566	12.4
46 to 60	341	7.5
Above 60	61	1.3
Total	4562	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.6: Gender-wise marital status in Andhra Pradesh

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Married	1133 (49.6) (50.7)	1153 (50.4) (49.5)	2286 (100.0) (50.1)
Unmarried	1084 (49.5) (48.5)	1104 (50.5) (47.4)	2188 (100.0) (48.0)
Divorced	4 (50.0) (0.2)	4 (50.0) (0.2)	8 (100.0) (0.2)
Separated	5 (55.6) (0.2)	4 (44.4) (0.2)	9 (100.0) (0.2)
Widow/Widower	8 (11.3) (0.4)	63 (88.7) (2.7)	71 (100.0) (1.6)
Total	2234 (49.0) (100.0)	2328 (51.0) (100.0)	4562 (100.0) (100.0)

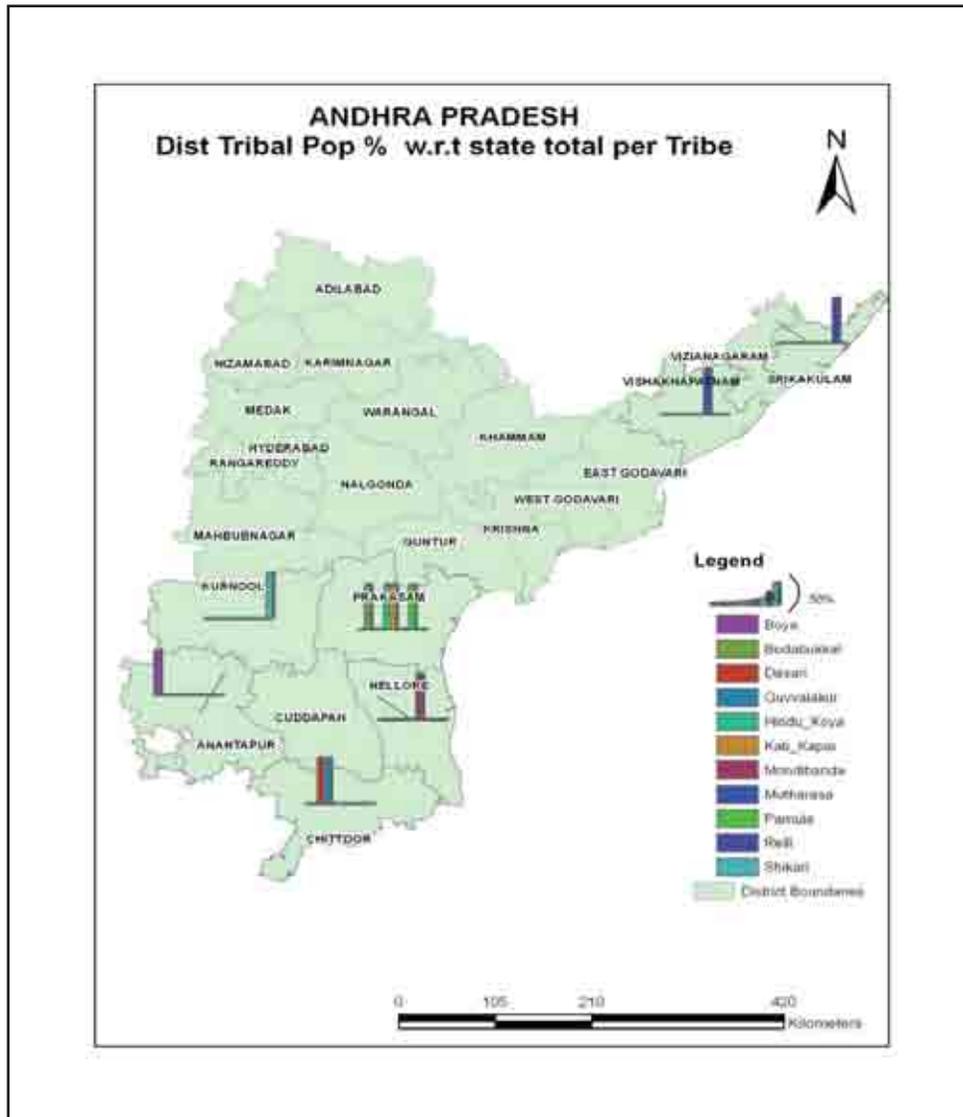
Source: Field Survey

Among the total population, 50 per cent were married and 48 per cent were unmarried. Although the incidence of widow/widower was negligible at less than two per cent, the incidence of loss of spouse was higher among women than men (63 out of 71 were women). Divorce and separation were negligible at less than one per cent (Table 7.6).

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE TRIBES

This section looks into the social status pattern, asset holding status and other location specific factors relating to different DNTs. It also looks into the pattern of livelihood reported among different DNTs spread across different districts of the State (Map 7.1).

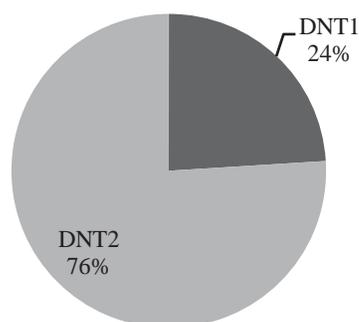
Map 7.1: Sample districts in Andhra Pradesh (Undivided) from where the respondents were selected



Source: Field Survey

3. The Tribes and their Social Status

Within the total sample, all the households belong to the Denotified Communities (Figure 2.1). They are classified as DNT1 and DNT2. Out of the total sample covered, 76 per cent are DNT2 and rest 24 per cent are DNT1. Among the 11 communities covered, Budabukkalas, Guvvalakulam, Hindu Koyas, Kati Kapari, Mondibanda, Pamula and Shikari belong to DNT2 and the remaining 5 communities belong to DNT1 (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Classification of tribes

Source: Field Survey

The sample DNTs in the present study hail from different social categories: 49.1 per cent of the DNTs belong to OBC, followed by ST (37.1 per cent). Individually, Guvvalakulam, Hindu Koyas, Mutharasa and Shikari belong to ST, while others (except Relli tribe) belong to OBC (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7: Social category of sample households

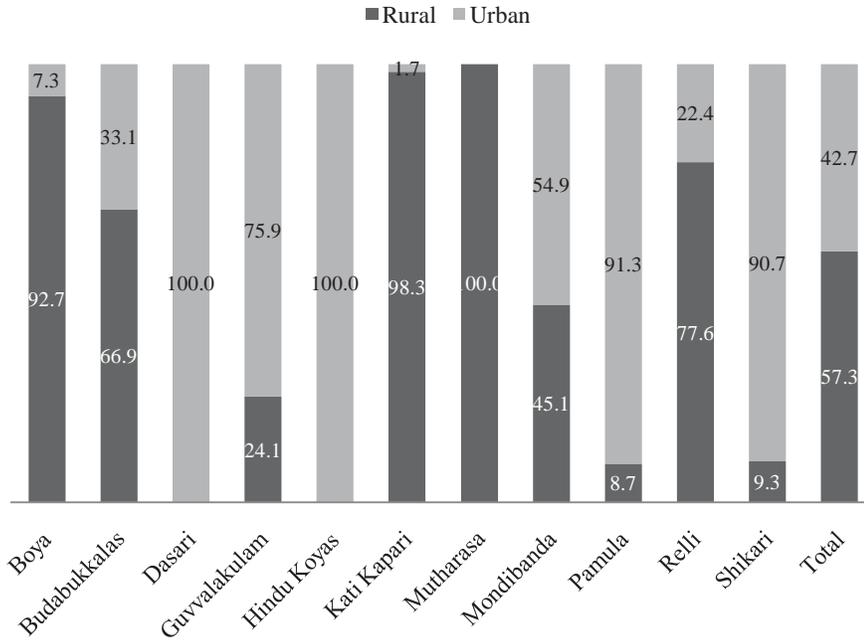
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Other Backward Class	Total
Boya	-	-	150 (100.0)	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	-	-	148 (100.0)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	-	-	18 (100.0)	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	-	79 (100.0)	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	-	61 (100.0)	-	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	-	-	59 (100.0)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	-	117 (100.0)	-	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	-	-	142 (100.0)	142 (100.0)
Pamula	-	-	23 (100.0)	23 (100.0)
Relli	152 (100.0)	-	-	152 (100.0)
Shikari	-	151 (100.0)	-	151 (100.0)
Total	152 (13.8)	408 (37.1)	540 (49.1)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The households covered by the study were distributed across urban and rural areas in the State. Broadly, Boya, Budabukkalas, Kati Kapari, Mutharasa and Relli tribes are concentrated in rural areas while Dasari, Hindu Koyas, Shikari, Guvvalakulam, Pamula and Mondibanda communities have greater concentration in urban areas in the state. It is

interesting to see that the entire Dasari and Hindu Koyas community covered in the study live in urban centres (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: Location of the tribes



Source: Field Survey

The nomadic nature of DNTs can be captured by the duration of their stay at the present place at the time of survey. About 73.6 per cent of the households surveyed have been staying in the present place from more than 30 years. This proportion is overwhelmingly high among Boya, Budabukkalas, Hindu Koyas, Kati Kapari, Mutharasa, Relli and Shikari and relatively low among Dasari, Guvvalakulam and Mondibanda. About 15.8 per cent have been staying there for 11 to 20 years. This proportion is high among Dasari and Mondibanda communities (Table 7.8). The DNTs, mostly settled for over 30 years, suggest that the nomadic nature among DNTs has gradually declined over the years in Andhra Pradesh, leading to the expectation of increasing attainment of education, as a result.

Table 7.8: Duration of stay in the present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Since 1 to 10 Years	Since 11 to 20 Years	Since 21 to 30 Years	Above 30 Years	Total
Boya	-	-	-	150 (100.0)	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	-	-	24 (16.2)	124 (83.8)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	-	16 (88.9)	1 (5.6)	1 (5.6)	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	-	38 (48.1)	37 (46.9)	4 (5.1)	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	-	-	2 (3.3)	59 (96.7)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	-	-	9 (15.3)	50 (84.7)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	-	-	7 (6.0)	110 (94.0)	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	1 (0.7)	120 (84.5)	16 (11.3)	5 (3.5)	142 (100.0)
Pamula	-	-	15 (65.2)	8 (34.8)	23 (100.0)
Relli	1 (0.7)	-	-	151 (99.3)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	-	-	3 (2.0)	148 (98.0)	151 (100.0)
Total	2 (0.2)	174 (15.8)	114 (10.4)	810 (73.6)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

4. Spoken Language

This study has attempted a very detailed discussion on the language proficiency in different spheres – at home, schools, within the community and public place separately. In addition, a discussion on the knowledge of English has been made subsequently. Of the total sample, most of the DNTs speak Telugu at home (68.5 per cent) as well as at school (67.4 per cent). The people from Relli community (66.4 per cent) speak in Relli at home as well as in school. Shikari language is used by most of the Shikari households at home as well as in school (Table 7.9 and 7.10).

Telugu emerged as the main language (67.0 per cent) used by the tribal people while conversing within the communities. It is followed by Shikari (12.3 per cent) and a mix of Telugu and Relli (9.5 per cent) (Figure 7.3). Around 80.3 per cent of the households which were studied reported that they speak Telugu in public places (Figure 7.4).

Table 7.9: Language spoken in home by different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Language spoken at House								Total
	Koya	Marati	Relli	Shikari	Telugu	Telugu, Hindi	Telugu, Relli	Telugu, Valmiki	
Boya	-	-	-	-	116 (77.3)	5 (3.3)	-	29 (19.3)	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	-	24 (16.2)	-	-	124 (83.8)	-	-	-	148 (100.0)
Dasari	-	-	-	-	18 (100.0)	-	-	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	-	-	-	-	79 (100.0)	-	-	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	15 (24.6)	-	-	-	46 (75.4)	-	-	-	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	-	-	-	-	59 (100.0)	-	-	-	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	-	-	-	-	117 (100.0)	-	-	-	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	-	-	-	-	142 (100.0)	-	-	-	142 (100.0)
Pamula	-	-	-	-	23 (100.0)	-	-	-	23 (100.0)
Relli	-	-	24 (15.8)	-	27 (17.8)	-	101 (66.4)	-	152 (100.0)
Shikari	-	-	-	148 (98.0)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.7)	-	-	151 (100.0)
Total	15 (1.4)	24 (2.2)	24 (2.2)	148 (13.5)	753 (68.5)	6 (0.5)	101 (9.2)	29 (2.6)	1100 (100.0)

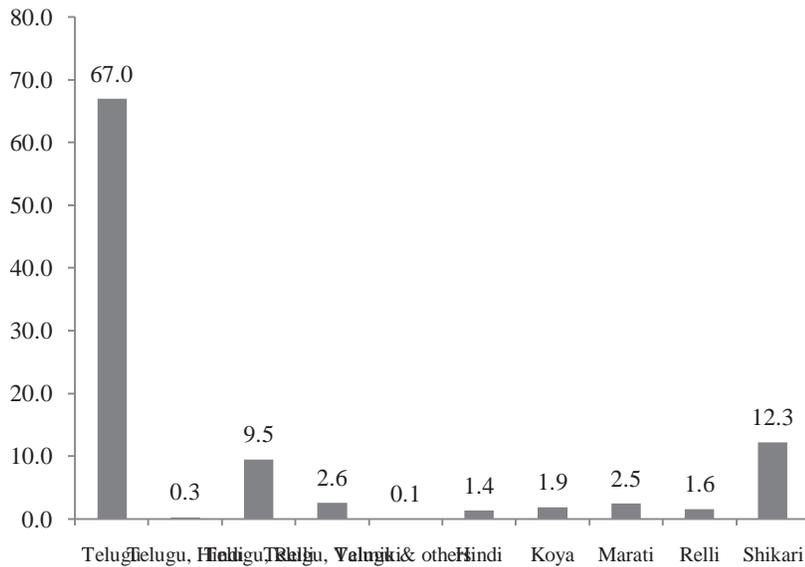
Source: Field Survey

Table 7.10: Language spoken in schools by children

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Telugu & Others	Hindi, Telugu	Koya	Marathi	Relli	Shikari	Telugu	Telugu, Relli	Telugu, Valmiki	Total
Boya	3 (2.0)	5 (3.3)	-	-	-	-	113 (75.3)	-	29 (19.3)	150 (100.0)
Bodabukkaldas	2 (1.4)	-	-	24 (16.2)	-	-	122 (82.4)	-	-	148 (100.0)
Dasari	-	-	-	-	-	-	18 (100.0)	-	-	18 (100.0)
Guvalakulam	-	-	-	-	-	-	79 (100.0)	-	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	-	-	15 (24.6)	-	-	-	46 (75.4)	-	-	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	2 (3.4)	-	-	-	-	-	57 (96.6)	-	-	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	1 (0.9)	-	-	-	-	-	116 (99.1)	-	-	117 (100.0)
Moondibanda	-	-	-	-	-	-	142 (100.0)	-	-	142 (100.0)
Pamula	-	-	-	-	-	-	23 (100.0)	-	-	23 (100.0)
Relli	3 (1.9)	-	-	-	24 (15.8)	-	24 (15.8)	101 (66.4)	-	152 (100.0)
Shikari	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	-	-	-	148 (98.0)	01 (0.7)	-	-	151 (100.0)
Total	12 (1.1)	6 (0.6)	15 (1.4)	24 (2.2)	24 (2.2)	148 (13.5)	741 (67.4)	101 (9.2)	29 (2.6)	1100 (100.0)

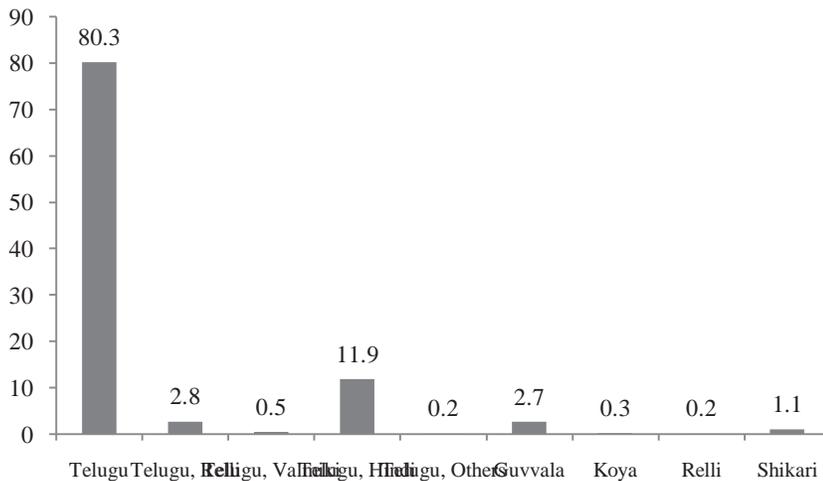
Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.3: Languages spoken within the community



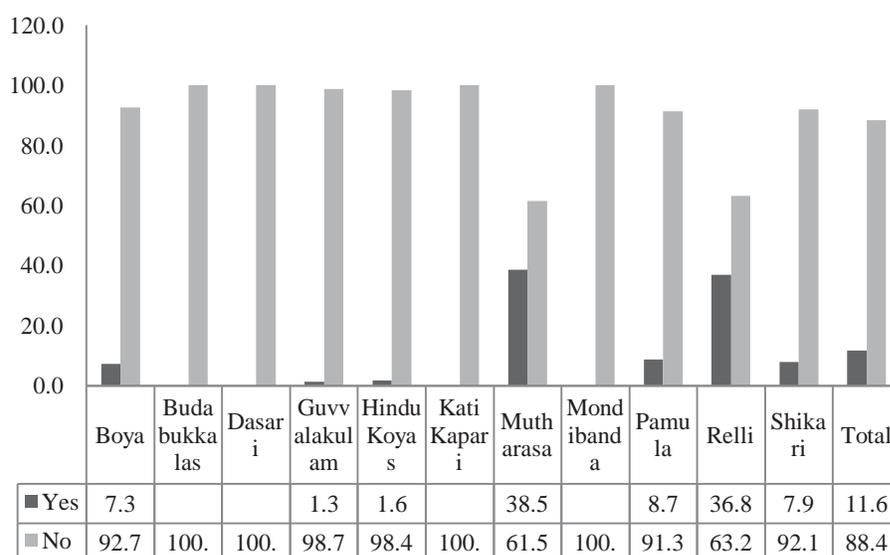
Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.4: Languages spoken at the public place



Source: Field Survey

Around 88.4 per cent of the surveyed households cannot communicate through English. It is known to 11.6 per cent of the sample households and this share is found high among Mutharasa and Relli and completely absent among Budabukkalas, Dasari, Kati Kapari, Mondibanda and very low for Guvvalakulam and Hindu Koyas (Figure 7.5). From FGD, it is observed that only the younger generation (sons and daughters) are knowledgeable about English, and not the older generations.

Figure 7.5: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

Around 30.5 per cent of households reported that only one person knows English in the family. About 57.8 per cent of respondents report that two people know English in the family and around 11.7 per cent of the respondents report that three people have knowledge of English (Table 7.11).

Table 7.11: Number of English knowing members in the family

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	Total
Boya	3 (27.3)	8 (72.7)	-	11 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	-	1 (100.0)	-	1 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	-	1 (100.0)	-	1 (100.0)
Mutharasa	11 (24.4)	34 (75.6)	-	45 (100.0)
Pamula	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	-	2 (100.0)
Relli	23 (41.1)	29 (51.8)	4 (7.2)	56 (100.0)
Shikari	1 (8.3)	-	11 (91.7)	12 (100.0)
Total	39 (30.5)	74 (57.8)	15 (11.7)	128 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

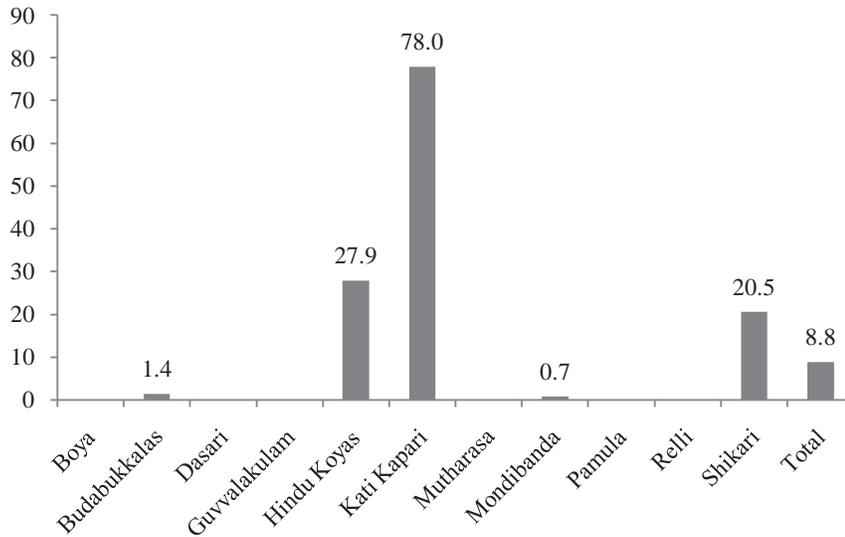
5. Livelihood and its Sources

Regarding the present occupation, about 32.3 per cent of total sample run petty-business like manufacturing and selling of plastic items and steel, vegetable and fruit vendors (mostly from Mondibanda, Guvvalakulam and Budabukkalas), 27.4 per cent are wage labourers (mainly from Dasar i,

Relli and Shikari), 16.1 per cent engage in agriculture (majority from Mutharasa and Boya), about 3.5 per cent in Begging and Rag Pickers (majority are from Budabukkalas and Kati Kapari), 4.4 per cent are involved in rickshaw pulling and 1.6 per cent are in services (both government and private) (Table 7.12). This tells us that DNTs in Andhra Pradesh are still engaged in lower strata of occupations in the society which may put constraints on their educational attainments.

Out of the total sample, a very small proportion (8.8 per cent) of DNTs in Andhra Pradesh still continues the traditional tribe-based occupation exclusively. They are mainly Kati Kapari (78.0 per cent), Hindu Koyas (27.9 per cent), Shikari (20.5 per cent), Budabukkalas (1.4 per cent) and a small proportion of Mondibanda (0.7 per cent) (Figure 7.6). However a large number of households practice these occupations as their subsidiary income.

Figure 7.6: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation



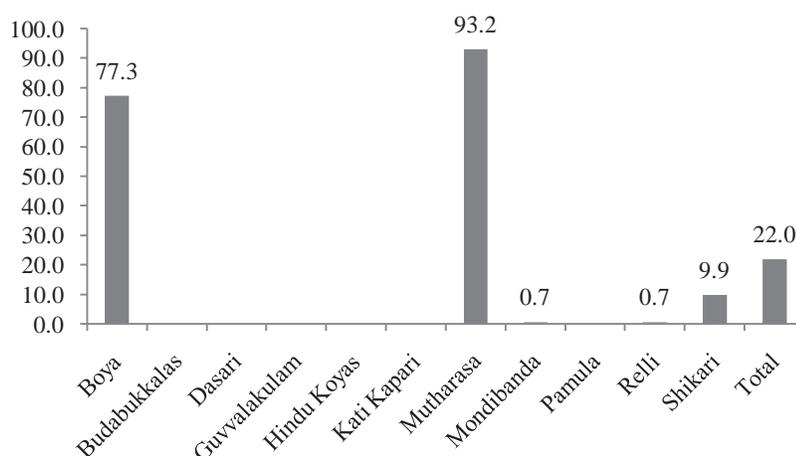
Source: Field Survey

Regarding the possession of agricultural land, among all the samples, majority of the DNTs (78.0 per cent) in Andhra Pradesh are landless and only 22.0 per cent have agricultural land. Out of which, it is mostly held by Mutharasa (93.2 per cent), Boya (77.3 per cent) and to some extent Shikari (9.9 per cent). Rest of the DNTs is mostly landless (Figure 7.7).

Table 7.12: Primary occupation of different tribe

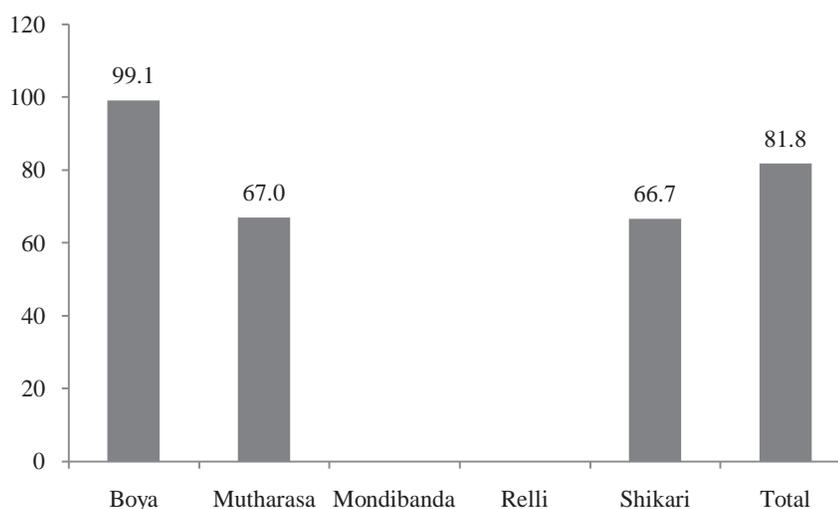
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Agriculture Labour	Agriculture	Wage Labour	Shop & Petty / Organised Business	Service (Govt. & Private Employment)	Others	Traditional Occupations	Begging & Rag Pickers	Rickshaw Pulling	Total
Boya	7 (4.7)	85 (56.7)	20 (13.3)	8 (5.3)	4 (2.7)	20 (13.3)	-	3 (2.0)	3 (2.0)	150 (100.0)
Budabukkulas	3 (2.0)	-	13 (8.8)	80 (54.1)	-	-	2 (1.4)	24 (16.2)	26 (17.6)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	1 (5.6)	1 (5.6)	12 (66.7)	3 (16.7)	-	1 (5.6)	-	-	-	18 (100.0)
Guvalakulam	1 (1.3)	-	28 (35.4)	49 (62.0)	1 (1.3)	-	-	-	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	8 (13.1)	-	20 (32.8)	14 (23.0)	-	-	17 (27.9)	2 (3.3)	-	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	1 (1.7)	-	1 (1.7)	3 (5.1)	1 (1.7)	-	46 (78.0)	7 (11.9)	-	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	5 (4.3)	85 (72.6)	22 (18.8)	-	4 (3.4)	-	-	-	1 (0.9)	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	7 (4.9)	1 (0.7)	-	133 (93.7)	-	-	1 (0.7)	-	-	142 (100.0)
Pamula	1 (4.3)	-	11 (47.8)	7 (30.4)	-	-	-	2 (8.7)	2 (8.7)	23 (100.0)
Relli	8 (5.3)	3 (2.0)	94 (61.8)	38 (25.0)	4 (2.6)	-	-	-	5 (3.3)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	3 (2.0)	2 (1.3)	80 (53.0)	20 (13.2)	4 (2.6)	-	31 (20.5)	-	11 (7.3)	151 (100.0)
Total	45 (4.1)	177 (16.1)	301 (27.4)	355 (32.3)	18 (1.6)	21 (1.9)	97 (8.8)	38 (3.5)	48 (4.4)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.7: Possession of agricultural land (share in Per cent)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who possess the agricultural land, 81.8 per cent of the households are cultivating their land independently. Across the communities 99.1 per cent of Boya, 67 per cent of Mutharasa and 66.7 per cent of the Shikari households cultivate their land (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8: Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (Share in Per cent)

Source: Field Survey

It is revealed that 93.4 per cent households have land within the range of 1 to 5 acres, 1.2 per cent have between 6 to 10 acres and rest 2.1 per cent have land more than 10 acres. Larger landholding is found among the Mutharasa tribe (3.7 per cent with 16 to 20 acres) (Table 7.13).

Table 7.13: Land distribution among the households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Below 1 acres	1 to 5 acres	6 to 10 acres	Above 10 acres	Total
Boya	2 (1.7)	112 (96.6)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	116 (100.0)
Mutharasa	5 (4.6)	98 (89.9)	2 (1.8)	4 (3.7)	109 (100.0)
Mondibanda	-	1 (100.0)	-	-	1 (100.0)
Relli	1 (100.0)	-	-	-	1 (100.0)
Shikari	-	15 (100.0)	-	-	15 (100.0)
Total	8 (3.3)	226 (93.4)	3 (1.2)	5 (2.1)	242 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

6. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

More than 80 per cent of DNTs in Andhra Pradesh live in their own house while only 6.0 per cent of all live in rented house. And 10.2 per cent of the total households live temporarily in others' house and relative's house which is comprised mostly by Hindu Koyas and Budabukkalas (Table 7.14). It is important to know the types of house they live in, and the number of rooms it has. The data tells that 27.6 per cent of DNTs live in Kutcha houses, 26.5 per cent live in semi-pucca houses, and about 35 per cent live in pucca houses, which is largely by Boya households. And even 10.9 per cent live in tent house which are by the Shikari, Kati Kapari and Budabukkalas households (Table 7.15).

Table 7.14: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own	Rented	Temporarily Residing in Others/ Neighbours house	Others	Total
Boya	147 (98.0)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	-	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	81 (54.7)	10 (6.8)	40 (27.1)	17 (11.5)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	18 (100.0)	-	-	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	79 (100.0)	-	-	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	31 (50.8)	4 (6.6)	19 (31.2)	7 (11.5)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	45 (76.3)	1 (1.7)	13 (22.0)	-	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	115 (98.3)	-	2 (1.7)	-	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	94 (66.2)	25 (17.6)	23 (16.2)	-	142 (100.0)
Pamula	7 (30.4)	8 (34.8)	5 (21.7)	3 (13.0)	23 (100.0)
Relli	129 (84.9)	9 (5.9)	13 (8.6)	1 (0.7)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	141 (93.3)	8 (5.3)	2 (1.3)	-	151 (100.0)
Total	887 (80.6)	66 (6.0)	119 (10.2)	28 (2.6)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.15: Type of house in which respondent lives

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca	Semi Pucca	Kutcha	Tent	Total
Boya	131 (87.3)	21 (12.6)	-	-	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	13 (8.8)	66 (44.6)	39 (26.3)	30 (20.2)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	1 (5.5)	2 (11.1)	15 (83.3)	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	18 (22.8)	19 (24.0)	42 (53.2)	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	33 (54.1)	7 (11.5)	9 (14.8)	12 (19.7)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	31 (52.5)	13 (22.0)	2 (3.4)	13 (22.0)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	9 (7.7)	56 (45.8)	52 (44.4)	-	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	55 (38.7)	8 (5.6)	56 (39.4)	23 (16.2)	142 (100.0)
Pamula	3 (13.0)	15 (65.2)	-	5 (21.7)	23 (100.0)
Relli	49 (32.2)	50 (32.9)	52 (34.2)	1 (0.6)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	41 (27.1)	37 (24.4)	37 (24.5)	36 (23.8)	151 (100.0)
Total	384 (34.9)	292 (26.5)	304 (27.6)	120 (10.9)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Regarding the number of rooms in the house, majority of DNTs (47.0 per cent) have two rooms, 45.5 per cent have one room, 5.2 per cent have three rooms and only 1.7 per cent have four rooms. Few people (0.5 per cent) have house of five or more than five rooms. Mostly Pamula (82.6 per cent), Budabukkalas (76.3 per cent), Hindu Koyas (68.8 per cent), Dasari (66.7 per cent), Kati Kapari (57.6 per cent) and Mondibanda (59.8 per cent) have one room while 82.6 per cent of Boya, 63.3 per cent of Guvvalakulam and 59.0 per cent of Mutharasa have two rooms. Three rooms are found among all tribes except Dasari, Kati Kapari and Mondibanda. Houses with four and five rooms (even more than five rooms) are found among Budabukkalas, Mutharasa and Relli (Table 7.16). The above analysis shows the sorry state of housing among DNTs in Andhra Pradesh. Though majority of them have own house but it is mostly a combination of Kutcha house and temporary tents, having one or two rooms only.

The quality of drinking water depends on its source. Only 3.7 per cent of DNTs in Andhra Pradesh get tap water for drinking, whereas the majority of them (72.8 per cent) still depend on tube/bore well which is not safe as tap water. Only a low proportion depend on either protected or open-well. Among tap water users, Mutharasa are ahead (14.5 per cent) followed by Guvvalakulam (13.9 per cent) and Boya (6.7 per cent). Around 80.7 per cent of the Budabukkalas are dependent upon hand pump. This tells us that the conditions of drinking water among DNTs in Andhra Pradesh are still pitiable as majority of them depend on unsafe and untreated drinking water sources i.e. tube/bore well (Table 7.17).

Table 7.16: Number of rooms in the house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5 and above	Total
Boya	17 (11.3)	124 (82.6)	8 (5.3)	1 (0.7)	-	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	113 (76.3)	29 (19.5)	3 (2.0)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	12 (66.7)	6 (33.3)	-	-	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	24 (30.4)	50 (63.3)	5 (6.3)	-	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	42 (68.8)	17 (27.9)	2 (3.3)	-	-	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	34 (57.6)	24 (40.7)	-	1 (1.7)	-	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	24 (21.4)	69 (59.0)	14 (12.5)	9 (8.0)	1 (0.9)	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	85 (59.8)	55 (38.7)	-	2 (1.4)	-	142 (100.0)
Pamula	19 (82.6)	3 (13.0)	1 (4.3)	-	-	23 (100.0)
Relli	49 (32.2)	75 (49.3)	22 (14.5)	5 (3.3)	1 (0.6)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	82 (54.3)	65 (43.0)	2 (1.3)	-	2 (1.3)	151 (100.0)
Total	501 (45.5)	517 (47.0)	57 (5.2)	19 (1.7)	6 (0.5)	1100 (100.0)

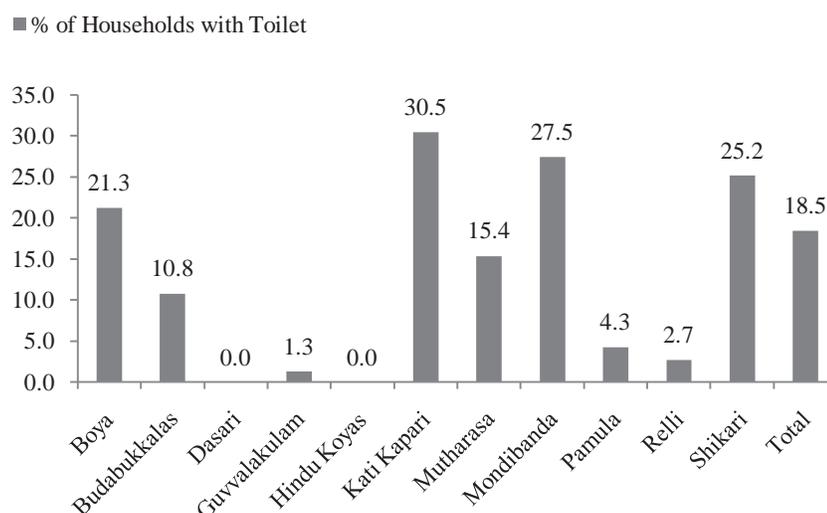
Source: Field Survey

Table 7.17: Main Source of Drinking Water

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tube/bore well	Protected well	Open well	Spring/Stream	Piped Water	Hand pump	Total
Boya	138 (92.0)	2 (1.3)	-	-	10 (6.7)	-	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	34 (24.3)	-	1 (0.7)	-	-	113 (80.7)	140 (100.0)
Dasari	18 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	66 (83.5)	-	1 (1.3)	-	11 (13.9)	-	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	61 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	42 (71.2)	2 (3.4)	14 (23.7)	-	-	1 (1.7)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	-	78 (66.7)	20 (17.1)	-	17 (14.5)	-	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	141 (99.3)	-	-	-	-	-	142 (100.0)
Pamula	23 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	23 (100.0)
Relli	136 (89.5)	5 (3.3)	9 (5.9)	-	-	-	152 (100.0)
Shikari	142 (94.0)	1 (0.7)	-	4 (2.6)	3 (2.0)	-	151 (100.0)
Total	801 (72.8)	88 (8.0)	45 (4.1)	4 (0.4)	41 (3.7)	114 (10.4)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Toilet facilities are available to only 18.5 per cent of households and 81.5 per cent defecate in an open space. All most 100 per cent of Dasari, Hindu Koyas and a very large proportion of Guvvalakulam and Pamula tribes reported open defecation (Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9: Status of toilet facilities / access

Source: Field Survey

About 80.1 per cent of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. This proportion is more than 90 per cent in the case of Boya, Dasari, Guvvalakulam, Mutharasa and Relli whereas the same is less among the Shikari tribe (29.1 per cent). Around 69 per cent of households have electricity in their homes. This proportion is very high among Relli (95.4 per cent), Boya (93.3 per cent), Dasari (88.9 per cent), Mutharasa (86.3 per cent), Guvvalakulam (83.5 per cent) and Kati Kapari tribe (74.6 per cent) and low among the Shikari (31.1 per cent) (Table 7.18).

Table 7.18: Status of electricity

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of electricity in the Neighbourhood**	Access to electricity in Households**
Boya (150)	141 (94.0)	140 (93.3)
Budabukkalas (140)	121 (81.8)	88 (59.5)
Dasari (18)	18 (100.0)	16 (88.9)
Guvvalakulam (79)	73 (92.4)	66 (83.5)
Hindu Koyas (61)	43 (70.5)	26 (42.6)
Kati Kapari (59)	52 (88.1)	44 (74.6)
Mutharasa (117)	106 (90.6)	101 (86.3)
Mondibanda (142)	113 (79.6)	71 (50.0)
Pamula (23)	20 (87.0)	12 (52.2)
Relli (152)	150 (98.7)	145 (95.4)
Shikari (151)	44 (29.1)	47 (31.1)
Total (1100)	881 (80.1)	756 (68.7)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

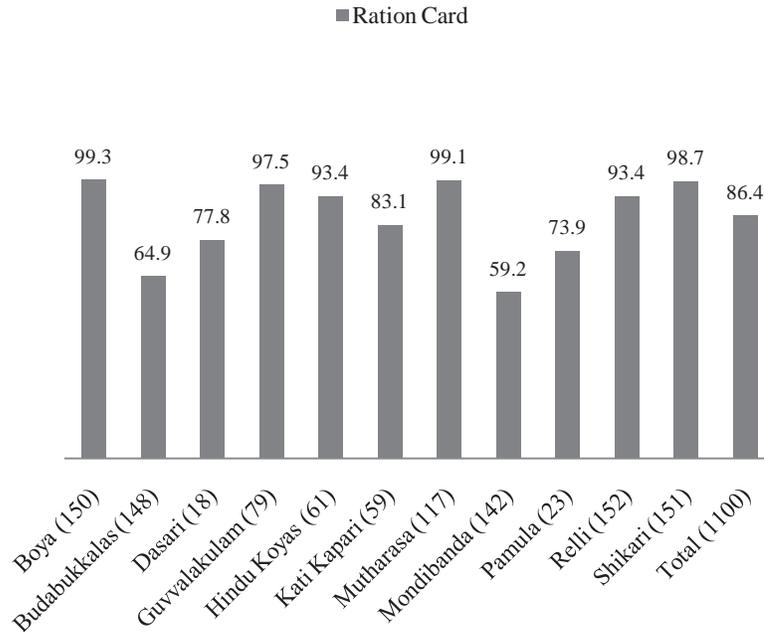
** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households.

Source: Field Survey

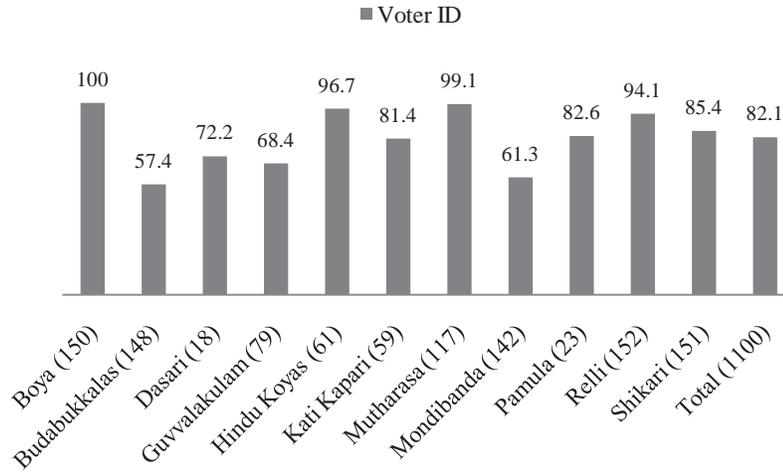
7. Possession of identification and other beneficiary cards

Possession of identity and job cards are important from the point of availing governmental welfare schemes, benefits, subsidies, employment, school or college admission and study scholarships etc., which will influence the education. Around 86.4 per cent of the total households possess ration card whereas the possession is found to be more than 90 per cent in the case of Boya, Guvvalakulam, Hindu Koyas, Mutharasa, Relli and Shikari tribes. Possession of identity cards is necessary to avail the benefits of government schemes and programmes. About 82.1 per cent of the households possess Voter ID. Only 62.3 per cent of the households have Aadhar Card, while only less than one third (31.7 per cent) of the total households possess caste certificate. This proportion is very less among all the tribes except Boya, Mutharasa and Relli households. Health insurance is very much popular among the Boya and Mutharasa households (Figure 7.10).

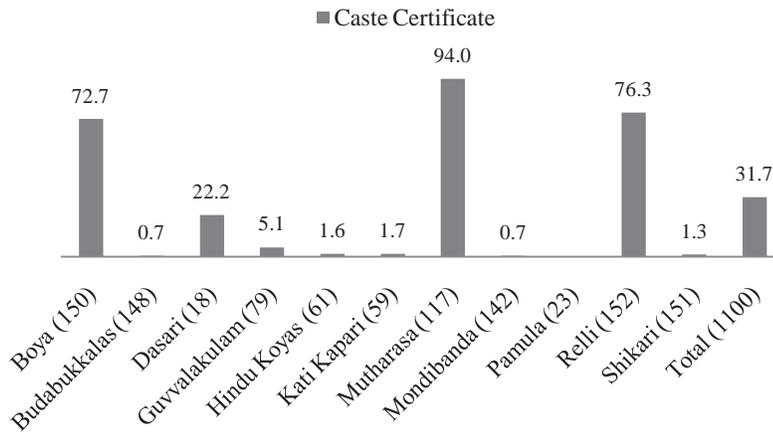
Figure 7.10: Access to entitlements



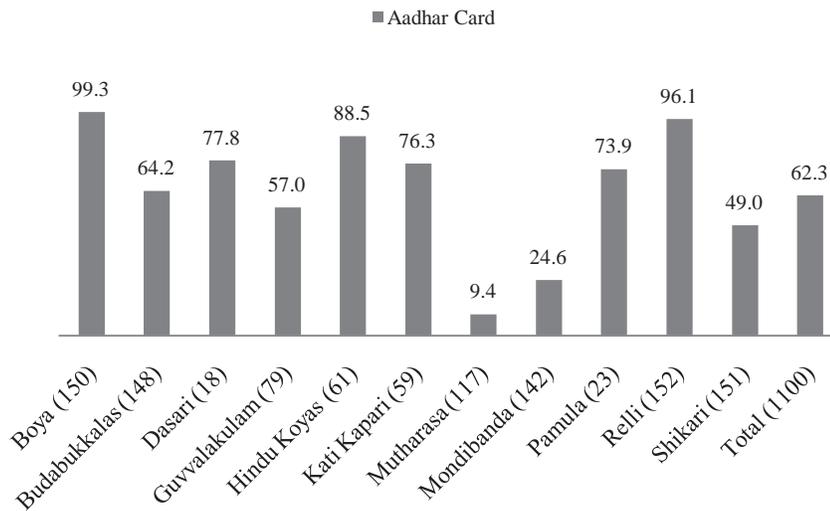
Source: Field Survey



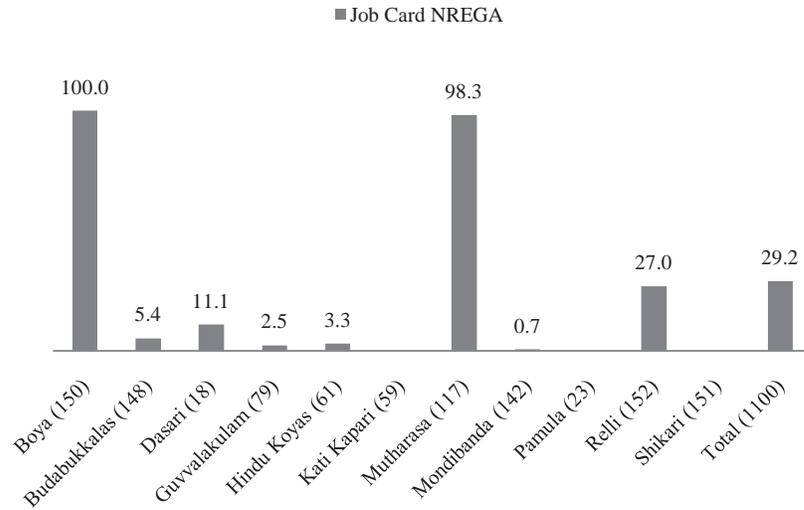
Source: Field Survey



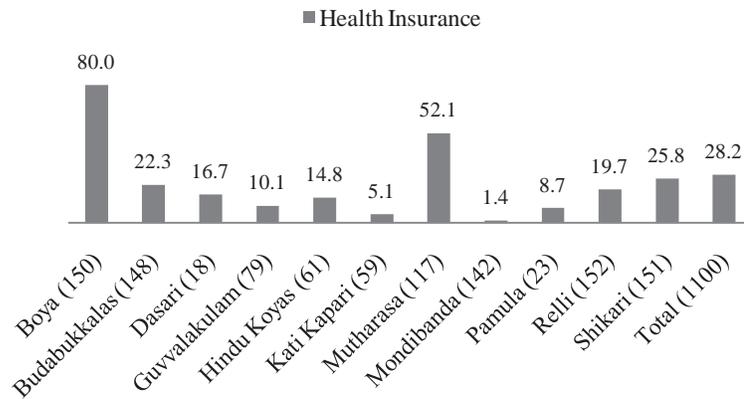
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

Since Aadhaar card is being made compulsory for all the governmental and public transactions, not having this could pose serious problems among DNTs in future. The households who do not have Aadhaar cards and Caste Certificates might face problem in availing the student scholarships and job reservation benefits in future. Similarly, non-possession of MNREGA cards will limit their work and income during the off-season in rural areas. As a result, it reduces the parents' capacity to support children's education too.

The data shows that about 14.5 per cent of DNTs in Andhra Pradesh do not have access to Anganwadi Centers (AWC). This proportion is higher among Dasari and Shikari. About 48.3 per cent do not have access to PHC

(Primary Health Centre). This proportion is higher among Guvvalakulam, Mutharasa and Mondibanda (Table 7.19).

Table 7.19: Access to ICDS & PHC by households

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Anganwadi**	Primary Health Centre **
Boya (150)	145 (96.7)	145 (96.7)
Budabukkalas (140)	141 (95.3)	86 (58.1)
Dasari (18)	6 (33.3)	4 (22.2)
Guvvalakulam (79)	70 (88.6)	1 (1.3)
Hindu Koyas (61)	60 (98.4)	60 (98.4)
Kati Kapari (59)	59 (100.0)	58 (98.3)
Mutharasa (117)	63 (53.8)	3 (2.6)
Mondibanda (142)	125 (88.0)	8 (5.6)
Pamula (23)	23 (100.0)	23 (100.0)
Relli (152)	150 (98.7)	85 (55.9)
Shikari (151)	99 (65.6)	96 (63.6)
Total (1100)	941 (85.5)	569 (51.7)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households.

Source: Field Survey

8. Assets

The study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. About 55.3 per cent of the total households have mobile phones. While about 54.0 per cent households reported availability of fans and coolers, 41.8 per cent households reported having television, 25.1 per cent households have scooter, 65.4 per cent households have chair/ table, 3.9 per cent households have kitchen appliances and less than 10 per cent each households possess Radio, Refrigerator, Computer Laptop, Cycle and four wheeler (Table 7.20).

Table 7.2b: Possession of assets in the household

DNTS/NT Community	Table/Chair	Electric Fan / Cooler	Kitchen appliances like Cooker	Radio	Cycle	Refrigerator	Television	Computer/Laptop	Telephone/Mobile	Scooter/Motor cycle	Four Wheeler	Others	Total
Boya	133 (88.7)	141 (94.0)	25 (16.7)	-	3 (2.0)	28 (18.7)	128 (85.3)	2 (1.3)	132 (88.0)	6 (4.0)	1 (0.7)	4 (2.7)	150 (100.0)
Budabakkalas	74 (52.9)	77 (55.0)	1 (0.7)	-	6 (4.3)	-	62 (44.3)	1 (0.7)	70 (50.0)	86 (61.4)	1 (0.7)	-	148 (100.0)
Desari	13 (72.2)	11 (61.1)	-	-	4 (22.2)	1 (5.6)	8 (44.4)	-	16 (88.9)	14 (77.8)	-	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	61 (77.2)	15 (19.0)	-	-	-	2 (2.5)	11 (13.9)	-	27 (34.2)	20 (25.3)	-	1 (1.3)	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	41 (67.2)	26 (42.6)	-	5 (8.2)	-	-	18 (29.5)	1 (1.6)	46 (75.4)	29 (47.5)	2 (3.3)	2 (3.3)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	41 (69.5)	27 (45.8)	-	-	1 (1.7)	-	29 (49.2)	-	40 (67.8)	14 (23.7)	-	1 (1.7)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	91 (77.8)	74 (63.2)	6 (5.1)	-	28 (23.9)	8 (6.8)	49 (41.9)	4 (3.4)	58 (49.6)	8 (6.8)	3 (2.6)	12 (10.3)	117 (100.0)
Mondabanda	73 (51.4)	22 (15.5)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	-	-	6 (4.2)	-	22 (15.5)	46 (32.4)	2 (1.4)	-	142 (100.0)
Pamula	13 (56.5)	12 (52.2)	-	-	-	-	7 (30.4)	-	8 (34.8)	6 (26.1)	-	1 (4.3)	23 (100.0)
Relli	133 (87.5)	138 (90.8)	8 (5.3)	1 (0.7)	15 (9.9)	4 (2.6)	98 (64.5)	-	109 (71.7)	40 (26.3)	5 (3.3)	8 (5.3)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	46 (30.5)	51 (33.8)	2 (1.3)	10 (6.6)	2 (1.3)	-	44 (29.1)	3 (2.0)	89 (53.0)	7 (4.6)	3 (2.0)	4 (2.6)	151 (100.0)
Total	719 (65.4)	594 (54.0)	43 (3.9)	17 (1.5)	59 (5.4)	43 (3.9)	460 (41.8)	11 (1.0)	608 (55.3)	276 (25.1)	17 (1.5)	33 (3.0)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

9. Discrimination

The study also highlights many instances of discrimination faced by children in school. About 1.3 per cent of respondents reported that they have been addressed by their tribe name. Other types of discriminations including being made to sit in the back, not given any attention by the teacher, forcing the student to drink water separately from other children, mid-day meal, sports, arrangement in sitting, prevention to go teacher to offer tea and water and being accused of coming just for the scholarship have reported by less than 1.0 per cent each by the households (Table 7.21). The discrimination has been reported by the Relli households only (very few from the Guvvalakulam tribe).

Table 7.21: Percentage respondents reporting discrimination of their children in school

DNT/ST/NT Community	Being called by the community name	Made to sit in the back bench	Not paid any attention by the teacher	Addressed as not having any intelligence but wanting for scholarship	Sitting arrangements in classroom are humiliating	Mid day meal	Teachers attitude is offensive / insulting	Fellow students attitude is offensive / hurtful	playground & cultural activities	Drink water from the same pot & glass is provided	Taking tea or water in the teacher	Total
Boys	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	150 (100.0%)
Boys/Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	148 (100.0%)
Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18 (100.0%)
Govvaluram	2 (2.5)	-	-	-	-	2 (2.5)	-	-	-	-	-	78 (100.0%)
Hinda Keyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61 (100.0%)
Kani Kapari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	99 (100.0%)
Machana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	117 (100.0%)
Mosabanda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	142 (100.0%)
Pamda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23 (100.0%)
Reddi	12 (7.9)	7 (4.6)	6 (3.9)	4 (2.6)	4 (2.6)	6 (3.9)	4 (2.6)	4 (2.6)	6 (3.9)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	152 (100.0%)
Shikari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.3)	-	-	-	191 (100.0%)
Total	14 (1.3)	7 (0.6)	6 (0.5)	4 (0.4)	4 (0.4)	8 (0.7)	4 (0.4)	6 (0.5)	6 (0.5)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1000 (100.0%)

Source: Field Survey

10. Seasonal Migration

Migration influences the educational attainment and its quality. The frequent migration hinders the children's education. About 34.8 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 65.2 per cent reported their current location as the place of their origin. Hindu Koyas (50.8 per cent), Guvvalakulam (44.3 per cent) and Mondibanda (38.0 per cent) have a higher proportion of households who report that they are migrants (Table 7.22). Livelihood is the only cause for migration of all the households in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 7.22: Current location reported as place of origin of respondent

DN/SNT/NT Community	Original Place	Migrant	Total
Boya	148 (98.7)	2 (1.3)	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	95 (64.2)	53 (35.8)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	18 (100.0)	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	44 (55.7)	35 (44.3)	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	30 (49.2)	31 (50.8)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	46 (78.0)	13 (22.0)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	84 (71.8)	33 (28.2)	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	88 (62.0)	54 (38.0)	142 (100.0)
Pamula	16 (69.6)	7 (30.4)	23 (100.0)
Relli	102 (67.1)	50 (32.9)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	46 (30.5)	105 (69.5)	151 (100.0)
Total	717 (65.2)	383 (34.8)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 40.7 per cent of sample DNTs in Andhra Pradesh are migrated thrice; whereas the proportion is relatively high among Pamula, Relli, Mutharasa, and Budabukkalas. Among those who reported it twice (29 per cent), the proportion is higher among Kati Kapari, Boya, Shikari and Budabukkalas (Table 7.23). In a large case (29.0 per cent), the households migrate for one month (Table 7.24). However 23.7 per cent, 21.6 per cent, 12.3 per cent and 13.3 per cent of the households migrate for two, three, four and five (more than five) months respectively.

Table 7.23: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Number of times migrating in a year				Total
	1	2	3	4	
Boya	-	2 (100.0)	-	-	02 (100.0)
Budabukkalas		21 (39.6)	30 (56.6)	2 (3.8)	53 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	18 (51.4)	2 (5.7)	14 (40.0)	1 (2.8)	35 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	-	-	15 (48.4)	16 (51.6)	31 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	-	13 (100.0)	-	-	13 (100.0)
Mutharasa	8 (24.2)	5 (15.2)	20 (60.6)	-	33 (100.0)
Mondibanda	20 (37.0)	17 (31.5)	15 (27.8)	2 (3.7)	54 (100.0)
Pamula	1 (14.3)	-	6 (85.7)	-	07 (100.0)
Relli	4 (8.0)	8 (16.0)	38 (76.0)	-	50 (100.0)
Shikari	16 (15.7)	43 (42.2)	18 (17.1)	28 (26.7)	105 (100.0)
Total	67 (17.5)	111 (29.0)	156 (40.7)	49 (12.8)	383 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.24: Months of stay per migration in a location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration					Total
	1	2	3	4	5 and more	
Boya	-	-	2 (100.0)	-	-	2 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	14 (26.4)	31 (58.5)	8 (15.1)	-	-	53 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	-	-	1 (2.9)	-	34 (97.1)	35 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	10 (39.0)	-	10 (32.2)	4 (12.9)	7 (22.6)	31 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	-	-	-	13 (100.0)	-	13 (100.0)
Mutharasa	7 (21.2)	6 (18.2)	20 (60.6)	-	-	33 (100.0)
Mondibanda	5 (9.3)	12 (22.2)	14 (25.9)	13 (24.1)	10 (18.6)	54 (100.0)
Pamula	-	7 (100.0)	-	-	-	7 (100.0)
Relli	12 (24.0)	2 (4.0)	19 (38.0)	17 (34.0)	-	50 (100.0)
Shikari	63 (60.0)	33 (31.4)	9 (8.6)	-	-	105 (100.0)
Total	111 (29.0)	91 (23.7)	83 (21.6)	47 (12.3)	51 (13.3)	383 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

11. Neighbourhood

About 85.5 per cent of the households live among their own tribe and 3.0 per cent have their houses in isolated places. About 11.5 per cent of the total households stay with other communities. Among all the tribes large number of Mondibanda, Pamula and Guvvalakulam stay with other communities whereas the proportion for the same is relatively smaller for the remaining tribes studied in Andhra Pradesh (Table 7.25).

Table 7.25: Percentage of respondents reporting about their neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own Caste/tribe people	Other caste/tribe people	Segregated House	Total
Boya	148 (98.7)	2 (1.3)	-	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	128 (86.5)	14 (9.5)	6 (4.1)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	16 (88.9)	2 (11.1)	-	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	50 (63.3)	26 (32.9)	3 (3.8)	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	52 (85.2)	6 (9.8)	3 (4.9)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	45 (76.3)	9 (15.3)	5 (8.5)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	108 (92.3)	-	9 (7.7)	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	82 (57.7)	58 (40.8)	2 (1.4)	142 (100.0)
Pamula	14 (60.9)	9 (39.1)	-	23 (100.0)
Relli	149 (98.0)	-	3 (2.0)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	149 (98.7)	-	2 (1.3)	151 (100.0)
Total	941 (85.5)	126 (11.5)	33 (3.0)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES - STATUS

The present section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Andhra Pradesh. This section details the findings on the educational status of the denotified from the primary data of the study.

12. Status of Education

In the household survey, the educational status of household members, reasons for non-enrolment, dropout, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education were explored.

Table 7.26: Education status of members of respondent households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Child <6 years	Currently Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropouts	Completed	Total
Boya	53 (15.8)	120 (35.8)	108 (32.2)	23 (6.9)	31 (9.31)	335 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	151 (41.7)	128 (35.4)	68 (18.8)	5 (1.4)	10 (2.8)	362 (100.0)
Dasari	4 (14.3)	20 (71.4)	1 (3.6)	-	3 (10.7)	28 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	36 (31.3)	31 (27.0)	15 (13.0)	24 (20.9)	9 (7.8)	115 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	68 (37.0)	66 (35.9)	36 (19.6)	5 (2.7)	9 (4.9)	184 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	52 (29.4)	52 (29.4)	55 (31.1)	5 (2.8)	13 (7.3)	177 (100.0)
Mutharasa	37 (11.8)	116 (36.9)	40 (12.7)	6 (1.9)	115 (36.6)	314 (100.0)
Mondibanda	17 (8.1)	66 (31.4)	67 (31.9)	57 (27.1)	3 (1.4)	210 (100.0)
Pamula	20 (32.3)	28 (45.2)	6 (9.7)	3 (4.8)	5 (8.1)	62 (100.0)
Relli	57 (12.4)	170 (36.9)	78 (16.9)	3 (0.7)	153 (33.2)	461 (100.0)
Shikari	107 (25.8)	171 (41.2)	72 (17.3)	44 (10.6)	21 (5.1)	415 (100.0)
Total	602 (22.6)	968 (36.3)	546 (20.5)	175 (6.6)	372 (14.0)	2663 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among the total population covered under the survey child population (below 6 years) account for nearly 23 per cent percent and the remaining population can be classified as (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education. Of the total, more than one-third (36 per cent) were currently studying, while a significant proportion (21 per cent) indicated never enrolled, while yet another 21 per cent also reported as either dropped out of education or have indicated the level of education which they have completed. The incidence of non-enrollment was evident across communities, but more than 30 per cent among Boya, Kati Kapari and Mondibanda.

Apart from those who reported the reason for dropping out of their education, there are many who do not identify any particular reason for stopping their education. Instead, they reported that they have completed their education at different levels. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. Out of 372 who have reported that they have completed education (Table 7.26), majority has completed higher secondary level education (38 per cent) followed by primary (31 per cent), secondary school (16 per cent), graduation (12 per cent) and post graduation and others (less than 4 per cent). Among tribes, in case of Mutharasa, almost one-fourth had reported completed graduate level education while it was less than 10 per cent among Relli and Kati Kapari and below 5 per cent among Boyas.

Table 7.27: Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 5)	Secondary Level (6-8)	High School Level (9-12)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Others	Total
Boya	72 (60.0)	23 (19.2)	11 (9.2)	8 (6.7)	2 (1.7)	4 (3.3)	120 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	100 (78.1)	26 (20.3)	2 (1.6)	-	-	-	128 (100.0)
Dasari	19 (95.0)	1 (5.0)	-	-	-	-	20 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	21 (67.7)	10 (32.3)	-	-	-	-	31 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	48 (72.7)	17 (25.8)	1 (1.5)	-	-	-	66 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	40 (76.9)	11 (21.2)	1 (1.9)	-	-	-	52 (100.0)
Mutharasa	24 (20.7)	34 (29.3)	43 (37.1)	12 (10.3)	-	3 (2.6)	116 (100.0)
Mondibanda	35 (53.0)	30 (45.5)	1 (1.5)	-	-	-	66 (100.0)
Pamula	17 (60.7)	10 (35.7)	1 (3.6)	-	-	-	28 (100.0)
Relli	45 (26.5)	43 (25.3)	54 (31.8)	19 (11.2)	1 (0.6)	8 (4.7)	170 (100.0)
Shikari	116 (67.8)	42 (24.6)	13 (7.6)	-	-	-	171 (100.0)
Total	537 (55.5)	247 (25.5)	127 (13.1)	39 (4.0)	3 (0.3)	15 (1.5)	968 (100.0)

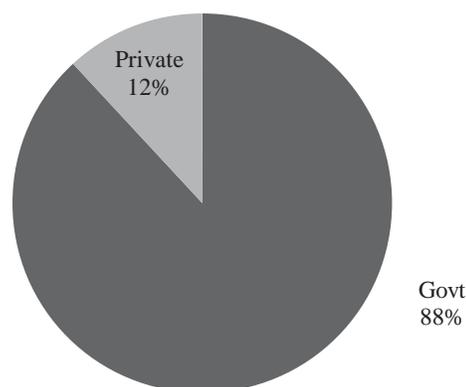
Source: Field Survey

Among the currently studying, more than half (56 per cent) were enrolled in primary level, followed by one-fourth in secondary level, 13 per cent in higher secondary and rest in graduation and above. Among Mutharasa and Relli tribes, around 50 per cent were enrolled for high school and above level of education inclusive of around 10 per cent and above at the graduation. The choice of medium of instruction was Telugu (97 per cent) and majority was enrolled in government schools (88 per cent). The incidence of English medium was more among Boyas and Relli.

Table 7.28: Medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	English	Telugu	Total
Boya	7 (5.8)	113 (94.2)	120 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	2 (1.6)	126 (98.4)	128 (100.0)
Dasari	-	20 (100.0)	20 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	1 (3.2)	30 (96.8)	31 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	2 (3.0)	64 (97.0)	66 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	-	52 (100.0)	52 (100.0)
Mutharasa	4 (3.4)	112 (96.6)	116 (100.0)
Mondibanda	-	66 (100.0)	66 (100.0)
Pamula	-	28 (100.0)	28 (100.0)
Relli	12 (7.1)	158 (92.9)	170 (100.0)
Shikari	6 (3.5)	165 (96.5)	171 (100.0)
Total	34 (3.5)	934 (96.5)	968 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.11: Type of educational institutions

Source: Field Survey

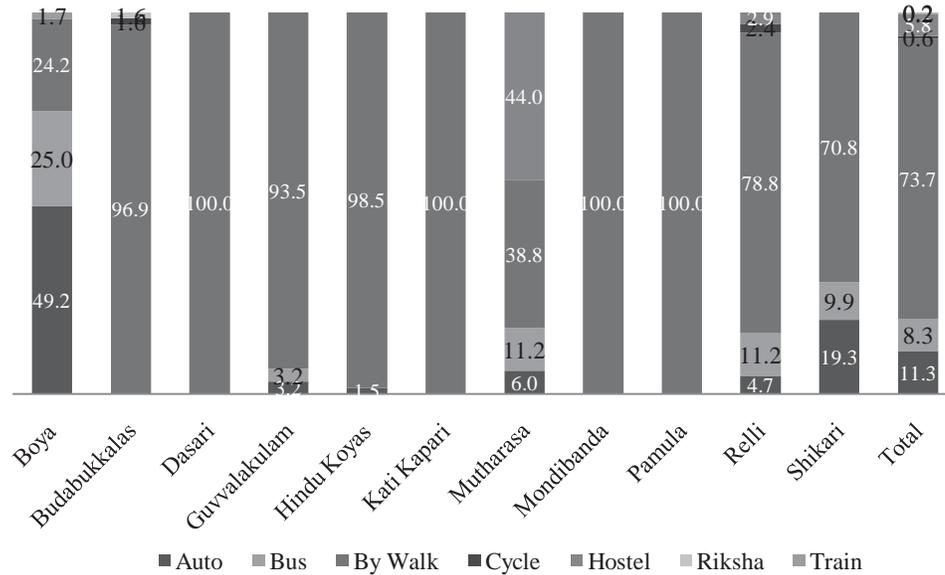
Table 7.29: Distance to educational institution of study

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Upto 1 Km.	1.1 to 3.0 Km.	3.1 to 5.0 Km.	5.0 to 10.0 Km.	> 10.0 Km.	Total
Boya	32 (26.7)	48 (40.0)	14 (11.7)	6 (5.0)	20 (16.7)	120 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	124 (96.9)	2 (1.6)	-	-	2 (1.6)	128 (100.0)
Dasari	20 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	20 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	20 (64.5)	8 (25.8)	3 (9.7)	-	-	31 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	60 (90.9)	6 (9.1)	-	-	-	66 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	52 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	52 (100.0)
Mutharasa	47 (40.5)	3 (2.6)	14 (12.1)	21 (18.1)	31 (26.7)	116 (100.0)
Mondibanda	66 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	66 (100.0)
Pamula	28 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	28 (100.0)
Relli	134 (78.8)	-	6 (3.5)	5 (2.9)	25 (14.7)	170 (100.0)
Shikari	89 (52.0)	66 (38.6)	11 (6.4)	2 (1.2)	3 (1.8)	171 (100.0)
Total	672 (69.4)	133 (13.7)	48 (5.0)	34 (3.5)	81 (8.4)	968 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Around 70 per cent of respondents indicated that they travel less than a kilometre, while 14 per cent indicated upto 3 kilometres and rest were travelling above 5 kilometres. Across tribes however there were variations. Those who were travelling more than 3 kilometres were high among Mutharasa (57 per cent), Boya (33 per cent) and Relli (21 per cent) tribes. This is also reflected in the mode of transport to school – a large proportion of Mutharasa indicate that they stay in hostel and that partly explains the longer distance of travel from place of residence. In case of Relli, 15 per cent indicate travel by auto and bus whereas among Boyas half of the respondents are dependent on auto as mode of transport to school.

Figure 7.12: Mode of transport to school



Source: Field Survey

Table 7.30: Level of education of dropouts in Andhra Pradesh

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 5)	Secondary Level (6-8)	High Level (9-12)	Graduation	Total
Boya	4 (17.4)	10 (43.5)	9 (39.1)	-	23 (100.0)
Budabukkallas	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	-	-	5 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	14 (58.3)	6 (25.0)	4 (16.7)	-	24 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	5 (100.0)	-	-	-	5 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	-	-	5 (100.0)
Mutharasa	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)	3 (50.0)	1 (16.7)	6 (100.0)
Mondibanda	28 (49.1)	21 (36.8)	8 (14.0)	-	57 (100.0)
Pamula	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	-	-	3 (100.0)
Relli	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	-	3 (100.0)
Shikari	25 (56.8)	17 (38.6)	2 (4.5)	-	44 (100.0)
Total	86 (49.1)	61 (34.9)	27 (15.4)	1 (0.6)	175 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who had dropped out, a little less than half of the respondents had studied till primary level followed by secondary (35 per cent), higher secondary (15 per cent) and less than one per cent at graduation level. Higher levels of education above primary were present among the tribes from Boyas and Mutharasa. Failure in studies, difficulties in understanding medium of instruction, illness and health problems, discriminatory and non-congenial school environment, lack of adequate

finance and poverty, and parental migration in search of work were some of the reasons for dropping out of school.

13. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental motivation and other support for education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents' participation and community involvement in decision making at different levels of children's education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

Table 7.31: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

Particulars of Seeking Suggestions	Family members	Community Leaders	Teacher	Local Political Leaders	Neighbours	Not Consulted	Total
Admission of the Children to School	12 (1.1)	19 (1.7)	301 (27.4)	3 (0.3)	5 (0.5)	760 (69.1)	1100 (100.0)
Selection of Subjects	13 (1.2)	26 (2.4)	17 (15.5)	9 (0.8)	26 (2.4)	1009 (91.7)	1100 (100.0)
Selection of School/College	21 (1.9)	25 (2.3)	37 (3.4)	12 (1.1)	28 (2.5)	977 (88.8)	1100 (100.0)
Financial Matters	20 (1.8)	27 (2.4)	1 (0.1)	25 (2.3)	5 (0.5)	1022 (92.9)	1100 (100.0)
Guidance on Children's education	25 (22.3)	10 (8.9)	17 (15.2)	12 (10.7)	42 (37.5)	994 (90.4)	1100 (100.0)

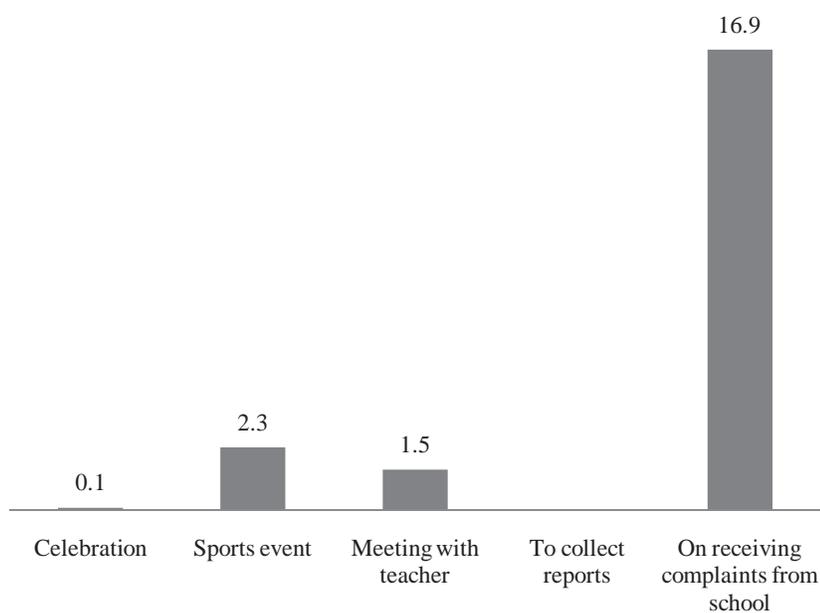
Source: Field Survey

Data reveals that majority of them did not consult community members with regard to children's education. In case of admission to school though 70 per cent indicated there was no community consultation, but more than one-fourth of households indicated that parents consult school teacher (27 per cent). In case of selection of subjects, school/college, financial matters and overall guidance, the community interaction of parents were found to be abysmally low (Table 7.31). This is also reflected in the frequency of visits by parents to school which was reported by barely 7 per cent of the households (Table 7.32). Around 17 per cent had reported that the visit to school was mostly on receipt of complaints from school i.e. as and when parents were summoned (Figure 7.13).

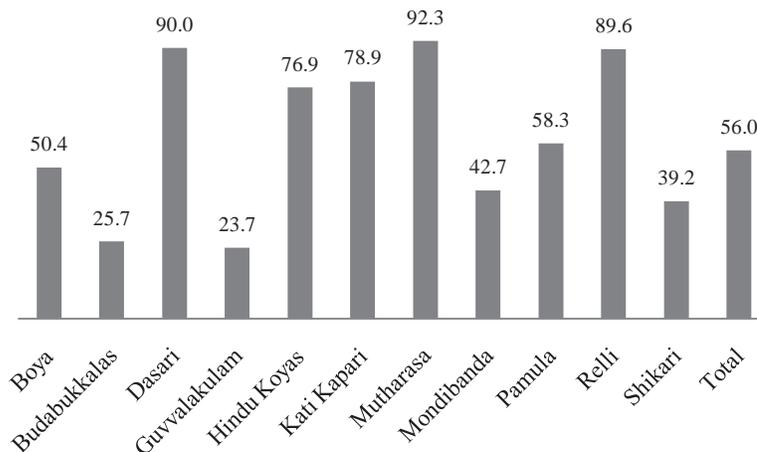
Table 7.32: Frequency of parent's visits to school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	6+	Not Visited	Total
Boya	-	5 (3.3)	-	-	1 (0.7)	3 (2.0)	141 (94.0)	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	-	-	-	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	145 (98.0)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	-	1 (5.6)	-	-	-	-	17 (94.4)	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	-	-	-	-	-	-	79 (100.0)	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	-	-	-	-	1 (1.6)	3 (4.9)	57 (93.4)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	1 (1.7)	-	-	1 (1.7)	-	2 (3.4)	55 (93.2)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	12 (10.3)	4 (3.4)	1 (0.9)	4 (3.4)	-	5 (4.3)	91 (77.8)	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	-	1 (0.7)	-	-	-	-	141 (99.3)	142 (100.0)
Pamula	-	-	-	-	2 (8.7)	-	21 (91.3)	23 (100.0)
Relli	1 (0.7)	-	-	6 (3.9)	1 (0.7)	9 (5.9)	135 (88.8)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	10 (6.6)	-	-	-	-	-	141 (93.4)	151 (100.0)
Total	24 (2.2)	11 (1.0)	1 (0.1)	12 (1.1)	6 (0.5)	23 (2.2)	1023 (93.0)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.13: Parent's visits to school from different events & programmes

Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.14: Parents reporting regular study at home by children

Source: Field Survey

Less than 60 per cent of the households reported regular study at home by children. However, the proportion differed across tribes – it was least around one-fourth among Budabukkalas and Guvvalakulam while it was forty percent but less than fifty percent among Mondibanda and Shikari households and it was between fifty and sixty percent among Boya and Pamula households. Among the rest it was above seventy five per cent (Hindu Koyas 77 per cent, Kati Kapari 79 per cent) and the rest reported high incidence of regular study at home by children.

Among the total households while one-fourth were happy with the progress in education of the children, around forty per cent were satisfied with writing and reading skills while satisfaction in case of speaking it stood at 54 per cent. Across tribes, there exist wide differences. The levels of satisfaction with progress was abysmal in general among Guvvalakulam, Mondibanda, Dasari and Budabukkalas (less than 10 per cent of households). In terms of writing too, the satisfaction levels were lower among Guvvalakulam, and Mondibonda; with respect to reading and speaking too Guvvalakulam households were not satisfied with the progress of their children (Table 7.33). None of the respondents were aware about the school management committee and were thus not involved in the activities of the school as parents. This is a matter of serious concern. Nonetheless, with regard to aspirations about the education of children, around forty percent of respondents from the households wanted their sons to be government employees. Majority of the respondents from the households (80 per cent) wanted their sons to

study to graduation and above. Only a marginal proportion of respondents (less than ten percent) were disillusioned by the education system and believed that there was no use in educating their sons. More than one-third (37.7 per cent) of households reported that if a boy is educated and has a job, he can change the economic condition of his family and get a comfortable life. Around one-fourth of respondents also stated that education provides them an opportunity to lead happy and comfortable lives and education will increase his critical thinking.

With regard to daughter's education too, the respondents from the households were more interested that their daughter should become a government employee. Around one-fourth also wanted their daughter to become a teacher and professional. However, a majority of respondents stated that they do not have idea about their daughters' education. Yet another one-fourth reported that their daughter should study up to graduation, and significant 17 per cent also indicated that they should study till post-graduation. About one-third of respondents from households reported that if girl is educated, she can prevent exploitation and enjoy a comfortable life. Around one fourth also stated that if she is educated, she will be empowered to find a good job and better livelihood and that education would increase her critical thinking. Negligible proportion also indicated that if their daughter is educated, she will live a good life, and after studying she will be able look after her family, increase awareness about life, pursue self development and live independently.

Table 7.33: Progress and performance of children

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Happy with Progress	Writing	Reading	Speaking	Total
Boya	45 (30.0)	63 (42.0)	76 (50.7)	110 (73.3)	150 (100.0)
Budabukkalas	15 (10.1)	39 (26.4)	40 (27.0)	41 (27.7)	148 (100.0)
Dasari	-	10 (55.6)	10 (55.6)	9 (50.0)	18 (100.0)
Guvvalakulam	3 (3.8)	4 (5.1)	10 (12.7)	19 (24.1)	79 (100.0)
Hindu Koyas	15 (24.6)	18 (29.5)	18 (29.5)	19 (31.1)	61 (100.0)
Kati Kapari	10 (16.9)	22 (37.3)	22 (37.3)	22 (37.3)	59 (100.0)
Mutharasa	61 (52.1)	84 (71.8)	80 (68.4)	75 (64.1)	117 (100.0)
Mondibanda	3 (2.1)	31 (21.8)	32 (22.5)	77 (54.2)	142 (100.0)
Pamula	4 (17.4)	9 (39.1)	9 (39.1)	9 (39.1)	23 (100.0)
Relli	87 (57.2)	104 (68.4)	104 (68.4)	104 (68.4)	152 (100.0)
Shikari	47 (31.1)	51 (33.8)	56 (37.1)	110 (72.8)	151 (100.0)
Total	290 (26.4)	435 (39.5)	457 (41.5)	595 (54.1)	1100 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

14. Conclusions

The study highlights several instances which reflect the larger issues related to the challenges that DNTs face in terms of their education and development in the country. For instance, the reclassification of DNTs in the state of Andhra Pradesh erroneously placed many of these DNTs in the OBC or SC categories. When Shikaris, Budabukkalas, Pamulas, Katikaparis, Boyas, Dasaris, Mondibandas, and Konda Dhora are listed in the OBC category, Rellis are listed in the SC category. Communities like Hindu Koyas and Guvvalakulams remain in the ST category but they remain unrecognized in some contexts or there is hardly any legal evidence that confirm the existence of such social categories. In several contexts, this has denied the rights and the opportunities which could have helped these communities in improving their quality of life considerably and therefore each of these community demands for recognising their existence and vulnerable living condition and reclassification that allow them to utilise the benefit of affirmative action that may help them in improving their social and economic lives.

The study finds that only 22 percent of the DNTs in AP possess agricultural land and within that communities like Konda Dhora, Boya and Shikari have more families possessing agricultural land. Due to several reasons, only a small share of the households who possess the agricultural land are cultivating their land independently. Majority of them live in their own houses but faces severe issues in accessing the basic services such as access to safe drinking water and sanitation and the poor living conditions in the settlements make their collective life miserable in different ways. In terms of their possession of various identity cards required to prove their identity or existence and avail various kinds of welfare schemes we find that majority possess ration cards, Voter IDs and Aadhar Card while only a few of them possess caste certificates. Among the DNTs, possession of such documents remains very high among the Boya, Guvvalakulam, Hindu Koyas, Konda Dhora, Relli and Shikari tribes while other communities have fewer households possessing such documents and hence being denied their basic entitlements on the ground that they do not have the concerned legal documents. Many parents find it difficult to get school admission for their children without caste certificate which the concerned authority denied on various grounds.

Only a few of them continue the traditional tribe-based occupations exclusively while a large number of households continue such activities for their subsidiary income or for the sake of following the tradition.

When they do not find any alternate livelihood in the local labour markets, the members migrate to different places and that adversely affect the stability of the families and the education of the children. This pattern found high among the Hindu Koyas, Guvvalakulam and Mondibanda households. The study also highlights the existing social isolation and discrimination which DNT communities face in the everyday life and schools; students from communities like Relli reported many instance of such discrimination in their schools.

In terms of education, the share of never-enrolled population was found to be particularly high among Boya, Kati Kapari and Mondibanda tribes. Majority of the current students (56 per cent) were enrolled in primary level, followed by secondary level, higher secondary and higher levels. Across the communities, Mutharasa and Relli have more students enrolled at higher secondary level and above. Across the DNTS, Boyas and Mutharasa communities have more members studied above primary level. The fact that none of the respondents were aware about the school management committee and hence not involved in its activities clearly indicates the nature of parents' engagement with their children's education. Nonetheless, their aspirations around their children's education, better job opportunities and living condition remain high.

Section 2: Telangana

15. Methodology***15.1 Sample Design***

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in the absence of secondary information on DNTs' educational and livelihood status, the present study essentially relies on data collected through primary survey. In order to gather the information, the field survey was conducted in undivided Andhra Pradesh during the months of April and May 2013. Subsequently, post state re-organisation, the data has been disaggregated for the two states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. The study adopted random sampling method in selecting DNT communities and districts and thus chose 14 DNT communities among the total (59) denotified communities that are placed in 11 districts in the undivided state. In Telangana, the selected communities included: Konda Dhora, Yerukula, Budagajangalu, Dommari and Dasari. The districts surveyed are: Mahabubnagar, Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad (in Telangana State). For convenience in analysis, the study further classified these groups as DNT-1, DNT-2 and Nomadic, based on their characteristics such as socio-economic status, vulnerability associated with stigma, discrimination and nomadic nature. This was done bearing in the mind the pilot survey experience. The communities were selected also keeping in the mind their availability in the randomly selected districts. This is because the presence of DNT communities is not the same, nor even extant, in all districts. The selected communities include those who are both slightly economically better off as well as especially vulnerable ones, so as to find the variations between them in manifold aspects.

15.2 DNTs under Study in Telangana State

This section seeks to introduce the DNT communities covered in the study. For this, we use the available ethnographic literature and the interviews with community leaders.

Yerukala

The Yerukalas were once nomadic but are now settled across Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Their traditional occupations are basket-making, fortune telling and piggery, cultivation and casual labour work. According to the Criminal Tribes Act, they were notorious criminals who committed

robbery, dacoitry and murder. Post independence, they were denotified and placed in the ST category. They have their own language *Yerukala* or Kurru Bhasa, which belongs to the family of Dravidian languages. They worship their own gods as well as nature divinities. They celebrate their festivals with songs, dances and by sacrificing animals. Among DNTs, Yerukalas are socially, economically and educationally quite progressive. They often hold government jobs as well as private sector jobs due to their education. However, a majority still live in poverty in substandard conditions. They are not totally free of the stigma of being an ex-criminal tribes and are often persecuted by the police whenever any criminal incidents take place in their vicinity. They often have the legal documents in place that allow them to make use of schemes offered by the government.

Dommara

Dommara is a caste in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana whose traditional occupation is sex work. Along with this, they also perform dances, acrobatic performances, circus acts and so on in public places. They speak Dommara which belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. They are spread across the country but are called by different names in each part. In the north they are called the Dom community. They are scattered in districts like Nalgonda, Guntur, Warangal and temple towns in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Families depend on the women as earning members. The men work as pimps and facilitators of the flesh trade. Their children receive little education, particularly the girls. The literacy rate is low and there are no government employees from the community. There are also very few who work in the private sector. They are plagued by landlessness, are resource-poor, live in secluded and unsanitary conditions and often face health problems. Every now and then they are subjected to harassment and raids on their localities by the police.

After de-notification they were placed in the OBC category, but desire SC status.

Dasari

Dasari are also known as Mala Dasari and are traditionally petty vendors who sell household appliances, utensils, hair care products and travel from one village to another. They are also involved in agriculture and casual labour. They speak Telugu and are spread across Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. They sell traditional cosmetic items. Due to the nature of their

traditional occupation the British placed them under the CTA. After denotification, they were placed in the OBC category, but they claim that they are from the Mala community, even though the Mala consider them their subordinates. A large number of Dasari are landless, poor, asset-less, and resource weak. They are illiterates, unemployed and live on the periphery of villages or towns in huts and tents, except for the few who live in pucca houses. Their children are not given proper education and some families send them to beg for food early in the morning. There are very few who are well educated and settled in government jobs. Their youth are not interested in their traditional occupation and some have adopted modern employment. Due to their migratory lifestyle, the children are not sent to school regularly and the dropout rate is high in the community. They often lack investment to do business hence fall into debt traps. Due to their migratory nature the women are prone to sex work and girls are targets for the trafficking mafia. They are discriminated against and excluded from government benefits. They have entitlements but most of the benefits go to other forward OBCs. They cannot compete and have hence begun demanding SC reservation.

Konda Dhora

The Konda Dhoras claim that they are descendants of a kshatriya dynasty and were once rulers. Others say that they are descendants of aboriginal tribes who held small kingdoms. Whatever the case, there is no evidence of their having had a criminal past, despite their being included under the CTA. They were denotified in independent India and placed in OBC reservation category. At present, the community largely practices agriculture, fishing, selling fruits, vegetables and so on. They are one of the few developed communities among the OBCs. Their socio-economic conditions are much better than those of many other denotified communities in the state. They are moderately educated and most of the children get education up to higher levels. The children work in both government and private sectors after schooling. This community is one of the most united and politically organized in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. There are number of political leaders from the community who have occupied the highest political positions. However, a majority still consider themselves economically backward and want more upliftment and recognition in political, administrative and other sectors.

Budagajangalu

This tribe main occupation is small petty business in weekly sandy days, they are wondering surrounding villages sell the small items like cumbs, pins, etc. all women's are begging around villages. They have lack of awareness on govt. welfare schemes and social security benefits; they have not reached the welfare schemes. They have no permanent house, this community is very deprived in economically, and they need self employment assistance from the government. They need caste certificate, ration card and NREGA job card. They need subsidy loans for developing their existing petty business. Government should take initiative to distribute the agriculture lands for each family at least 3 acres per family for cultivation purpose. Most of the families are living in small huts; they have no electricity and drinking water.

Their traditional occupation is telling of astrology and begging, even now some families have been continuing their occupation. Most of families are living in the small huts and rent house, their children have growing with malnutrition due lack of hygienic condition and nutrition diet.

They need house site or pucca house and livelihood. They need subsidy loans for enhancing the existing livelihoods, and need support for self employment assistance from the government agencies. If the government to recognize our tribe and issue of caste certificate, ration cards NREGA job cards than only the discrimination will be remove from the society. Some families are doing barter system (exchange of items to items) they give onions and collect old iron items, plastic items and old papers etc. Most of the children have drop out middle of the school level due to their family economic depression. Some families are doing tree medicines and begging to lead their families. These communities have not yet received any body for welfare of social security benefits and social welfare schemes. If the government has been provide at least minimum facilities for these communities than only the discrimination has been removing from the society.

15.3 Sample size

The study covered 574 households from 5 communities settled across 4 districts in Telangana. All tribes surveyed fall under Denotified tribes (DNT) category (Table 7.34).

Table 7.34: Sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)	Social Category
Konda Dhora	157	27.4	DNT1 (54.1)
Yerukula	153	26.7	
Budagajangalu	144	25.1	DNT2 (45.9)
Dasari	72	12.5	
Dommari	48	8.4	
Total	574	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

16. Profile of the Sample

16.1 Geographical Distribution of the Sample

Out of the total sample households, 89.4 per cent were located in rural areas and the rest (10.6 per cent) in urban. Individual tribes vary in their rural–urban ratio: DNTs like Dommari, Konda Dhora, Yerukula and Dasari are mainly rural based, while among Budagajangalu more than one-fourth were urban based (Table 7.35). The DNT sample households (574) in Telangana are drawn from four different districts depending on their concentration. Out of total sample, the districts of Adilabad (40.1 per cent) and Warangal (27.7 per cent) together accounted for half of the per cent of total sample households (Table 7.36).

Table 7.35: Area-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Rural	Urban	Total
Budagajangalu	104 (72.2)	40 (27.8)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	63 (87.5)	9 (12.5)	72 (100.00)
Dommari	48 (100.0)	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	157 (100.0)	-	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	141 (92.2)	12 (7.8)	153 (100.0)
Total	513 (89.4)	61 (10.6)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.36: District-wise sample distribution

Districts	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)
Mahbubnagar	100	17.4
Khammam	85	14.8
Warangal	159	27.7
Adilabad	230	40.1
Total	574	100.0

Source: Field Survey

16.2 Household Population of the Sample

Out of total sample households, Konda Dhora (27.4), Yerukula (26.7), and Budagajangalu (25.1) account for higher proportion, while Dommari has the lowest (8.4) (Table 7.37). Majority of the household members belonged to the age group of 06-35 years (66.9 per cent) followed by 12.5 per cent of household members belongs to 36 to 45 years of age, 11.1 per cent of them were in the range of 0 to 5 years of age and rest 9.6 per cent belonged to 45 years and above (Table 7.38). Of the total, more than half of the respondents (52 per cent) were married while widow/widower accounted for less than two per cent, the proportion of divorced and separated stood at less than one per cent each. Among the 35 who reported being widow/widower, 28 were women while in case of divorced and separated, interestingly, out of 05 each, only one each were women (Table 7.39).

Table 7.37: Household population of the sample

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Population (Per cent)	Households (Per cent)
Budagajangalu	26.6	25.1
Dasari	13.1	12.5
Dommari	8.1	8.4
Konda Dhora	26.1	27.4
Yerukula	26.2	26.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.38: Age-wise population distribution

Age groups	Population	Population (Per cent)
0 to 5	242	11.1
06 to 18	636	29.3
19 to 35	817	37.6
36 to 45	271	12.5
46 to 60	160	7.4
Above 60	47	2.2
Total	2173	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.39: Gender-wise marital status

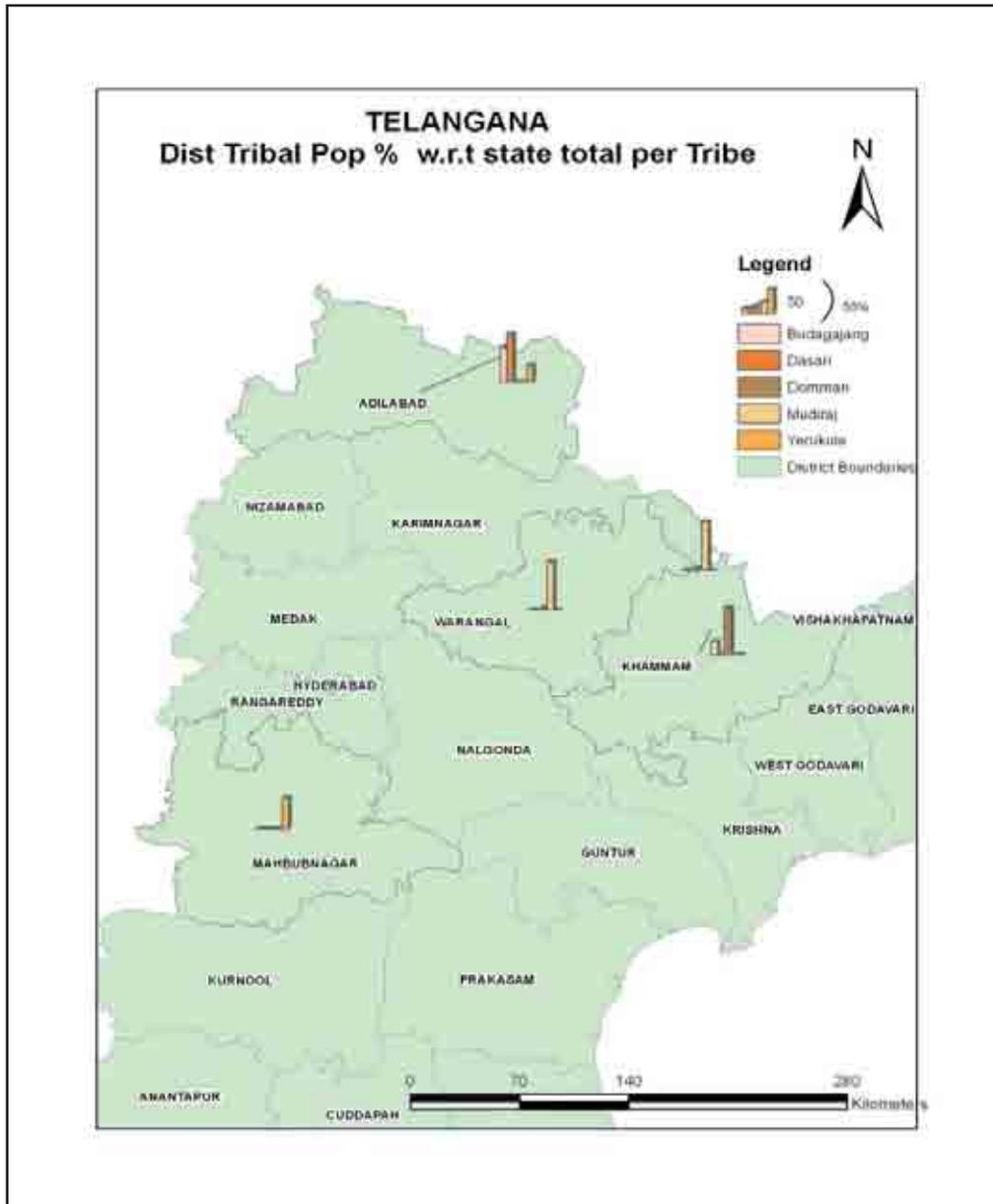
Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Married	553 (48.7) (50.7)	582 (51.3) (53.8)	1135 (100.0) (52.2)
Unmarried	523 (52.7) (47.9)	470 (47.3) (43.4)	993 (100.0) (45.7)
Divorced	4 (80.0) (0.4)	1 (20.0) (0.1)	5 (100.0) (0.2)
Separated	4 (80.0) (0.4)	1 (20.0) (0.1)	5 (100.0) (0.2)
Widow/Widower	7 (20.0) (0.6)	28 (80.0) (2.6)	35 (100.0) (1.6)
Total	1091 (50.2) (100.0)	1082 (49.8) (100.0)	2173 (100.0) (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

This section looks into the social status pattern, asset holding status and other location specific factors relating to different DNTs. It also looks into the pattern of livelihood reported among different DNTs spread across different districts in the State (Map 7.2).

Map 7.2: Sample districts from where the respondents were selected

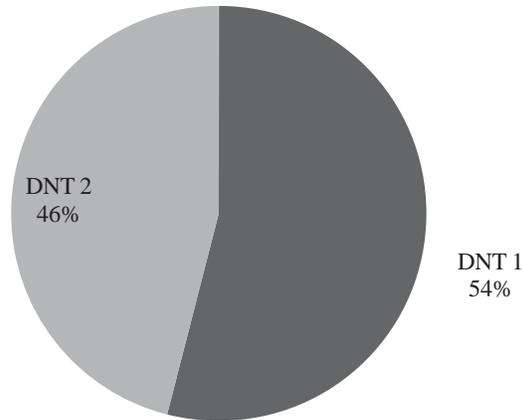


Source: Field Survey

17. The Tribes and their Social Status

Within the total sample, all the households belong to the DNT Communities (Figure 10.1). Among the 05 communities covered, Budagajangalu, Dasari, Dommari belong to DNT-1 and Konda Dhora and belong to DNT-2 (Figure 7.15).

Figure 7.15: Classification of tribes



Source: Field Survey

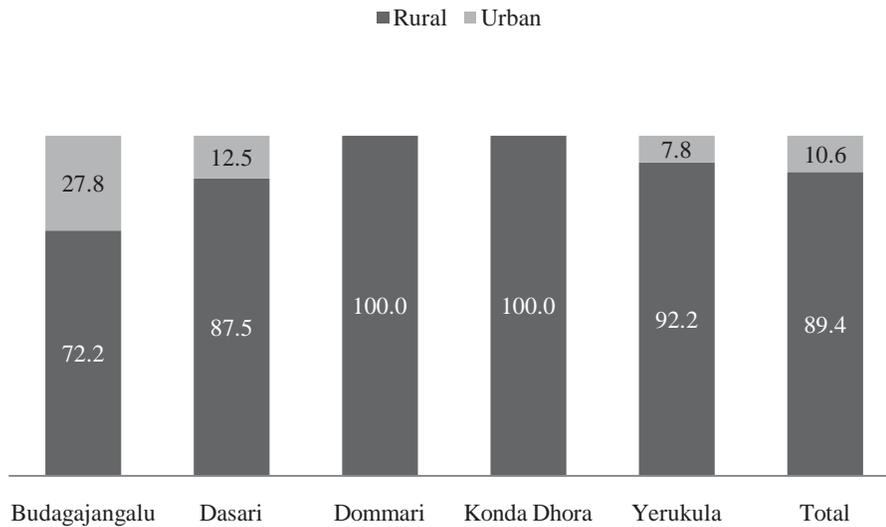
The sample DNTs in the present study hail from different social categories. Fifty four per cent of the DNTs belong to STs, followed by OBCs (46.0 per cent). Individually, Konda Dhora and Yerukula belong to ST, while others belong to OBC (Table 7.40).

Table 7.40: Social category of sample households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Social Category		Total
	Scheduled Tribe (ST)	Other Backward Castes (OBCs)	
Budagajangalu	-	144 (100.0)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	-	72 (100.0)	72 (100.0)
Domhari	-	48 (100.0)	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	157 (100.0)	-	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	153 (100.0)	-	153 (100.0)
Total	310 (54.0)	264 (46.0)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The households covered by the study were distributed across urban and rural areas in the State. All the DNT households covered by the study are concentrated in rural areas (Figure 7.16).

Figure 7.16: Location of the tribes

Source: Field Survey

The nomadic nature of DNTs can be captured by the duration of their stay at the present place at the time of survey. About 71.4 per cent of the respondents surveyed have been staying in the present place from more than 30 years. This proportion is overwhelmingly high among Konda Dhora (98.7 per cent), Dasari (88.9 per cent), Dommari (79.2 per cent) and Yerukula (78.5 per cent) and relatively low among Budagajangalu tribe (22.9 per cent). About 14.5 per cent have been staying there for 11 to 20 years. This proportion is high among Budagajangalu tribe (Table 7.41). The DNTs, mostly settled for over 30 years, suggesting that the nomadity among DNTs has gradually declined over the years in Telangana, leading to the expectation of increasing attainment of education, as a result.

Table 7.41: Duration of stay in the present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Since 1 to 10 Years	Since 11 to 20 Years	Since 21 to 30 Years	Above 30 Years	Total
Budagajangalu	-	63 (43.8)	48 (33.3)	33 (22.9)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	-	2 (2.8)	6 (8.3)	64 (88.9)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	-	10 (20.8)	-	38 (79.2)	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	2 (1.3)	-	-	155 (98.7)	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	9 (5.9)	8 (5.2)	16 (10.5)	120 (78.5)	153 (100.0)
Total	11 (1.9)	83 (14.5)	70 (12.2)	410 (71.4)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

18. Spoken Language

This study has attempted a very detailed discussion about the language proficiency in different spheres – at home, schools, within the community and public place separately. In addition, a discussion on the knowledge of English has been made subsequently.

Of the total sample, majority of the DNTs speak Telugu both at home (90.2 per cent), and at school (96.4 per cent). Thirty two per cent of the Yerukula speak Yerukula at home but speak Telugu (90.8 per cent) and English (4.6 per cent) at school. This analysis reveals to us that for most of the DNTs, school education is not in their mother-tongue, which could be a major issue in terms of educational attainment (Table 7.42 and 7.43).

Table 7.42: Language spoken at home

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Telugu	Telugu, Dommara	Yerukula	Total
Budagajangalu	144 (100.0)	-	-	144 (100.0)
Dasari	72 (100.0)	-	-	72 (100.0)
Dommari	41 (85.4)	7 (14.6)	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	157 (100.0)	-	-	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	104 (68.0)	-	49 (32.0)	153 (100.0)
Total	518 (90.2)	7 (1.2)	49 (8.5)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.43: Language spoken in school by different tribes

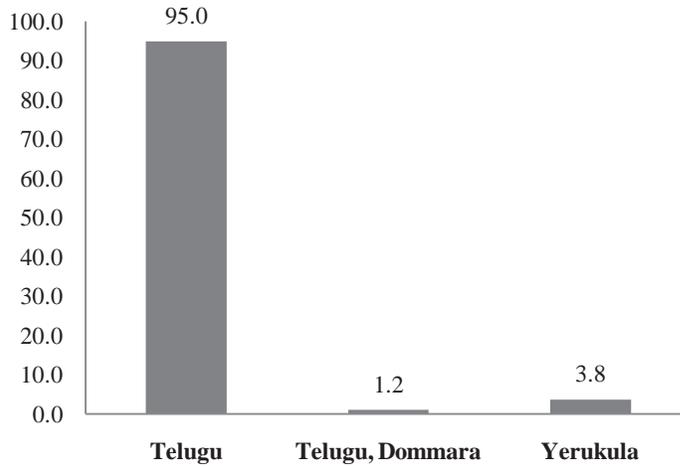
DNT/SNT/NT Community	English	Telugu	Telugu, Dommara	Yerukula	Total
Budagajangalu	-	144 (100.0)	-	-	144 (100.0)
Dasari	-	72 (100.0)	-	-	72 (100.0)
Dommari	-	41 (85.4)	7 (14.6)	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	-	157 (100.0)	-	-	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	7 (4.6)	139 (90.8)	-	7 (4.6)	153 (100.0)
Total	7 (1.2)	553 (96.4)	7 (1.2)	7 (1.2)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Telugu emerged as the main language (95.0 per cent) used by the tribal people while conversing within the communities. It is followed by Yerukula (3.8 per cent) and a mix of Telugu and Dommara (1.2 per cent) (Figure 7.17). Around 90 per cent of the households which were studied reported that they speak Telugu in public places. The language spoken at

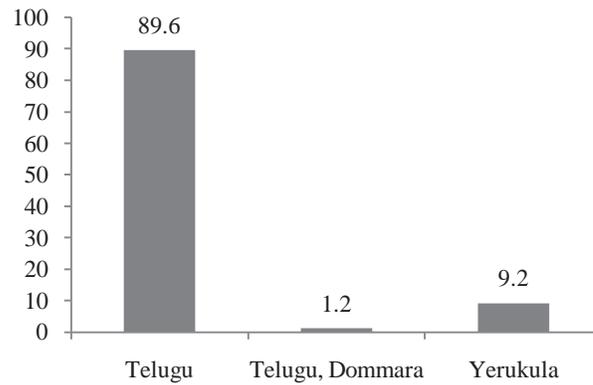
home, community and public places is almost same with small proportion of Yerukula at community and public places (Figure 7.18).

Figure 7.17: Language spoken within the community



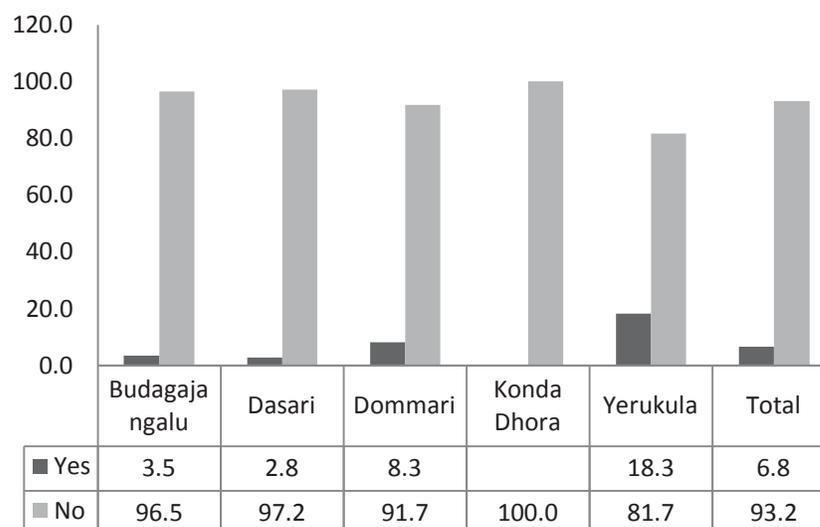
Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.18: Language spoken at the public place



Source: Field Survey

More than 90 per cent of the surveyed households cannot communicate through English. English is known to 6.8 per cent of the sampled households and this share is found high among Yerukula and completely absent among Konda Dhora. The scenario is similar with the remaining 03 tribes also (Figure 7.19). From FGD, it is observed that only younger generation (sons and daughters) have some knowledge about English, and not the older generations.

Figure 7.19: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

Around 43.6 per cent of households reported that only one person knows English in the family. About 20.5 per cent of respondents report that two people know English in the family and around 35.9 per cent of the respondents report that three people have knowledge of English (Table 7.44).

Table 7.44: Number of English-knowing members in the family

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3 and More	Total
Budagajanganalu	0	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	5 (100.0)
Dasari	1 (50.0)	0	1 (50.0)	2 (100.0)
Dommari	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	-	4 (100.0)
Yerukula	13 (46.4)	6 (21.4)	9 (32.1)	28 (100.0)
Total	17 (43.6)	8 (20.5)	14 (35.9)	39 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

19. Livelihood and its Sources

Regarding the present occupations, about 4.0 per cent of total sample indicate begging and rag pickers (majority are from Budagajanganalu), 13.1 per cent engage in agriculture (majority from Konda Dhora), 31.2 per cent are wage labour (mainly from Dommari and Budagajanganalu), about 29.3 per cent run petty-business like manufacturing and selling of plastic items and steel, vegetable and fruit vendors (mostly from Dasari and Budagajanganalu) and 2.6 per cent are in services (both government and private) (from three tribes – Budagajanganalu, Dasari and Yerukula) (Table

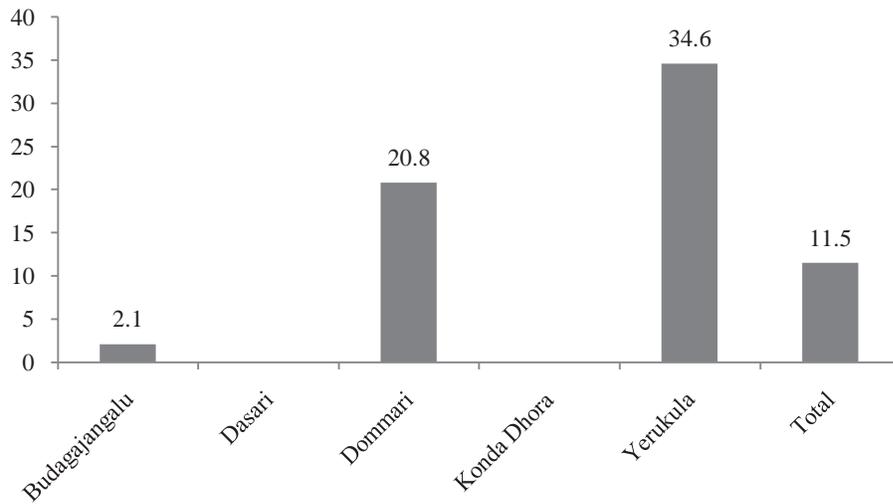
7.45). This tells us that DNTs in Telangana are still engaged in lower strata of occupations in the society which may put constraints on their educational attainments.

Table 7.45: Primary occupation of different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Agriculture Labour	Agriculture	Wage Labour	Shop & Petty / Organised Business	Service (Govt. & Private Employment)	Traditional Occupations	Begging & Rag Pickers	Rickshaw Pulling	Others	Total
Budagajangalu	-	1 (0.7)	53 (36.8)	57 (39.6)	5 (3.5)	3 (2.1)	21 (14.6)	4 (2.8)	-	144 (100.0)
Dasari	1 (1.4)	1 (1.4)	14 (19.4)	54 (75.0)	1 (1.4)	-	1 (1.4)	-	-	72 (100.0)
Dommari	-	2 (4.2)	31 (64.6)	4 (8.3)	-	10 (20.8)	1 (2.1)	-	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	30 (19.1)	49 (31.2)	39 (24.8)	39 (24.8)	-	-	-	-	-	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	3 (2.0)	22 (14.4)	42 (27.5)	14 (9.2)	9 (5.9)	53 (34.6)	-	2 (1.3)	8 (5.2)	153 (100.0)
Total	34 (5.9)	75 (13.1)	179 (31.2)	168 (29.3)	15 (2.6)	66 (11.5)	23 (4.0)	6 (1.0)	8 (1.4)	574 (100.0)

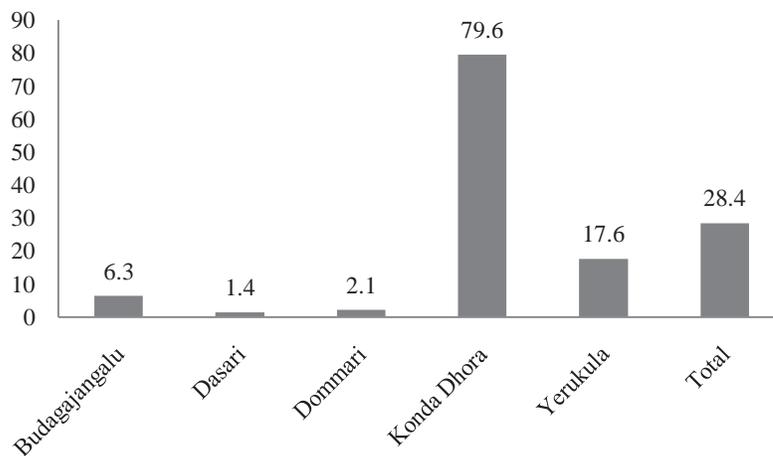
Source: Field Survey

Out of the total sample, very small proportion (11.5 per cent) of DNTs in Telangana still continues the traditional tribe-based occupation exclusively. They are mainly Yerukula (34.6 per cent), Dommari (20.8 per cent) and a small proportion of Budagajangalu (2.1 per cent) (Figure 10.6). However, a large number of households practice these occupations as their subsidiary income. The traditional occupation of Yerukalas includes basket-making, mat weaving, pig rearing, rope-making etc. The Yerukala women are specialized in sooth saying and fortune telling. Some of them also participate in economic activities like basket making, mat weaving etc, and make baskets with wild date leaves whereas the Dommari entertain the villagers by the acrobatic feats and monkey shows. The traditional occupation of the Budagajangalu tribe is to bless people and beg money from them. Thus, it should be noted that majority of the DNT are not practicing their traditional occupations. This means that such occupations either no longer provide them enough income to survive or they are losing respect in the public domain hence abandoning the same.

Figure 7.20: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation

Source: Field Survey

Regarding the possession of agricultural land, among all the samples, majority of the DNTs (71.6 per cent) in Telangana are landless and only 28.4 per cent have agricultural land. Out of which, it is mostly held by Konda Dhora (79.6 per cent) and to some extent Yerukula (17.6 per cent). Rest of the DNTs is mostly landless (Figure 7.21).

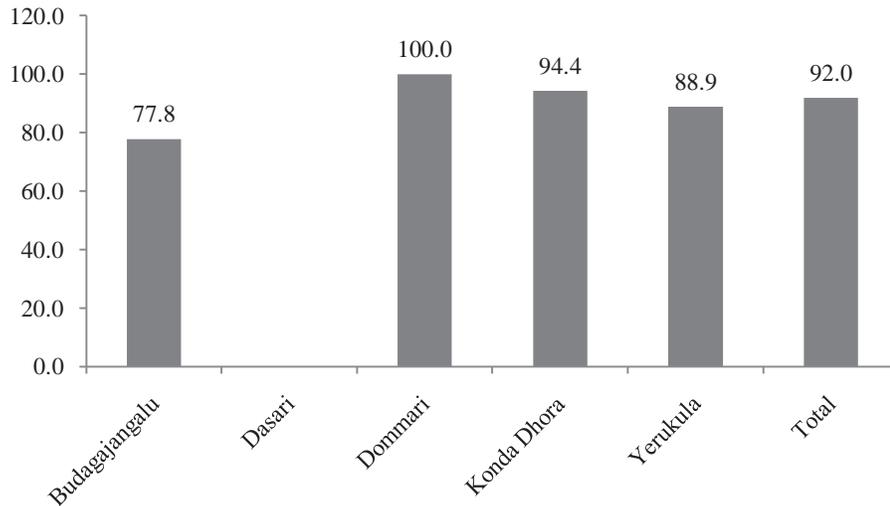
Figure 7.21: Possession of agricultural land (share in Per cent)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who possess the agricultural land, 92.0 per cent of the households are cultivating their land independently. Across the communities (except Dasari tribe), this pattern does not vary significantly.

For instance, this share found high as 100 per cent among the Dommari tribe against a relatively low share among Budagajangalu tribe (77.8 per cent) (Figure 7.22).

Figure 7.22: Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (Share in Per cent)



Source: Field Survey

It is revealed that 85.9 per cent households have land within the range of 1 to 5 acres, 3.1 per cent have between 6 to 10 acres and rest 3.1 per cent have land more than 10 acres. Larger landholding is found among the Konda Dhora tribe (3.2 per cent with 16 to 20 acres) (Table 7.46).

Table 7.46: Land distribution among the households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Below 1 acre	1 to 5 acre	6 to 10 acres	11 to 15 acres	16 to 20 acres	Total
Budagajangalu	2 (22.2)	7 (77.8)	-	-	-	9 (100.0)
Dasari	1 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	1 (100.0)
Dommari	-	1 (100.0)	-	-	-	1 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	10 (8.0)	108 (86.4)	2 (1.6)	1 (0.8)	4 (3.2)	125 (100.0)
Yerukula	-	24 (88.9)	3 (11.1)	-	-	27 (100.0)
Total	13 (8.0)	140 (85.9)	5 (3.1)	1 (0.6)	4 (2.5)	163 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

20. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

Majority of DNTs (85.0 per cent) in Telangana live in their own house while only 9.2 per cent of all live in rented house which is comprised mostly by Dasari and Yerukula. A very small proportion lives in

temporarily in others' house and negligible proportion lives in relative's house (Table 7.47). It is important to know what types of house they live in, and how many rooms it has. The data tells that 27.9 per cent of DNTs live in Kutcha houses, 31.1 per cent live in semi-pucca houses, and only about 29.2 per cent live in pucca houses, which is dominated by Konda Dhora households and to some extent by Yerukula households. And even 11.5 per cent live in tent house which are dominated by Budagajangalu (Table 7.48).

Table 7.47: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own	Rented	Others	Temporarily Residing in Others/ Neighbors house	Total
Budagajangalu	125 (86.8)	4 (2.8)	3 (2.1)	12 (8.4)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	50 (69.4)	17 (23.6)	2 (2.8)	3 (4.2)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	48 (100.0)	-	-	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	139 (88.5)	10 (6.4)	-	8 (5.1)	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	126 (82.3)	22 (14.4)	1 (0.6)	4 (2.6)	153 (100.0)
Total	488 (85.0)	53 (9.2)	6 (1.0)	27 (4.7)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.48: Type of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca	Semi Pucca	Kutcha	Tent	Total
Budagajangalu	8 (5.6)	9 (6.3)	75 (52.1)	52 (36.1)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	9 (12.5)	47 (65.3)	11 (15.3)	5 (6.9)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	11 (22.9)	1 (2.1)	36 (75.0)	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	80 (51.3)	68(43.6)	7 (4.5)	1 (0.6)	156 (100.0)
Yerukula	60 (39.2)	54 (35.3)	31 (20.3)	8 (5.2)	153 (100.0)
Total	168 (29.2)	179 (31.1)	160 (27.9)	66 (11.5)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Regarding the number of rooms in the house, majority of DNTs (54.2 per cent) have one room, 39.7 per cent have two rooms, 3.3 per cent have four rooms and only 1.6 per cent have three rooms. Very few people (1 per cent) have house of five rooms. Individually, mostly Budagajangalu (90.2 per cent), Konda Dhora (46.1 per cent), Dasari (45.8 per cent) and Dommari (44.4 per cent) have one room while 53.2 per cent of Konda Dhora, 49.7 per cent of Yerukula, 47.2 per cent of Dasari and 44.4 per cent of the Dommari have two rooms. Three rooms are found among Dommari, Konda Dhora and Yerukula. Houses with four and five rooms are found among Budagajangalu, Dasari and Yerukula (Table 7.49). The above analysis shows the sorry state of housing among DNTs in

Telangana. Though majority of them have own house but it is mostly a Kutcha house (and even tent) having one room only.

Table 7.49: Number of rooms in the house where respondent lives

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Budagajangalu	130 (90.2)	7 (4.9)	-	5 (3.5)	2 (1.4)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	33 (45.8)	34 (47.2)	-	4 (5.6)	1 (1.4)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	18 (44.4)	28 (44.4)	2 (11.1)	-	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	72 (46.1)	83 (53.2)	1 (0.6)	-	-	156 (100.0)
Yerukula	58 (37.9)	76 (49.7)	6 (3.9)	10 (6.5)	3 (2.0)	153 (100.0)
Total	311 (54.2)	228 (39.7)	9 (1.6)	19 (3.3)	6 (1.0)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

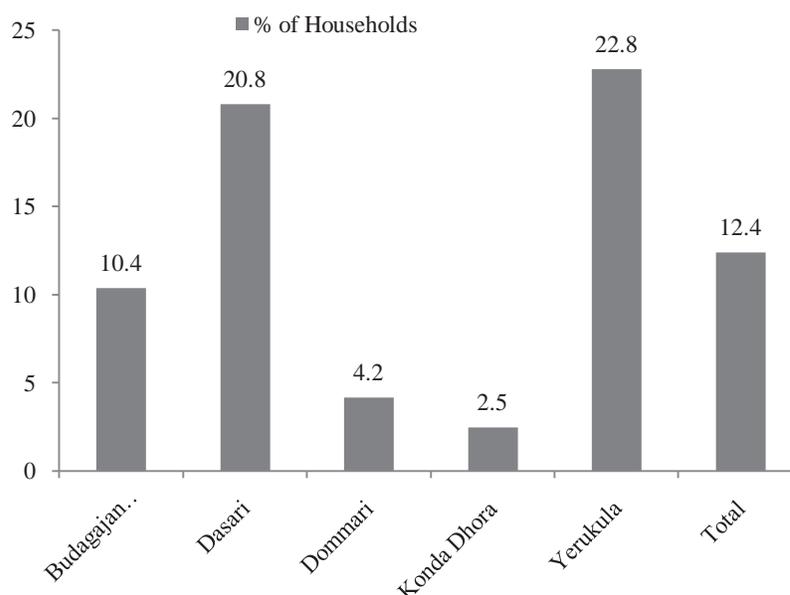
The quality of drinking water depends on its source. Only 8.7 per cent of DNT households in Telangana get tap water for drinking, whereas the majority of them (88.2 per cent) still depend on tube/bore well which is not as safe as tap water. Very negligible proportion depends on either protected or open-well. Among tap water, Yerukula are ahead (16.3 per cent) followed by Budagajangalu (7.6 per cent) and Konda Dhora (6.4 per cent). This tells us that the conditions of drinking water among DNTs in Telangana are still pitiable as majority of them depend on unsafe and untreated drinking water sources i.e. tube/bore well (Table 7.50).

Table 7.50: Main source of drinking water for the respondents

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tube/Borewell	Protected well	Open well	Piped Water	Total
Budagajangalu	127 (88.2)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	11 (7.6)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	65 (90.3)	-	-	4 (5.6)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	47 (97.9)	-	-	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	146 (93.0)	-	1 (0.6)	10 (6.4)	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	121 (79.1)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	25 (16.3)	153 (100.0)
Total	506 (88.2)	2 (0.3)	3 (0.5)	50 (8.7)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Toilet facilities are available to only 12.4 per cent of households and 87.6 per cent defecate in open space. All most 100 per cent of Konda Dhora and Dommari tribes have reported open defecation (Figure 7.23).

Figure 7.23: Status of toilet facilities / access

Source: Field Survey

About three-fourth of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. This proportion is more than 90 per cent in the case of Dommari and Konda Dhora whereas the same is less than 50 per cent among the Budagajangan tribe (41.7 per cent). About 73.2 per cent of households have electricity in their homes. This proportion is very high among Dommari (93.8 per cent), Konda Dhora (89.8 per cent) and Dasari tribe (83.3 per cent) and low among the Budagajangan (45.8 per cent) (Table 7.51).

Table 7.51: Status of electricity

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of Electricity in Neighbourhood**	Access to Electricity in Households**
Budagajangan (144)	60 (41.7)	66 (45.8)
Dasari (72)	60 (83.3)	60 (83.3)
Dommari (48)	44 (91.7)	45 (93.8)
Konda Dhora (157)	148 (94.3)	141 (89.8)
Yerukula (153)	121 (79.1)	108 (70.6)
Total (574)	433 (75.4)	420 (73.2)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households.

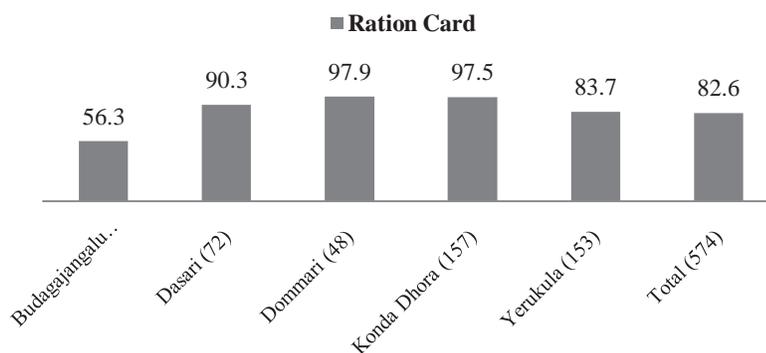
** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households.

Source: Field Survey

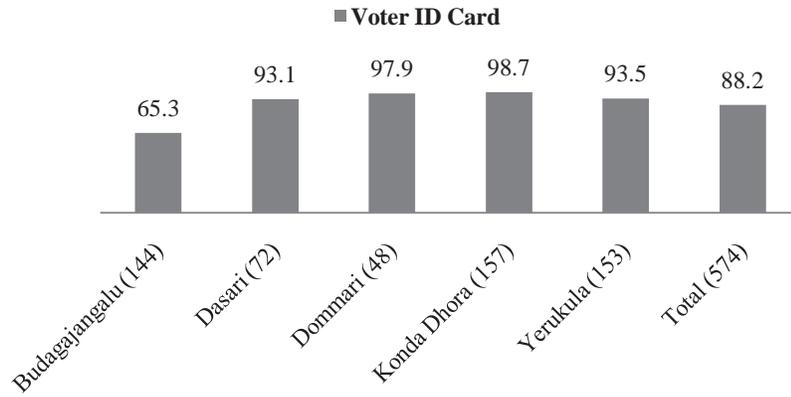
21. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

Possession of identity and job cards are important from the point of availing governmental welfare schemes, benefits, subsidies, employment, school or college admission and study scholarships etc., which could influence the access to education. Around 82.6 per cent of the total households possess ration card whereas the possession is found to be more than 90 per cent in the case of all Dasari, Dommari and Konda Dhora tribes. Possession of identity cards is necessary to avail the benefits of government schemes and programmes. Around 88.2 per cent of the households possess Voter ID while around 80 per cent of the households have Aadhar Card. Only 56.3 per cent of the total households possess caste certificate. This proportion is very less among Budagajangalu, Dommari and Konda Dhora households. The possession of health insurance is more than that of NREGA card. Health insurance is popular among the Yerukula, Dasari and Dommari households (Figure 7.24). This might be due to the well acclaimed Arogyasri Scheme prevalent in the undivided State. Since Aadhaar card is being made compulsory for all the governmental and public transactions, not having this could pose serious problems among DNTs in future. The households who do not have Aadhaar cards and Caste Certificates might face problem in availing the student scholarships and job reservation benefits in future. Similarly, non-possession of MNREGA cards will limit their work and income during the off-season in rural areas. As a result, it reduces the parents' capacity to support children's education too.

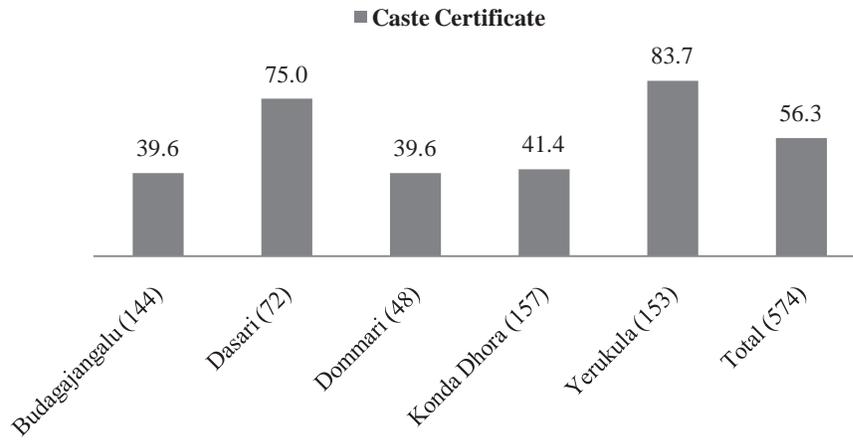
Figure 7.24: Access to entitlements



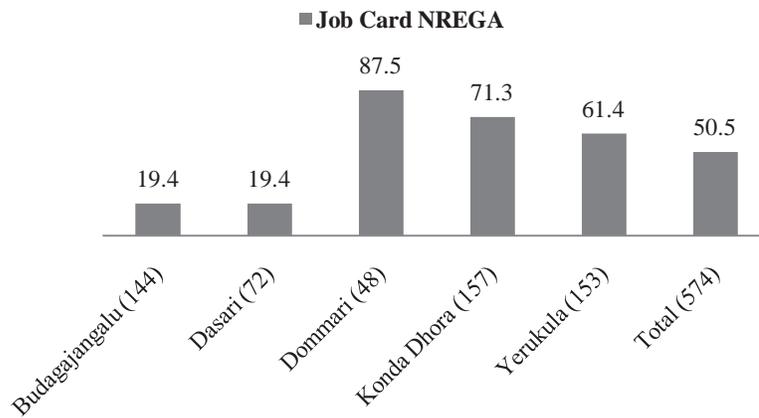
Source: Field Survey



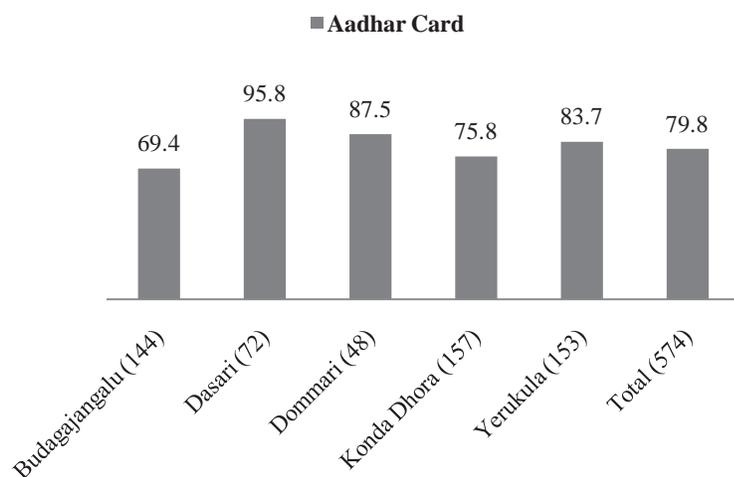
Source: Field Survey



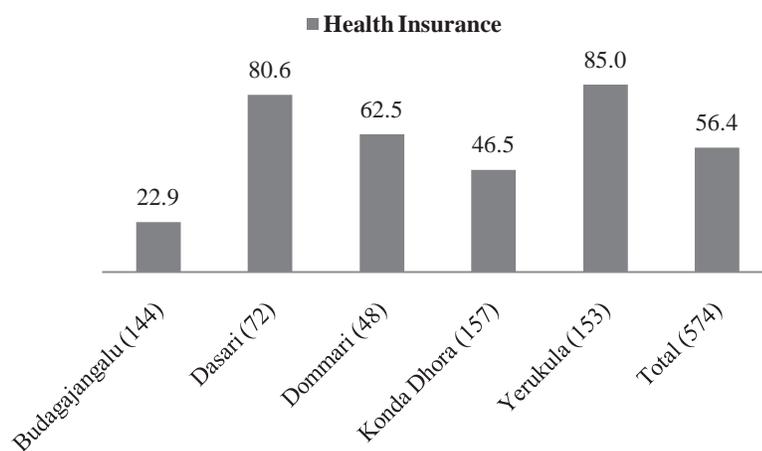
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

The data shows that about 16.2 per cent of DNTs in Telangana do not have access to Anganwadi Centers (AWC). This proportion is higher among Budagajangalu and Konda Dhora. About 46.7 per cent do not have access to PHC (Primary Health Centre). This proportion is higher among Konda Dhora, Dommari and Dasari (Table 7.52).

Table 7.52: Access to ICDS & PHC by households

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Anganwadi**	Primary Health Centre**
Budagajangalu (144)	97 (67.4)	77 (53.5)
Dasari (72)	68 (94.4)	68 (94.4)
Domhari (48)	44 (91.7)	8 (16.7)
Konda Dhora (157)	121 (77.1)	4 (2.5)
Yerukula (153)	151 (98.7)	149 (97.4)
Total (574)	481 (83.8)	306 (53.3)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households.

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

22. Assets

The study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. Sixty six per cent of the total households have telephone/mobile phones. While about 59.4 per cent households reported availability of fans and coolers, 44.1 per cent households reported having television, 43.6 per cent households have scooter, 84.0 per cent households have chair/ table, 59.4 per cent households have kitchen appliances and less than 10 per cent each households possess radio, refrigerator, computer laptop, cycle and four wheeler (Table 7.53).

23. Discrimination

The study also highlights many instances of discrimination faced by children in school. About 3.3 per cent of respondents reported that they have been addressed by their tribe name. Other types of discriminations including being made to sit in the back, not given any attention by the teacher, forcing the student to drink water separately from other children, mid-day meal, sports, arrangement in sitting, prevention to go teacher to offer tea and water and being accused of coming just for the scholarship have been reported by less than 2.0 per cent each of the households (Table 7.54).

Table 7.53: Possession of assets in the household

DNTS/NT Community	Table/ Chair	Electric Fan / Cooler	Kitchen appliances like Cooker	Radio	Cycle	Refrigerator	Television	Computer/ Laptop	Telephone/ Mobile	Scoter/ Motorcycle	Four Wheeler	Others
Badajjanga	112 (77.8)	45 (31.3)	.	.	.	.	25 (17.4)	1 (0.7)	76 (52.8)	87 (60.4)	4 (2.8)	5 (3.5)
Duari	67 (93.1)	57 (79.2)	.	1 (1.4)	2 (2.8)	9 (12.5)	35 (48.6)	3 (4.2)	63 (87.5)	38 (52.8)	5 (6.9)	10 (13.9)
Dumari	48 (100.0)	44 (91.7)	2 (4.2)	1 (2.1)	5 (10.4)	8 (16.7)	41 (85.4)	1 (2.1)	36 (75.0)	28 (58.3)	3 (6.3)	6 (12.5)
Konda Dhora	134 (85.4)	95 (69.5)	3 (1.9)	1 (0.6)	.	.	70 (44.6)	1 (0.6)	85 (54.1)	58 (36.9)	3 (1.9)	8 (5.1)
Yerakula	121 (79.1)	100 (95.4)	16 (10.5)	1 (0.7)	7 (4.6)	18 (11.8)	82 (53.6)	9 (5.9)	119 (77.8)	39 (25.5)	7 (4.6)	23 (15.0)
Total	482 (84.0)	341 (59.4)	21 (3.7)	4 (0.7)	14 (2.4)	35 (6.1)	253 (44.1)	15 (2.6)	379 (66.0)	250 (43.6)	22 (3.8)	52 (9.1)

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.54: Incidence of discrimination against children in school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Being called by the community name	Made to sit in the back bench	Not paid any attention by the teacher	Addressed as not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship	Addressed as Adivasi alluding to being uncultured	Sitting arrangements in classroom are humiliating	Mid day meal
Budagajangalu	5 (3.5)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
Dasari	4 (5.6)	2 (2.8)	3 (4.2)	1 (1.4)	3 (4.2)	1 (1.4)	1 (1.4)
Dommari	3 (6.3)	1 (2.1)	-	-	-	-	-
Mudiraj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yerukula	7 (4.6)	6 (3.9)	5 (3.3)	3 (2.0)	3 (2.0)	5 (3.3)	6 (3.9)
Total	19 (3.3)	9 (1.6)	8 (1.5)	4 (0.7)	6 (1.0)	7 (1.2)	8 (1.4)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Teachers attitude is offensive / insulting	Fellow students attitude is offensive / hurtful	Playground & cultural activities	Drink water from the same pot & glass	Taking tea or water to the teacher is prevented	Do you asked for manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	Total
Budagajangalu	-	1 (0.7)	-	-	-	-	144 (100.0)
Dasari	1 (1.4)	1 (1.4)	-	-	-	-	72 (100.0)
Dommari	-	1 (2.1)	-	-	-	-	48 (100.0)
Mudiraj	-	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	-	-	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	5 (3.3)	6 (3.9)	5 (3.3)	7 (4.6)	5 (3.3)	4 (2.6)	153 (100.0)
Total	6 (1.0)	10 (1.7)	6 (1.0)	8 (1.4)	5 (0.9)	4 (0.7)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

24. Seasonal Migration

Migration influences the educational attainment and its quality. The frequent migration hinders the children's education. About 59.4 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 40.6 per cent reported their current location as the place of their origin. Dasari (93.1 per cent), Budagajangalu (70.8 per cent) and Dommari (68.8 per cent) have a higher proportion of households who report that they are migrants (Table 7.55).

Table 7.55: Current location reported as place of origin of respondent

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Original Place	Migrant	Total
Budagajangalu	42 (29.2)	102 (70.8)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	5 (6.9)	67 (93.1)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	15 (31.3)	33 (68.8)	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	99 (63.1)	58 (36.9)	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	72 (47.1)	81 (52.9)	153 (100.0)
Total	233 (40.6)	341 (59.4)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Livelihood is the main reason for the people to migrate from their own place. Out of this 3 per cent of Dasari and 6.2 per cent of Yerukula households migrate for traditional business (Table 7.56).

Table 7.56: Reason for seasonal migration among different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Livelihood	For Traditional Business	Total
Budagajangalu	102 (100.0)	-	102 (100.0)
Dasari	65 (97.0)	02 (3.0)	67 (100.0)
Dommari	33 (100.0)	-	33 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	58 (100.0)	-	58 (100.0)
Yerukula	76(93.8)	05 (6.2)	81 (100.0)
Total	334 (97.9)	07 (2.1)	341 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Around 43.1 per cent of sample DNTs in Telangana had migrated once; whereas the proportion is relatively high among Yerukula, Dasari and Budagajangalu. More than 50 per cent reported it twice. In this case the proportion is higher among Konda Dhora and Dommari (Table 7.57). In large cases (77.1 per cent), the households migrate for either 2 months or more than 2 months (Table 7.58).

Table 7.57: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Number of times migrating in a year			Total
	1	2	3	
Budagajangalu	43 (42.1)	51 (50.0)	8 (7.8)	102 (100.0)
Dasari	31 (46.3)	36 (53.7)	-	67 (100.0)
Dommari	12 (36.4)	21 (63.6)	-	33 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	21 (36.2)	37 (63.8)	-	58 (100.0)
Yerukula	40 (49.4)	38 (46.9)	3 (3.7)	81 (100.0)
Total	147 (43.1)	183 (53.7)	11 (3.2)	341 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 7.58: Months of stay at migration place

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration				Total
	Below Month	1Month	2 Months	3 Months	
Budagajangalu	12 (11.8)	22 (2.0)	47 (6.9)	21 (1.0)	102 (70.8)
Dasari	7 (10.4)	17 (25.4)	43 (64.2)	-	67 (93.1)
Dommari		8 (24.2)	8 (75.8)	17 (51.5)	33 (68.8)
Konda Dhora		8 (13.8)	17 (29.3)	33 (56.9)	58 (36.9)
Yerukula		4 (4.9)	37 (45.7)	40 (49.4)	81 (52.9)
Total	19 (5.6)	59 (17.3)	152 (44.6)	111 (32.5)	341 (59.4)

Source: Field Survey

25. Neighbourhood

About 68.6 per cent of the households live among their own tribe and less than 01 per cent have their houses in isolated places. Around 30.5 per cent of the total households stay with other communities. Among all the tribes large number of Dommari and to some extent Konda Dhora stay with other communities whereas the proportion is relatively smaller for the other 03 tribes studied in Telangana (Table 7.59).

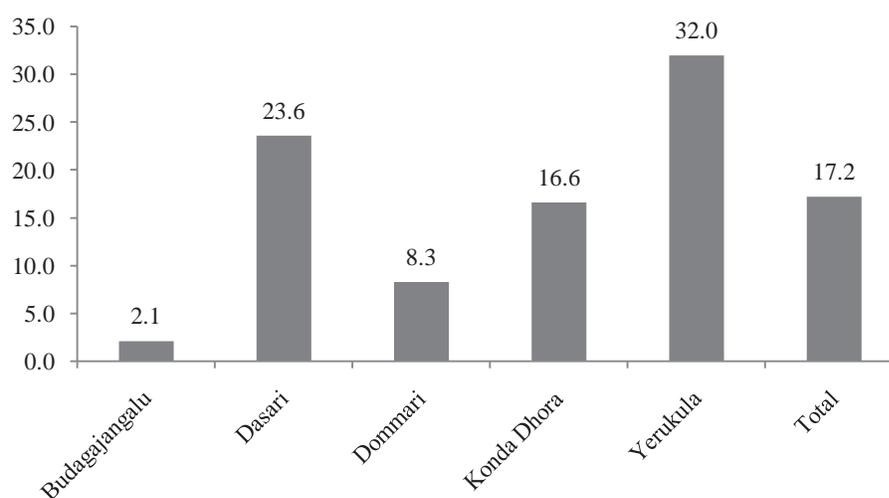
Table 7.59: Percentage of respondents reporting about their neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own Caste/tribe people	Other caste/tribe people	Segregated house	Total
Budagajangalu	111 (77.1)	31 (21.6)	2 (1.4)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	58 (80.6)	14 (19.5)	-	72 (100.0)
Dommari	9 (18.8)	39 (81.2)	-	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	84 (53.5)	71 (45.2)	2 (1.3)	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	132 (86.3)	20 (13.0)	1 (0.7)	153 (100.0)
Total	394 (68.6)	175 (30.5)	5 (0.8)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 17.2 per cent of respondents report that they have educated neighbours. This proportion is high among Yerukula and Dasari communities (Figure 7.25). The interaction with neighbours especially on children's education is discussed in the section III.

Figure 7.25: Incidence of education among neighbours



Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES –STATUS

This section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Telangana and details the findings on the educational status of the denotified from the primary data of the study.

26. Status of Education

In the household survey, the educational status of household members, reasons for non-enrolment, dropout, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education were explored.

Among the total population covered under the survey, child population (below 6 years) account for 20.1 per cent and the remaining population can be classified as (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education.

Table 7.60: Education status of members of respondent households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Child <6 years	Currently Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropouts	Completed	Total
Budagajangalu	88 (27.8)	141 (44.6)	64 (20.3)	13 (4.1)	10 (3.2)	316 (100.0)
Dasari	35 (22.6)	62 (40.0)	30 (19.4)	19 (12.3)	9 (5.8)	155 (100.0)
Domhari	24 (26.7)	23 (25.6)	25 (27.8)	15 (16.7)	3 (3.3)	90 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	40 (14.4)	91 (32.7)	86 (30.9)	19 (6.8)	42 (15.1)	278 (100.0)
Yerukula	52 (14.9)	147 (42.0)	82 (23.4)	27 (7.7)	42 (12.0)	350 (100.0)
Total	239 (20.1)	464 (39.0)	287 (24.1)	93 (7.8)	106 (8.9)	1189 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Of the total, 39 per cent were currently studying, around one-fourth of respondents were never enrolled and around 17 per cent were either dropouts or had completed some level of education. The incidence of non-enrolment was higher than the overall figure among Konda Dhora (31 per cent) and Domhari (28 per cent) (Table 7.60).

Apart from those who reported the reason for dropping out of their education, there are many who do not identify any particular reason for stopping their education. Instead, they reported that they have completed their education at different levels. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. Out of 106, who have reported that they have completed education (Table 7.60), majority of the respondents (80 per cent) indicated that they have completed primary level, followed by 09 per cent indicating high school level, followed by 06

per cent graduation while 03 per cent each reported secondary level and other degrees (ITI, Diploma, etc). It was only among Yerukulas that one could observe higher levels of study beyond primary indicating the vulnerability of the other tribes in terms of education in Telangana.

Table 7.61: Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 5)	Secondary Level (6-8)	High School Level (9-12)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Others	Total
Budagajangalu	100 (70.9)	30 (21.3)	7 (5.0)	4 (2.8)	-	-	141 (100.0)
Dasari	36 (58.1)	21 (33.9)	5 (8.1)	-	-	-	62 (100.0)
Dommari	21 (91.3)	2 (8.7)	-	-	-	-	23 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	65 (71.4)	17 (18.7)	5 (5.5)	4 (4.4)	-	-	91 (100.0)
Yerukula	66 (44.9)	26 (17.7)	30 (20.4)	20 (13.6)	2 (1.4)	3 (2.0)	147 (100.0)
Total	288 (62.1)	96 (20.7)	47 (10.1)	28 (6.0)	2 (0.4)	3 (0.6)	464 (100.0)

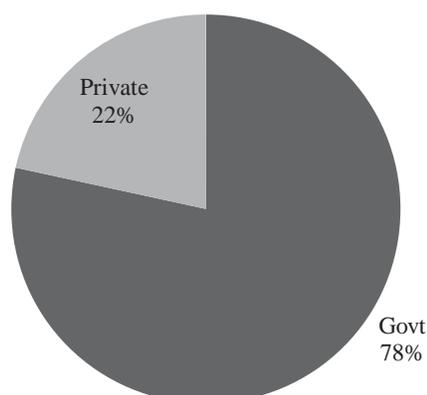
Source: Field Survey

Among the currently studying, more than 60 per cent were enrolled in primary level, followed by 21 per cent in secondary and 10 per cent in high school level. Except among Dasari (58 per cent) and Yerakula (45 per cent), across communities there was high incidence of enrolment in primary level. In case of Yerukala, one can discern that there was larger incidence of enrolment in graduation and above (17 per cent) while it was absent among Dasari and Dommari tribes (Table 7.61). Though majority (88 per cent) indicated Telugu as the medium of instruction, one could discern that among Yerukula respondents 21 per cent were studying in English medium while among Konda Dhora and Dasari the corresponding figure stood at 10 per cent and Budagajangalu at 7 per cent (Table 7.62). In terms of institution of study, 22 per cent were enrolled in private institutions while 78 per cent were studying in government run institutions (Figure 7.26).

Table 7.62: Medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	English	Telugu	Total
Budagajangalu	10 (7.1)	131 (92.9)	141 (100.0)
Dasari	6 (9.7)	56 (90.3)	62 (100.0)
Dommari	-	23 (100.0)	23 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	9 (9.9)	82 (90.1)	91 (100.0)
Yerukula	31 (21.1)	116 (78.9)	147 (100.0)
Total	56 (12.1)	408 (87.9)	464 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.26: Type of educational institutions

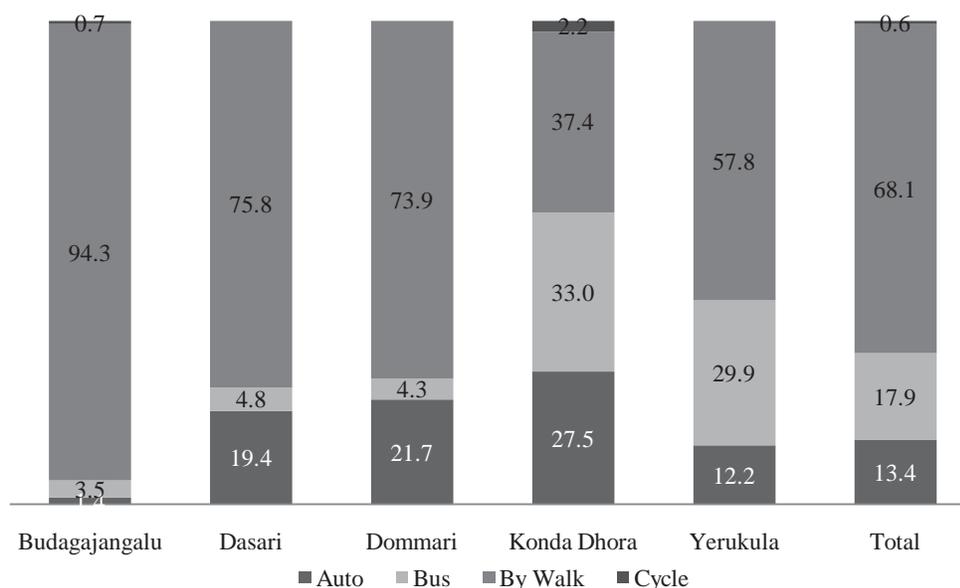
Source: Field Survey

Table 7.63: Distance to educational institution of study

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Upto 1 Km.	1.1 to 3.0 Km.	3.1 to 5.0 Km.	5.0 to 10.0 Km.	More than 10.0 Km.	Total
Budagajangalu	105 (74.5)	33 (23.4)	-	3 (2.1)	-	141 (100.0)
Dasari	33 (53.2)	24 (38.7)	3 (4.8)	-	2 (3.2)	62 (100.0)
Dommari	7 (30.4)	16 (69.6)	-	-	-	23 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	17 (18.7)	14 (15.4)	33 (36.3)	20 (22.0)	7 (7.7)	91 (100.0)
Yerukula	52 (35.4)	50 (34.0)	17 (11.6)	8 (5.4)	20 (13.6)	147 (100.0)
Total	214 (46.1)	137 (29.5)	53 (11.4)	31 (6.7)	29 (6.3)	464 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Almost half of the respondents reported less than a kilometre of travel to institution of study while 30 per cent reported between 1 and 3 km. One-fourth of the respondents also reported more than 3 kilometre. Among Konda Dhora, 66 per cent of the respondents indicated distance to school to be more than 3 kilometre (of which 22 per cent indicated more than 5-10 kilometre), while in case of Yerukula too the corresponding figure stood at around 31 per cent (Table 7.63). This was reflected in the use of mode of transport – while 68 per cent of total respondents indicated walking to educational institution of study, there were 18 per cent who used auto and 13 per cent who used bus as the mode to reach the institution of study. Among Yerukula, one can observe that 30 per cent indicate use of bus and 12 per cent auto while rest of them walk to institution of study; among Konda Dhora, one third indicated bus, 28 per cent indicated use of auto while 02 per cent also indicated use of cycle (Figure 7.27).

Figure 7.27: Mode of transport to school

Source: Field Survey

In case of the 'never enrolled', lack of proper documentation, such as a birth certificate, absence of school nearby were reported while a marginal proportion also reported rejection by school, illness which prevented enrolment as well as lack of awareness about the necessity of education as some of the reasons for non-enrolment.

Table 7.64: Level of education of dropouts in Telangana

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 5)	Secondary Level (6-8)	High School Level (9-12)	Graduation	Total
Budagajangalu	3 (23.1)	10 (76.9)	-	-	13 (100.0)
Dasari	1 (5.3)	8 (42.1)	10 (52.6)	-	19 (100.0)
Dommari	13 (86.7)	2 (13.3)	-	-	15 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	7 (36.8)	7 (36.8)	5 (26.3)	-	19 (100.0)
Yerukula	5 (18.5)	12 (44.4)	9 (33.3)	1 (3.7)	27 (100.0)
Total	29 (31.2)	39 (41.9)	24 (25.8)	1 (1.1)	93 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among 93 dropouts, 29 (42 per cent) had reported completing secondary level education followed by 21 per cent at primary level and a little more than one-fourth at high level. In case of Dommari, 13 out of 15 dropped out at primary level, while in case of Konda Dhora, more than one-third each finished primary and secondary level while the rest dropped out after higher secondary (Table 7.64). Failure in studies, ill health, discriminatory

school environment, lack of funds for pursuing education and parental migration for work were cited as some of the reasons for dropping out of school.

27. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental motivation and other support for education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents' participation and community involvement in decision making at different levels of children's education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

Table 7.65: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

Particulars of Seeking Suggestions	Family members	Community Leaders	Teacher	Neighbours	Educated Members in the Community	Not Consulted	Total
Admission of the Children to School	1 (3.0)	11 (1.9)	218 (38.0)	2 (0.3)	3 (0.5)	323 (56.3)	574 (100.0)
Selection of Subjects	6 (1.0)	13 (2.3)	7 (1.2)	15 (2.6)	34 (5.9)	499 (86.9)	574 (100.0)
Selection of School/College	28 (4.9)	8 (1.4)	18 (3.1)	34 (5.9)	25 (4.3)	461 (80.3)	574 (100.0)
Financial Matters	28 (4.9)	12 (2.1)	1 (0.1)	34 (5.9)	5 (0.9)	494 (86.1)	574 (100.0)
Guidance on Children's education	86 (15.0)	3 (0.5)	1 (0.2)	22 (3.8)	13 (2.3)	449 (78.2)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

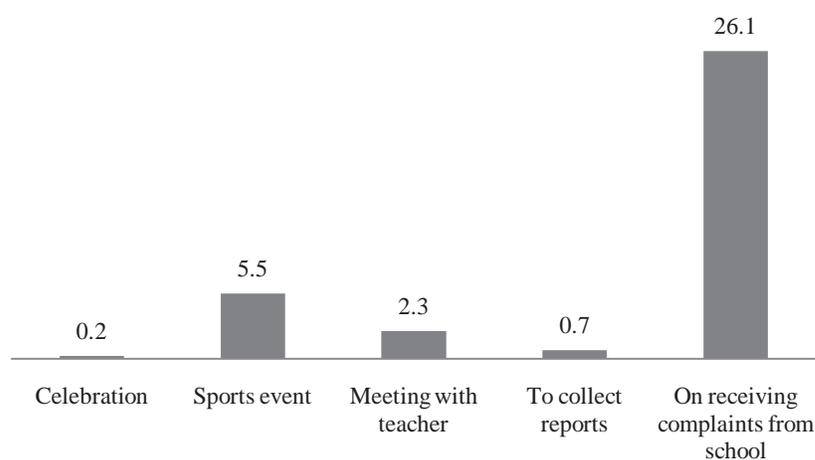
Among the 574 households, 38 per cent indicated that teachers were consulted with regard to admission to school but even then more than half (56 per cent) had not consulted anyone. With regard to selection of subjects, school/college and financial matters more than 80 per cent did not consult anyone. With regard to guidance on children's education around 15 per cent indicated consultations with family members, around 04 per cent with neighbors and less than 03 per cent with educated members of the community. It is evident that the involvement of parents in matters of education especially with regard to choice of school, subjects and financial matters were minimal (Table 7.65). This was also reflected with regard to parent's visits to school. Majority of the parents have not visited the school (89 per cent) and less than ten per cent visited only once (Table 7.66). Among those visited, majority reported that the visit was made on receiving complaints from school followed by to attend sports event, meet the teacher, collect reports as well as to participate in celebrations (Figure 7.28).

Table 7.66: Frequency of parents visit to school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	Not Visited	Total
Budagajangalu	40 (27.8)	-	-	-	104 (72.2)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	6 (8.3)	1 (1.4)	-	-	65 (90.3)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	-	-	-	1 (2.1)	47 (97.9)	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	1 (0.6)	5 (3.2)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	149 (94.9)	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	5 (3.3)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	-	146 (95.4)	153 (100.0)
Total	52 (9.1)	7 (1.2)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	511 (89.0)	574 (100.0)

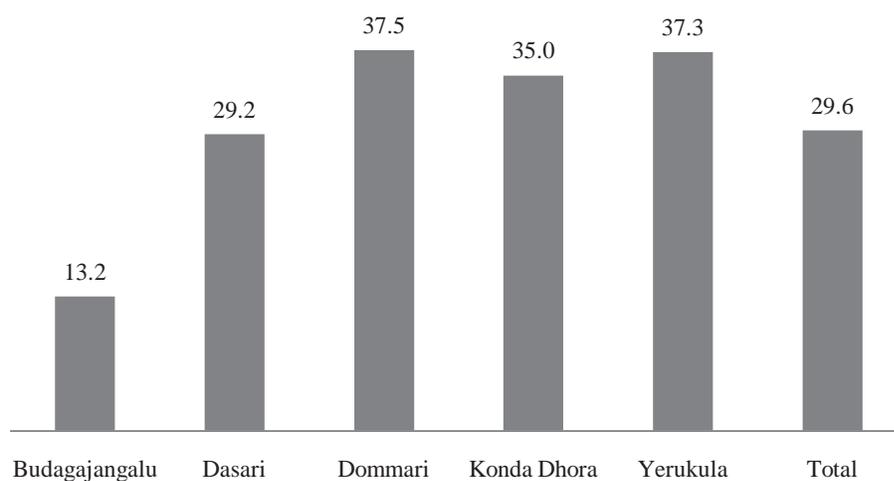
Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.28: Parents visit to school for different events & programmes



Source: Field Survey

Figure 7.29: Parents reporting regular study at home by children



Source: Field Survey

During the field level survey, information was also elicited on after-school study. Around 30 per cent indicated study at home after school. This was lowest among Budagajangalu households (13 per cent) while more than one-third replied in the affirmative among Dommari, Konda Dhora and Yerukula households (Figure 7.29).

Table 7.67: Progress and performance of children

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Happy with progress	Writing	Reading	Speaking	Total
Budagajangalu	18 (12.5)	21 (14.6)	50 (34.7)	53 (36.8)	144 (100.0)
Dasari	22 (30.6)	29 (40.3)	34 (47.2)	42 (58.3)	72 (100.0)
Dommari	3 (6.3)	16 (33.3)	16 (33.3)	32 (66.7)	48 (100.0)
Konda Dhora	14 (8.9)	108 (68.8)	106 (67.5)	133 (84.7)	157 (100.0)
Yerukula	64 (41.8)	65 (42.5)	80 (52.3)	100 (65.4)	153 (100.0)
Total	121 (21.1)	239 (41.6)	286 (49.8)	360 (62.7)	574 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The levels of satisfaction about the progress of children's education were mixed. In terms of writing, around 42 per cent replied in the affirmative but among Budagajangalu households the percentage stood at 15 per cent and among Dommari households at 33 per cent. In terms of reading too, one can find variations across tribes – 68 per cent were satisfied among Konda Dhora while only 35 per cent of Budagajangalu households were happy with progress in reading skills. In terms of speaking too, only one-third among Budagajangalu households indicated satisfactory progress while it stood at 85 per cent among Konda Dhora and above 65 per cent among Dommari and Yerukula and nearly sixty per cent among Dasari households. Thus, there is need to focus on writing and reading skills of children (Table 7.67). The levels of awareness about school management committee were very low. Out of the total 574 households only 07 (1.2 per cent) indicated awareness and all of which were Yerukula households who responded in the affirmative.

Among the households, more than half wanted their sons to be government employees, followed by around 16 per cent who wanted them to pursue professional careers. Less than 5.0 per cent of households wanted them to be lawyers or academicians, or stated that it would depend on the son's wish as well as educational attainment. Around one-third (32.9 per cent) of respondents wanted their sons to pursue higher education. Only a negligible proportion of respondents (less than one per cent of households) were disillusioned by the education system and

believed that there was no use in educating their sons. Majority of the households (around 70 per cent) reported that if a boy is educated and has a job, he can elevate the economic condition of his family and can get a comfortable life. About 13 per cent of respondents stated that education leads to critical thinking and sharpness and less than ten per cent of respondents stated that education provides an opportunity to lead a happy and comfortable life.

Around one-third (31 per cent) of households indicated that they would like their daughters to continue studying and pursue higher education and only less than one per cent were disillusioned by the education system and believed there was no use in educating their daughters. More than half of households believed that their daughter should become a government employee. Less than 5.0 per cent reported that their daughter should become a professional and it would depend on her wish/luck and educational qualifications. Two-thirds of households reported that if a girl is educated, she can prevent exploitation and enjoy a comfortable life as well as several households believed that education would foster critical thinking and sharpness. Less than 3.0 per cent each of respondents reported that if a girl is educated, she will get a good life, and after studies she will be able to look after family members.

28. Conclusions

Following State re-organisation, the sample households were classified under two states; Andhra Pradesh and Telangana states. Thus, these households share almost similar features and history of development. For instance, the de-notification placed some of these communities in different social categories and led to complex situations where these communities are marginalised from accessing their entitlements. Among the DNTs covered from Telangana, Konda Dhora and Yerukula remain in the ST category while Dommara, Dasari and Konda Dhora DNTs were listed under the OBC category. There were several contexts which demand immediate attention from the concerned agencies to address the conflicts and grievances around this reclassification.

The occupational pattern of the DNTs varies significantly; about 4.0 percent of total sample indicate begging and rag pickers (majority are from Budagajangalu), 13.1 percent engage in agriculture (majority from Konda Dhora), 31.2 percent are wage labour (mainly from Dommari and Budagajangalu), about 29.3 percent run petty-business like manufacturing

and selling of plastic items and steel, vegetable and fruit vendors (mostly from Dasari and Budagajangalu) and 2.6 percent are in services (both government and private, mainly Budagajangalu, Dasari and Yerukula). Broadly, the DNTs in Telangana are still engaged in lower strata of occupations in the society. Out of the total sample, very small proportion of DNTs in Telangana still continues the traditional tribe-based occupation exclusively. They are mainly Yerukula, Dommari and a small proportion of Budagajangalu. However, a large number of households practice these occupations as their subsidiary income. This means that such occupations either no longer provide them enough income to survive or they are losing respect in the public domain hence abandoning the same.

Regarding the possession of agricultural land, majority of the DNTs are landless and only 28.4 per cent have agricultural land. Out of which, it is mostly held by Konda Dhora and to some extent Yerukula. Among those who possess the agricultural land, 92.0 percent of the households are cultivating their land independently. Majority live in their own houses but only 8.7 percent of DNT households get tap water for drinking, whereas the majority of them still depend on tube/bore well which is not as safe as tap water. As toilet facilities are available to only 12.4 percent of households, majority of the DNTs defecate in an open space (especially among Konda Dhora and Dommari tribes).

Majority of the households possess ration cards, Voter ID cards and Aadhar Card. However, a large number of the DNT households do not possess caste certificates and this proportion is very high among Budagajangalu, Dommari and Konda Dhora households. Overall, the possession of health insurance is more than that of NREGA card, especially among Yerukula, Dasari and Dommari households. The households who do not have Aadhaar cards and Caste Certificates face problem in availing the student scholarships and job reservation benefits.

More than 50 percent reported that they migrate at least twice in a year and such pattern is common among Konda Dhora and Dommari. The frequent migration of the DNTs hinders the children's education and stability of the families. The study also finds many instances that highlight the social isolation and discrimination faced by the DNT members and the children at schools which adversely affect the schooling and educational status of these communities. With regard to the education, we find that around one-fourth of respondents were never enrolled and around 17 percent were either dropouts or had completed some level of education. Non-enrolment remains high among Konda Dhora and Dommari. Among

the currently studying, more than 60 percent were enrolled in primary level, followed secondary and higher levels. Except among Dasari and Yerakula, the enrolments in primary level remain high. Yerukala has more students enrolled at graduation and above while this remains low among Dasari and Dommari tribes. In case of never enrolled, lack of proper documentation, such as a birth certificate, absence of school nearby were reported while a marginal proportion also reported rejection by school, illness which prevented enrolment as well as lack of awareness about the necessity of education as some of the reasons for non-enrolment. More than 62 percent of those who dropped out did so at primary and secondary level of schooling. Failure in studies, ill health, discriminatory school environment, lack of funds for pursuing education and parental migration for work were cited as some of the reasons for dropping out of school.

A large number of the households consulted the teachers for getting the guidance on admission to school while majority did not seek any guidance on selection of subjects, school/college and financial matters. It is evident that the involvement of parents in matters of education especially with regard to choice of school, subjects and financial matters were minimal. Majority of the parents have not visited the school. Among those who did visit, majority reported the reason for the visit to receiving complaints from school; followed by sports event; meeting with the teacher; collecting reports and to participate in celebrations.

Karnataka



Communities Surveyed

Chapperband, Chennadasar, Dhangar Gouly, Dugri Garasia, Gantichor, Handi Jogis, Haranshikari, Kanjarabhat, Korama Pardhi, Rajagonda

***Field study coordinated by
Mr. K. Bhaskardas Yekkar
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De-notified Communities, Bengaluru***

Chapter 8

KARNATAKA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

Most DNTs have an occupational structure that is entirely different from that of other tribes and castes. There has been a close relationship between forests and DNTs since time immemorial. Whenever the term “tribe” is used, an image of forest dwellers comes to the mind. Thus, the forest has maintained the existence of tribes for centuries; on the other hand, tribes have protected the forest for a long time. In this way, there has been a symbiotic relationship between the forest and the tribes. “The economy of DNTs is still dependent upon the forest. DNTs construct their huts and houses from bamboo, bushes, wood, leaves etc, available in the forest. They prepare cots out of wood and grass found in the forest. They repair their houses from the forest materials. They make broom, baskets, winnowing tray, mats, ropes etc, from the materials available in the forest. They have the wood of forest as handle in the agricultural implements, household tools, hunting weapons etc. Thus the material culture of the DNTs is completely dependent on forest. DNTs also believe that their ancestors, gods and goddesses reside in the forest. The spirits take abode at different places in the forest like tree, in bushes, root of the tree, mud-hill, root of the hillock, bamboo grove, peepal or tamarind tree etc. The tribes are also dependent upon the forest for the medicine for curing the diseases of various kinds.” (Upadhyay, V.S.: 2003: 100-101)

The nomadic economy is characterized by the forest economy. The relation between forest and tribal occupations can be understood under the following activities: hunting, food gathering, collection of Minor Forest produce (NTFPs), collection of fuel, pastoralism and collection of fodder, shifting cultivation, artisan (craft) activities, forest labour, petty business, performing arts. DNTs came in contact with Hindu peasants and craftsmen through the market. The latter were responsible for the introduction of many agricultural techniques and crafts in tribal areas. In India, therefore, isolation of tribes was relative and never absolute as in other countries (Singh 2005: 10). Many DNT groups practice hunting and food-gathering as their sole occupation. A majority of them, nearly are

cultivators, followed by agricultural labourers. The rest are engaged in household industry, construction work, plantation, and mining and other services. The forest, as the major source of food, timber for house construction and agriculture implements, provides the necessities of everyday life. Scholars have suggested that 50 to even 80 per cent of the food requirement of the DNT communities may, in fact, be provided by the forest (Fernandes 1993: 51). Most of the DNT groups derive their livelihood from agriculture and the forest. Agriculture, both shifting and settled, is closely interlinked with the forest. While the former takes place in the forest and cannot be imagined outside of it, settled agriculture, too, depends on input from the forest. Sale of non-timber forest produce like bamboo, kath, fuel wood, tendu leaves, sal leaves, a variety of nuts are an important source of income for these communities. Pre-colonial forest communities enjoyed a degree of freedom in the use and management of the forests they inhabited and developed their own mechanisms, cultural and religious, to regulate the use of this resource (Munshi, Indira: 2013:1-20). Table 8.1 gives a snapshot of the presence of STs in India in General and Karnataka in particular.

Table 8.1: General information

Details	National	Karnataka	Percentage
Total area (in sq.kms)	32,87,263	1,19,791	5.82
Forest area (in sq.kms)	4,23,311	29,550	6.98
No. of Districts	594	30	-
Total Population (2001 Census)	102,86,10,328	5,28,50,662	5.14
Scheduled Tribe population (2001)	8,43,26,240	34,63,986	4.11
(General Literacy 2001 Census)	65.37		67
Literacy among Scheduled Tribes (2001 census)	47.10	48.3	Male – 59.7 Female – 36.6
Existence of STs in the State	In all 30 Districts		
No. of ITDPs (Integrated Tribal Development projects)	5 Districts- Mysore, Kodagu, Dakshina Kannada, Udupi & Chikkamagalur		
The places where ST welfare department has separate district offices.	9 Districts- Chamrajnagar, Chitradurga, Raichur, Belgaum, Chikkaballapur, Haveri, Tumkur, Bellary and Davanagere. In rest of the 16 districts DSWO		

Source: Directorate of Scheduled Tribes Welfare, Bangalore

2. Methodology

2.1 Sample Design

On the basis of Renke Commission list of DNT and Nomadic Communities, the study selected 10 sample communities by dividing them into four under DNTs, three under DNT-2 and three under the list of Nomadic and Semi Nomadic communities (Table 8.2). The criteria followed also included to select ‘communities that have not been able to access formal education’ and ‘deprived communities in DNT/NT list.’ A ‘more upwardly mobile group (community)’ was also selected for the purpose of comparison.

Table 8.2: Categorization of the tribes in Karnataka

Categories	Details
Denotified Tribes 1	1) Dungri Garasia (Bhil) 2) Ganti Chores 3) Handi Jogis 4) Kanjarbhat
Denotified Tribes (Stigmatised) 2	1) Chapparband 2) Koracha, Korama 3) Pardhi
Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Communities	1) Chennadasar 2) Dhangar Gouly 3) Rajgond

Source: Field Survey

The households were spread across 23 districts and covered 242 villages. The regions covered included Bengaluru Urban, Bombay-Karnataka, Hyderabad-Karnataka, Madras-Karnataka and Old Mysore across 10 communities (Table 8.3).

All the investigators, state coordinator and project coordinator toured the whole state and conducted a pilot survey among the DNTs in the month of February 2013.

Table 8.3: Geographical distribution of the field study area

No. of Districts Covered	23	
No. of Villages Covered	242	
REGIONS	DISTRICTS	COMMUNITIES
1. Bengaluru urban	1. Bengaluru Urban	Chenna Dasar, Dungri Garasia Rajgond,
2. Bombay-Karnataka	1. Bagalkot 2. Belgaum 3. Bijapur 4. Dharwad 5. Gadag 6. Haveri 7. Uttara Kannada	Chapparband, Chenna Dasar, Dhangar Gouly, Dungri Garasia, Handi Jogis, Korama, Kanjar Bhat, Ganti Chores, Pardhi,
3. Hyderabad-Karnataka	1. Bellary 2. Bidar 3. Gulbarga 4. Koppal 5. Raichur 6. Yadagiri	Chenna Dasar, Dungri Garasia Handi Jogis, Korama Pardhi, Rajgond
4. Madras-Karnataka	1. Dakshina Kannada 2. Udupi	Chenna Dasar, Dungri Garasia, Handi Jogis
5. Old Mysore	1. Chamaraja Nagara 2. Chikkamagaluru 3. Davanagere 4. Hassan 5. Kolar 6. Mysore 7. Shimoga	Chapparband, Chenna Dasar, Dhangar Gouly, Dungri Garasia, Handi Jogis, Korama, Pardhi, Rajgond

Source: Field Survey

2.2. Introducing DNTs under Study

This section seeks to introduce the selected DNT communities, drawing mainly on the ethnographic literature available and the interviews with community leaders.

Dungri Garasia

Dungri Garasia a Scheduled Tribe, hails from Rajasthan and Gujarat and is one of the sub-sects of the majority of the Bhils. In Karnataka, Dungri Garasia are referred to as Gosavi, Gosayi, Gosangi and other names. Their total population is about 5,000 distributed in 15 districts in Karnataka. Dungri Garasia is a Scheduled Tribe in Karnataka, and they live in plastic tents and migrate from one place to another. Hunting and fishing is the main occupation of Dungri Garasia and they collect roots and fruits in the forest. They are often accompanied by dogs and carry weapons. They are non-vegetarians. The women of this tribe love tattooing. Every man of this tribe has a tattoo across his chest and shoulders. The Bhils practised shifting cultivation in the past. Today, they have become settled agriculturists and most of them earn their livelihood as non-agricultural

wage-labourers. Traditionally, a few Bhils have been hunters, food gatherers and cattle servers. The Dungri Garasias were traditionally hunters and food gatherers and now they sell sandalwood oil, and repair plastic and metal buckets. Most Garasias in Karnataka do not own cattle. A few Bhil families migrate to nearby towns and cities in search of employment and livelihood.

The Garasia youths have developed a positive perception of the development programmes initiated by the Government and Non-Governmental agencies, in the aspects of formal education, health, medical care and self employment. As per the 2001 census, 47.76 per cent of the Dungri Garasia are workers. The data reveals that 3.37 per cent work in industry as labour. Over the past two decades, many have taken to tending and breeding cattle and some to milking cows and buffaloes. Peddling is becoming popular. A few are itinerant quack doctors, religious mendicants, snake charmers and acrobats. There are a few, here and there, who are affluent, but the majority of households is poor and presents a depleted economy. Extravagance at marriages, costly rituals, borrowing at high rate of interest, and lack of proper opportunities for marketing are factors that have added to their misery.

Handi Jogis

Handi Jogis, a Scheduled Caste community, have various other names like Balegar Jogi, Dabba Jogi, Jogi Purusha, Kinnari Jogi, Narasanna Jogi, Ravala Jogi, Shiva Jogi and so on. They speak Marathi as their mother tongue. They worship Kala Bhairava. Handi Jogi is a semi-nomadic community in Karnataka. They are referred to as Telugu beggars by L K Anantha Krishna Iyer in 1901 census. "Jogi" is generic term suffixed to various castes whose members are devotees of Byraveswara and Chunchanagiri. Handi Jogis migrated from Andhra, and in colonial times, they would wander from place to place with their pigs in the jungles. Since the forests have begun to vanish, they began to settle in fixed places. There are two main divisions in the community: Paknati Jogi and Pamula Jogi. The Handi Jogi are mostly beggars, pig breeders and herbalists, traditionally. At present, some have shifted to agriculture, and others do manual labour, besides pig-breeding. Most of them are tenant cultivators. Land and forest are their major economic resources. Men and women work in the field as agriculture labourers. Their major source of income comes through rearing pigs, sheep and buffaloes. Those who are

settled in Chikmagalur district are herbalists and collect herbs near the Bababudan hills. They work as household servants now and some are involved in basket making. Some also make mats from wild date palm leaves. They get their wages in both cash and kind from their employers.

Gantichors

Gantichors a name that literally means “bundle thieves,” are concentrated in the Bombay-Karnataka region. Their name, Gantichor, comes from their profession of stealing and pick pocketing. The other names of the community include Uchalia, Pathrut, Kamati, Bhamta and Takari. They are known as Bhampta in Pune district, Uchalia in Solapur and Pathrut in Osmanabad district of Maharashtra. “Their home speech, which is a broken Telugu, and their names, which have a southern and eastern form, seems to show that they have come from the Telugu speaking districts either of Madras or of the Nizam country. They have no idea why and when they left their native country, and no memory of having belonged to any other classes of Hindus” (Enthoven, 1922). The Gantichors speak and write Kannada, but their ancestral language is Telugu. Their constitutional status in Karnataka is Scheduled Caste. The Gantichor are non-vegetarians. Their staple food grains include jowar, rice and wheat. The Gantichor, being an ex-criminal community, were expert professional pick pocketers. In fact, their chief occupation was thieving on trains and crowded places. Some of them have taken to agriculture, but they own very little land. They are also employed as daily wage labourers in cotton mills. Some of them are now getting into government and private services.

Kanjarbhat

This DNT community has other names like Bhat, Chhara, Kanjar, Lolyar and Sansi. They are distributed in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. Two clans, Biddu and Malha, exist amidst them. The Kanjar associate themselves with the Shishodiya dynasty of the Rajputs, to which Maharana Pratap belonged. They are believed to have migrated from Rajasthan to various parts of the country to escape proselytization by Mughal conquerors. Traditionally, the Kanjarbhat made knives and daggers and sold them to villagers. Their women made small handbags. Today, except for begging in some cases, they are

engaged in none of the above occupations. Their women participate in economic activities and contribute to the family income.

Chapparbands

Chapparbands are also known as Fakir coiners. In a report submitted to the government in the year 1850, it was stated that among themselves, Chapparbands are known as “Bhadoos” and in up-country as “Khulsooryas” or false coiners. The community is divided into two classes: Bara-gunde and Chhagunde. The two classes dine together but do not intermarry. Chapparbands are Sheik Mahomedans and originally belonged to the Punjab, specifically the region surrounding Delhi. Their present habitat and headquarters are the Muddebihal and Bagevadi talukas of the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. The Chhapparband, like the Bhampta, travel all over India. Chapparbands, as a rule, travel in gangs, large numbers leaving their homes when touring, which generally commences a little after and ends a little before the Mohurrum festival. They speak a dialect akin to Hindustani. They are quick at picking up the language of the district in which they temporarily reside, and speak ordinary Hindustani and Kanarese. Chapparbands ostensibly live by begging; some cultivate land and a few are village watchmen. The men depend on public charity while women toil hard in the fields (for three months out of the twelve) and make mats and quilts. The Chapparband will always be found dressed as fakirs, with the characteristic tongs and jholi (bag for alms) and kishta (beggar's bowl). It is a noteworthy fact that Chapparbands always work and travel in gangs.

Korama

Korama is a major semi-nomadic community in Karnataka. The term “Korama” derived from the word “Kuru” which means fortune telling. There are many references to the Koramas’ origin. According to the 2011 Census, their population stands at 2,09,568. The Korama are called by different names in different states, including Korma, Koramasetty, Koracha, Kunchikorava, and Bajenatri in Karnataka. In Tamil Nadu, they are known as Korava or Kuruvan, in Andhra Pradesh Yerukula or Yerekavandlu, in Maharashtra as kaikadi and in Kerala as sidhanar. The dialect of the korama is Kulu. This is a mixture of Hale Kannada and Tamil. The Koramas are divided into four groups based on occupation: Village or Dabbe Korama, Salt or Ghat Korama, Kunchige and Sonay

Koracha (Korama), and Letters Koracha (Korama). The occupations of the Korama community are basket making, fortune-telling, mat-weaving, rope-making, tattooing, agriculture and casual labour. Some of the Korama, who supplement their income from agriculture by selling small commodities, are known as Koramasetty. Forest and land are their main resources. A few Korama own land but many are landless. Some of the families engaged in agriculture undertake basket work and rope-making as additional sources of income. Their products are sold in their own village or in adjacent villages through local tradesmen. Tattooing and fortune-telling are done by the women. Child labour prevails. Now, due to spread of education and improvement in economic status, the clientele for fortune-telling and tattooing have decreased. Most Koramas are now engaged in wage labour.

Pardhi

In Karnataka, the Pardhi tribal community is also referred to by different names like Phanse Pardhi, Raja Pardhi, Vaghri Pardhi, Thakanakari, Harana Shikari, Chigari Betegararu, Neera Shikari, Pashechari and Advi Chincer. Their traditional occupation is hunting in the forest. Their place of origin is the Vindhya mountains of Central India. They migrated to Karnataka from the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Earlier, the Government of Bombay categorized communities like the Pardhi, Guddugadu and Betegararu in the list of Criminal Tribes. Gradually, they were included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. In the year 2002, the Harana Shikari name was included as a synonym for Pardhi. The Pardhis are food gatherers and hunters. They are now involved in different occupations like agricultural labour, small businesses and cattle rearing. They also earn money by sharpening knives and other iron implements. The traditional occupation of the Pardhi is to collect stone slabs, which they often sell to builders. Sometimes they make grinding stones of those slabs. At present, they are mainly engaged in other agricultural jobs. Some of them are employed as teachers or are engaged in various salaried jobs. In Karnataka, hunting was the Pardhis' major source of livelihood. When they lost the patronage of the rulers, they took to stealing. They are employed mostly to cut firewood, and child labour is found to be common. At present, capturing of monkeys is popular because of demand in foreign markets. The methods and snares vary according to the bird or animal to be captured. Generally, the Pardhi keep their birds alive till they reach the market.

Chennadasar

In Karnataka, most of the Chennadasar speak Telugu, though they have forgotten the Telugu script. It is believed that Karnataka Chennadasar migrated from Andhra Pradesh. Most of the tribe is listed as Scheduled Caste, though the Dombidaru are listed in the OBC category. Through singing, enacting open air plays, and cow and bull shows, they have enriched the cultural fabric of the state. They beg and play musical instruments such as conch shells, jagate, tamboori and harmonium. They seek alms after every show. Men of this community are also known for enacting mythological dramas, and even don women's clothes to enact female characters.¹ Traditional religious begging was the main occupation of the Chenna Dasar/ Dombi Dasar community. They also performed open-air plays based on mythological and folk tales. Today, most of the community work as agricultural labourers and street vendors. A few also repair old musical instruments, or sell small items like kumkum and bangles.

Dhangar

The Dhangar tribe is primarily located in the Indian state of Maharashtra. The literal translation of the name Dhangar means "one who is wealthy." Initially, there were twelve groups of Dhangar and they had division of labour amongst the brothers of one family. This latter formed "three sub-divisions and one half division", the three being Hatkar, Ahir (Gawli/Gavali) or Mhaskar (Gujar), and Khutekar/Sangar. The half division is called Khatik. All sub-castes fall in one of these divisions. All sub-divisions emerge from the same stock and claim to be a single group of Dhangars.² Both Marathi and Kannada are spoken with others. The Devanagari script is used. Narrating their ethnography, Iyer and Nanjundayya (1931) explained "Both men and women are somewhat wheat coloured and strong. Their mother tongue is Marathi. The men shave their head and face except the top-knot and moustache. They wear

¹ Synonyms of the community include: Dasa, Dasaiah Dasar, Dasar, Shanka Dasa, Atadasa, Dandigadasa, Hennuvashadavar, Kasidasa, Kole Basava, Chakravadya Dasa, Chenna Dasa, Chenna Dasar, Poolsula Daar, Mala Dasar, Holey a Dasar, Beda Dasar, Dondige Dasar, Thirumala Dasar, Dombi Dasa, Poolsula Dasar, Dasari, Donga Dasar, Holey a Dasari, Mala Dasari.

² Dhangar sub-castes include The main sub-castes are Ahir / Gawli / Mhaskar / Gurjar / Yadu (Yadav), Hatkar / Bargi / Barahatti / Barhatta / Bargahi / Baragahi / Barahghar / Bande (Revolutionary) / Zende (Brave) / Bhillari / Khillari / Metkari / Dange / Bakarwal / Bharwad / Baghel / Pal / Gadari / Gadariya / Gaddi / Kuruba (meaning trustworthy) / Kanore / Kanade / Kurmar / Kurbar / Kurumbar / Idaiyan / Idaiyar / Idaiga / Konar / Golla / Neekhar / Nikher, Khutekar / Dewanga / Kshitri / Khatri, Kuktekar, Sengar / Sangar / Shegar, Lad Mendhe / Ladse, Jhade / Jhadi / Zade, Hulwan, Konkani, Mahure / Mahurai, Telange, Tellari, Warhade / Varadi / Barade, Khatik, Oraon, Talwar, Banjara / Vanjara, Kambar, Shirotiya, Utekar, Gadge, Toda, Monpa, Rabari, Raika

the waist cloth, a short cloth, a head scarf and a silver girdle, carrying on their shoulders a wallet for money, tobacco, betel leaves, areca nut and lime.” They are migrants from erstwhile Bombay Presidency and Goa. The “Ain-i-Akbari” describes Dhangars as a proud, refractory and domineering race of Rajputs, living in the Basin Sircar and, with numerous armed forces, occupying the forts and controlling the surrounding districts. The Dhangars were late to take up modern education. Today, the community is still highly unorganized politically and socially, educationally, economically and politically backward. Breeding cows and buffaloes is the traditional occupation of the Dhangar. They sell milk and milk products. Some of them are employed in the government and private sector. Dhangar women help their men in their traditional occupation of cattle rearing. They collect fuel, carry water and do domestic chores. They participate in social functions and religious activities. Many have lands and are engaged in cultivation. Some, who own neither land nor cattle, work as agricultural labourers. Milk is sold through co-operative societies. Agricultural produce is sold in nearby towns. Child labour is prevalent. Payment of wages is made in both cash and kind.

Gonds

Gonds are a major Scheduled Tribe in India, and spread over eleven states. In Karnataka, the Gond community has names like Naikpod, Rajgond and are predominantly located in the districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Uttara Kannada. In Uttara Kannada district, the Gonds are referred to as Gond Pattagaras / Pattagara Gonds, whereas in Rajgond colony of Halladakeri of Bidar taluk, they are referred to as Rajgonds, who are nomads and experts in preparing and selling native medicine to cure chronic diseases. In India, the Gonds are concentrated in the central region, popularly known as Gondwana, which includes the Satpuda Plateau, a portion of the Nagpur plains area and the Narmada valley and are believed to be of Dravidian stock. In Karnataka, the Gonds are the second largest Scheduled Tribe, found in a majority in the districts of Bidar, Gulbarga, Uttara Kannada and Bangalore. The housing pattern of Gonds show varying degrees of acculturation. They prefer to construct huge farmhouses surrounded by their own land. Ayurvedic medicinal herbs are the main means of Gonds’ livelihood. They call the herbs “Jadi-Booti” and gather them in the Vindhya, Satpuda, Narmada, Godavari regions where the forest grows thickly. When they are not available, they buy Jadi-Booti from local

Ayurvedic shops, prepare medicines and sell them. The younger generation among them has taken to winding wires to steer the wheels of vehicles. The children have taken to collecting used plastic bags. According to the 2001 Census, 41.96 per cent of the Gonds are workers and the remaining 58.04 per cent are unemployed. Many of the older Gonds now own land. Besides this, many younger Gond are exhibiting skills in income generating activities like masonry, pottery, woodwork, basketry and mat-making. The data shows that 11.13 per cent of families are part of the 'other' category in terms of employment sectors, while 18.11 per cent of the present generation are agricultural labourers.

2.3. Sample Size

The study covered 2001 households spread across 10 communities in Karnataka. DNT2 households accounted for 32 per cent of total sample, followed by SNT 30 per cent, DNT1 28 per cent and NT 10 per cent (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4: Sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)	Social Category
Gantichor	183	9.2	DNT1 (27.8)
Handi Jogis	173	8.7	
Kanjarabhat	199	9.9	
Chapperband	201	10.0	DNT2 (32.4)
Korama	200	10.0	
Pardhi	247	12.4	
Dungri Garasia	199	9.9	NT (9.9)
Chennadasar	200	10.0	SNT (29.9)
Dhangar Gouly	200	10.0	
Rajagonda	199	9.9	
Total	2001	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

2.4. Profile of the Sample

2.4.1 Geographical Spread of the Sample

The sample was aimed at drawing from different Denotified Tribes (11 Denotified Tribes in Karnataka). The 11 Denotified Tribes are well spread in these 23 districts and the sample covered 2001 DNT households. However, out of total sample of 2001 households, Dharwad and Bellary account for 11.1 per cent (each) of the respondents canvassed, followed by

Gadag (10.7 per cent), Badami (10.3 per cent), Uttar Kannada (8.7 per cent), Bijapura (8.0 per cent), Devanagere (6.4 per cent) and Belgaum (5.8 per cent). Other districts account for less than 5 per cent each of the sampled respondents (Table 8.5).

Table 8.5: District-wise sample distribution

Districts	Households (No)	Households (Per cent)
Belgaum	116	5.8
Bagalkot	300	14.9
Bijapura	160	8.0
Bidar	82	4.1
Raichuru	24	1.2
Koppal	20	1.0
Gadag	214	10.7
Dharawad	222	11.1
Uttar Kannada	175	8.7
Haveri	13	0.6
Bellary	222	11.1
Davanagare	129	6.4
Shimoga	72	3.6
Udupi	5	0.2
Chikamagaluru	18	0.9
Bengaluru	81	4.0
Hasan	10	0.5
Dakshina kannada	56	2.8
Mysore	35	1.7
Chamarajanagar	8	0.4
Gulbarga	11	0.5
Yadagiri	17	0.8
Kolar	11	0.5
Total	2001	100.0

Source: Field Survey

2.4.2 Household Population of the Sample

The sample of 2001 households (Table 8.6) was spread across these communities covering 10085 members. The majority of the respondents belonged to 6-18, and 19-35 age groups accounting for 69 per cent of the total population covered (Table 8.7). More than half (52 per cent) of the respondents were male and in terms of marital status, 43 per cent of men were married as against 48 per cent women. Negligible proportion reported divorced/separated (6 out of 10085) while around 3 per cent were widower/widows, the incidence being higher among women (4 per cent of total women against less than 2 per cent of men). Two women also reported their status as devadasis (Table 8.8).

Table 8.6: Household population of the sample

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Population (Per cent)	Households (Per cent)
Chapperband	10.6	10.0
Chennadasar	10.9	10.0
Dungri Garasia	10.5	9.9
Dhangar Gouly	13.0	10.0
Gantichor	8.4	9.2
Handi Jogis	8.1	8.7
Kanjarabhat	8.7	9.9
Korama	10.4	10.0
Pardhi	12.2	12.4
Rajagonda	7.3	9.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 8.7: Age-wise population distribution

Age Group	Population	Population (Per cent)
0 to 5	784	7.8
06 to 18	3674	36.4
19 to 35	3291	32.6
36 to 45	1248	12.4
46 to 60	798	7.9
Above 60	290	2.9

Source: Field Survey

Table 8.8: Gender-wise marital status

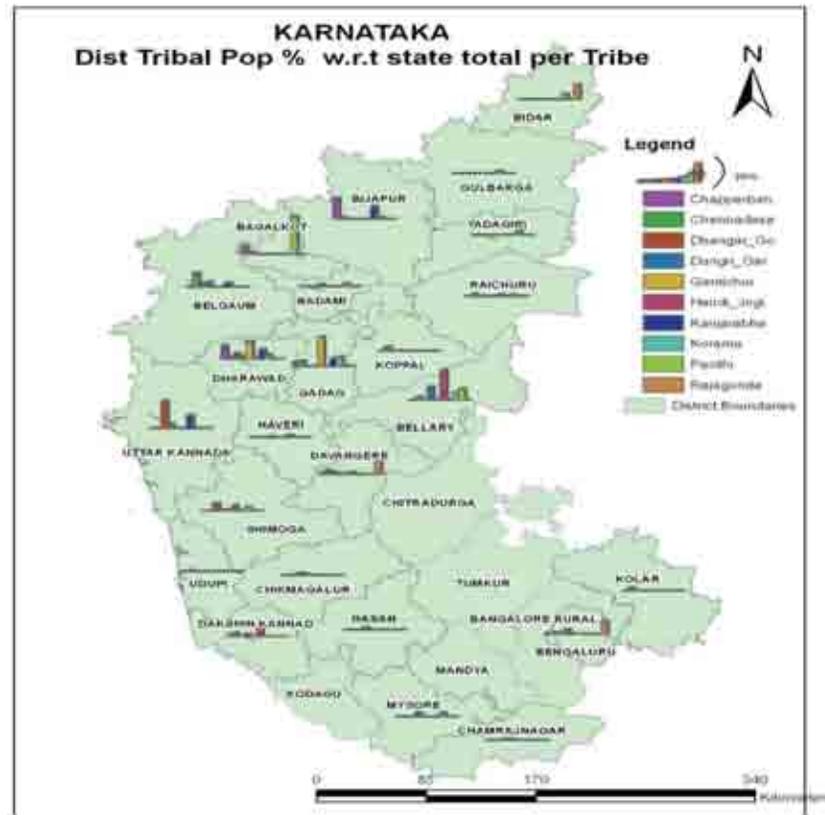
Marital status	Male	Female	Total
Married	2285 (49.9) (43.2)	2290 (50.1) (47.7)	4575 (100.0) (45.4)
Unmarried	2917 (55.8) (55.2)	2313 (44.2) (48.2)	5230 (100.0) (51.9)
Divorced	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	3 (100.0)
Separated	-	3 (100.0) (0.1)	3 (100.0)
Widow/Widower	84 (30.9) (1.6)	188 (69.1) (3.9)	272 (100.0) (2.7)
Devadasi	-	2 (100.0)	2 (100.0)
Total	5288 (52.4) (100.0)	4797 (47.6) (100.0)	10085 (100.0) (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

The intention of the section is to examine the social status, assets holding position, migration status and other location specific factors of different DNTs in Karnataka. It also looks into the pattern of livelihood reported by the DNTs spread across different districts of the state under the study (Map 8.1).

Map 8.1: Sample districts from which the respondents were selected



Source: Field Survey

3. The Tribes and their Social Status

More than 60 per cent returned themselves as Denotified Communities followed by the rest Nomadic Tribes (33 per cent) (Figure 8.1(1)). Dungri Garasia, Ganti Chores, Handi Jogis and Kanjarbhat belong to DNT; Chapparband, Koracha and Pardhi belong to DNT (stigmatised) and the

rest Chennadasar, Dhangar Gouly and Rajgond registered as Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities.

Figure 8.1(1) : Classification of tribe

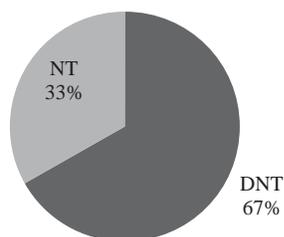
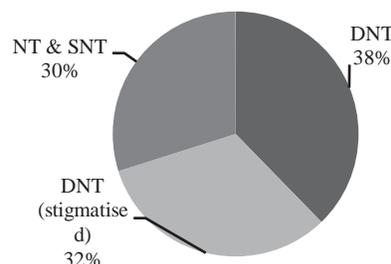


Figure 8.1(2): Classification of tribe



Source: Field Survey

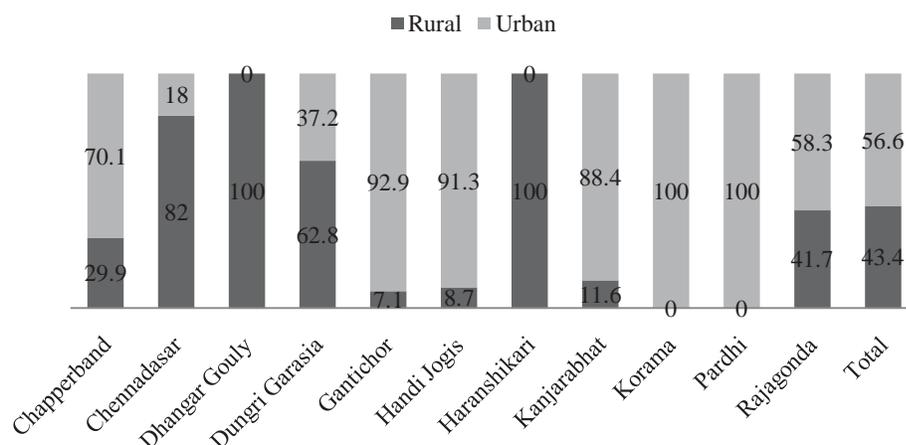
More than one third (37.8 per cent) of the households fall under the category of Scheduled Caste (SC), 32.2 per cent come under Scheduled tribe (ST) and 30.0 per cent (which includes Chhapperband, Dhangar Gouly and Kanjarabhat tribes) are grouped under Other Backward Castes (OBCs) (Table 8.9).

Table 8.9: Social status of the tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Scheduled Castes (SC)	Scheduled Tribes (ST)	Other Backward Classes (OBCs)	Total
Chapperband	-	-	201 (100.0)	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	200 (100.0)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	-	-	200 (100.0)	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	-	199 (100.0)	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	183 (100.0)	-	-	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	173 (100.0)	-	-	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	-	185 (100.0)	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	-	-	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)
Korama	200 (100.0)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	62 (100.0)	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	-	199 (100.0)	-	199 (100.0)
Total	756 (37.8)	645 (32.2)	600 (30.0)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The sample equally reflects both rural and urban characters, with 56.6 per cent hailing from urban areas and the remaining 43.4 per cent from rural (Figure 8.2). Individual tribes vary in their urban–rural ratio: DNTs like Pardhi, Korama, Gantichor, Handi Jogis and Kanjarabhat are mainly urban-based, while Dhangar Gouly, Haranshikari and Chinnadasar are mostly rural-based.

Figure 8.2: Location of the tribes

Source: Field Survey

Nearly half (44.3 per cent) of respondents have been staying in the place of stay since birth. This proportion is high among Gantichor, Chhapperband and Korama and relatively low among Dhangar Gouly and Kanjarabhat. Seventeen per cent of tribes have been living in the same location for anywhere between 21 to 30 years (Table 8.10).

Table 8.10: Duration of stay in present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1 to 10 years	11 to 20 years	21 to 30 years	Above 30 years	Since birth	Total
Chapperband	-	1 (0.5)	2 (1.0)	12 (6.0)	186 (92.5)	201 (100.0)
Chinnadasar	14 (7.0)	11 (5.5)	8 (4.0)	6 (3.0)	161 (80.5)	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	13 (6.5)	11 (5.5)	59 (29.5)	116 (58.0)	1 (0.5)	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	53 (26.6)	32 (16.1)	51 (25.6)	63 (31.7)	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	1 (0.5)	4 (2.2)	1 (0.5)	-	177 (96.7)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	-	4 (2.3)	15 (8.7)	13 (7.5)	141 (81.5)	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	5 (2.7)	56 (30.3)	51 (27.6)	73 (39.5)	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	5 (2.5)	6 (3.0)	108 (54.3)	42 (21.1)	38 (19.1)	199 (100.0)
Korama	2 (1.0)	4 (2.0)	8 (4.0)	3 (1.5)	183 (91.5)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	1 (1.6)	1 (1.6)	30 (48.4)	30 (48.4)	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	2 (1.0)	190 (95.5)	7 (3.5)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Total	96 (4.8)	320 (16.0)	340 (17.0)	358 (17.9)	887 (44.3)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

4. Spoken Language

This study has attempted a very detailed discussion on language proficiency in different spheres – at home, schools, within the community and public place separately. In addition, a discussion on the knowledge of English has been made subsequently.

Table 8.11: Language spoken at home by different tribes

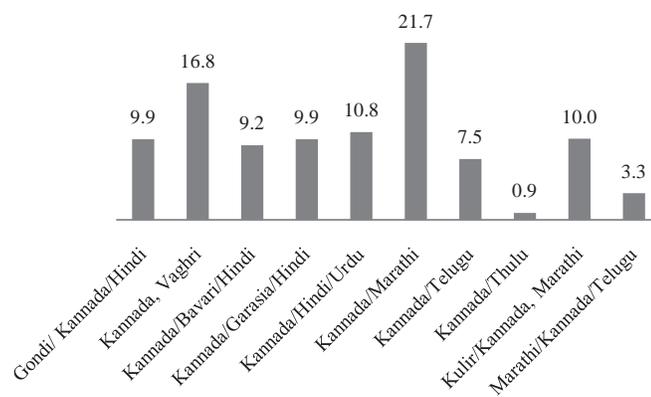
DNIS/NTI Community	Gondi/ Kannada/ Hindi	Kannada/ Vaghri	Kannada/ Bavari	Kannada/ Garasia	Kannada/ Hindi/ Marathi	Kannada/ Hindi/ Urdu	Kannada/ Telugu	Kannada/ Thulu	Kulir/ Kannada/ Marathi	Marathi	Marathi/ Kannada/ Telugu	Total
Chappetnand	-	-	-	-	7 (5.5)	194 (96.5)	-	-	-	-	-	201 (100.0)
Chemadasar	-	30 (15.0)	-	-	-	-	151 (75.5)	19 (9.5)	-	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gooly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200 (100.0)	-	200 (100.0)
Dongri Garasia	-	-	-	199 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Ganichor	-	44 (24.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1309 (76.0)	1333 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	-	1 (0.6)	-	-	15 (8.7)	-	-	-	-	-	157 (90.8)	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	-	-	185 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjambhat	-	59 (29.6)	-	-	140 (70.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Korama	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	108 (55.0)	92 (46.0)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Pandhi	-	62 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	199 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Total	199 (9.9)	196 (9.8)	185 (9.2)	199 (9.9)	162 (8.1)	194 (9.7)	151 (7.5)	19 (0.9)	108 (5.4)	92 (4.6)	296 (14.8)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

A majority of households report that the main communicative language spoken at home is a combination of Kannada with a tribe specific language. About 15 per cent reported that Marathi/Kannada/Telugu as the main languages of communication at home. It is found among Gantichor and Handi Jogis only; 100 percent of the Dhangar Gouly speak Marathi at home; 100 percent of the Pardhi speak Kannada and Vaghri at home (Table 8.3). Students largely speak in three languages - Kannada, Marathi and Gondi. Around 46 per cent of households reported that their children speak Kannada/Gondi in school. About 13 per cent reported that their children speak Marathi/Kannada in school and 2.0 per cent of households reported that they children speak Gondi and Hindi in school (Table 8.12).

Kannada/ Marathi emerged as the main language (21.7 per cent) used by the people while conversing within the communities. It is followed by Kannada/ Vaghri (16.8 per cent), Hindi and Urdu along with Kannada (10.8 per cent) and Kulir and Marathi along with Kannada (10.0 per cent). Kannada is a common language for all the people (Figure 8.3). Around 27.1 per cent of the households which were studied, reported that they speak Kannada and Marathi in public places. 13.7 per cent of the households speak only Kannada at the public place (Figure 8.4). The language spoken at home, community and public places is almost same with small proportion using in Hindi/ Urdu at community and public places.

Figure 8.3: Languages spoken within the communities

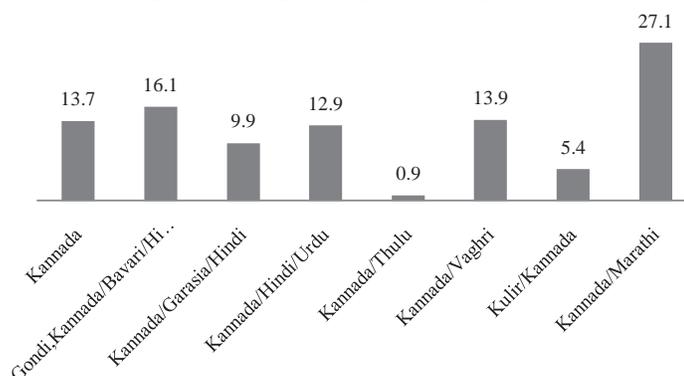


Source: Field Survey

Table 8.12: Language spoken in school by children

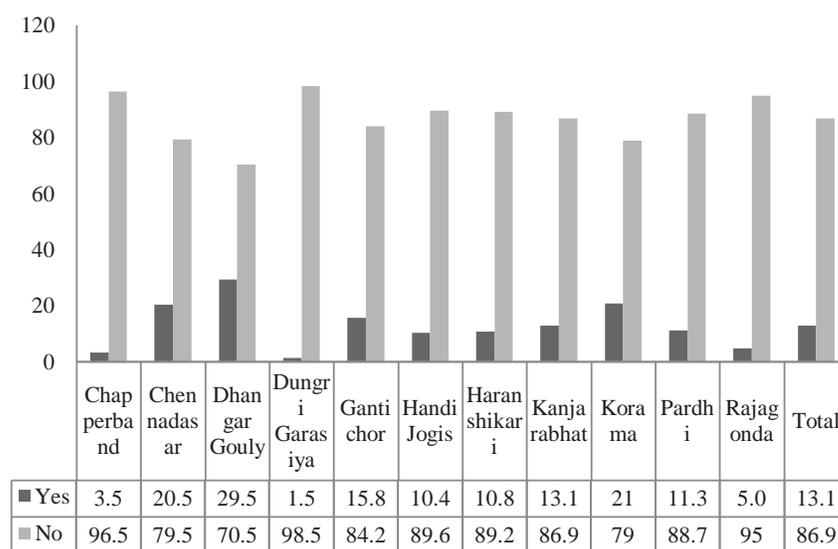
DNT/SNT/ NT Community	Gondi/ Hindi	Gondi/ Kannada	Kannada/ Hindi/ English	Kannada/ Hindi/ Urdu	Kannada/ Telugu	Kannada/ Thulu	Kulir/ Kannada	Kulir/ Kannada/ Marathi	Marathi/ Kannada	Marathi/ Kannada/ Telugu	Total
Chappaband	-	-	-	201 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	201 (100.0)
Cherasadasar	-	30 (15.0)	-	-	351 (75.5)	19 (9.5)	-	-	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gooly	-	200 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	-	199 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	-	23 (12.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	160 (87.4)	-	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	-	-	-	15 (8.7)	-	-	-	-	96 (55.5)	62 (35.8)	173 (100.0)
Hannabikari	-	18.5 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarrabbat	-	59 (29.6)	140 (70.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Koramu	-	-	-	-	-	-	108 (54.0)	92 (46.0)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	62 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	41 (20.6)	158 (79.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Total	41 (2.0)	916 (45.8)	140 (7.0)	216 (10.8)	151 (7.5)	19 (0.9)	108 (5.4)	92 (4.6)	256 (12.8)	62 (3.1)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 8.4: Languages spoken at the public place

Source: Field Survey

Knowledge of English among family members was reported only among 13.1 per cent of respondents, and was highest among Dhangar Gouly households and lowest among Dungri Garasia (Figure 8.5). This could have adverse impact on the education of the children.

Figure 8.5: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

Majority (93.0 per cent) of households reported that only one person knows English in the family. The rest 7.0 per cent of respondents report that two people know English in the family (Table 8.13). In terms of absolute number, the number of English knowing households (one and two persons) is very less (Table 8.13).

Table 8.13: Number of English knowing members in the family

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	Total
Chhapperband	31 (83.8)	6 (16.2)	37 (100.0)
Chennadasar	7 (100.0)	-	7 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	57 (96.6)	2 (3.4)	59 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	3 (100.0)	-	3 (100.0)
Gantichor	28 (96.6)	1 (3.4)	29 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	18 (100.0)	-	18 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	20 (80.0)	5 (20.0)	25 (100.0)
Korama	42 (100.0)	-	42 (100.0)
Pardhi	27 (100.0)	-	27 (100.0)
Rajagonda	6 (60.0)	4 (40.0)	10 (100.0)
Total	239 (93.0)	18 (7.0)	257 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

5. Livelihood and its Sources

Regarding the present occupations, about 52.5 per cent of total sample are non agricultural labourers (majority are from Dungri Garasia, Handi Jogis, Kanjarabhat and Chhapperband), 14.2 per cent engage in agricultural labour (majority from Chinnadasar and Dhangar Gouly), 3.7 per cent are involved in agriculture, about 13 per cent run petty-business (mostly from Pardhi and Haranshikari) and 3.2 per cent are in government services (major from Chhapperband and Kanjarabhat) (Table 8.14). This tells us that DNTs in Karnataka are still engaged in lower strata of occupations in the society which may put constraints on their educational attainments.

Out of the total sample, very small proportion (8.0 per cent) of DNTs in Karnataka still continues the traditional tribe-based occupation. They are mainly Korama (37.5 per cent), Rajgond (27.6 per cent) and Dhangar Gouly (13.5 per cent) (Figure 8.6). Koramas are divided based on the occupations. They are Dabbe Korama, Uppu Korama, Kunchi Korama and Sonai Korama. They participate in basket and rope making and agricultural labour. Women are engaged in fortune telling and tattooing. Although the traditional occupation of Rajgond was healing by using forest based herbs besides cattle rearing, but gradually in the second generation, most of the Rajgonds adapted animal husbandry and farming activities on their own lands. The third generation Rajgond youths entered multiple employments in private and government sectors besides exhibiting self skills in the income generative activities like masonry, pottery, wood works, basketry and mat-making. Breeding cows and buffaloes is the traditional occupation of the Dhangar. They sell milk and milk products. The Dhangar women help their men in their traditional occupation of cattle rearing.

Table 8.14: Primary occupation of different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultivation	Agri cultural wage labour	Non-agricultural wage labour	Traditional occupation/ skills	Petty shop/trade/ manufacturing/ business	Govt. salaried employment	Private employee	Artisan	Any other	Total
Chhapperband	17 (8.5)	4 (2.0)	143 (71.1)	-	10 (5.0)	18 (9.0)	7 (3.5)	2 (1.0)	-	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	9 (4.5)	118 (59.0)	29 (14.5)	-	24 (12.0)	9 (4.5)	2 (1.0)	6 (3.0)	3 (1.5)	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	22 (11.0)	119 (59.5)	19 (9.5)	27 (13.5)	-	-	-	-	13 (6.5)	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garesia	-	-	182 (91.5)	-	-	1 (0.5)	-	-	16 (8.0)	199 (100.0)
Ganmichor	16 (8.7)	1 (0.5)	135 (73.8)	-	1 (0.5)	12 (6.6)	12 (6.6)	-	6 (3.3)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	5 (2.9)	-	150 (86.7)	2 (1.2)	9 (5.2)	1 (0.6)	3 (1.7)	-	3 (1.7)	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	1 (0.5)	3 (1.6)	39 (21.0)	1 (0.5)	133 (71.9)	3 (1.6)	5 (2.7)	-	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabbat	-	-	168 (84.8)	-	2 (1.0)	14 (7.1)	8 (4.0)	-	6 (3.0)	198 (100.0)
Korama	3 (1.5)	1 (0.5)	83 (41.5)	75 (37.5)	12 (6.0)	5 (2.5)	10 (5.0)	2 (1.0)	9 (4.5)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	1 (1.6)	2 (3.3)	-	58 (95.1)	-	-	-	-	61 (100.0)
Rajagonda	-	36 (18.1)	99 (49.7)	55 (27.6)	8 (4.0)	-	-	-	1 (0.5)	199 (100.0)
Total	73 (3.7)	283 (14.2)	1049 (52.5)	160 (8.0)	257 (12.9)	63 (3.2)	47 (2.4)	10 (0.5)	57 (2.9)	1999 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Women clean and feed their cattle. They collect fuel, bring water and do all domestic chores. They participate in social functions and religious activities. They contribute to the family income.

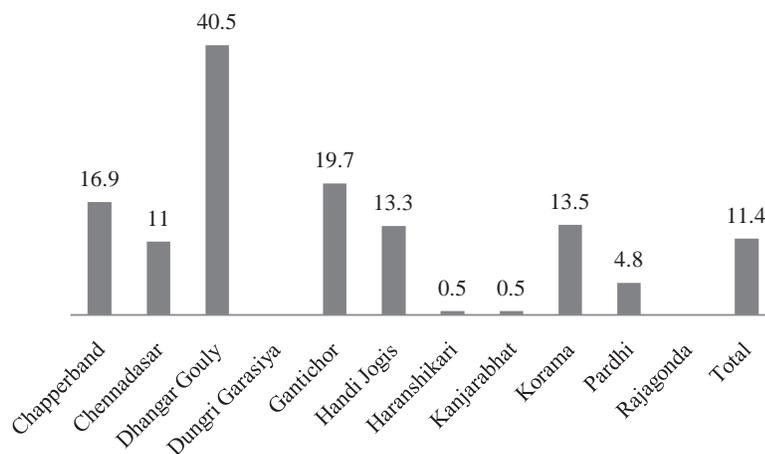
Figure 8.6: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation



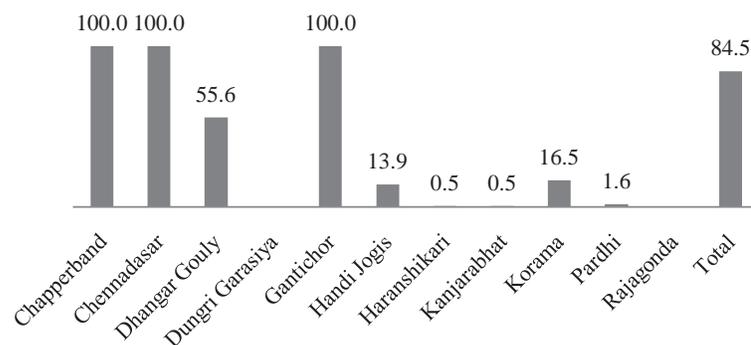
Source: Field Survey

Regarding the possession of agricultural land, among all the sample respondents, majority of the DNTs (88.6 per cent) in Karnataka are landless and only 11.4 per cent have agricultural land. Out of which, it is mostly held by Dhangar Gouly (40.5 per cent), Gantichor (19.7 per cent), Chapperband (16.9 per cent), Korama (13.5 per cent), Handi Jogis (13.3 per cent) and Chennadasar (11.0 per cent). Rest of the tribes are almost landless (Figure 8.7). Except Chapperband, Chennadasar, Gantichor and Dhangar Gouly, a very small proportion of the households cultivate their land (Figure 8.8).

Figure 8.7: Possession of agricultural land (share in per cent)



Source: Field Survey

Figure 8.8: Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (share in per cent)

Source: Field Survey

It is revealed that 87.1 per cent households have land within the range of 1 to 5 acres, 10.7 per cent have between 6 to 10 acres and 2.1 per cent have land more than 10 acres. Larger landholding is found among the Chapperband, Dhangar Gouly and Korama tribe. One household in Dhangar Gouly tribe have more than 20 acres of land (Table 8.15).

Table 8.15: Land distribution among the households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1 to 5 acres	6 to 10 acres	11 to 15 acres	16 to 20 acres	Above 20 acres	Total
Chapparband	26 (76.5)	5 (14.7)	1 (2.9)	2 (5.9)	-	34 (100.0)
Channadasar	19 (86.4)	3 (13.6)	-	-	-	22 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	73 (92.4)	5 (6.3)	-	-	1 (1.3)	79 (100.0)
Gantichor	30 (83.3)	6 (16.7)	-	-	-	36 (100.0)
Handi Jogi	20 (87.0)	3 (13.0)	-	-	-	23 (100.0)
Kanjarbat	1 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	1 (100.0)
Korama	23 (88.5)	2 (7.7)	-	1 (3.8)	-	26 (100.0)
Pardhi	4 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	4 (100.0)
Total	196 (87.1)	24 (10.7)	1 (0.4)	3 (1.3)	1 (0.4)	225 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

6. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

Only 64 per cent of DNTs in Karnataka live in their own house while 21.5 per cent of all live in rented house – these latter are mostly Haranshikari and Pardhi. A very small proportion lives temporarily in others' houses and negligible portion live in relative's house (Table 8.16). It is important to know what types of house they live in, and how many rooms it has. The data reveals that 31.4 per cent of DNTs live in semi-pucca houses, 22.6 per cent in Kutcha houses, 17.5 per cent in huts, and about 13 per cent live in pucca houses, which is largely by Pardhi, and to some extent by Rajagonda. And even

15.5 per cent live in tent house which are largely by Chapperband (34.8 per cent), Dungri Garasia (29.1 per cent), Gantichor (26.8 per cent) and Korama (27.5 per cent) (Table 8.17).

In terms of the number of rooms in the house, majority of DNTs (47 per cent) have two rooms, 24.8 per cent have one room, 17.9 per cent have three rooms and only 8.3 per cent have four rooms. Few people (around 2 per cent) have house of five or six rooms. Mostly Rajagonda (75.4 per cent) have one room while Kanjarabhat (65.3 per cent), Pardhis (61.3 per cent), Handi Jogis (59.0 per cent), Gantichor (54.6 per cent), Korama (51.5 per cent) and Dungri Garasia (51.3 per cent) have two rooms. Three rooms are high among Dhangar Gouly, followed Gantichor, Chapperband and Korama (Table 8.18). The above analysis shows the status of housing among DNTs in Karnataka. Although a majority of them own their house, it is mostly a hut or Kutcha house having up to two rooms only. These poor housing conditions may not provide conducive atmosphere for children's education.

Table 8.16: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own	Rented	Residing in Relative/ Neighbours house	House without title	Temporarily Residing in house	Others	Total
Chapperband	122 (60.7)	54 (26.9)	19 (9.5)	5 (2.5)	1 (0.5)	-	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	155 (77.5)	24 (12.0)	3 (1.5)	13 (6.5)	1 (0.5)	4 (2.0)	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	198 (99.0)	2 (1.0)	-	-	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	132 (66.3)	1 (0.5)	-	58 (29.1)	8 (4.0)	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	140 (76.5)	32 (17.5)	8 (4.4)	-	-	3 (1.6)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	161 (93.1)	12 (6.9)	-	-	-	-	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	1 (0.5)	183 (98.9)	-	-	1 (0.5)	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	139 (69.8)	37 (18.6)	-	16 (8.0)	7 (3.5)	-	199 (100.0)
Korama	156 (78.0)	38 (19.0)	1 (0.5)	-	2 (1.0)	3 (1.5)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	14 (22.6)	48 (77.4)	-	-	-	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	63 (31.7)	-	124 (62.3)	2 (1.0)	10 (5.0)	-	199 (100.0)
Total	1281 (64.0)	431 (21.5)	155 (7.7)	94 (4.7)	30(1.5)	10 (0.5)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 8.17: Type of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca	Semi pucca	Hut	Kutchra	Tent/Removable shelter	Total
Chapperband	5 (2.5)	15 (7.5)	56 (27.9)	55 (27.4)	70 (34.8)	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	21 (10.5)	39 (19.5)	11 (5.5)	91 (45.5)	38 (19.0)	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	-	180 (90.0)	19 (9.5)	-	1 (0.5)	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	29 (14.6)	96 (48.2)	16 (8.0)	-	58 (29.1)	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	6 (3.3)	19 (10.4)	65 (35.5)	44 (24.0)	49 (26.8)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	2 (1.2)	14 (8.1)	35 (20.2)	107 (61.8)	15 (8.7)	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	23 (12.4)	143 (77.3)	6 (3.2)	-	13 (7.0)	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	39 (19.6)	78 (39.2)	67 (33.7)	4 (2.0)	11 (5.5)	199 (100.0)
Korama	10 (5.0)	17 (8.5)	37 (18.5)	81 (40.5)	55 (27.5)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	57 (91.9)	5 (8.1)	-	-	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	67 (33.7)	23 (11.6)	38 (19.1)	70 (35.2)	01 (0.5)	199 (100.0)
Total	259 (12.9)	629 (31.4)	350 (17.5)	452 (22.6)	311 (15.5)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 8.18: Number of rooms in the house in which respondent lives

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Chapperband	21 (10.5)	74 (36.8)	50 (24.9)	47 (23.4)	7 (3.5)	2 (1.0)	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	72 (36.0)	92 (46.0)	26 (13.0)	9 (4.5)	1 (0.5)	-	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	2 (1.0)	73 (36.5)	72 (36.0)	49 (24.5)	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	76 (38.2)	102 (51.3)	18 (9.0)	3 (1.5)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	19 (10.4)	100 (54.6)	46 (25.1)	13 (7.1)	2 (1.1)	3 (1.6)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	47 (27.2)	102 (59.0)	16 (9.2)	8 (4.6)	-	-	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	55 (29.7)	82 (44.3)	36 (19.5)	10 (5.4)	2 (1.1)	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	27 (13.6)	130 (65.3)	38 (19.1)	4 (2.0)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Korama	28 (14.0)	103 (51.5)	47 (23.5)	8 (4.0)	8 (4.0)	6 (3.0)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	38 (61.3)	8 (12.9)	14 (22.6)	-	2 (3.2)	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	150 (75.4)	44 (22.1)	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	-	199 (100.0)
Total	497 (24.8)	940 (47.0)	359 (17.9)	167 (8.3)	23 (1.1)	15 (0.7)	2001 (100.0)

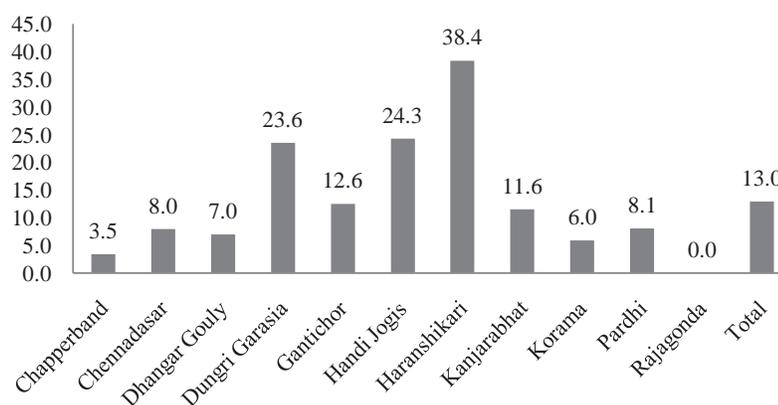
Source: Field Survey

The quality of drinking water depends on its source. About 79.5 per cent of DNTs in Karnataka get tap water for drinking, whereas 14.5 per cent of them still depend on tube/bore well which is not as safe as tap water. Very negligible proportion depends on either protected or open-well. Among tap water, Rajagonda are ahead (97.5 per cent) followed by Haranshikari, Gantichor, Kanjarabhat, Dhangar Gouly, Korama, Chapperband and Dungri Garasia. Most of the Pardhis depend on tube/bore well. This tells us that the conditions of drinking water among DNTs in Karnataka are comparatively safer than other states as large number of the households get tap water for drinking, which is relatively safe source (Table 8.19).

Table 8.19: Main sources of drinking water

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tube/Borewell	Protected well	Open well	Spring/Stream	Piped Water	Pond	Hand pump	Total
Chapperband	13 (6.5)	8 (4.0)	13 (6.5)	-	165 (82.1)	1 (0.5)	-	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	58 (29.0)	6 (3.0)	22 (11.0)	10 (5.0)	98 (49.0)	-	7 (3.5)	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	9 (4.5)	-	14 (7.0)	7 (3.5)	170 (85.0)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	29 (14.6)	-	2 (1.0)	-	163 (81.9)	5 (2.5)	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	17 (9.3)	2 (1.1)	-	-	163 (89.1)	-	1 (0.5)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	68 (39.3)	-	-	2 (1.2)	103 (59.5)	-	-	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	2 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	-	1 (0.5)	180 (97.3)	1 (0.5)	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	24 (12.2)	-	-	1 (0.5)	174 (87.4)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Korama	19 (9.5)	-	11 (5.5)	0	166 (83.0)	-	4 (2.0)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	48 (77.4)	-	-	0	14 (22.6)	-	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	4 (2.0)	-	1 (0.5)	0	194 (97.5)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Total	291 (14.5)	17 (0.8)	63 (3.1)	21 (1.0)	1590 (79.5)	7 (0.3)	12 (0.6)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 8.9: Status of toilet facilities / access

Source: Field Survey

Toilet facilities are available to only 13 per cent of households and rest of the households defecate in open space; 100 percent of Rajagonda tribes reported open defecation whereas 38.4 per cent of the Haranshikari households have their own toilets (Figure 8.9). Overall the status of toilets among the tribes of Karnataka is found to be very poor. Majority (93.2 per cent) of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. This proportion is more than 90 per cent in the case of Chapperband, Dhangar Gouly, Gantichor, Handi Jogis, Haranshikari, Korama and Rajagonda whereas the same is relatively less among Pardhi and Chennadasar tribe. Similarly, majority (91.0 per cent) of households have electricity in their homes. This proportion is very high among Chapperband (99.5 per cent), Dhangar Gouly (95.0 per cent), Gantichor (97.3 per cent), Handi Jogis (98.3 per cent), Haranshikari (97.8 per cent), Kanjarbhat (91.5 per cent), Korama (91.5 per cent) and Rajagonda (97.5 per cent) tribes (Table 8.20).

7. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

Possession of identity and job cards are important from the point of availing governmental welfare schemes, benefits, subsidies, employment, school or college admission and study scholarships etc., which will influence the education. Eighty eight per cent of the total households possess ration card whereas the possession is found to be more than 90 per cent in the case of Chapperband (98.0 per cent), Dhangar Gouly (99.5 per cent), Gantichor (92.3 per cent), Handi Jogis (94.8 per cent), Kanjarbhat (98.5 per cent), Korama (92.0 per cent) and Pardhi (100.0 per cent) communities. Possession of identity cards is necessary to avail the benefits of government schemes and programmes. Around 92.9 per cent of the households possess Voter ID. Sixty five per cent of the households have Aadhar Card. Except Dhangar Gouly and Rajagonda households, the concept of Aadhar Card is very much popular among other people. Around 62.8 per cent of the total households possess caste certificate. This proportion is very less among Rajagonda, Haransikari, Dhangar Gouly and Dungri Garasia households. Possession of health insurance and NREGA card are not at all popular among the people (Figure 8.10). Non-possession of MNREGA cards will limit their work and income during the off-season in rural areas. As a result, it reduces the parents' capacity to support children's education too.

Table 8.20: Status of electricity (N=2001)

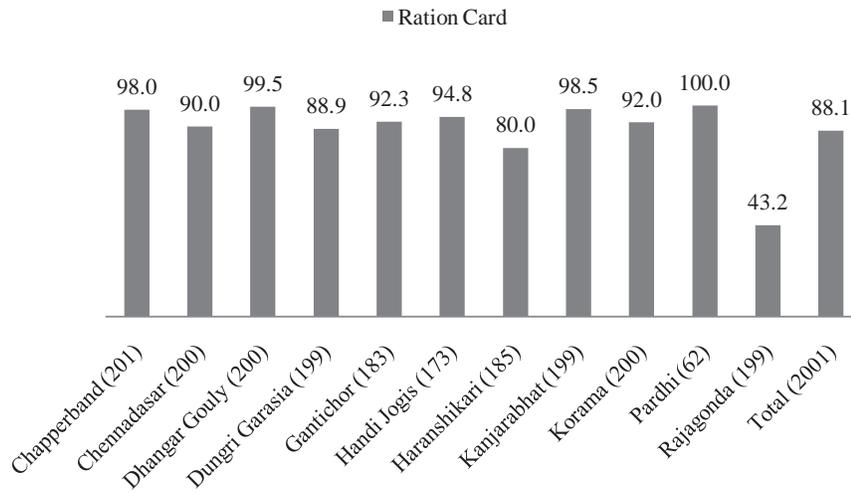
DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of electricity in the neighbourhood**	Access to electricity in households**
Chapperband (201)	200 (99.5)	200 (99.5)
Chennadasar (200)	159 (79.5)	151 (75.5)
Dhangar Gouly (200)	199 (99.5)	190 (95.0)
Dungri Garasia (199)	167 (83.9)	151 (75.9)
Gantichor (183)	182 (99.5)	178 (97.3)
Handi Jogis (173)	172 (99.4)	170 (98.3)
Haranshikari (185)	182 (98.4)	181 (97.8)
Kanjarabhat (199)	178 (89.4)	182 (91.5)
Korama (200)	190 (95.0)	183 (91.5)
Pardhi (62)	38 (61.3)	41 (66.1)
Rajagonda (199)	197 (99.0)	194 (97.5)
Total (2001)	1864 (93.2)	1821 (91.0)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

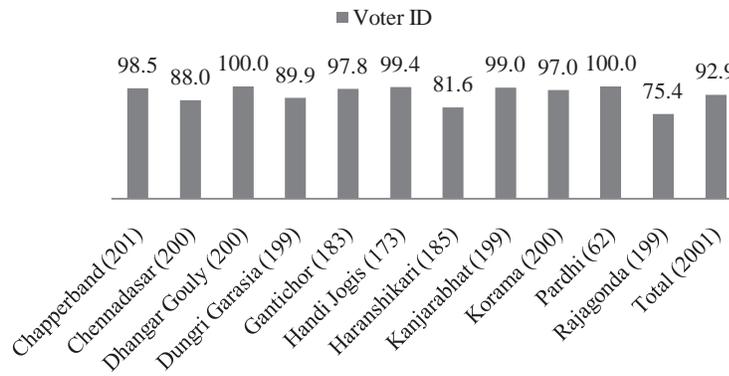
** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of household.

Source: Field Survey

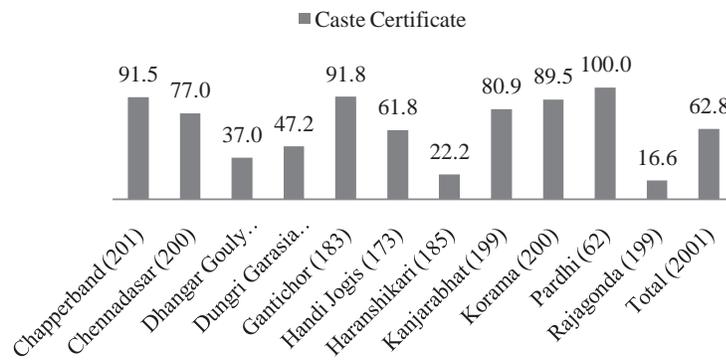
Figure 8.10: Access to entitlements



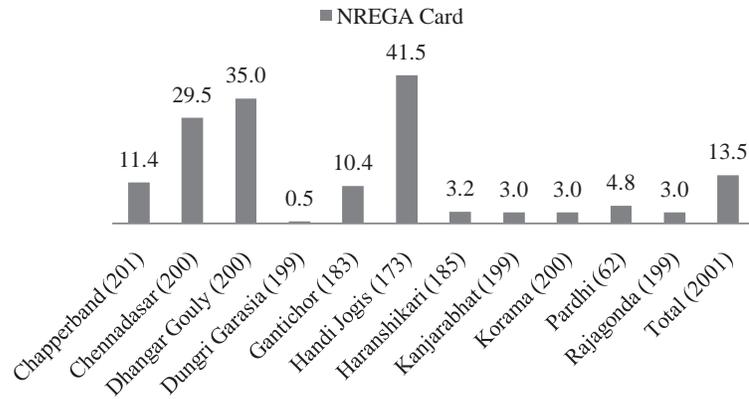
Source: Field Survey



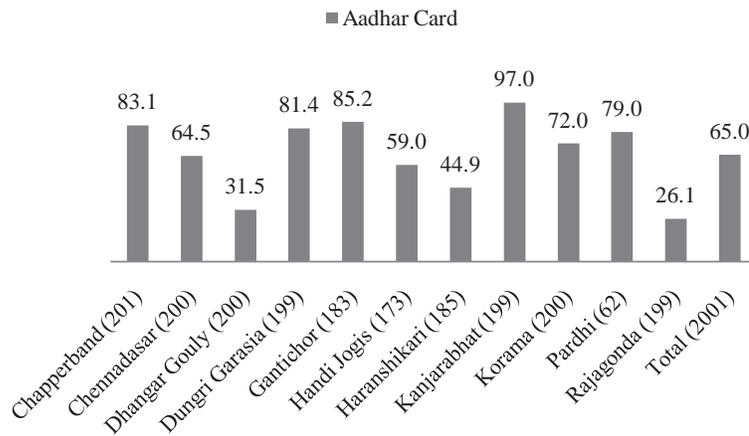
Source: Field Survey



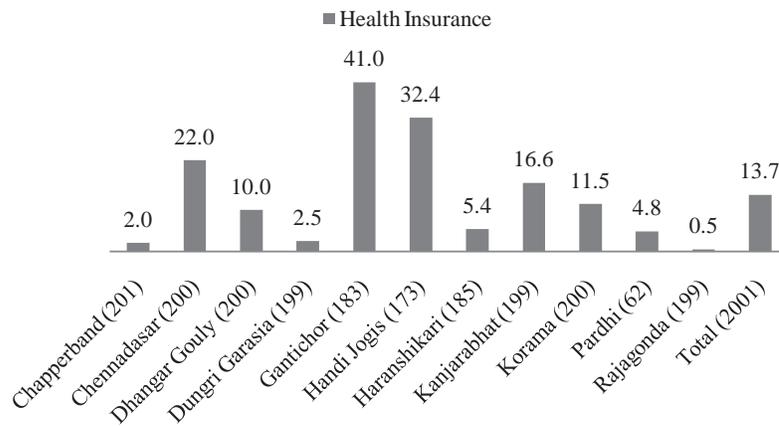
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

The data shows that about 35.7 per cent of DNTs in Karnataka do not have access to Anganwadi Centers (AWC). This proportion is higher among Dhangar Gouly tribe. About 10 per cent do not have access to PHC (Primary Health Centre). This proportion is higher among Rajagonda (Table 8.21).

Table 8.21: Access to ICDS & PHC by households (N=2001)

Tribe*	Anganwadi**	ICDS & PHC**
Chapperband (201)	144 (71.6)	176 (87.6)
Chennadasar (200)	130 (65.0)	160 (80.0)
Dhangar Gouly (200)	2 (1.0)	166 (83.0)
Dungri Garasia (199)	184 (92.5)	194 (97.5)
Gantichor (183)	95 (51.9)	177 (96.7)
Handi Jogis (173)	99 (57.2)	157 (90.8)
Haranshikari (185)	176 (95.1)	179 (96.8)
Kanjarabhat (199)	182 (91.5)	198 (99.5)
Korama (200)	121 (60.5)	183 (91.5)
Pardhi (62)	62 (100.0)	61 (98.4)
Rajagonda (199)	92 (46.2)	151 (75.9)
Total (2001)	1287 (64.3)	1802 (90.1)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households

Source: Field Survey

8. Assets

The study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. About 51.2 per cent of the total households have mobile phones and 48.6 per cent possess television. While about 44.0 per cent households reported availability of fans and coolers, 47.9 per cent households reported having table/chair, 10.1 per cent households have scooter, 37.8 per cent households have kitchen appliances and less than 10 per cent each households possess Radio, Refrigerator, Computer Laptop and four wheeler (Table 8.22).

9. Discrimination

The study also highlights many instances of discrimination faced by children in school. About 35.6 per cent of respondents reported that they have been addressed by their community name. About 9.3 per cent of households reported that non-tribal individuals refer to their children as uncultured adivasis. Other types of discriminations reported in this study are being made to sit in the back (9.1 per cent), not given any attention by the teacher (2.9 per cent), arrangement in sitting (2.7 per cent), being obstructed from offering tea and water to the teacher (5.8 per cent) and being accused of coming just for the scholarship (1.4 per cent) (Table 8.23). In addition, forcing the student to drink water separately from other children, mid-day meal and sports were also reported.

Table 8.22: Possession of assets in the household

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Table/ Chair	Electric Fan / Cooler	Kitchen appliances like Cooker	Radio	Cycle	Refrigerator	Television	Computer/ Laptop	Telephone/ Mobile	Scooter/ Motor Cycle	Four Wheeler	Others
Chapparbund	134 (66.7)	144 (71.6)	119 (59.2)	27 (13.4)	63 (31.3)	11 (5.5)	108 (53.7)	26 (12.9)	119 (59.2)	28 (13.9)	4 (2.0)	7 (3.5)
Chennadasar	103 (51.5)	82 (41.0)	44 (22.0)	24 (12.0)	63 (31.5)	20 (10.0)	90 (45.0)	12 (6.0)	104 (52.0)	20 (10.0)	19 (9.5)	22 (11.0)
Dhangar Gooly	63 (31.5)	13 (6.5)	2 (1.0)	3 (0.5)	28 (14.0)	3 (1.5)	37 (18.5)	1 (0.5)	27 (13.5)	39 (19.5)	-	-
Dangri Garasis	72 (36.2)	29 (14.6)	196 (98.5)	-	16 (8.0)	-	98 (49.2)	-	50 (25.1)	2 (1.0)	-	-
Gantichor	107 (58.5)	99 (54.1)	43 (21.5)	7 (3.8)	56 (30.6)	10 (5.5)	99 (54.1)	5 (2.7)	108 (59.0)	29 (15.8)	2 (1.1)	7 (3.8)
Handi Jogis	125 (72.3)	110 (63.6)	28 (16.2)	55 (31.8)	54 (31.2)	5 (2.9)	107 (61.8)	4 (2.3)	135 (78.0)	21 (12.1)	3 (1.7)	8 (4.6)
Hiranshikari	64 (34.6)	115 (62.2)	133 (71.9)	-	22 (11.9)	-	123 (66.5)	-	142 (76.8)	13 (7.0)	-	-
Kanjambhat	165 (82.9)	153 (76.9)	132 (66.3)	18 (9.0)	44 (22.1)	10 (5.0)	145 (72.9)	4 (2.0)	128 (64.3)	12 (6.0)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.0)
Koranna	85 (42.5)	100 (50.0)	49 (24.5)	14 (7.0)	32 (16.0)	6 (3.0)	106 (53.0)	10 (5.0)	118 (59.0)	30 (15.0)	4 (2.0)	19 (9.5)
Purethi	15 (24.2)	15 (24.2)	8 (12.9)	2 (3.2)	4 (6.5)	2 (3.2)	15 (24.2)	2 (3.2)	12 (19.4)	5 (8.1)	3 (4.8)	-
Rajagonda	26 (13.1)	21 (10.6)	2 (1.0)	8 (4.0)	3 (1.5)	-	45 (22.6)	2 (1.0)	81 (40.7)	3 (1.5)	4 (2.0)	3 (1.5)
Total	959 (47.9)	881 (44.0)	756 (37.8)	156 (7.8)	385 (19.2)	67 (3.3)	973 (48.6)	66 (3.3)	1024 (51.2)	202 (10.1)	40 (2.0)	68 (3.4)

Source: Field Survey

Table 8.23: Incidence of discrimination against children in school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Being called by the community name	Made to sit in the back bench	Not paid any attention by the teacher	Addressed as not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship	Addressed as Adivasi alluding to being uncultured	Sitting arrangements in classroom are humiliating	Mid day meal
Chapperband	168 (83.6)	3 (1.5)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	-	2 (1.0)	166 (82.6)
Chennadasar	122 (61.0)	5 (2.5)	6 (3.0)	9 (4.5)	15 (7.5)	7 (3.5)	149 (74.5)
Dhangar Gouly	52 (26.0)	1 (0.5)	8 (4.0)	-	5 (2.5)	2 (1.0)	186 (93.0)
Dungri Garasia	-	-	-	-	2 (1.0)	-	196 (98.5)
Gantichor	72 (39.3)	34 (18.6)	22 (12.0)	-	22 (12.0)	20 (10.9)	96 (52.5)
Handi Jogis	44 (25.4)	-	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	9 (5.2)	-	134 (77.5)
Haranshikari	148 (80.0)	117 (63.2)	5 (2.7)	2 (1.1)	107 (57.8)	16 (8.6)	171 (92.4)
Kanjarabhat	11 (5.5)	1 (0.5)	-	4 (2.0)	-	-	96 (48.2)
Korama	77 (38.5)	22 (11.0)	15 (7.5)	11 (5.5)	24 (12.0)	7 (3.5)	144 (72.0)
Pardhi	14 (22.6)	-	-	-	2 (3.2)	-	49 (79.0)
Rajagonda	4 (2.0)	-	-	-	-	-	40 (20.1)
Total	712 (35.6)	183 (9.1)	58 (2.9)	28 (1.4)	186 (9.3)	54 (2.7)	1427 (71.3)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Teachers attitude is offensive / insulting	Fellow students attitude is offensive / hurtful	playground & cultural activities	Drink water from the same pot & glass	Taking tea or water to the teached is prevented	Do you asked for manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	Other (specify)	Total
Chapperband	2 (1.0)	3 (1.5)	102 (50.7)	88 (43.8)	32 (15.9)	10 (5.0)	-	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	8 (4.0)	11 (5.5)	138 (69.0)	122 (61.0)	17 (8.5)	26 (13.0)	-	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	1 (0.5)	4 (2.0)	164 (82.0)	182 (91.0)	3 (1.5)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	-	1 (0.5)	198 (99.5)	1 (0.5)	-	-	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	12 (6.6)	19 (10.4)	107 (58.5)	100 (54.6)	22 (12.0)	20 (10.9)	1 (0.5)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	2 (1.2)	2 (1.2)	136 (78.6)	110 (63.6)	27 (15.6)	22 (12.7)	5 (2.9)	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	2 (1.1)	8 (4.3)	96 (51.9)	13 (7.0)	5 (2.7)	-	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	-	4 (2.0)	98 (49.2)	37 (18.6)	4 (2.0)	1 (0.5)	-	199 (100.0)
Korama	10 (5.0)	9 (4.5)	157 (78.5)	119 (59.5)	5 (2.5)	33 (16.5)	1 (0.5)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	9 (14.5)	62 (100.0)	34 (54.8)	-	-	-	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	-	2 (1.0)	16 (8.0)	3 (1.5)	1 (0.5)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Total	37 (1.8)	72 (3.6)	1274 (63.7)	809 (40.4)	116 (5.8)	112 (5.6)	7 (0.3)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

10. Seasonal Migration

Migration influences the educational attainment and its quality. The frequent migration hinders the children's education. About 29.2 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 70.8 per cent reported their current location as the place of their origin. Haranshikari (82.7 per cent) and Rajagonda (100.0 per cent) have a higher proportion of households who report that they are migrants (Table 8.24).

Table 8.24: Current location reported as place of origin

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Original place	Migrant	Total
Chapperband	193 (96.0)	8 (4.0)	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	174 (87.0)	26 (13.0)	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	129 (64.5)	71 (35.5)	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	197 (99.0)	2 (1.0)	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	162 (88.5)	21 (11.5)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	151 (87.3)	22 (12.7)	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	32 (17.3)	153 (82.7)	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	199 (100.0)	-	199 (100.0)
Korama	120 (60.0)	80 (40.0)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	60 (96.8)	2 (3.2)	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	-	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)
Total	1417 (70.8)	584 (29.2)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 51.2 per cent of the total migrant households reported that livelihood is the main reason for moving from native place while 33.0 per cent of households migrated (97 per cent of the Rajagonda households) to the government's allotted place. Scarcity of cattle grazing grounds and water made 10.6 per cent of the households to migrate (81.7 per cent of the Dhangar Gouly households) from their place (Table 8.25).

Table 8.25: Reasons for migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	State Govt. allotted colony	Cattle Grazing and Water	Livelihood/ Wage Labour/	Business/ Residency	Problem of Forest Officers	Ritual Begging	Scarcity of Space	Total
Chapperband	-	-	8 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	8 (100.0)
Chennadasar	2 (7.7)	3 (11.5)	11 (42.3)	-	-	8 (30.8)	-	26 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	-	58 (81.7)	7 (9.9)	-	3 (4.2)	-	3 (4.2)	71 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (100.0)	2 (100.0)
Gantichor	-	-	20 (95.2)	-	-	-	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	-	-	22 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	22 (100.0)
Haranshikari	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	148 (96.7)	-	-	-	3 (2.0)	153 (100.0)
Korama	-	-	80 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	80 (100.0)
Pardhi	-	-	2 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	2 (100.0)
Rajagonda	193 (97.0)	-	1 (0.5)	4 (2.0)	-	-	4 (2.0)	199 (100.0)
Total	196 (33.0)	62 (10.6)	299 (51.2)	4 (0.7)	3 (0.5)	8 (1.4)	13 (2.2)	584 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 65.4 per cent of sample DNTs in Karnataka have migrated twice; and the proportion is relatively high among Gantichor, Rajagonda, Korama, Handi Jogis, Chapperband and Chennadasar. Around 23 per cent reported it once (Table 8.26). In a large number of cases (98.8), the households migrate between 5 to 9 months (Table 8.27).

Table 8.26: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Number of times migrating in a year				Total
	Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times	
Chapperband	2 (25.0)	6 (75.0)	-	-	8 (100.0)
Chennadasar	4 (15.4)	16 (61.5)	-	6 (23.1)	26 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	50 (70.4)	16 (22.5)	3 (4.2)	2 (2.8)	71 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	1 (50.0)	-	-	1 (50.0)	2 (100.0)
Gantichor	-	21 (100.0)	-	-	21 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	-	19 (86.4)	3 (13.6)	-	22 (100.0)
Haranshikari	75 (49.0)	33 (21.6)	7 (4.6)	38 (24.8)	153 (100.0)
Korama	-	73 (91.2)	-	7 (8.8)	80 (100.0)
Pardhi	2 (100.0)	-	-	-	2 (100.0)
Rajagonda	-	198 (99.5)	1 (0.5)	-	199 (100.0)
Total	134 (22.9)	382 (65.4)	14 (2.4)	54 (9.2)	584 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 8.27: Duration of stay at migrated place

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration				Total
	1-3 Months	3-5 Months	5-9 Months	Above 1 Year	
Chapperband	-	-	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	8 (100.0)
Chennadasar	4 (15.4)	-	15 (57.7)	7 (26.9)	26 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	10 (14.1)	7 (9.9)	50 (70.4)	4 (5.6)	71 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	1 (50.0)	-	-	1 (50.0)	2 (100.0)
Gantichor	-	-	21 (100.0)	-	21 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	3 (13.6)	-	19 (86.4)	-	22 (100.0)
Haranshikari	151 (98.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	-	153 (100.0)
Korama	-	-	80 (100.0)	-	80 (100.0)
Pardhi	2 (100.0)	-	-	-	2 (100.0)
Rajagonda	-	-	196 (98.5)	3 (1.5)	199 (100.0)
Total	171 (29.3)	8 (1.4)	388 (64.4)	17 (2.9)	584 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

11. Neighborhood

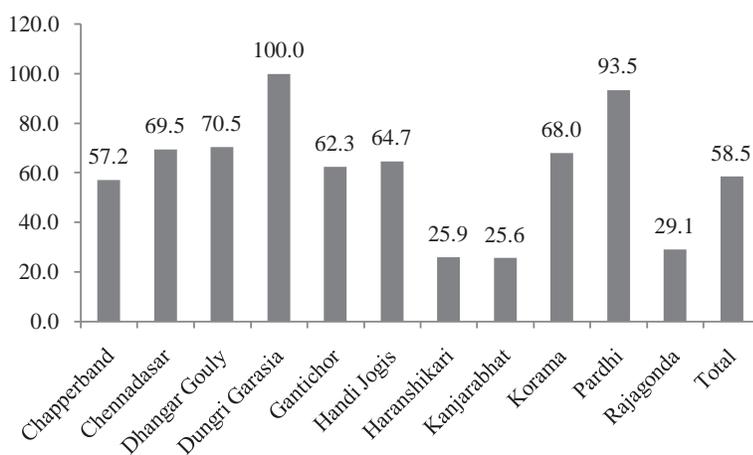
About 46.5 per cent of respondents live among their own tribe and a negligible proportion (0.1 per cent) have their houses in isolated places. Around 44 per cent of the total households stay with other communities. Among all the tribes large number of Haranshikari, Dungri Garasia and Chapperband stay with other communities whereas the proportion for the same is relatively smaller for Rajagonda and Dhangar Gouly tribe studied in Karnataka (Table 8.28).

Table 8.28: Social location of neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own caste / tribe people	Other caste / tribe people	Segregated house	DNT Settlement	Total
Chapperband	18 (9.0)	122 (60.7)	-	61 (30.3)	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	138 (69.0)	62 (31.0)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	183 (91.5)	17 (8.5)	-	-	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	49 (24.6)	149 (74.9)	1 (0.5)	-	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	103 (56.3)	69 (37.7)	-	11 (6.0)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	85 (49.1)	87 (50.3)	1 (0.6)	-	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	3 (1.6)	182 (98.4)	-	-	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	31 (15.6)	102 (51.2)	-	66 (33.2)	199 (100.0)
Korama	108 (54.0)	84 (42.0)	1 (0.5)	7 (3.5)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	14 (22.6)	-	-	48 (77.4)	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	198 (99.5)	1 (0.5)	-	-	199 (100.0)
Total	930 (46.5)	875 (43.7)	3 (0.1)	193 (9.6)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 58.5 per cent of respondents report that they have educated neighbours. This proportion is high among Dungri Garasia, Pardhi, Dhangar Gouly, Chennadasar, Handi Jogis and Gantichor (Figure 8.11). The interaction with neighbours especially on children's education is discussed in section III.

Figure 8.11: Incidences of education among neighbours

Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS

This section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Karnataka. This section details the findings on the educational status of the denotified from the primary data of the study.

12. Status of Education

In the household survey, the educational status of household members, reasons for non-enrolment, drop out, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education were explored.

Among the total population covered under the survey (10085), child population (below 6 years) account for nearly 8 percent and the remaining population can be classified as (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education.

Table 8.29: Education status of members of respondent households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Child <6 years	Currently Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropouts	Completed	Total
Chapparband	65 (6.1)	376 (35.4)	335 (31.5)	8 (0.8)	279 (26.2)	1063 (100.0)
Chennadasar	71 (6.5)	369 (33.7)	366 (33.5)	14 (1.3)	274 (25.0)	1094 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	89 (6.8)	330 (25.3)	621 (47.6)	121 (9.3)	143 (11.0)	1304 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	153 (14.4)	378 (35.7)	486 (45.9)	16 (1.5)	26 (2.5)	1059 (100.0)
Gantichor	41 (4.8)	253 (29.9)	201 (23.8)	65 (7.7)	286 (33.8)	846 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	45 (5.5)	276 (33.9)	397 (48.8)	3 (0.4)	93 (11.4)	814 (100.0)
Kanjarabat	85 (9.6)	223 (25.1)	461 (51.8)	21 (2.4)	100 (11.2)	890 (100.0)
Korama	56 (5.4)	325 (31.1)	380 (36.3)	31 (3.0)	254 (24.3)	1046 (100.0)
Pardhi	66 (5.4)	460 (37.4)	299 (24.3)	311 (25.3)	94 (7.6)	1230 (100.0)
Rajgonda	106 (14.3)	115 (15.6)	495 (67.0)	14 (1.9)	9 (1.2)	739 (100.0)
Total	777 (7.7)	3105 (30.8)	4041 (40.1)	604 (6.0)	1558 (15.4)	10085 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Of the total, nearly one-third (31 per cent) were currently studying, while a significant proportion (40 per cent) indicated never enrolled, while almost 22 per cent also reported as either dropped out of education or have indicated the level of education which they have completed. The incidence of non-enrollment was high across tribes – Rajgond (67 per cent), Kanjarbhat (52 per cent), Handi Jogi and Dhangar Gouly (around 48 per cent), Dungri Garasia (46 per cent). Even across other tribes, the incidence varied from one-third to one-fourth of the sample covered highlighting the abysmal levels of access to education (Table 8.29).

Apart from those who reported the reason for dropping out of their education, there are many who do not identify any particular reason for stopping their education. Instead, they reported that they have completed their education at different levels. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. Out of 1558 who have reported that they have completed education, majority has completed primary level education (48 per cent) followed by secondary (26 per cent), higher secondary (14 per cent), and graduation and above inclusive of professional and doctoral degrees (13 per cent). As a reflection of the larger pattern, less than one percent of them have completed any course at graduate, post-graduate, or professional level. Across tribes, high incidence of completion rate till primary can be observed among Rajgond (89 per cent), Dhangar Gouly (64 per cent) and Channadasar (54 per cent).

Table 8.30: Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8 Standard)	Secondary Level (9 and 10 Standard)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12 Std)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Professional Degrees	Total
Chapparband	241 (64.1)	68 (18.1)	48 (12.8)	12 (3.2)	-	7 (1.9)	376 (100.0)
Chennadasar	241 (65.3)	49 (13.3)	58 (15.7)	18 (4.9)	2 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	369 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	265 (80.3)	34 (10.3)	18 (5.5)	11 (3.3)	2 (0.6)	-	330 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	343 (90.7)	20 (5.3)	9 (2.4)	6 (1.6)	-	-	378 (100.0)
Gantichor	181 (71.5)	38 (15.0)	23 (9.1)	5 (2.0)	3 (1.2)	3 (1.2)	253 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	203 (73.6)	35 (12.7)	25 (9.1)	9 (3.3)	-	4 (1.4)	276 (100.0)
Kanjarabat	182 (81.6)	24 (10.8)	11 (4.9)	5 (2.2)	-	1 (0.4)	223 (100.0)
Korama	192 (59.1)	60 (18.5)	50 (15.4)	14 (4.3)	-	9 (2.8)	325 (100.0)
Pardhi	359 (78.0)	51 (11.1)	35 (7.6)	15 (3.3)	-	-	460 (100.0)
Rajgonda	105 (91.3)	7 (6.1)	2 (1.7)	1 (0.9)	-	-	115 (100.0)
Total	2312 (74.5)	386 (12.4)	279 (9.0)	96 (3.1)	7 (0.2)	25 (0.8)	3105 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who are currently studying, three-fourths (75 per cent) reported enrollment in primary level followed by secondary level (12 per cent), higher secondary (9 per cent) and graduation and above (4 per cent). Across tribes one could discern high incidence (more than 90 per cent) of primary education among Rajgond and Dungri Garasia. In terms of graduation and above Channadasar, Korama (more than 4 per cent) were ahead than other tribes (Table 8.30). Majority (93 per cent) of the respondents reported Kannada as the main medium of instruction; but 6 percent also reported English and less than one percent Urdu. The incidence of English medium was highest among Kanjarbhat (13 per cent), Gantichor (12 per cent) and

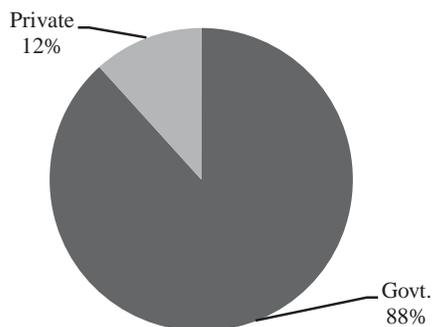
Korama, Chapparband and Channadasar (6 per cent each) (Table 8.31). In terms of institution of study, significant proportion (88 per cent) were studying in government institutions (Figure 8.12).

Table 8.31: Choice of medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Kannada	Urdu	English	Total
Chapparband	334 (88.8)	18 (4.8)	24 (6.4)	376 (100.0)
Chennadasar	346 (93.8)	-	23 (6.2)	369 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	311 (94.2)	-	19 (5.8)	330 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	376 (99.5)	-	2 (0.5)	378 (100.0)
Gantichor	224 (88.5)	-	29 (11.5)	253 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	262 (94.9)	-	14 (5.1)	276 (100.0)
Kanjarabat	194 (87.0)	-	29 (13.0)	223 (100.0)
Korama	306 (94.2)	-	19 (5.8)	325 (100.0)
Pardhi	433 (94.1)	-	27 (5.9)	460 (100.0)
Rajgonda	113 (98.3)	-	2 (1.7)	115 (100.0)
Total	2899 (93.4)	18 (0.6)	188 (6.1)	3105 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 8.12: Type of educational institutions



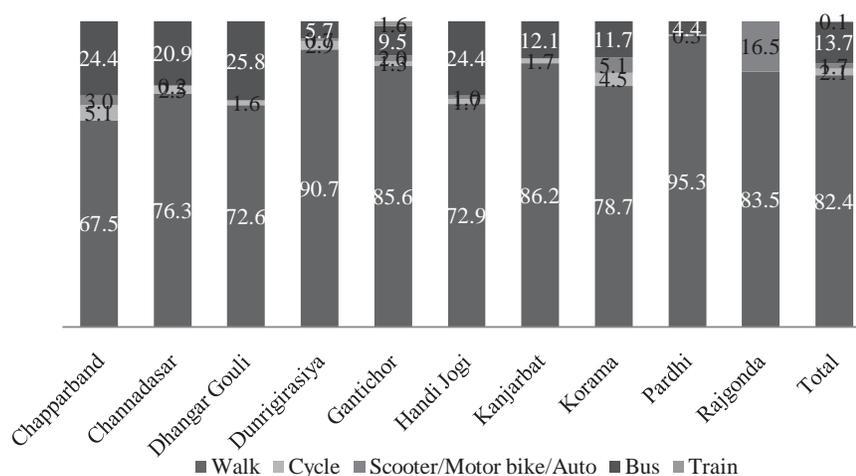
Source: Field Survey

Table 8.32: Distance to educational institution of study

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Upto 1 Km	1.1 to 3 Km	3.1 to 5 Km	5.1 to 10.0	Above 10.0 Km	Total
Chapparband	194 (51.6)	98 (26.1)	21 (5.6)	16 (4.3)	47 (12.5)	376 (100.0)
Chennadasar	209 (56.6)	97 (26.3)	29 (7.9)	13 (3.5)	21 (5.7)	369 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	183 (55.5)	75 (22.7)	5 (1.5)	34 (10.3)	33 (10.0)	330 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	331 (87.6)	22 (5.8)	10 (2.6)	12 (3.2)	3 (0.8)	378 (100.0)
Gantichor	211 (83.4)	25 (9.9)	4 (1.6)	3 (1.2)	10 (4.0)	253 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	200 (72.5)	35 (12.7)	12 (4.3)	9 (3.3)	20 (7.2)	276 (100.0)
Kanjarabat	192 (86.1)	16 (7.2)	10 (4.5)	4 (1.8)	1 (0.4)	223 (100.0)
Korama	264 (81.2)	30 (9.2)	12 (3.7)	4 (1.2)	15 (4.6)	325 (100.0)
Pardhi	426 (92.6)	19 (4.1)	-	10 (2.2)	5 (1.1)	460 (100.0)
Rajgonda	42 (36.5)	45 (39.1)	18 (15.7)	9 (7.8)	1 (0.9)	115 (100.0)
Total	2252 (72.5)	462 (14.9)	121 (3.9)	114 (3.7)	156 (5.0)	3105 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The travelling distance from place of residence to reach school/educational institution was upto 1 km for almost three-fourths of the respondents (73 per cent). Fifteen percent also reported 1 to 3 km followed by around 4 per cent each between 3 to 5 and 5.1 to 10 kilometers. Only 5 per cent reported travelling distance above 10 kilometers. However, this varied across tribes. Among Rajgond, Channadasar, Chapparband, Dhangar Gouly, one could observe that there was higher incidence of travelling distance (between 1 to 3km) while in case of Korama, Kanjarbhat, Gantichor and Pardhi, majority (more than 80 per cent) were travelling upto 1 km (Table 8.32). The mode of transport also varied accordingly (Figure 8.13). Majority were travelling by foot (83 per cent) while 13 per cent also reported use of bus as mode of transport to reach educational institution.

Figure 8.13: Mode of transport to school

Source: Field Survey

More than three-fourths (76.5 per cent) of respondents reported that their children had to be engaged in work/economic activity, and this was the main reason for non-enrolment. This proportion is very near 100 per cent among Pardhi, Handi Jogi and Chhara, and relatively very low among Kanjarabhat tribe. About 13 per cent of persons reported that illness was another reason for non-enrolment. This proportion is high among Gantichor, Dungri Garasia and Kanjarabhat tribes, and around 8 per cent of persons reported there was no school near their locality at all, followed by migration by parents, lack of interest and relevant documentation for admission.

Table 8.33: Level of education among dropouts

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8 Standard)	Secondary Level (9 and 10 Standard)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12 Std)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Total
Chapparband	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	-	-	-	8 (100.0)
Chennadasar	6 (42.9)	2 (14.3)	5 (35.7)	1 (7.1)	-	14 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	77 (63.6)	34 (28.1)	8 (6.6)	2 (1.7)	-	121 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	12 (75.0)	1 (6.3)	1 (6.3)	2 (12.5)	-	16 (100.0)
Gantichor	28 (43.1)	28 (43.1)	6 (9.2)	2 (3.1)	1 (1.5)	65 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	-	-	-	3 (100.0)
Kanjarabat	15 (71.4)	6 (28.6)	-	-	-	21 (100.0)
Korama	11 (35.5)	9 (29.0)	8 (25.8)	1 (3.2)	2 (6.5)	31 (100.0)
Pardhi	277 (89.1)	28 (9.0)	6 (1.9)	-	-	311 (100.0)
Rajgonda	10 (71.4)	1 (7.1)	3 (21.4)	-	-	14 (100.0)
Total	444 (73.5)	112 (18.5)	37 (6.1)	8 (1.3)	3 (0.5)	604 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Almost three-fourths of those who reported dropping out of school had completed primary level. A significant 19 per cent reported secondary level of education while 6 per cent had completed higher secondary level while only less than 2 per cent reported graduation and above. Thus, it is evident that the attrition happens at early stages of schooling and this was relatively lower among Channadasar, Korama and Gantichor. Irrespective of this trend, the fact that only a negligible proportion completed their higher secondary education before dropping out raises concerns about the access to education to tribal households in Karnataka. Moreover, across communities more than half of the drop outs belonged to Pardhi community (311 out of 604) followed by Dhangar Gouly (121 out of 604) and Gantichor (65 out of 604) (Table 8.33). Poverty was reported as the main reason for children dropping out of school. This proportion is very high among the Pardhi tribe. Lack of awareness about the importance of education, marriage, failure in studies, language difficulties and discrimination in school are also reported as some of the reasons for dropping out.

13. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental motivation and other support for education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents' participation and community involvement in decision making at different levels of children's education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

In case of admission to school, although almost sixty percent of households reported that the community was not consulted but a significant 30 per cent indicated seeking suggestions from teachers followed by family members and community leaders. In case of selection of subjects, school/college, financial matters and general guidance approximately 70 per cent did not consult community in decision making (Table 8.34). Overall, the involvement of parents was not encouraging. This was reflective in the fact that around three-fourths of the households reported that the parents never visited the school (Table 8.35). Ten per cent reported twice in a year while 4 per cent each reported once and four times a year. Among Haranshikari and Pardhi households, the involvement of parents in terms of frequency of visits were encouraging; with only less than 18 per cent reported no visits. In case of Gantichor too, around 33 per cent reported visits to school in varying frequency. The reasons for the visit to school to attend celebrations, meeting with teachers and other purposes were cited by around one-fourth each of the households followed by 21 per cent who reported visit to school to collect reports of their children (Figure 8.14).

Table 8.34: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

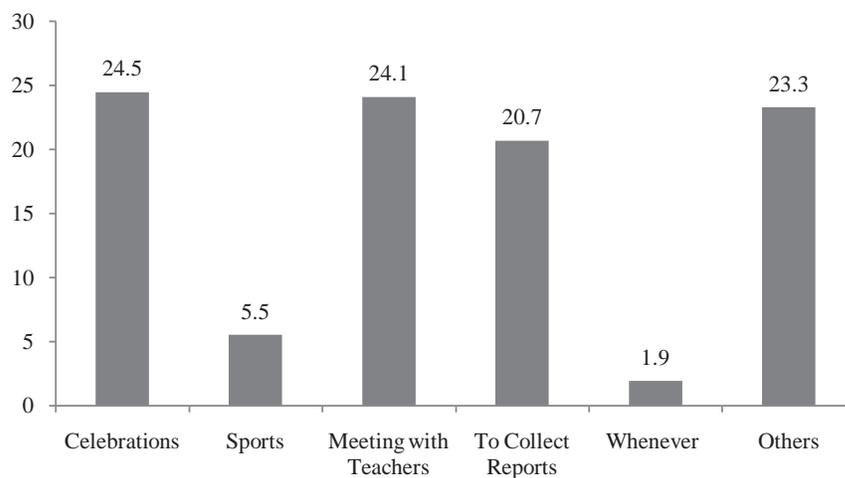
Particulars of Seeking Suggestion	Family Members	Community leaders	Teacher	Neigh bours	NGO	Others	Not Consulted	Total
Admission of the children to school	116 (5.8)	81 (4.0)	595 (29.7)	25 (1.2)	-	24 (1.2)	1160 (58.0)	2001 (100.0)
Selection of subjects	120 (6.0)	302 (15.1)	97 (4.8)	47 (2.3)	12 (0.6)	1 (0.0)	1422 (71.1)	2001 (100.0)
Selection of School/ College	182 (9.1)	233 (11.6)	68 (3.4)	42 (2.1)	-	21 (1.0)	1455 (72.7)	2001 (100.0)
Financial matters	374 (18.7)	68 (3.3)	20 (1.0)	54 (2.7)	17 (0.8)	33 (1.6)	1442 (71.7)	2001 (100.0)
Guidance on children's education	242 (12.1)	180 (8.9)	65 (3.2)	96 (4.8)	-	9 (0.4)	1409 (70.4)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 8.35: Frequency of parents visit to school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5	6+	Not Visited	Total
Chapperband	2 (1.0)	14 (7.0)	4 (2.0)	4 (2.0)	2 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	174 (86.6)	201 (100.0)
Chennadasar	3 (1.5)	14 (7.0)	4 (2.0)	5 (2.5)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	172 (86.0)	200 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	8 (4.0)	9 (4.5)	-	9 (4.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.0)	171 (85.5)	200 (100.0)
Dungri Garasia	3 (1.5)	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)	187 (94.0)	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	10 (5.5)	21 (11.5)	9 (4.9)	9 (4.9)	16 (8.7)	14 (7.7)	104 (56.8)	183 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	2 (1.2)	6 (3.5)	-	2 (1.2)	3 (1.7)	15 (8.7)	145 (83.8)	173 (100.0)
Haranshikari	37 (20.0)	101 (54.6)	3 (1.6)	6 (3.2)	2 (1.1)	7 (3.8)	29 (15.7)	185 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	7 (3.5)	4 (2.0)	1 (0.5)	7 (3.5)	1 (0.5)	-	179 (89.9)	199 (100.0)
Korama	8 (4.0)	26 (13.0)	12 (6.0)	17 (8.5)	14 (7.0)	1 (0.5)	122 (61.0)	200 (100.0)
Pardhi	1 (1.6)	6 (9.7)	1 (1.6)	27 (43.5)	14 (22.6)	2 (3.2)	11 (17.7)	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	-	-	-	-	-	14 (7.0)	185 (93.0)	199 (100.0)
Total	81 (4.0)	203 (10.1)	36 (1.8)	87 (4.3)	55 (2.7)	60 (3.0)	1479 (73.9)	2001 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 8.14: Parents visit to school for different events & programmes

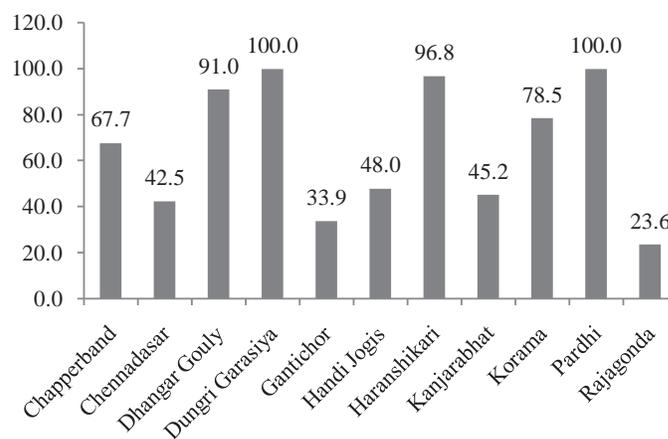
Source: Field Survey

Table 8.36: Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes (N=2001)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultural	Sports	Extra Curricular
Chapperband	153 (76.1)	167 (83.1)	176 (87.6)
Chennadasar	172 (86.0)	181 (90.5)	173 (86.5)
Dhangar Gouly	193 (96.5)	193 (96.5)	194 (97.0)
Dungri Garasia	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	116 (63.4)	121 (66.1)	115 (62.8)
Handi Jogis	140 (80.9)	142 (82.1)	146 (84.4)
Haranshikari	158 (85.4)	169 (91.4)	36 (19.5)
Kanjarabhat	100 (50.3)	100 (50.3)	100 (50.3)
Korama	191 (95.5)	197 (98.5)	193 (96.5)
Pardhi	60 (96.8)	60 (96.8)	60 (96.8)
Rajagonda	60 (30.2)	64 (32.2)	56 (28.1)
Total	1542 (77.1)	1593 (79.6)	1448 (72.4)

Source: Field Survey

The households reporting children's participation in various programmes differed marginally – 77 per cent for cultural, 80 per cent for sports and 72 per cent for extracurricular activities. However, one could see differences across tribes. The levels of satisfaction among parents of Gantichor (around 60 percent), Kanjarbhat (around 50 per cent) and Rajagonda (30 per cent) were lower than the rest of the tribes (Table 8.36).

Figure 8.15: Parents reporting regular study at home by children

Source: Field Survey

Overall, 65 per cent of households reported regular study at home by children. However, across tribes there are variations. Low proportions were reported by Rajagonda (24 per cent), Gantichor (34 per cent) while among Chinnadasar, Handi Jogis and Kanjarbhat communities the corresponding proportion was less than half of the total respondents. In case of Dungri Garasia and Pardhi the affirmative responses were 100 per cent (Figure 8.15). Forty per cent of the households reported that parents help their children with completing their homework, while about 18.0 per cent of respondents reported that no one helps the children with homework, and less than one percent each of households reported help from siblings and use of the services of a tutor.

Table 8.37: Perception about progress and performance of children (N=2001)

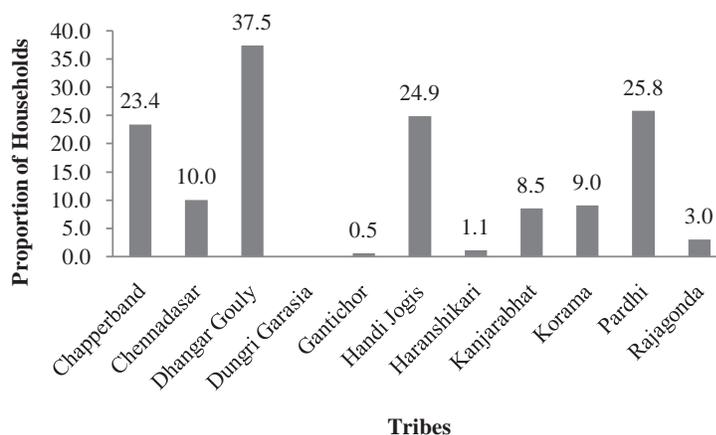
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Happy with Progress	Writing	Reading	Speaking
Chapperband	175 (87.1)	197 (98.0)	200 (99.5)	200 (99.5)
Chennadasar	173 (86.5)	195 (97.5)	195 (97.5)	195 (97.5)
Dhangar Gouly	196 (98.0)	199 (99.5)	199 (99.5)	199 (99.5)
Dungri Garasia	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)	199 (100.0)
Gantichor	132 (72.1)	128 (69.9)	128 (69.9)	132 (72.1)
Handi Jogis	148 (85.5)	149 (86.1)	147 (85.0)	149 (86.1)
Haranshikari	172 (93.0)	174 (94.1)	171 (92.4)	180 (97.3)
Kanjarabhat	99 (49.7)	106 (53.3)	106 (53.3)	118 (59.3)
Korama	183 (91.5)	199 (99.5)	198 (99.0)	199 (99.5)
Pardhi	62 (100.0)	62 (100.0)	62 (100.0)	62 (100.0)
Rajagonda	60 (30.2)	69 (34.7)	69 (34.7)	69 (34.7)
Total	1599 (79.9)	1677 (83.8)	1674 (83.7)	1702 (85.1)

Source: Field Survey

Level of satisfaction with overall progress of children and also in skills such as writing and reading were around 80 per cent as reported by the households. There were variations across tribes especially in case of Kanjarbhat (around 50 per cent) and Rajagonda (around 30 per cent) (Table 8.37). The level of awareness about school management committee was low among parents (245 households among 2001 replied in the affirmative). The proportion was lowest among Gantichor, Haranshikari, Rajgonda, Korama and Kanjarbhat. It was relatively better among Dhangar Gouly, Handi Jogis, Pardhis and Chapperband (Figure 8.16). Even among those who were aware, the membership in SMC was limited to only 94 among 245 (Table 8.38). Financial support is one of the main drivers of educational access. One can discern that 34 per cent of the educational loans were availed

for the education of daughters while the majority (66 per cent) was used for educational progress of sons (Figure 8.17).

Figure 8.16: Level of awareness about school management committee among parents

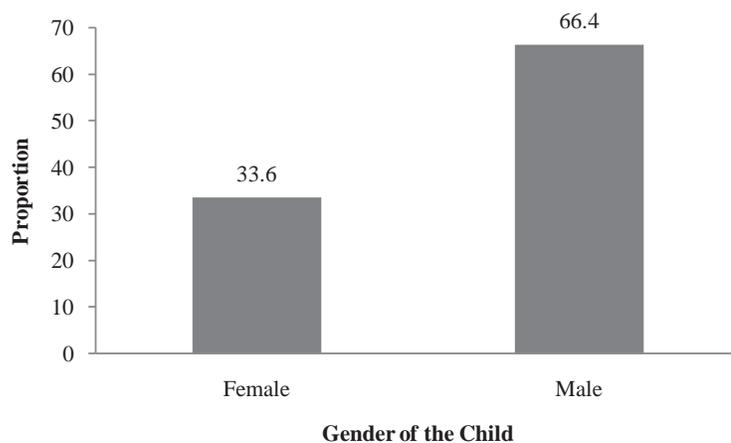


Source: Field Survey

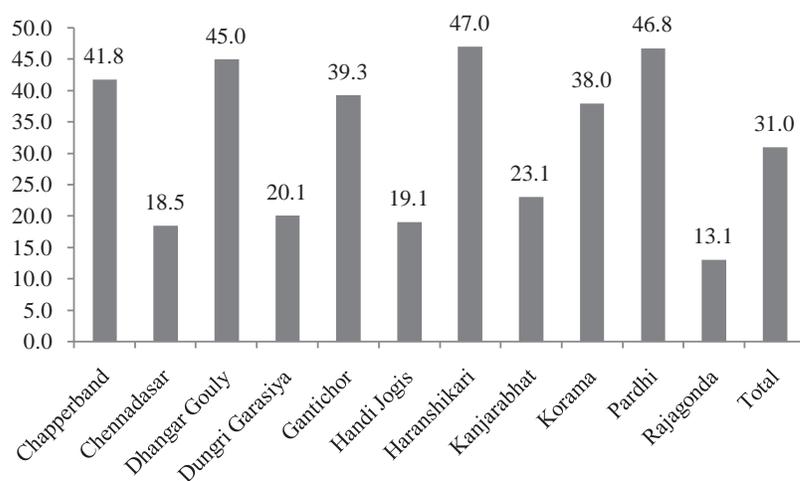
Table 8.38: Membership in the SMC

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Yes	No	Total
Chapperband	9 (19.1)	38 (80.9)	47 (100.0)
Chennadasar	12 (60.0)	8 (40.0)	20 (100.0)
Dhangar Gouly	42 (56.0)	33 (44.0)	75 (100.0)
Gantichor	-	1 (100.0)	1 (100.0)
Handi Jogis	9 (20.9)	34 (79.1)	43 (100.0)
Haranshikari	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	2 (100.0)
Kanjarabhat	1 (5.9)	16 (94.1)	17 (100.0)
Korama	12 (66.7)	6 (33.3)	18 (100.0)
Pardhi	2 (12.5)	14 (87.5)	16 (100.0)
Rajagonda	6 (100.0)	-	6 (100.0)
Total	94 (38.4)	151 (61.6)	245 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 8.17: Gender of child for whom education loan was taken

Source: Field Survey

Figure 8.18: Involvement of children in housework

Source: Field Survey

Out of 2,001 respondents, about 31.0 per cent reported that their children help them with domestic chores. This proportion is high among Haranshikari and Pardhi (almost half), Dhangar Gouly 45 per cent and comparatively low among Rajagonda, Handi Jogis and Chinnadasar. During field work it was evident that both male and female children were involved in housework and their main activity involved engaging in domestic household activities.

Aspirations of parents in relation to the future of their children were also elicited. Out of 2,001 respondents, about 17 per cent hoped that their son would become a government employee, while 18 per cent want their sons to pursue a professional career. Around one-tenth of the respondents reported that their son should become a teacher and 6 per cent of them wanted their sons to join the police force. Less than 5.0 per cent of respondents stated that their son's future depends on him and his luck and level of education. Over half (57.0 per cent) the respondents wanted their sons to pursue higher education and professional degrees. Only a negligible proportion of respondents were disillusioned by the education system. Moreover, about three-fourth (74.5 per cent) of the respondents reported that their sons are interested in higher studies. A little above one third (34.3 per cent) of respondents reported that if a boy is educated and has a job, he can change the economic condition of his family and gain a better livelihood. Around 9.4 per cent stated that education opens up opportunities for a brighter future and sharpens intelligence. Less than 5.0 per cent each of the respondents reported that if their son is educated, he will get a good job, increase his critical thinking, look after family members, and will not be dependent on others.

Of the 2,001 respondents, about 19 per cent wanted their daughters to become teachers, while 11.0 per cent believe that their daughters should become government employees. Around one-tenth wanted their daughters to choose a professional career and less than 5.0 per cent each reported that they should join the police, become lawyers or decide based on their own wishes or luck. Around 43 per cent of respondents wanted their daughters to continue their study into higher education and professional degrees. About 31 per cent of respondents reported that if a girl is educated, she will be able to find a better job and better livelihood. Around 8 per cent of respondents stated that if she is educated, it will sharpen her intelligence and she can have a brighter future while less than 6.0 per cent of respondents reported that if their daughter is educated, it will empower her to prevent exploitation and enjoy a comfortable life, look after family members, increase awareness about life, enable self development and increase critical thinking and would allow her to live independently.

14. Conclusions

Following the denotification, the DNTs in the state of Karnataka were listed in different social categories. Thus, Handi Jogis and Gantichors were listed along with SCs while Dungri Garasias and Pardhis listed as STs. On the other hand communities like Chennadasars found listed along with SCs some as OBCs. Such policies seem to have adverse impact on the entitlements and access of these communities in various contexts. These communities share the common features of DNTs like depending on forest and living in poor economic conditions. Over time, many of them shifted from their traditional occupations to settled agriculture, wage works and other livelihoods.

Traditionally, Dungri Garasias, are engaged in hunting and fishing as the main occupation; now some of them has shifted to settled agriculture and other livelihoods including non-agricultural wage-works.

Handi Jogis are traditionally engaged in begging, pig breeding and collecting herbals but some of them have shifted to agriculture, and others do manual labour.

The Gantichors are traditionally identified for stealing and pick pocketing; but the young generation has now shifted to agriculture and other livelihoods.

The Kanjarbhats used to make knives and daggers for selling to villagers and now most of them have shifted to various non-farm jobs.

Chapparbands are engaged in begging, cultivation and other manual jobs.

Traditionally, Koramas are known for basket making, fortune-telling, mat-weaving, rope-making, tattooing, agriculture and casual labour. Some of them have now shifted to agriculture, forest resources and wage labour.

Pardhis are traditionally engaged in hunting in the forest and now shifted to diversified livelihoods including agricultural labour, small businesses and cattle rearing.

Chennadasars, are known for singing, enacting open air plays, and cow and bull shows.

Dhangars were traditionally engaged in breeding cows and buffaloes.

Gonds are known for collecting Ayurvedic medicinal herbs and now shifting to wide range of non-farm occupations.

The study finds that majority of the DNTs in the state are landless. Among the DNTs, the share of land owning households was found to be high among Dhangar Gouly, Gantichor, Chapperband, Korama, Handi Jogis and Chennadasar. Majority of the households possess land within the range of one to five acres. Majority of DNTs in Karnataka live in their own house but toilet facilities are available to only 13 percent of households, most of the households defecate in open spaces. The practice of open defecation found highest among Rajagonda tribes and lowest among the Haranshikaris. Majority of the DNT households possess ration cards, Voter's ID cards, Aadhar cards and caste certificates while majority do not have MGNREGA job cards and health insurance cards.

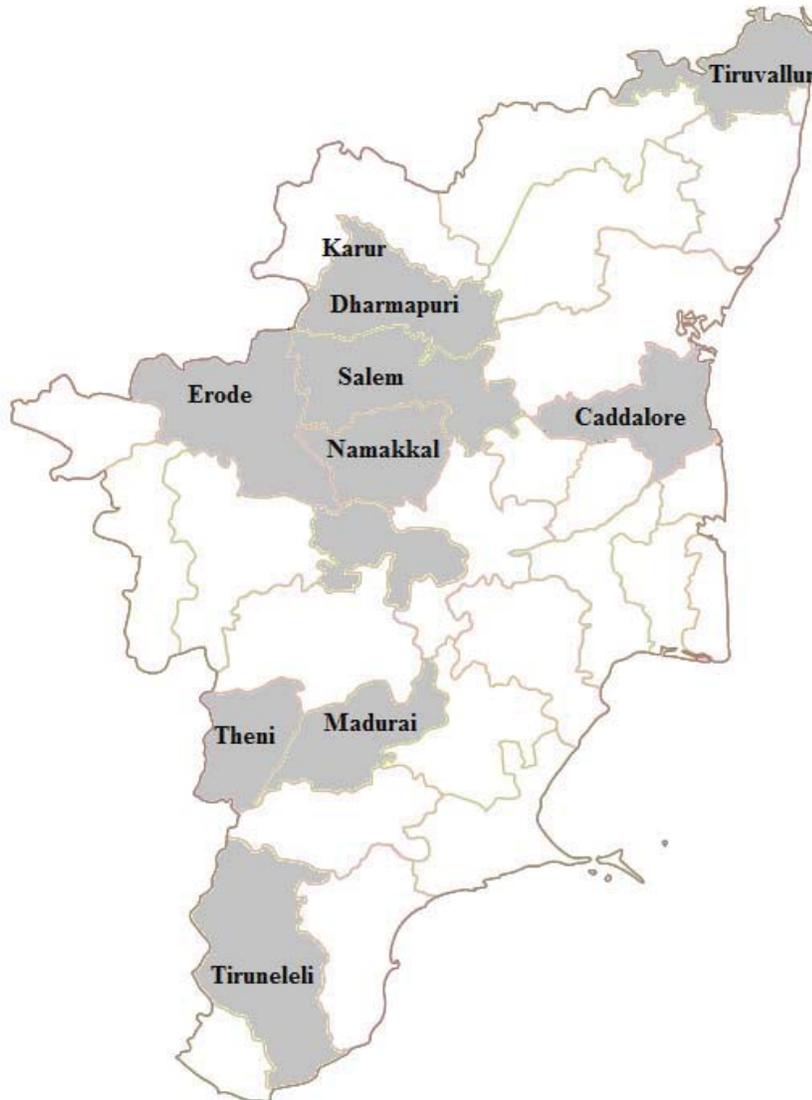
Migration of DNT families for alternate livelihoods also contributes to the vulnerability of these families; it has direct influence on children's education. The study also highlights many instances of discrimination in various public spaces; including the discrimination faced by their children in school. Being tagged with their community name isolated for 'poor culture' the students from the DNTs suffer within the classroom and outside. We find that the poor socio-economic conditions and social discrimination adversely affect the progress of these communities.

The study finds that the share of never-enrolled remains high among Rajgond, Kanjarbhat, Handi Jogi and Dhangar Gouli, Dunrigirasiya. Majority of those who are currently studying are enrolled in primary level followed by secondary level higher secondary and higher levels. The share of students at primary schools found high among Rajgond and Dunrigirasiya while Channadasar and Korama have more student at higher levels. Almost three-fourths of the drop-out at primary level (followed by 19 per cent at secondary level, 6 per cent higher secondary level and less than 2 per cent at graduation and above). Across the DNTs, share of drop-outs was found to be high among Pardhis, Dhangar Goulis and Gantichor. Issues like poverty, lack of awareness, early-marriage, failure in studies, language difficulties and discrimination in school etc. were reported as some of the reasons for dropping out.

The nature and pattern of parental engagement with their children's education reflect on community's role in the educational development. Our results show that almost sixty percent of households did not consult anyone while taking the admission for their children while a large number of them sought suggestion from teacher, family members and community leaders. Majority of them did not seek any such guidance related to selection of subjects, school/college, financial matters and general guidance. Overall, parents' involvement remains weak; three-fourths of the parents never visited the school. Aspirations of parents in relation to the future of their children indicate that most of them recognise the importance of providing better education improve the chance of getting regular and professional jobs.

Although there exist some differences in the way parents shape their dreams about their sons and daughters they recognise education as an important means for progress. Overall, these figures indicate poor educational status among the DNTs in the state.

Tamilnadu



Communities Surveyed

Attur Kilnad Koravar, Attur Melnad Koravar,
Boyars, Dombs, Jogis, Koravars, Thottia Naickers,
Valayars

Field study coordinated by
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Chapter 9

TAMILNADU AND PUDUCHERRY

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

Nomadic communities the world over have always been considered more criminal than not, and their “restlessness” or constant movement seen as a troublesome feature by members of sedentary societies. The relationship between itinerant and sedentary communities has become more problematic in modern times. The more the itinerant communities are marginalised because of transformative social and economic processes, the more they become suspect to the sedentary society they interact with. In real terms, their increasing marginality simply compounds the already existing prejudices against them. In Europe for instance, the Gypsies became gradually marginalised from the established system due to the processes of industrialisation (Radhakrishna, 2001). Radhakrishna goes on to say that “itinerary is not seen as a chosen way of life, but as an aberration of some sort. In fact, their very marginality to the established system is suspected to stem from a deliberate rejection of that system, and this offends the established members of sedentary societies.” The Denotified and Nomadic Tribes (DNTs) were formally known and notified as the "Criminal Tribes of India" (1871) and subsequently “Denotified” in 1952. They constitute a total population of about 60 million. While these communities are listed under various disadvantaged sub categories by the government, what they all share is the stigma of being “born criminals.”

In pre-colonial times, the history of the Denotified Criminal Tribes shows that their ancestors were either forest inhabitants or wandering tribes who had distinct cultural identities. Their way of life was relatively self-sustaining and the major centres of ancient Indian civilization had very little impact on them. This scenario changed with the advent of the East India Company. More and more forests were brought under the control of the British for commercial exploitation. With their livelihoods thus threatened, many from these communities took to rebellions against the colonial powers. In fact, many from these communities took part in and were martyred in the First War of Independence against the British

in 1857. With the formalisation of British rule after 1857, more and more of the forest habitats of these communities were brought under colonial control, thanks to the advent of the railways and large-scale felling of forests. The upper caste peasantry also began large-scale land grabbing in the tribal regions of central and south India. The extension of the British penal system to these areas affected the indigenous forest dwellers. There was large-scale loss of their lands and an end to their economic independence, which forced large number of them to migrate. Some may even have been forced into the world of crime. Keeping in view the propensity of these indigenous tribes to revolt, and that too with weapons, the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 was enacted by the British administration (Abraham, 1999). Previously, these nomadic groups had co-existed with the settled villages in a symbiotic relationship. They each played in a particular role, which connected distant villages or provided needed goods and services. However, the replacement of customary laws with land-use and criminal legislations denied these communities their traditional means of livelihood.

The British colonial administration viewed their itinerant and nomadic lifestyle with deep suspicion, especially after the Indian Mutiny in 1857, when the British Raj equated their lifestyle to that of wandering “criminals” and antithetic to a modern, civilized existence. They viewed criminality through the lens of the pervasive caste system in India and thus interpreted crime as caste-based or as an inheritable occupation. This was not new to the British, especially in the context of the Gypsy population in England being looked at in similar ways. With the objective of establishing greater control over rebel rural regions and nomadic groups resisting the British Indian authorities, the CTA ostensibly labeled almost 200 tribal groups as “born criminals.” The provisions of the Act were extremely oppressive and discriminatory insofar as it granted local administrations sweeping powers to identify and notify entire communities as criminals.

Thus, criminality in British India was seen not only as an individual act, but also as a community or caste-based phenomenon where certain groups were “addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences.” Criminal Tribes were required to register at local police stations, check in at certain times of the day and notify local authorities of any planned departure. In addition, many Notified Tribes were confined in prison-like settlements or rehabilitation camps in which they were “chained, shackled,

caned, and flogged while being surrounded by high walls” (Radhakrishna, 2001). Following independence, in 1952, the Criminal Tribes Act was abrogated and subsequently replaced by the Habitual Offenders Act, which contains provisions concerning individual offenders rather than whole communities.

2. DNTs Today

The communities designated as Denotified and Nomadic Tribes of India include an estimated population of over 6-million, though reliable census figures remain unavailable due to regroupings of the SC/ST (Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes) List in various states, the omission of some of these groups from any census count, and the difficulty of assessing the true population of any nomadic community. According to the 1991 Census, there were 67,758,380 persons classified as belonging to Scheduled Tribes in India, or 8.08 per cent of the population (Indian Census, 1991). In the case of the Denotified Tribes (DNT) or “ex-criminal” tribes, enumeration has not been possible because of the varied inclusion of some of these communities as SC or STs in some states, Most Backward Castes (MBCs) in others, or even their being left out of lists altogether (Radhakrishna, 2001). This is because the “criminal tribes” were not officially denotified until 1952, while the Scheduled lists for tribes had been established two years earlier in 1950. There is also a lack of uniformity between states when it comes to categorizing these communities. The National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic & Semi Nomadic Tribes, Government of India specifies 68 such communities in the state of Tamilnadu (Table 9.1). The Tamilnadu government has a list of these communities and their geographical spread, but 11 of them are not accounted for. It is not clear whether these communities are present in Tamilnadu. A more serious impediment is the lack of population figures for each of the listed DNT communities.

Table 9.1: List of DNTs in Tamilnadu

Attur Kilnad Koravars	Attur Melnad Koravars	Appanad Kondayam Kottai Maravar	Ambalakarar	Ambalakkarakar
Boyars	Battu Turkas	C.K. Koravars	Chakkala	Changayampudi Koravars
Chettinad Valayars	Dombs	Dobba Koravars	Dommars	Donga Boya
Donga Ur. Korachas	Devagudi Talayaris	Dobbai Korachas	Dabi Koravars	Donga Dasaris
Gorrela Dodda Boya	Gudu Dasaris	Gandarvakottai koravars	Gandarvakottai Kallars	Inji Korvars
Jogis	Jambavanodai	Kaladis	Kal oddars	Koravars
Kalinji Dabikoravars	Kootappal Kallars	Kala Koravars	Kalavathila Boyars	Kepmaris
Maravars	Monda Koravars	Monda Golla	Mutlakampatti	Nokkars
Nellorepet Oddars	Oddars	Pedda Boyars	Ponnai koravars	Piramalai Kallars
Peria Suriyur Kallars	Padayachi	Punnan Vettuva Gounder	Servai	Salem Melnad Koravars
Salem Uppu Koravars	Sakkaraithamadai Koravars	Saranga Palli Koravars	Sooramari Oddars	Sembanad Maravars
Thalli Koravars	Thelungapatti Chettis	Thottia Naickers	Thogamalai Koravars	Uppukoravars
Urali Gounders	Wayalpad	Vaduvarpatti Koravars	Valayars	Vettaikarakar
Vetta Koravars	Varaganeri Koravars	Vettuva Gounder		

Source: National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic & Semi Nomadic Tribes, Govt. of India

3. Methodology

3.1 Sample Design

The sample for this study was a random one selected from the list of DNTs in Tamilnadu. The selection was done by excluding the communities on the list that were commonly known to be developed to a certain extent. This choice was made based on the observation of the role of certain communities in politics and the market economy. The sample selection was done on the basis of accessibility and contacts of the field investigators. A sample of eight DNT communities formed the focus of the study.

The sample has been covered from the following communities and the districts covered are listed below (Table 9.2).

Table 9.2: Community-wise list with districts

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Districts
Koravas	Cuddalore, Erode, Karur, Madurai, Salem, Tirunelveli
Jogis	Cuddalore
Boyars	Dharmapuri, Erode, Karur, Namakkal
Dombs	Erode
Thottia Naickers	Erode, Namakkal, Tirunelveli, Tricy
Valayars	Erode, Madurai, Theni
Attur Melnad Koravars	Salem
Attur Kilnad Koravars	Salem

Source: Field Survey

3.2 Introducing DNTs under Study

This section seeks to introduce the select DNT communities, drawing mainly on the ethnographic literature available and the interviews with community leaders.

Koravars

The Koravar also refer to themselves as Kuravar but for official purposes most of them record their identity as Kuravan, which falls under the Scheduled Caste category. The term Kuravan is etymologically derived from the word *kuram* meaning 'fortune-telling' in Tamil. Fortune-telling is considered one of their traditional occupations. In course of time, when they migrated to different parts of the plains, for reasons unknown, they took up occupations such as basket-making, fortune-telling, rearing of pigs and selling salt and lime. At present they live in villages, towns and cities as clusters of families or scattered as individual families in almost all the districts of Tamilnadu. The Koravar living in these areas intermarry with the Koravar and Yerukula of Madras and other districts, although they are sometimes unable to recognize the social divisions of each other, as many of them are recent in origin and territory based. The Koravar women make baskets, weave mats and winnows and fortune-tell (*kuri solludhal*) along with their men, besides taking care of their domestic responsibilities. It is usually the women who sell the baskets and mats in the streets. Most Koravar children assist their parents in their economic activities, so only a small number go to school.

The Koravar community is said to be found in the districts of Kancheepuram, Tiruvallur, Ramanathapuram, Sivaganga, Virudhunagar, Pudukottai, Thanjavur, Nagapattinam, Thiravarur, Tiruchirapalli, Karur, Perambalur, Tirunelveli, Thoothukadi, Chennai, Madurai, Theni, Dindigul and The Nilgiris. The Koravars of today are settled in various parts of the state and the study focused on Koravar families in the districts of Cuddalore, Erode, Karur, Madurai, Salem and Tirunelveli. The study focused on 224 households. The community speaks Tamil as their prime language. Most of the Koravar community members are engaged in a variety of daily wage occupations. The socio-economic state of affairs is very low. Majority of the community members are engaged in the traditional occupation of mat and basket weaving and also as daily wage labourers. The Koravar community in Tamilnadu have now settled down as a change to earlier nomadicity but the socio economic status is low. The community members live on a day to day existence with family incomes depending on daily wages. Problems with the law enforcement are commonplace but the community members do not talk about these issues in the open.

Jogis

The Jogi are distributed thinly throughout Tamilnadu. Some of them lead a nomadic life. Thurston (1909) identified three occupational groups — beedi sellers, pig-breeders and scavengers. The Jogi speak Telugu among themselves and Tamil with Others. Most adults are illiterate. The Jogi are an endogamous group with two exogamous gotras, namely Siru Kodan and Siruppa, that regulate their marriages. Their status in the local social hierarchy is low. They generally live in slums, isolated from the other castes. The women have a secondary status. They participate in pig-rearing and agricultural labour. They participate in social and religious functions. They do not have decision-making powers or control over expenditure. The traditional occupation of the Jogi is pig rearing. Many are agricultural or other kind of daily wage labourer. The wages are paid in cash or kind or both. Due to their poverty, the Jogi seldom send their children to school. The Jogis of today are settled in various parts of the state (Kancheepuram, Tiruvallur, Chennai, Cuddalore, Villupuram, Vellore and Tiruvannamalai) and the study focused on Jogi families in the Cuddalore district. The study focused on 49 households. The community speaks Telugu as their prime language. The community resides as small

settlements. Most of them live in small huts or thatched houses. Majority of the community members earn their livelihood as daily wage labourers.

Boyars

Bear or Boyar means “Throughout the hills”. The Boyars were the old fighting caste. The Poly Gram’ forces, and Hider Ali’s troops were largely recruited from these people who exhibited keen interest in sport and manly exercises. The Boyars of today are settled in various parts of the state and the study focused on Boyar families in the districts of Dharmapuri, Erode, Karur and Namakkal. The study focused on 230 households. The community speaks Tamil and Telugu as their languages. The Boyars are a community that has seen considerable development. There are members of the community who are well established in society. But a significant part of the community is still in varying stages of economic development. The literacy rate is slowly increasing but there is still a large amount of dropouts. They are engaged in the traditional occupation of making clay pots and masonry as in the past. Some of the community members are engaged in cultivation and some others as daily wage labourers.

Dombs

The Dobra are a community of acrobats and tumblers by tradition. They are popularly known as Kashia (or Kalian) Kothari in Tamilnadu. The term *kasha* denotes 'pole' and *Kothari* means 'street dancer', thus signifying their traditional occupation of ascending high poles and walking on ropes. The Dobra were mainly vagabond dancers, actors, pantomime artistes and puppeteers in public streets and bazaars. Being a nomadic group, they are found in almost all the districts of Tamilnadu, but in very small numbers. All Dobra in Tamilnadu are conversant with Tamil and some are conversant with Telugu also. Women enjoy equal status with men among the Dobra. Their role is vital to the livelihood of this community. The Dobra are a landless community. Their traditional occupation is performing acrobatics, rope-walking and ascending high poles. They perform these acts in the streets. There are very few literates among the Dombara. This is due to the nomadic nature of their occupation and the involvement of children in it. The Dombs of today are settled in various parts of the state (Pudukottai, Tiruchirapalli, Karur and Perambalur) and the study focused on Domb families in the district of

Erode. The study focused on 41 households. The community speaks Tamil but Telugu figures as their mother tongue. Traditionally the Dombs are the street performers well versed in local theatre. They used to perform street plays and folk dances. But these traditional entertainment sources are losing significance today with the onslaught of mass media and therefore the community has had to give up this traditional occupation and mode of livelihood. Today they are engaged in astrology and tarot reading. Some of the community members are engaged in the agricultural cultivation as wage labourers and also as daily wage labourers.

Thottia Naickers

The Tholuva Naicker have a synonym, Thottia Naickers. The term Tholuva is derived from a Tamil term tholudal, which means service. In olden days they served the Vellalar communities, so they were called Tholuva Vellalar. After their migration to their present habitat, they joined the army of the Naik Rajus of Thanjavur. In recognition of their meritorious services in their army, the Naik Rajus gave them the title Naicker. The community does not have subgroups. Some informants said that their ancestors were migrants from Tholuva Nadu and, in course of time, were called Tholuva to signify their domicile. They speak Tamil and use its script. The community do not have any identification marks. The Thottia Naickers of today are settled in various parts of the state (Sivagangai, Virudunagar, Ramanathapuram, Kancheepuram, Tiruvallur, Thanjavur, Nagapattinam, Tiruvarur, Tiruchirapalli, Karur, Perambalur, Pudukottai, Tirunelveli, Thoothukudi, Salem, Namakkal, Vellore, Tiruvannamalai, Coimbatore, Erode) and the study focused on Thottia Necker families in the districts of Erode, Namakkal, Tirunelveli and Trichy. The study focused on 212 households. The community speaks Tamil but Telugu is their prime language. Majority of the community members are engaged in their traditional occupation and also as daily wage labourers.

Valayars

The Valaiyar (Mooppar) are an agriculturist community mainly distributed in the Madurai, Theni, Dindigul, Tiruchirapalli, Karur, Perambalur, Pudukottai, Erode and Coimbatore Districts. Muthuraja or Mutharaca and Ambalakarar are considered their synonyms. The Muthuraja are mainly distributed in the Tiruchchirappalli, South Arcot, North Arcot Ambedkar

and Chengai M.G.R. Districts and have the surname Servai. The people using the surname Mooppanar are distributed in the southern districts. In Tamil, *valai* has two meanings; one is 'rat hole' and the other 'net'. The former meaning pertains to the name Valaiyar used by the agriculturists. Further they believe that Alagar, otherwise called Kallalagar of Madurai, is from their caste and he was a hunter. According to them, the things which the God has with him when taken out in procession during festival occasions, viz. *kusa valai* (a golden net with a mouse) and *valadadi hambu* (a stick used while hunting rats and hares and to dig the earth), are associated with their caste occupation. Tamil is the mother tongue of the Valaiyar (Mooppar) and they use Tamil script. The Valaiyar (Mooppar) are agriculturists. They also work as agricultural or other kinds of labour. The Valayars of today are settled in various parts of the state and the study focused on Valayar families in the districts of Erode, Madurai and Theni. The study focused on 197 households. Tamil is the language commonly used in the community. The community is spread out across the state and some still live in the foothills and carry out agriculture. There is a significant number of the Valayar community who do not even have the basic amenities. Early marriage for girls immediately after attaining puberty is still very common. Majority of the community members earn their livelihood as agricultural and non agricultural wage labourers.

Attur Melnad Koravars

The Attur Melnad Koravar are a numerically small community, living in the hilly Kalyanattam area of Attur taluk, Salem District. They are also known as Talayari Kuravar. Attur Melnad Koravar women are treated as inferior to men. They mainly attend to domestic duties and agricultural work. They contribute to family income and control family expenditure. The Attur Melnad Koravar consider agriculture as their primary occupation. They cultivate paddy, cotton and sugarcane. The Attur Melnad Koravar favour formal education for both boys and girls. The Attur Melnad Koravars of today are settled only in the Salem district and the study focused on 168 households. Tamil is their mother tongue. Majority of the community members earn their livelihood as agricultural and non agricultural wage labourers.

Attur Kilnad Koravars

Attur Kilnad Koravar are a bamboo basket-making community found only in the Attur taluk of Salem District. Although the Attur Kilnad Koravar women work with their men, they are treated as inferior in the family. They contribute to the family income by agricultural labour. The Attur Kilnad Koravar have a positive approach towards formal education. The Attur Kilnad Koravars of today are settled only in the Salem district and the study focused on 20 households. They are not as significant in numbers as their counterparts the Attur Melnad Koravars but are significantly well developed. Tamil is their mother tongue.

3.3 Sample Size

The study covered 1141 households from 8 communities settled across 10 districts in Tamilnadu. Hundred percent of tribes comes under Denotified tribes (DNT) category (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: Sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Households (No.)	Households (per cent)	Social Category
Attur Kilnad Koravar	20	1.8	DNT (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	168	14.7	
Boyars	230	20.2	
Dombs	41	3.6	
Jogis	49	4.3	
Koravars	224	19.6	
Thottia Naickers	212	18.6	
Valayars	197	17.3	
Total	1141	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

4. Profile of the Sample

4.1 Geographical distribution of the sample

In terms of geographical spread of the sample, Erode -- (21.0 per cent), Salem (19 per cent) and Madurai & Namakkal (11 per cent each) together account for more than 60 per cent of total sample (Table 9.4). In terms of location of residence, majority (83.4 per cent) were located in rural areas and the rest (16.6 per cent) in urban. Individual tribes vary in their rural–

urban ratio: while DNTs like Attur Kilnad Koravar, Attur Melnad Koravar, and Valayars covered in the sample were completely residents in rural areas, one could observe significant concentration in rural areas among Koravars (86 per cent), Thottia Naickers (76 per cent), Boyars (73 per cent), Jogis (69 per cent); however, Dombs had 68 per cent of respondents who were urban-based (Table 9.5).

Table 9.4: District-wise sample distribution

Districts	Households (No.)	Households (Per cent)
Cuddalore	33	2.9
Dharmapuri	88	7.7
Erode	243	21.3
Karur	106	9.3
Madurai	125	11.0
Namakkal	126	11.0
Salem	218	19.1
Theni	75	6.6
Tirunelveli	107	9.4
Trichy	20	1.8
Total	1141	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.5: Area-wise sample distribution

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Rural	Urban
Attur Kilnad Koravar	20 (100.0)	-
Attur Melnad Koravar	168 (100.0)	-
Boyars	168 (73.0)	62 (27.0)
Dombs	13 (31.7)	28 (68.3)
Jogis	34 (69.4)	15 (30.6)
Koravars	192 (85.7)	32 (14.3)
Thottia Naickers	160 (75.5)	52 (24.5)
Valayars	197 (100.0)	-
Total	952 (83.4)	189 (16.6)

Source: Field Survey

4.2 Household Population of the Sample

Out of total sample households, Boyars (20.2), Koravars (19.6), Thottia Naickers (18.6) and Valayars (17.3) account for higher proportion, while Attur Kilnad Koravar has the lowest (1.8) (Table 9.6). Majority of the household members belonged to the age group of 19-45 years (50.2 per cent) followed by 33 per cent of household members upto below 18 years of age, and rest 16.7 per cent belongs to 46 years and above (Table 9.7). The marital status of population indicates that around 58.9 per cent of them were married and the incidence is higher among women. The proportion of deserted, divorced and separated women is high compared to men, pointing out limited possibilities of remarriage. The proportion of unmarried women is less compared to unmarried men (Table 9.8).

Table 9.6: Household population of the sample

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Population (Per cent)	Households (Per cent)
Attur Kilnad Koravar	1.3	1.8
Attur Melnad Koravar	14.1	14.7
Boyars	19.5	20.2
Dombs	3.1	3.6
Jogis	4.2	4.3
Koravars	19.9	19.6
Thottia Naickers	19.2	18.6
Valayars	18.7	17.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.7: Age-wise population distribution

Age Group	Population	Population (Per cent)
0 to 5	381	8.1
06 to 18	1180	25.0
19 to 35	1623	34.4
36 to 45	746	15.8
46 to 60	561	11.9
Above 60	228	4.8

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.8: Gender-wise marital status

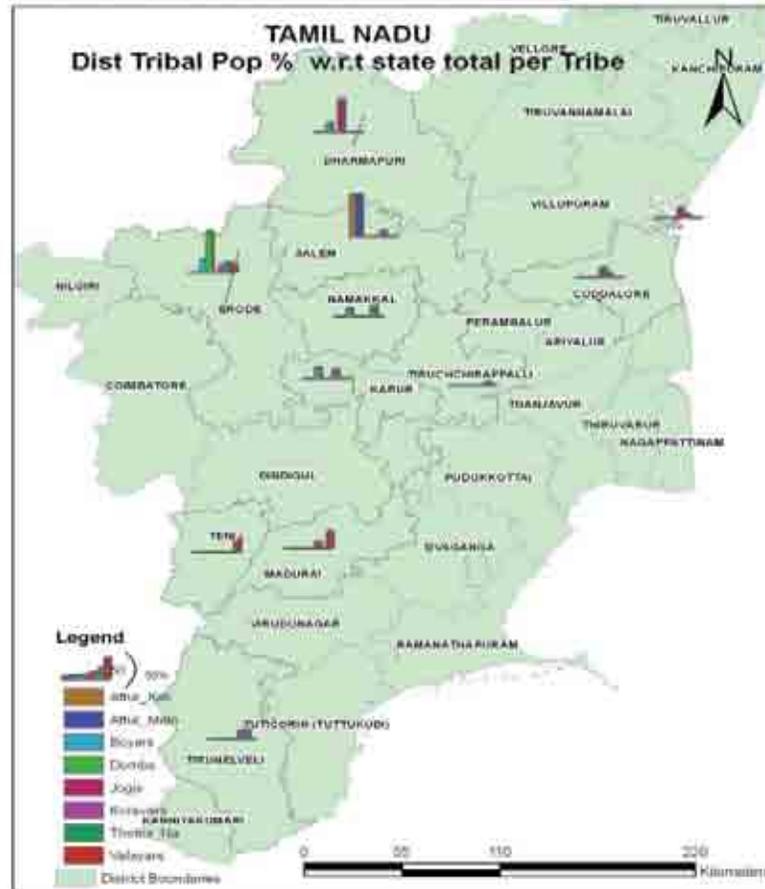
Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Married	1340 (48.2) (56.7)	1440 (51.8) (61.2)	2780 (100.0) (58.9)
Never Married	1018 (53.2) (43.0)	897 (46.8) (38.1)	1915 (100.0) (40.6)
Divorced	1 (16.7) (0.0)	5 (83.3) (0.2)	6 (100.0) (0.1)
Seperated	1 (20.0) (0.0)	4 (80.0) (0.2)	5 (100.0) (0.1)
Widowed	5 (38.5) (0.2)	8 (61.5) (0.3)	13 (100.0) (0.3)
Total	2365 (50.1) (100.0)	2354 (49.9) (100.0)	4719 (100.0) (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE TRIBES

The study was carried out for Tamilnadu and Pondicherry as a combined exercise. The Pondicherry State Government does not list any DNT communities spread across different districts of the state. Since Pondicherry and Tamilnadu share borders and also similar social situations, the findings of the study relate to both states (Map 9.1).

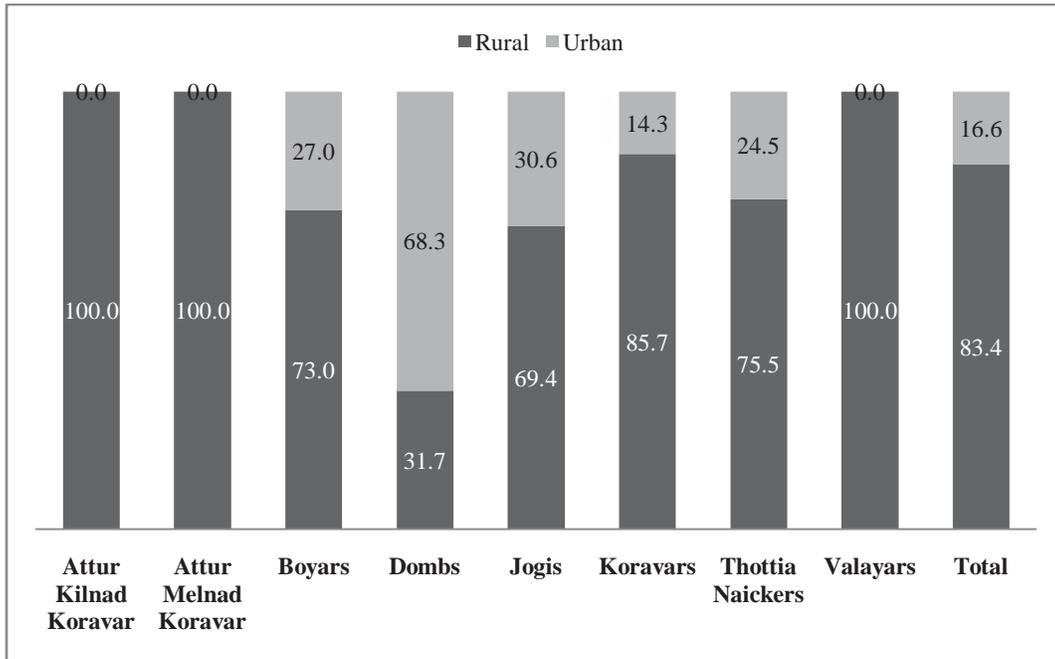
Map 9.1: Sample districts from where the respondents were selected



Source: Field Survey

5. The Tribes and their Social Status

All tribes belong to DNT category. The households covered by the study were not evenly distributed between urban and rural areas in the State as a whole. Of these, 07 tribes, Attur Kilnad Koravar, Attur Melnad Koravar, Boyars, Jogis, Koravars, Thottia Naickers and Valayars had a predominantly rural location and only Dombas had a predominantly urban location (Figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1: Location of the tribes

Source: Field Survey

The nomadic nature of DNTs was captured by the duration of their stay at the present place at the time of survey. About 54 per cent of the respondents surveyed have been staying in the present place of residence since birth. This proportion is overwhelmingly high among Attur Melnad Koravars (78.0 per cent), Jogis (75.5 per cent) and Thottia Naickers (69.8 per cent) and relatively low among Attur Kilnad Koravars (10.0 per cent). However, 25.6 per cent of the households have been staying in the present place since more than 30 years. The proportion is found to be high among Attur Kilnad Koravars (90.0 per cent). Only 9.7 per cent indicated duration of stay between 1 to 10 years (Table 9.9). All other DNTs are mostly settled for over 30 years, suggesting that the nomadity among DNTs has gradually declined over the years in Tamilnadu and Pondicherry, leading to the expectation of increasing attainment of education, as a result.

Table 9.9: Duration of stay in the present location

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1 to 10 Years	11 to 20 Years	21 to 30 Years	Above 30 Years	Since birth	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravars	-	-	-	18 (90.0)	2 (10.0)	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravars	-	-	-	37 (22.0)	131 (78.0)	168 (100.0)
Boyars	21 (9.1)	7 (3.0)	33 (14.3)	40 (17.4)	129 (56.1)	230 (100.0)
Dombs	4 (9.8)	3 (7.3)	8 (19.5)	11 (26.8)	15 (36.6)	41 (100.0)
Jogis	1 (2.0)	1 (2.0)	2 (4.1)	8 (16.3)	37 (75.5)	49 (100.0)
Koravars	68 (30.4)	30 (13.4)	6 (2.7)	48 (21.4)	72 (32.1)	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	10 (4.7)	7 (3.3)	4 (1.9)	43 (20.3)	148 (69.8)	212 (100.0)
Valayars	7 (3.6)	11 (5.6)	12 (6.1)	87 (44.2)	80 (40.6)	197 (100.0)
Total	111 (9.7)	59 (5.2)	65 (5.7)	292 (25.6)	614 (53.8)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

6. Spoken Language

This study has attempted a very detailed discussion on the knowledge about the knowledge in different spheres – at home, schools, within the community and public place separately. In addition, a discussion on the knowledge of English has been made subsequently.

Of the total sample, majority of the DNTs speak Tamil (61.7 per cent) at home, but about 97.8 per cent of DNTs speak Tamil at school. The DNTs of Boyars, Dombs, Jogis and Thottia Naickers mostly speak Telugu at home, but Tamil at schools (Table 9.10 and 9.11).

Table 9.10: Language spoken in home by different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tamil	Telugu	Telugu / Tamil	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	61 (100.0)	-	-	61 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	667 (100.0)	-	-	667 (100.0)
Boyars	80 (8.7)	749 (81.5)	90 (9.8)	919 (100.0)
Dombs	27 (18.8)	117 (81.3)	-	144 (100.0)
Jogis	8 (4.0)	190 (96.0)	-	198 (100.0)
Koravars	939 (100.0)	-	-	939 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	245 (27.0)	622 (68.6)	40 (4.4)	907 (100.0)
Valayars	884 (100.0)	-	-	884 (100.0)
Total	2911 (61.7)	1678 (35.6)	130 (2.7)	4719 (100.0)

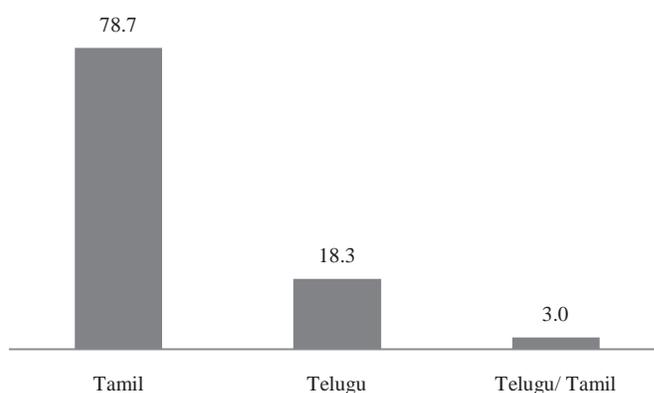
Source: Field Survey

Table 9.11: Language spoken in school by children

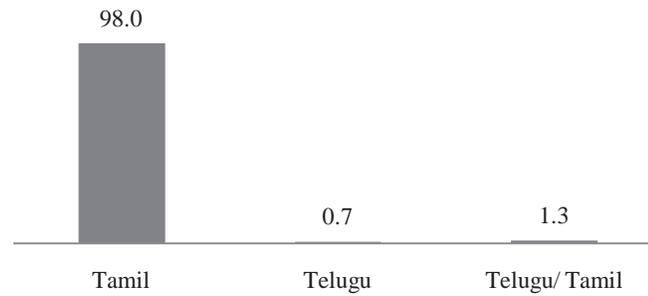
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tamil	Tamil and English	Tamil and Telugu	Telugu	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	61 (100.0)	-	-	-	61 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	655 (98.2)	12 (1.8)	-	-	667 (100.0)
Boyars	919 (100.0)	-	-	-	919 (100.0)
Dombs	122 (98.6)	-	-	2 (1.4)	144 (100.0)
Jogis	198 (100.0)	-	-	-	198 (100.0)
Koravars	939 (100.0)	-	-	-	939 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	815 (89.8)	67 (7.4)	9 (1.0)	16 (1.8)	907 (100.0)
Valayars	884 (100.0)	-	-	-	884 (100.0)
Total	4613 (97.8)	79 (1.7)	9 (0.2)	18 (0.4)	4719 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Tamil emerged as the main language (78.7 per cent) used by the people while conversing within the communities. It is followed by Telugu (18.3 per cent) and a combination of Tamil and Telugu (3 per cent) (Figure 9.2). Majority (98 per cent) of the households which were studied reported that they speak Tamil in public places (Figure 9.3). The language spoken at home, community and public places is almost same with a small proportion reporting Telugu as spoken at their homes. This shows that the DNTs in Tamilnadu mainly converse in their mother-tongue at home, community and public places as well as at schools.

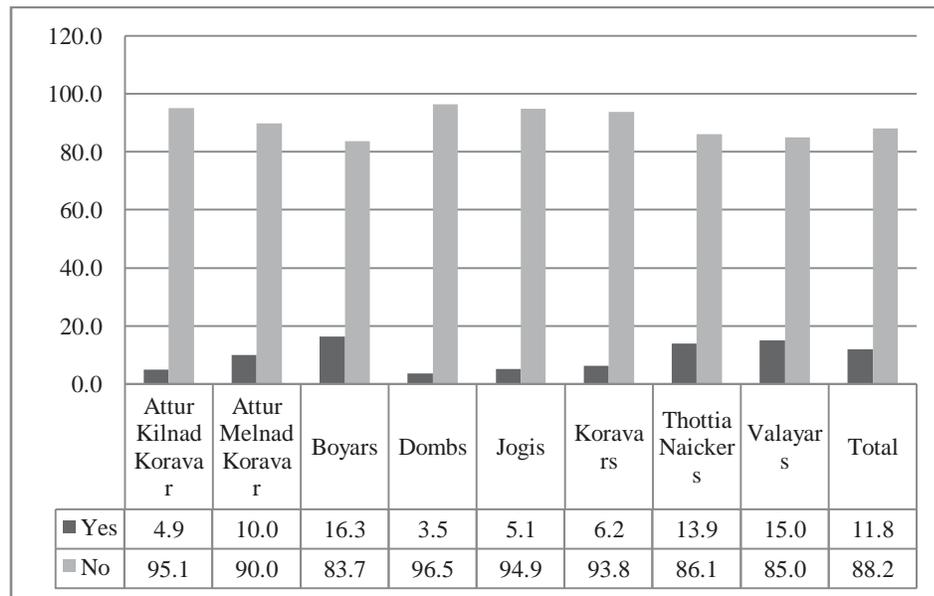
Figure 9.2: Language spoken within the community

Source: Field Survey

Figure 9.3: Language spoken at the public place

Source: Field Survey

Only 11.8 per cent of the surveyed households can communicate through English. This share found high among Boyars, Valayars and Thottia Naickers and very negligible among Dombs, Attur Kilnad Koravar and Jogi (Figure 9.4). From FGD, it is observed that only younger generation (sons and daughters) are knowledgeable about English, and not the older generations.

Figure 9.4: Knowledge of English in the family

Source: Field Survey

7. Livelihood and its Sources

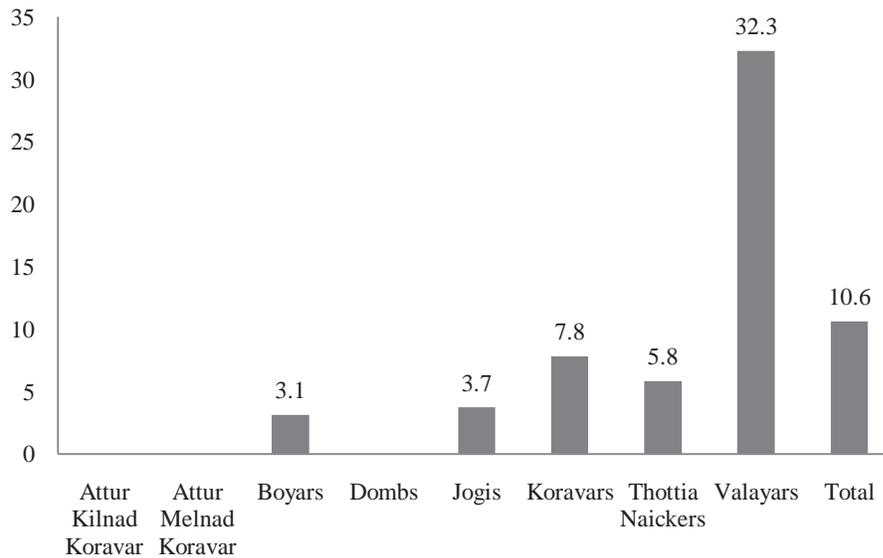
Regarding the present occupations, about 17.9 per cent of total sample are agriculture labourers (majority are from Attur Melnad Koravar, Valayars and Dombs), 7 per cent engage in trade and business (majority from Boyars), 53 per cent are non- agriculture wage labour (mainly from Jogis, Boyars, Thottia Naickers, Koravars, Attur Kilnad and Attur Melnad Koravas), about 8.5 per cent are professionals (mostly from Dombs, Koravars and Attur Kilnad Koravar) and only 2.8 per cent are in government services (major from Attur Kilnad Koravar) (Table 9.12). This tells us that DNTs in Tamilnadu are still engaged in lower strata of occupations in the society which may put constraints to their educational attainments.

Table 9.12: Primary occupation of different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Agriculture Labour	Non Agriculture Labour	Trade/ Business	Service	Professionals	Traditional work	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	-	12 (70.6)	1 (5.9)	2 (11.8)	2 (11.8)	-	17 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	55 (35.3)	85 (54.4)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.6)	13 (8.3)	-	156 (100.0)
Boyars	15 (3.9)	242 (62.4)	87 (22.4)	7 (1.8)	25 (6.4)	12 (3.1)	388 (100.0)
Dombs	21 (29.6)	31 (43.7)	-	4 (5.6)	15 (21.1)	-	71 (100.0)
Jogis	2 (2.5)	70 (85.0)	-	1 (1.3)	4 (5.0)	3 (3.7)	80 (100.0)
Koravars	16 (4.7)	226 (65.7)	18 (5.2)	11 (3.2)	46 (13.4)	27 (7.8)	344 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	86 (27.9)	171 (55.5)	13 (4.2)	12 (3.9)	8 (2.6)	18 (5.8)	308 (100.0)
Valayars	120 (30.5)	94 (23.9)	4 (1.0)	12 (3.0)	36 (9.2)	127 (32.3)	393 (100.0)
Total	315 (17.9)	931 (53.0)	123 (7.0)	50 (2.8)	149 (8.5)	187 (10.6)	1757 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

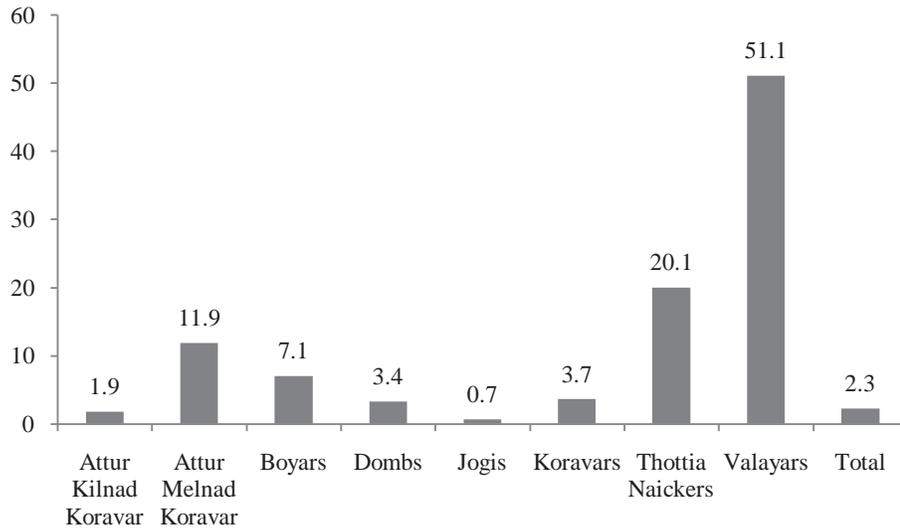
Out of the total sample, very small proportion (10.6 per cent) of DNTs in Tamilnadu still continue with their traditional tribe-based occupation. They are mainly Valayars (32.3 per cent), Koravars (7.8 per cent), Thottia Naickers (5.8 per cent), Jogis (3.7 per cent) and Boyars (3.1 per cent) (Figure 9.5). Fortune telling is the traditional occupation of the Koravar. In course of time, when they migrated to different parts of the plains, for reasons unknown, they took up occupations such as basket-making, fortune-telling, rearing of pigs and selling salt and lime where as the Jogis work as husbandman and daily wage labour. The Boyars are engaged in the traditional occupation of making clay pots and masonry product.

Figure 9.5: Percentage of respondents continuing their traditional occupation

Source: Field Survey

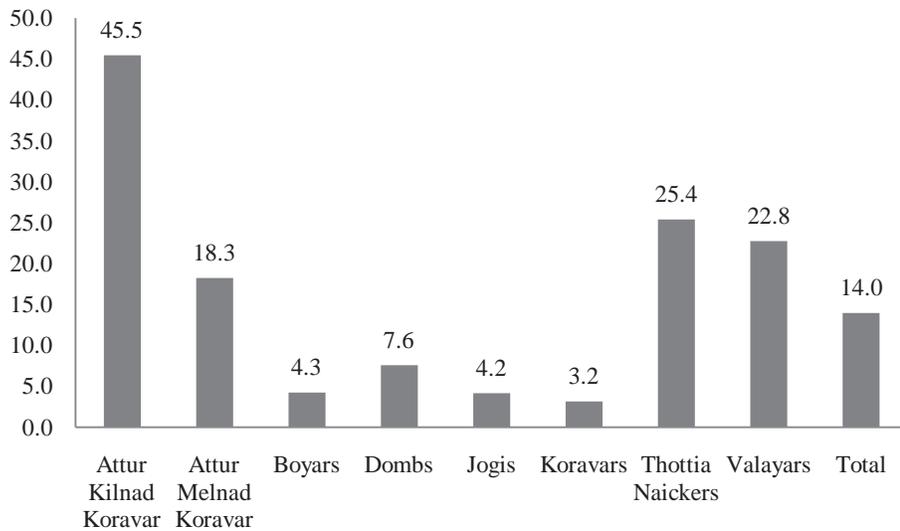
Regarding the possession of agricultural land, among all the samples, majority of the DNTs (97.7 per cent) in Tamilnadu are landless and only 2.3 per cent have agricultural land. Out of which, it is mostly held by Valayars (51.1 per cent), Thottia Naickers (20.1 per cent), Attur Melnad Koravar (11.9 per cent), Boyars (7.1 per cent), Koravars (3.7 per cent), Dombs (3.4 per cent) Attur Kilnad Koravar (1.9) per cent, and Jogis (0.7 per cent) (Figure 9.6). Only 14 per cent of the households cultivate their own land (Figure 9.7). This proportion is high among Attur Kilnad Koravar, Thottia Naickers, Valayars and Attur Melnad Koravar.

Figure 9.6: Possession of agricultural land (share in Per cent)



Source: Field Survey

Figure 9.7: Proportion of cultivators cultivating their land independently (share in Per cent)



Source: Field Survey

It is revealed that 93.7 per cent households have land within the range of 1 to 5 acres, 5.6 per cent have between 6 to 10 acres and 0.7 per cent have land less than 1 acre. Larger landholding is found among the Valayars (9 households with more than 5 acres), Attur Melnad Koravar (2 households with more than 5 acres) and Thottia Naickers (4 households with more than 5 acres of land) (Table 9.13).

Table 9.13: Land distribution among the households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Below 1 acre	1 to 5 acres	6 to 10 acres	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	-	5 (100.0)	-	5 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	2 (6.3)	28 (87.5)	2 (6.3)	32 (100.0)
Boyars	-	19 (100.0)	-	19 (100.0)
Dombs	-	9 (100.0)	-	9 (100.0)
Jogis	-	2 (100.0)	-	2 (100.0)
Koravars	-	10 (100.0)	-	10 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	-	50 (92.6)	4 (7.4)	54 (100.0)
Valayars	-	128 (93.4)	9 (6.6)	137 (100.0)
Total	2 (0.7)	251 (93.7)	15 (5.6)	268 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

8. Living Conditions - Housing and Other Assets

Majority of DNTs (80.5 per cent) in Tamilnadu live in their own house while 16.9 per cent of them live in rented house which is comprised mostly by Dombs, Koravars and Boyars. And very less portion live temporarily in others' house and negligible portion live in relative's house (Table 9.14). It is important to know the types of house they live in, and the number of rooms it has. The data tells that majority of DNTs (58.3 per cent) live in Kutcha houses, 2.4 per cent live in semi-pucca, and only about 9.8 per cent live in pucca houses, which is dominated by Boyars, Valayars, Thottia Naickers and Koravars (Table 9.15).

Table 9.14: Status of ownership of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own	Rented	Residing in Relatives/ Neighbours	House without title	Temporarily Residing in house	Others	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravars	20 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravars	163 (97.0)	4 (2.4)	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	168 (100.0)
Boyars	164 (71.3)	62 (27.0)	2 (0.9)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	-	230 (100.0)
Dombs	24 (58.5)	17 (41.5)	-	-	-	-	41 (100.0)
Jogis	38 (77.6)	9 (18.4)	-	2 (4.1)	-	-	49 (100.0)
Koravars	156 (69.6)	61 (27.3)	1 (0.4)	-	1 (0.4)	5 (2.2)	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	185 (87.3)	17 (8.0)	6 (2.8)	1 (0.5)	-	3 (1.4)	212 (100.0)
Valayars	169 (85.8)	22 (11.2)	-	-	2 (1.0)	4 (2.0)	197 (100.0)
Total	919 (80.5)	192 (16.9)	10 (0.9)	4 (0.4)	4 (0.4)	12 (1.1)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.15: Type of house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Pucca	Semi Pucca	Hut	Kutchra	Tent/ Removable shelter	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravars	1 (5.0)	-	6 (30.0)	13 (65.0)	-	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravars	5 (3.0)	1 (0.6)	40 (23.8)	118 (70.2)	4 (2.4)	168 (100.0)
Boyars	26 (11.3)	5 (2.1)	36 (15.7)	163 (70.9)	-	230 (100.0)
Dombs	7 (17.1)	2 (4.9)	19 (46.3)	12 (29.3)	1 (2.4)	41 (100.0)
Jogis	3 (6.1)	-	25 (51.0)	21 (42.9)	-	49 (100.0)
Koravars	34 (15.2)	11 (4.9)	110 (49.1)	69 (30.8)	-	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	15 (7.1)	1 (0.5)	63 (29.7)	133 (62.7)	-	212 (100.0)
Valayars	21 (10.7)	8 (4.0)	31 (15.7)	136 (69.0)	1 (0.5)	197 (100.0)
Total	112 (9.8)	28 (2.4)	330 (28.9)	665 (58.3)	6 (0.5)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Regarding the number of rooms in the house, majority of DNTs (46.6 per cent) have two rooms, 27.4 per cent have one room, 17.0 per cent have three rooms and only 5.8 per cent have four rooms. Few people (around 3.2 per cent) have house of five or more than five rooms. Individually, mostly Jogis (51.0 per cent) and Dombs (46.3 per cent) have one room while most of Valyars (53.3 per cent), Koravars (51.8 per cent) and Boyars (47.8 per cent) have two rooms. Three room houses are found among Attur Kilnad Koravars (Table 9.16).

Table 9.16: Number of rooms in the house

DNT/SNT/NT Community	1	2	3	4	5+	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravars	-	7 (35.0)	12 (60.0)	1 (5.0)	-	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravars	12 (7.1)	70 (41.7)	54 (32.1)	19 (11.3)	13 (7.7)	168 (100.0)
Boyars	84 (36.5)	110 (47.8)	24 (10.4)	6 (2.6)	6 (2.6)	230 (100.0)
Dombs	19 (46.3)	12 (29.3)	9 (22.0)	1 (2.4)	-	41 (100.0)
Jogis	25 (51.0)	17 (34.7)	7 (14.3)	-	-	49 (100.0)
Koravars	65 (29.0)	116 (51.8)	28 (12.5)	11 (4.9)	4 (1.8)	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	45 (21.2)	95 (44.9)	46 (21.7)	17 (8.0)	9(4.2)	212 (100.0)
Valayars	63 (32.0)	105 (53.3)	14 (7.1)	11 (5.6)	4 (2.0)	197 (100.0)
Total	313 (27.4)	532 (46.6)	194 (17.0)	66 (5.8)	36(3.2)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The above analysis shows the sorry state of housing among DNTs in Tamilnadu. Though majority of them have own house but it is mostly a Kutch house having up to 2 two rooms only. These poor housing conditions may not provide conducive atmosphere for children's education.

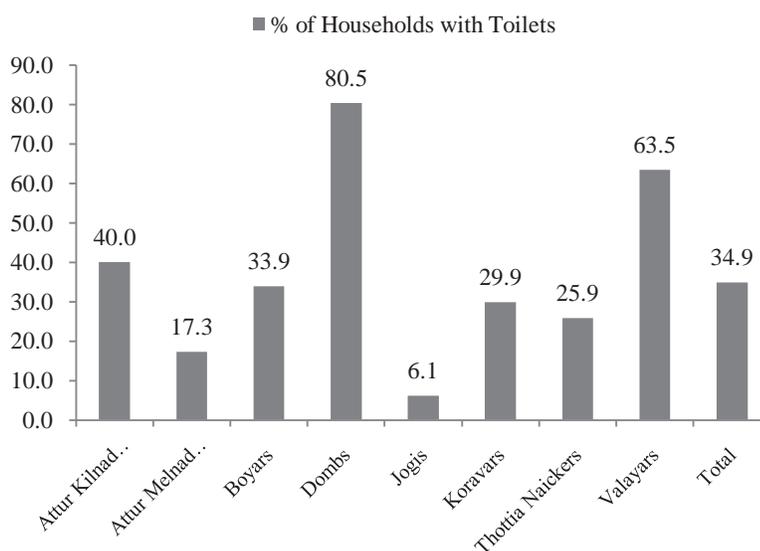
The quality of drinking water depends on its source. Around 71.6 per cent of DNTs in Tamilnadu get tap water for drinking, whereas the rest of them are still dependent on various sources which is not safe as tap water (Table 9.17). Among tap water users, Dombs are ahead (100.0 per cent) followed by Valayars (93.9 per cent), Thottia Naickers (89.6 per cent), Boyars (89.6 per cent), Jogis (83.7 per cent) and Koravars (67.0 per cent). Most of the Attur Kilnad Koravars and Attur Melnad Koravars depend on tube/bore well. This tells us that the conditions of drinking water among DNTs in Tamilnadu are still not proper as some of them still depend on unsafe and untreated drinking water sources i.e. tube/bore well (Table 9.18).

Table 9.17: Main sources of drinking water

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Tube/bore well	Protected well	Open well	Spring/Stream	Piped water	Pond	Hand pump	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravars	20 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravars	152 (90.5)	1 (0.6)	9 (5.4)	2 (1.2)	4 (2.4)	-	-	168 (100.0)
Boyars	23 (10.0)	1 (0.4)	-	-	206 (89.6)	-	-	230 (100.0)
Dombs	-	-	-	-	41 (100.0)	-	-	41 (100.0)
Jogis	6 (12.2)	-	-	-	41 (83.7)	-	2 (4.1)	49 (100.0)
Koravars	74 (33.0)	-	-	-	150 (67.0)	-	-	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	4 (1.8)	10 (4.7)	8 (3.8)	-	190 (89.6)	-	-	212 (100.0)
Valayars	4 (2.0)	-	-	-	185 (93.9)	5 (2.5)	3 (1.5)	197 (100.0)
Total	283 (24.8)	12 (1.1)	17 (1.5)	2 (0.2)	817 (71.6)	5 (0.4)	5 (0.4)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Toilet facilities are available to only 34.9 per cent of households and 65.1 per cent defecate in open space. About 93.9 per cent of Jogi and 82.7 per cent of the Attur Melnad Koravar reported open defecation whereas 80.5 per cent of the Domb households have their own toilets (Figure 9.8).

Figure 9.8: Status of toilet facilities / Access

Source: Field Survey

About 67.7 per cent of households have electricity in their neighbourhoods. This proportion is more than 90 per cent in the case of Dombs and Jogis whereas the same is relatively lesser among Thottia Naickers, Attur Melnad Koravar and Koravars households. Over 97 per cent of households reported supply of electricity in their home. This proportion is very high among all eight tribes. Only 2.7 per cent of households do not have electricity in their home.

Table 9.18: Status of electricity

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Availability of Electricity in Neighbourhood **	Percentage of household having Electricity **
Attur Kilnad Koravar (20)	17 (85.0)	19 (95.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar (168)	98 (58.3)	168 (100.0)
Boyars (230)	171 (74.3)	227 (98.7)
Dombs (41)	40 (97.6)	38 (92.7)
Jogis (49)	46 (93.9)	49 (100.0)
Koravars (224)	134 (59.8)	211 (94.2)
Thottia Naickers (212)	119 (56.1)	208 (98.1)
Valayars (197)	146 (74.1)	190 (96.4)
Total (1141)	771 (67.6)	1110 (97.3)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households.

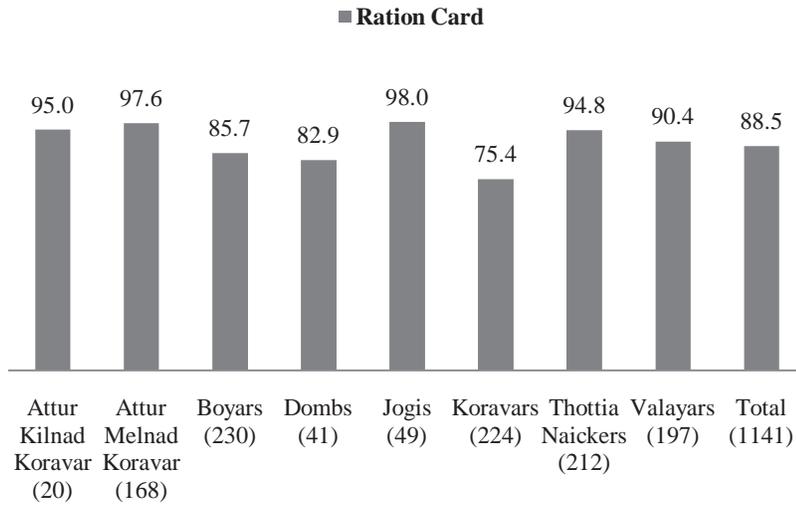
Source: Field Survey

9. Possession of Identification and Other Beneficiary Cards

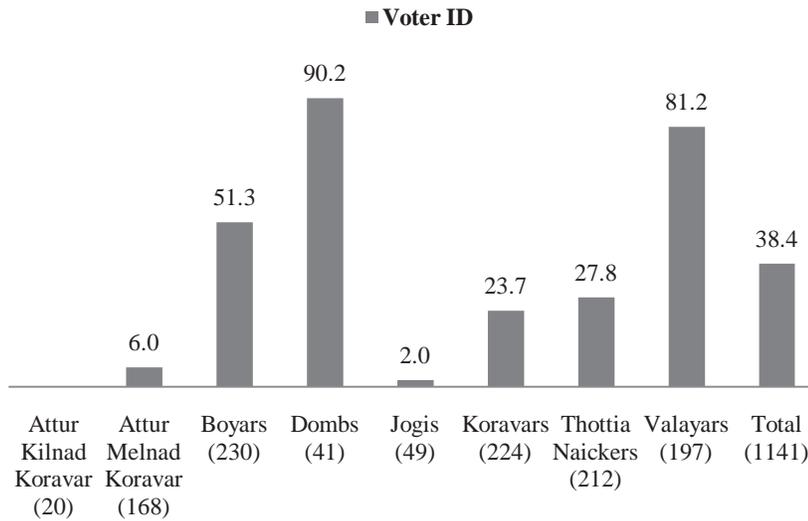
In terms of cards and certificates, 88.5 per cent of households possess a ration card. Possession of identity cards is necessary to avail the benefits of government schemes and programmes. Unavailability of voter card, caste certificate, NREGA card, and Aadhar card is intriguing; only 38.4 per cent of households have voter card whereas only 34.4 per cent of households reported having caste certificate, which is an important pre-requisite to access reservation in education and employment and only 16.7 per cent of households possess an NREGA card, an important component of rural employment guarantee; while only 20.3 per cent held Aadhar cards, which is necessary for direct cash transfers. As larger proportions of people do not have Aadhaar cards and Caste Certificates, they might face problem in availing the student scholarships and job reservation benefits in future. Non-possession of MNREGA cards will limit their work and income during the off-season in rural areas.

As a result, it reduces the parents' capacity to support children's education too. The performance of health insurance is also found to be very poor among the tribal households (Figure 9.9).

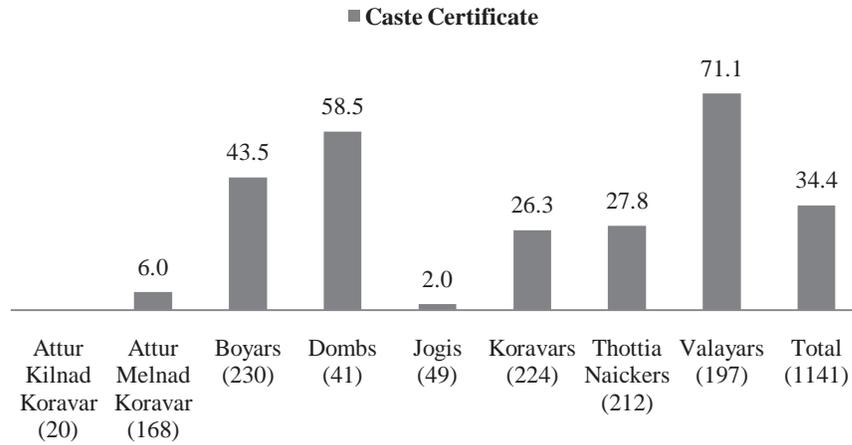
Figure 9.9: Access to entitlements



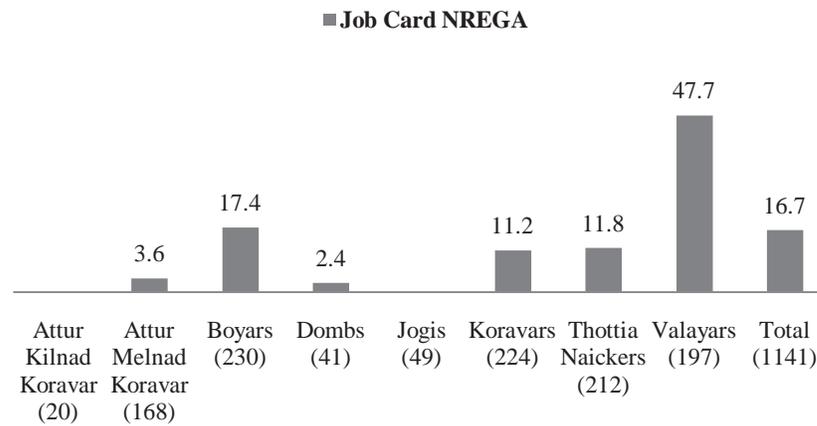
Source: Field Survey



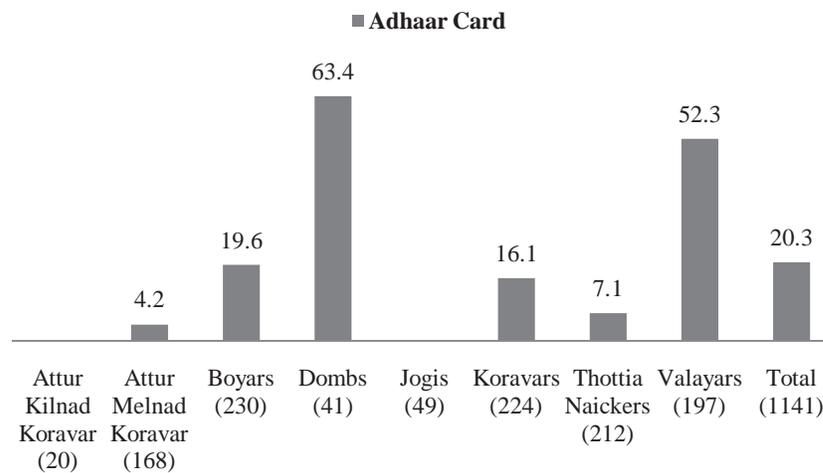
Source: Field Survey



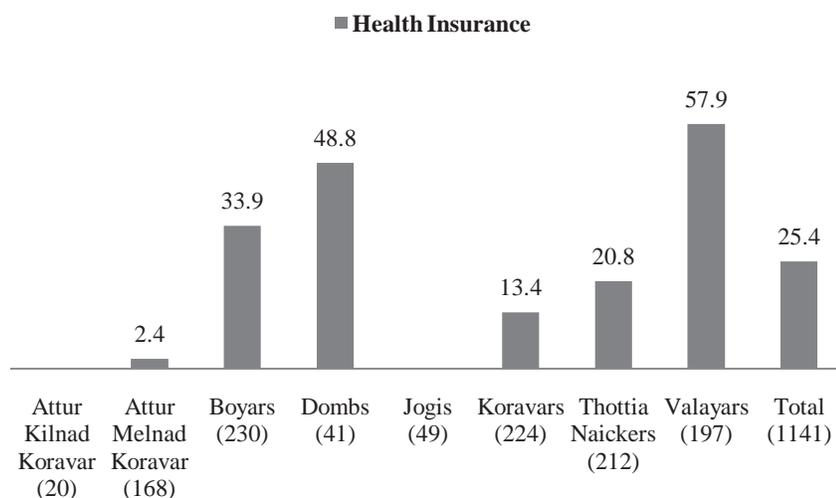
Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey



Source: Field Survey

The data shows that about 65.4 per cent of DNTs in Tamilnadu do not have access to Anganwadi Centers (AWC). This proportion is higher among Attur Kilnad Koravar, Jogis, Koravars and Thottia Naickers. About 34.6 per cent do not have access to PHC (Primary Health Centre). This proportion is higher among Boyars and Attur Melnad Koravar (Table 9.19).

Table 9.19: Access to ICDS & PHC by households

DNT/SNT/NT Community*	Anganwadi**	PHC**
Attur Kilnad Koravar (20)	-	16 (80.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar (168)	91 (54.2)	84 (50.0)
Boyars (230)	106 (46.1)	100 (43.5)
Dombs (41)	32 (78.0)	40 (97.6)
Jogis (49)	-	24 (49.0)
Koravars (224)	37 (16.5)	150 (67.0)
Thottia Naickers (212)	9 (4.2)	153 (72.2)
Valayars (197)	120 (60.9)	179 (90.9)
Total (1141)	395 (34.6)	746 (65.4)

Note: * Figure in the parenthesis of this column represents total number of households.

** Figure in the parentheses of these columns represents the percentage from the total number of households.

Source: Field Survey

10. Assets

The study also looked into the possession of household durables and other valuables that reflect the asset status of the households. About 68.7 per cent of the total households have mobile phones and 77.3 per cent possess television. While 72.0 per cent households reported availability of fans and coolers, 63.5 per cent households reported having table and chairs, 27.2 per cent households have scooter/ motor cycles, 32.5 per cent households have kitchen appliances and less than 20 per cent each households possess Radio, Refrigerator, Computer Laptop and cycle. Attur Melnad Koravar and Boyars households have relatively better asset holding position compared to rest of the tribes (Table 9.20).

11. Discrimination

The study also highlights many instances of discrimination faced by children in school. One per cent of respondents reported that that they have been addressed by their tribe name. About 1.1 per cent of households also reported that non-tribal individuals refer to their children as uncultured adivasis. Other types of discriminations including being made to sit in the back, not given any attention by the teacher, arrangement in sitting, obstructing student from offering tea and water to teachers and being accused of coming just for the scholarship have reported by less than 1 per cent each by the households (Table 9.21). In addition, forcing the student to drink water separately from other children was also reported.

Table 9.20: Possession of assets in the household

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Table Chair	Electric Fan/Cooler	Kitchen appliances like Cooker	Radio	Cycle	Refrigerator	Television	Computer/Laptop	Telephone/Mobile	Scooter/Motor cycle	Four Wheeler	Others
Attur Kilnad Koravar	19 (95.0)	19 (95.0)	19 (95.0)	9 (45.0)	4 (20.0)	3 (15.0)	20 (100.0)	1 (5.0)	20 (100.0)	11 (55.0)	3 (15.0)	17 (85.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	136 (81.0)	136 (81.0)	89 (53.0)	68 (40.5)	32 (19.0)	113 (67.3)	79 (47.0)	102 (60.7)	102 (60.7)	36 (21.4)	86 (51.2)	42 (25.0)
Boyars	106 (46.1)	160 (69.6)	73 (31.7)	27 (11.7)	23 (10.0)	45 (19.6)	154 (67.0)	33 (14.3)	137 (59.6)	42 (18.3)	16 (7.0)	75 (32.6)
Dombs	28 (68.3)	32 (78.0)	7 (17.1)	1 (2.4)	2 (4.9)	-	32 (78.0)	-	32 (78.0)	7 (17.1)	1 (2.4)	13 (31.7)
Jogis	9 (18.4)	33 (67.3)	3 (6.1)	2 (4.1)	5 (10.2)	2 (4.1)	45 (91.8)	1 (2.0)	34 (69.4)	9 (18.4)	1 (2.0)	10 (20.4)
Koravars	153 (68.3)	121 (54.0)	65 (29.0)	21 (9.4)	18 (8.0)	35 (15.6)	127 (56.7)	48 (21.4)	150 (67.0)	86 (38.4)	18 (8.0)	92 (41.1)
Thottia Naickers	135 (63.7)	176 (83.0)	87 (41.0)	29 (13.7)	32 (15.1)	19 (9.0)	183 (86.3)	15 (7.1)	158 (74.5)	86 (40.6)	7 (3.3)	81 (38.2)
Valayars	139 (70.6)	145 (73.6)	28 (14.2)	7 (3.6)	9 (4.6)	8 (4.1)	174 (88.3)	11 (5.6)	151 (76.6)	33 (16.8)	6 (3.0)	44 (22.3)
Total	725 (63.5)	822 (72.0)	371 (32.5)	164 (14.4)	125 (11.0)	225 (19.7)	814 (77.3)	211 (18.5)	784 (68.7)	310 (27.2)	138 (12.1)	374 (32.8)

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.21: Incidence of discrimination against children in school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Called by the community name	Made to sit in the back bench	Not paid any attention by the teacher	not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship	Adivasi alluding to being uncultured	Sitting arrangements in classroom are humiliating	Mid day meal	Teachers attitude is offensive / insulting
Attur Kilnad Koravar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attur Melnad Koravar	4 (2.4)	-	-	4 (2.4)	4 (2.4)	-	4 (2.4)	1 (0.6)
Boyars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dombs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jogis	3 (6.1)	2 (4.1)	-	1 (2.0)	2 (4.1)	3 (6.1)	1 (2.0)	1 (2.0)
Koravars	3 (1.3)	-	-	-	6 (2.7)	-	-	-
Thottia Naickers	1 (0.5)	-	1 (0.5)	2 (0.9)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (0.9)
Valayars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	11 (1.0)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	7 (0.6)	13 (1.1)	4 (0.4)	6 (0.5)	4 (0.4)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Fellow students attitude is offensive / hurtful	Play ground & cultural activities	Drink water from the same pot & glass	Taking tea or water to the teacher is prevented	Asked for manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	Other	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	4 (2.4)	3 (1.8)	10 (6.0)	2 (1.2)	3 (1.8)	4 (2.4)	168 (100.0)
Boyars	-	-	-	-	-	-	230 (100.0)
Dombs	-	-	-	-	-	-	41 (100.0)
Jogis	1 (2.0)	-	1 (2.0)	1 (2.0)	2 (4.1)	-	49 (100.0)
Koravars	-	-	31 (13.8)	-	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	24 (11.3)	-	-	1 (0.5)	212 (100.0)
Valayars	-	-	-	-	-	-	197 (100.0)
Total	6 (0.5)	4 (0.4)	66 (5.8)	3 (0.3)	6 (0.5)	6 (0.5)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

12. Seasonal Migration

Migration influences the educational attainment and its quality. The frequent migration hinders the children's education. About 41.0 per cent of the households reported that they are migrants while 59.0 per cent reported their current location as the place of their origin. Jogis (79.6 per cent), Koravars (54.0 per cent) and Dombs (53.6 per cent) have a higher proportion of households who report that they are migrants (Table 9.22).

Table 9.22: Current location reported as place of origin

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Original Place	Migrants	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	14 (70.0)	6 (30.0)	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	165 (98.2)	3 (1.8)	168 (100.0)
Boyars	128 (55.7)	102 (44.3)	230 (100.0)
Dombs	19 (46.3)	22 (53.6)	41 (100.0)
Jogis	10 (20.4)	39 (79.6)	49 (100.0)
Koravars	103 (46.0)	121 (54.0)	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	127 (59.9)	85 (40.1)	212 (100.0)
Valayars	107 (54.3)	90 (45.7)	197 (100.0)
Total	673 (59.0)	468 (41.0)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.23: Reasons for migration among different tribes

DNT/SNT/NT Community	State govt. allotted colony	Livelihood/ Wage Labour	Problem of Forest Officers	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	-	-	6 (100.0)	6 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	-	-	3 (100.0)	3 (100.0)
Boyars	12 (11.8)	77 (75.5)	13 (12.7)	102 (100.0)
Dombs	-	22 (100.0)	-	22 (100.0)
Jogis	6 (15.4)	32 (82.0)	1 (2.6)	39 (100.0)
Koravars	1 (0.8)	79 (65.3)	41 (33.9)	121 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	-	80 (94.1)	5 (5.9)	85 (100.0)
Valayars	1 (1.1)	84 (93.3)	5 (5.6)	90 (100.0)
Total	20 (4.3)	374 (80.0)	74 (15.8)	468 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Eighty per cent of the total migrated households reported that livelihood is the main reason for moving from native place while 4.3 per cent of households reported that they migrate because of the allotment of government colony. Denial of access to forest resources and fear of the forest officers was perceived as one of the reasons for migration by 15.8 per cent of the households (Table 9.23).

About 43.4 per cent of sample DNTs in Tamilnadu are migrated once in a year; and the proportion is relatively high among Koravars, Dombs, Jogis and Valayars. Around one-third (33.5 per cent) reported it twice in a year. In this case, the proportion is higher among Dombs (Table 9.24). The frequent migration of Attur Kilnad Koravar, Attur Melnad Koravar, Boyars, Jogis, Koravars, Thottia Naickers and Valayars (more than three

times) are for the sale of their produce, which they believe has poor local demand. In a large number of cases (48.3 per cent), the households migrate for around one to three months (Table 9.25). However, 40.6 per cent of the households also migrate for 3 to 5 months.

Table 9.24: Frequency of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Number of times migrating in a year				Total
	1	2	3	More than 3 times	
Attur Kilnad Koravars	1(16.7)	1(16.7)	1(16.7)	3(50.0)	6(100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravars	-	2(66.7)	-	1(33.3)	3(100.0)
Boyars	39(38.2)	39(38.2)	8(7.8)	16(15.7)	102(100.0)
Dombs	10(45.5)	10(45.5)	2(9.1)	-	22(100.0)
Jogis	18(46.2)	13(33.3)	3(7.7)	5(12.8)	39(100.0)
Koravars	63(52.1)	32(26.4)	13(10.7)	13(10.7)	121(100.0)
Thottia Naickers	32(37.6)	27(31.8)	7 (8.2)	19 (22.4)	85 (100.0)
Valayars	40 (44.4)	33 (36.7)	7 (7.8)	10 (11.1)	90 (100.0)
Total	203 (43.4)	157 (33.5)	41 (8.8)	67 (14.3)	468 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.25: Duration of migration

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Duration				Total
	1-3 months	3-5 months	5-9 months	Above year	
Attur Kilnad Koravar	5 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	-	-	6(100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	-	-	3(100.0)
Boyars	26 (25.5)	39 (38.2)	33 (32.3)	4 (3.9)	102(100.0)
Dombs	10 (45.4)	12 (54.5)	-	-	22(100.0)
Jogis	19 (48.7)	14 (35.9)	6 (15.3)	-	39(100.0)
Koravars	70 (57.8)	44 (36.4)	2 (1.6)	5 (4.1)	121(100.0)
Thottia Naickers	46 (54.1)	37 (43.5)	-	2 (2.3)	85 (100.0)
Valayars	48 (53.3)	42 (46.7)	-	-	90 (100.0)
Total	226 (48.3)	190 (40.6)	41 (8.8)	11 (2.3)	468 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

13. Neighbourhood

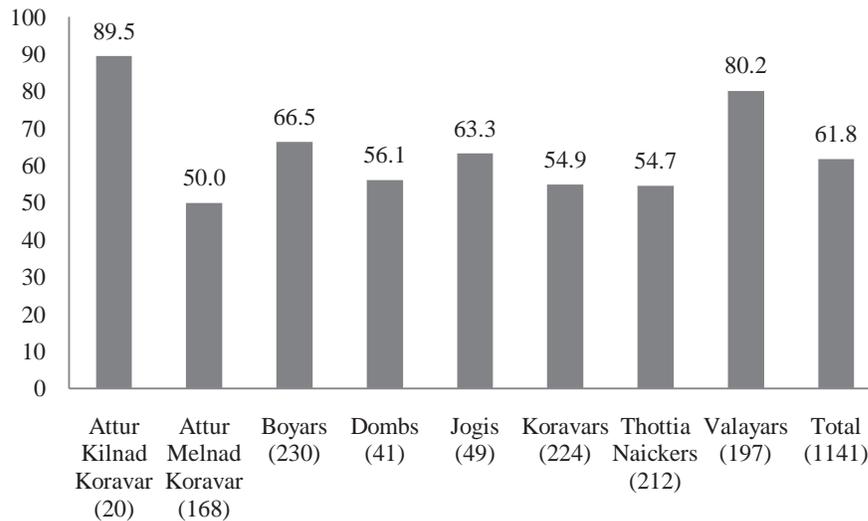
About 70.6 per cent of respondents live among their own tribe and less than one per cent (0.7 per cent) have their houses in isolated places. Around 29 per cent of the total households stay with other communities. Among all the tribes large number of Koravars and Boyars stay with other communities whereas the proportion for the same is relatively smaller for Attur Melnad Koravar and Valayars (Table 9.26).

Table 9.26: Who are your neighbours

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Own caste / tribe people	Other caste / tribe people	Segregated house	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	20 (100.0)	-	-	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	163 (97.0)	5 (3.0)	-	168 (100.0)
Boyars	132 (57.4)	96 (41.7)	2 (0.9)	230 (100.0)
Dombs	26 (63.4)	15 (36.5)	-	41 (100.0)
Jogis	28 (57.1)	18 (36.7)	3 (6.1)	49 (100.0)
Koravars	101 (45.1)	123 (54.9)	-	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	161 (76.3)	47 (22.3)	3 (1.4)	212 (100.0)
Valayars	174 (88.3)	23 (11.7)	-	197 (100.0)
Total	805 (70.6)	328 (28.7)	8 (0.7)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

About 62 per cent of respondents report that they have educated neighbours. This proportion is high among Attur Kilnad Koravar, Valayars, Boyars and Jogis (Figure 9.10). The interaction with neighbours especially on children's education is discussed in section III.

Figure 9.10: Incidence of education among neighbours

Source: Field Survey

III. EDUCATION AMONG DENOTIFIED TRIBES – STATUS

This section presents an in-depth view of educational attainment among denotified tribes in Tamilnadu. This section details the findings on the educational status of the denotified from the primary data of the study.

14. Status of Education

The household survey provides detailed information on various indicators that reflect on the educational status of household members including the pattern of enrolment, reasons for non-enrolment, dropout, family as well as community participation and help in pursuing education.

Among the total population covered under the survey (4719), child population (below 6 years) account for nearly 7 percent and the remaining population can be classified as (a) currently studying (b) never enrolled for education and (c) dropped out from education or reported as completed education. We find more than half of the respondents reporting education either as completed or dropped out of the education followed by currently studying and never enrolled (respectively 24 per cent and 18 per cent) in the total population (Table 9.27). High incidence of dropouts/completed can be witnessed across communities especially among Dombs (61 per

cent), more than half of the respondents (54-56 per cent) among Attur Kilnad Koravar, Attur Melnad Koravar, Jogis and Koravars.

Apart from those who reported the reason for dropping out of their education, there are many who do not identify any particular reason for stopping their education. Instead, they reported that they have completed their education at different levels. In some sense, this pattern reflects the general educational status of the community. In case of Tamilnadu, the proportion of those reporting completed stood at 48 per cent of the total. Out of 2286 who have reported that they have completed education, one-third each has completed primary and secondary level education followed by higher secondary (22 per cent). Around ten per cent had completed above graduation - graduate, post-graduate, or professional/research level. Among Attur Kilnad Koravar the completion rate is higher among higher secondary (32 per cent) and above graduation (more than one-fourth). One-fourth among completed also completed their higher secondary level of education among Attur Melnad Koravar, Jogis and Koravars. However, among Jogis, 45 per cent completed only till primary and this high incidence can be seen among Boyars (44 per cent) and Dombs (53 per cent).

Table 9.27: Education status of members of respondent's households

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Child <6 years	Currently Studying	Never Enrolled	Dropouts	Completed	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	1 (1.6)	9(14.8)	17 (27.9)	-	34 (55.7)	61(100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	22 (3.3)	151(22.6)	131 (19.6)	10 (1.5)	353 (52.9)	667 (100.0)
Boyars	66(7.2)	247 (26.9)	148(16.1)	37 (4.0)	421 (45.8)	919(100.0)
Dombs	13 (9.0)	27 (18.8)	16(11.1)	-	88 (61.1)	144 (100.0)
Jogis	14 (7.1)	52(26.3)	22 (11.1)	4 (2.0)	106 (53.5)	198 (100.0)
Koravars	70 (7.5)	190 (20.2)	172(18.3)	34 (3.6)	473 (50.4)	939 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	68 (7.5)	237 (26.1)	203 (22.4)	21 (2.3)	378 (41.7)	907 (100.0)
Valayars	60 (6.8)	219 (24.8)	140 (15.8)	32 (3.6)	433 (49.0)	884 (100.0)
Total	314 (6.7)	1132 (24.0)	849 (18.0)	138 (2.9)	2286 (48.4)	4719 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.28: Level of education at which currently studying are enrolled

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8 Standard)	Secondary Level (9 and 10 Standard)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12 Std)	Graduation	Post Graduation	Professional Degrees	Research (M.Phil/ Ph.D)	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravar	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	-	6(66.7)	-	-	-	9(100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	30(19.9)	45(29.8)	3(2.00)	42(27.8)	19 (12.6)	9(6.0)	3(2.0)	151 (100.0)
Boyars	72 (29.1)	97(39.3)	20(8.1)	31(12.6)	6(2.4)	18(7.3)	3(1.2)	247(100.0)
Dombs	6 (22.2)	14 (51.9)	-	4 (14.8)	-	-	3 (11.1)	27(100.0)
Jogis	13 (25.0)	22(42.3)	1 (1.9)	11(21.2)	2 (3.8)	2 (3.8)	1(1.9)	52 (100.0)
Koravars	56 (29.5)	75 (39.5)	9 (4.7)	23 (12.1)	17 (8.9)	7 (3.7)	3(1.6)	190 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	79(33.3)	80 (33.8)	18 (7.6)	22 (9.3)	25 (10.5)	10 (4.2)	3 (1.3)	237 (100.0)
Valayars	72 (32.9)	69 (31.5)	19 (8.7)	24 (11.0)	8 (3.7)	20 (9.1)	7 (3.2)	219 (100.0)
Total	330(29.2)	403 (35.6)	70 (6.2)	163(14.4)	77(6.8)	66 (5.8)	23 (2.0)	1132 (100.0)

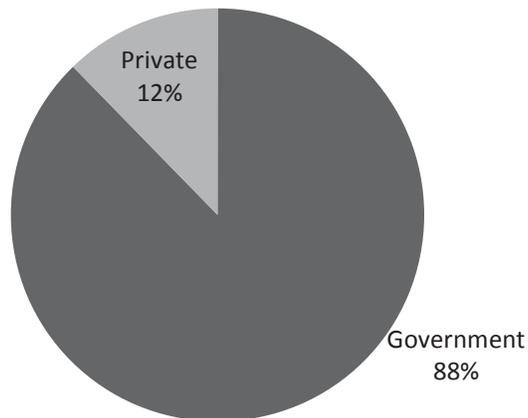
Source: Field Survey

Among those who were currently studying, a little more than one-third (35.6 per cent) were in secondary school followed by primary (29 per cent), graduation and above (29 per cent) and higher secondary (6 per cent). Out of 09 Attur Kilnad Koravar respondents, 06 were graduates (Table 9.28). The higher incidence of graduation and above across communities could be observed clearly indicative of upward mobility of DNTs in Tamilnadu. For majority of the respondents, the choice of medium of instruction was Tamil (80 per cent) followed by English (17 per cent). However across tribes, one could observe that English was an important medium of instruction – Attur Melnad Koravar (29 per cent), around 16-17 per cent each among Thottia Naickers, Boyars and Valayars; and 14 per cent among Koravars (Table 9.29). The respondents were mostly educated in government schools (88 per cent) (Figure 9.11).

Table 9.29: Medium of instruction

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Language of Instruction			Total
	Tamil	English	Others	
Attur Kilnad Koravar	9 (100.0)	-	-	9 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	103 (68.2)	43 (28.5)	5 (3.3)	151 (100.0)
Boyars	203 (82.2)	39 (15.8)	5 (2.0)	247 (100.0)
Dombs	22 (81.5)	3 (11.1)	2 (7.4)	27 (100.0)
Jogis	47 (90.4)	5 (9.6)	-	52 (100.0)
Koravars	161 (84.7)	26 (13.7)	3 (1.6)	190 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	190 (80.2)	40 (16.9)	7 (3.0)	237 (100.0)
Valayars	175 (79.9)	35 (16.0)	9 (4.1)	219 (100.0)
Total	910 (80.4)	191 (16.9)	31 (2.7)	1132 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 9.11: Type of educational institutions

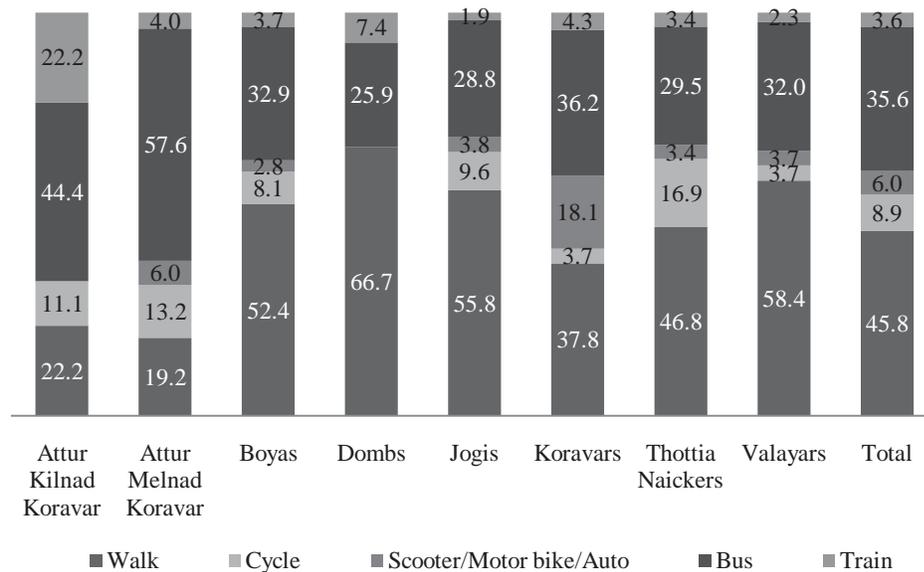
Source: Field Survey

Table 9.30: Distance to educational institution of study

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Distance to School					Total
	Upto 1 km	1.1-3 km	3.1-5 km	5.1-10 km	> 10 km	
Attur Kilnad Koravar	-	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	4 (44.4)	2 (22.2)	9 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravar	9 (6.0)	25 (16.6)	50 (33.1)	23 (15.2)	44 (29.1)	151 (100.0)
Boyars	58 (23.5)	23 (9.3)	93 (37.7)	28 (11.3)	45 (18.2)	247 (100.0)
Dombs	5 (18.5)	1 (3.7)	13 (48.1)	1 (3.7)	7 (25.9)	27 (100.0)
Jogis	13 (25.0)	-	20 (38.5)	6 (11.5)	13(25.0)	52 (100.0)
Koravars	57 (30.0)	8 (4.2)	67 (35.3)	18 (9.5)	40 (21.1)	190 (100.0)
ThottiaNaickers	37 (15.6)	51 (21.5)	84 (35.4)	20 (8.4)	45 (19.0)	237 (100.0)
Valayars	71 (32.4)	11 (5.0)	68 (31.1)	19 (8.7)	50 (22.8)	219 (100.0)
Total	250 (22.1)	121 (10.7)	396 (35.0)	119 (10.5)	246 (21.7)	1132 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The distance of educational institution was reported to be 3-5 kilometers away by more than one-third (35 per cent) of the respondents followed by 22 per cent each reporting less than one kilometer and more than 10 kilometers. 11 per cent each also indicated 1-3 and 5- 10 kilometer. In other words, only less than one third indicated that the place of residence was nearest to educational institution (upto 3 kilometers) (Table 9.30).

Figure 9.12: Mode of transport to school

Source: Field Survey

Irrespective of this, one could observe that nearly 46 per cent had reported reaching institution of study by foot followed by more than one-third (36 per cent) reporting using the services of bus. Across tribes too one can observe corresponding use of transportation given the distance. In case of Boyars, however, 52 per cent indicated that they walk to school irrespective of the fact that only one-third had lived within 3 kilometres. Thus, there is need to introduce concerted efforts to ease the access to transport and provide better facilities to students (Figure 9.12).

The reasons for never enrolled varied from lack of schools in nearby locality, rejected admission by school, disinterested in education, illness restricting pursuance of education, and the need to earn as well as parents migration.

Table 9.31: Level of education of dropouts

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Primary Level (1 to 8 Standard)	Secondary Level (9 and 10 Standard)	Higher Secondary Level (11 and 12 Std)	Graduation	Research (M.Phil/Ph.D)	Total
Attur Melnad Koravar	2 (20.0)	6 (60.0)	2 (20.0)	-	-	10 (100.0)
Boyars	3 (8.1)	31 (83.8)	3 (8.1)	-	-	37 (100.0)
Jogis	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	-	4 (100.0)
Koravars	1 (2.9)	22 (64.7)	8 (23.5)	2 (5.9)	1 (2.9)	34 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	3 (14.3)	13 (61.9)	4 (19.00)	-	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)
Valayars	4 (12.5)	20 (62.5)	7 (21.9)	1 (3.1)	-	32 (100.0)
Total	14 (10.1)	93 (67.4)	25 (18.1)	4 (2.9)	2 (1.4)	138 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Among those who reported dropping out of school, majority (93 out of 138) had dropped out after secondary level followed by 18 per cent at higher secondary, 10 per cent at primary level and less than 5 per cent at graduation and above (Table 9.31). Failure in studies was reported as one of the main reasons for dropping out of school. The other reasons included poverty and children's disinterest in studies followed by lack of awareness about the importance of education, marriage, language difficulties and discrimination in school.

15. Parental Role and Motivation

Parental Motivation and Other Support for Education is an important catalyst to educational attainment. This is assessed in terms of parents' participation and community involvement in decision making at different

levels of children's education which includes in selecting the schools, colleges, courses and extending financial and other support which improve the learning experience of the children.

Table 9.32: Interaction of parents with community on children's education

Particulars of Seeking Suggestion	Consulted	Not Consulted	Total
Admission of the children to School	153 (13.4)	988 (86.6)	1141 (100.0)
Selection of Subjects	88 (7.7)	1053 (92.3)	1141 (100.0)
Selection of School/College	92 (8.1)	1049 (91.9)	1141 (100.0)
Financial Matters	87 (7.6)	1054 (92.4)	1141 (100.0)
Guidance on Children's education	86 (7.5)	1055 (92.5)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

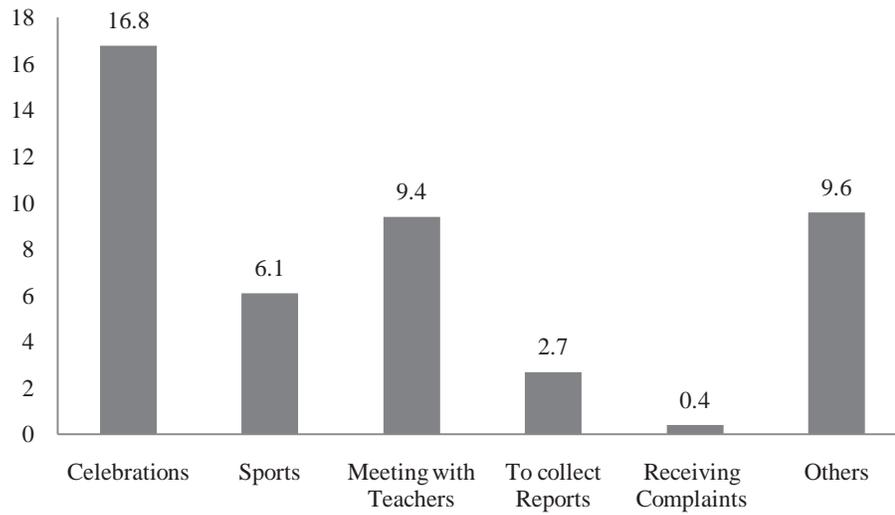
In terms of seeking advice of community on children's education, most of the households reported not in the affirmative across various parameters (Table 9.32). In general, it could be seen that the participation of community/family has been marginal. This is also reflected in the fact that only less than one-tenth of the parents had visited the school (Table 9.33). Visits to schools were mainly to attend celebrations (16.8 per cent) and meeting with teachers (9.4 per cent) (Figure 9.13).

The proportion of parents reporting children's participation in various programmes also stood very low at 34 per cent (cultural), one fourth (sports) and 13 per cent for extracurricular activities (Table 9.34). The main reason for lack of children's participation in school programmes was lack of interest of child, being engaged in domestic work and lack of awareness of these activities. However, majority (84.7 per cent) were not aware of the reason behind their children's non-participation in school activities.

Table 9.33: Frequency of visits to school

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Yes	No	Total
Attur Kilnad Koravars	-	20 (100.0)	20 (100.0)
Attur Melnad Koravars	2 (1.2)	166 (98.8)	168 (100.0)
Boyars	8 (3.5)	222 (96.5)	230 (100.0)
Dombs	3 (7.3)	38 (92.7)	41 (100.0)
Jogis	2 (4.1)	47 (95.9)	49 (100.0)
Koravars	22 (9.8)	202 (90.2)	224 (100.0)
Thottia Naickers	25 (11.8)	187 (89.2)	212 (100.0)
Valayars	48 (24.4)	149 (75.6)	197 (100.0)
Total	110 (9.6)	1031 (90.4)	1141 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 9.13: Parents visit to school for different events & programmes

Source: Field Survey

Table 9.34: Parents reporting children's participation in various programmes (N=1141)

DNT/SNT/NT Community	Cultural	Sports	Extra Curriculum
Attur Kilnad Koravars	14 (73.7)	13 (68.4)	8 (42.1)
Attur Melnad Koravars	49 (29.2)	45 (26.8)	67 (39.9)
Boyars	64 (27.8)	37 (16.1)	25 (10.9)
Dombs	8 (19.5)	4 (9.8)	5 (12.2)
Jogis	21 (42.9)	18 (36.7)	4 (8.2)
Koravars	66 (29.5)	64 (28.6)	32 (14.3)
ThottiaNaickers	79 (37.3)	72 (34.0)	5 (2.4)
Valayars	86 (43.7)	38 (19.3)	7 (3.6)
Total	387 (33.9)	291 (25.5)	153 (13.4)

Source: Field Survey

Figure 9.14: Parents reporting regular study at home by children

Source: Field Survey

With regard to regular study-time at home, only a negligible 19 per cent of the parents of the households surveyed replied in the affirmative (Figure 9.14). This was highest among Attur Kilnad Koravar households. Around 60 percent of households were happy with the progress of in their children's education which included the skills in writing, reading and speaking. However, across communities, one can discern variations, such as in the case of Doms (around 44 per cent) and Koravars (around 53 per cent). Attur Kilnad Koravars had reported higher levels of satisfaction with progress and performance (approximately 74 per cent) and Jogis (around 74 per cent). Only a negligible proportion of households were aware about school management committee (42 out of 1141 households) (Figure 9.15). Financial support is one of the main drivers of educational access. In this regard, interestingly, it could be seen that majority of the loans were taken for the education of daughter (65 per cent) (Figure 9.16). The involvement of children in housework have been low (16 per cent) and this could be observed across tribes except in case of Jogis (more than one-third). In case of Attur Kilnad and Melnad Koravars it was negligible (Figure 9.17).

Aspirations of parents in relation to the future of their children were also elicited. Majority of respondents reported that their sons are interested in opting for higher studies. They believed if a boy is educated, he can change the economic and social condition of his family and enjoy a comfortable life. Some of them also indicated if their son is educated, he will get better employment and better livelihood. Similar views were also

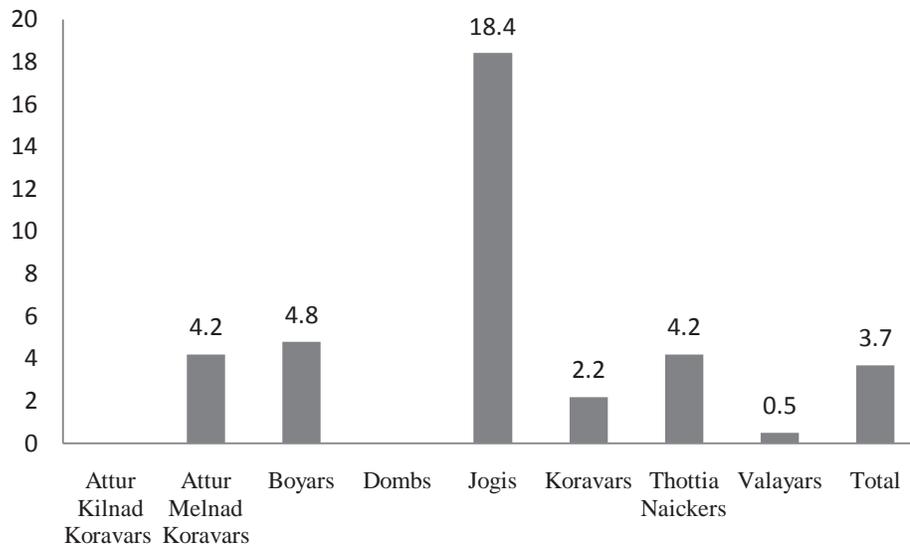
expressed about the education of the daughter as evident from the fact that financial access was not a limitation for pursuing education as far as daughter's education was concerned.

**Table 9.35: Perception about progress and performance of children
(N=1141)**

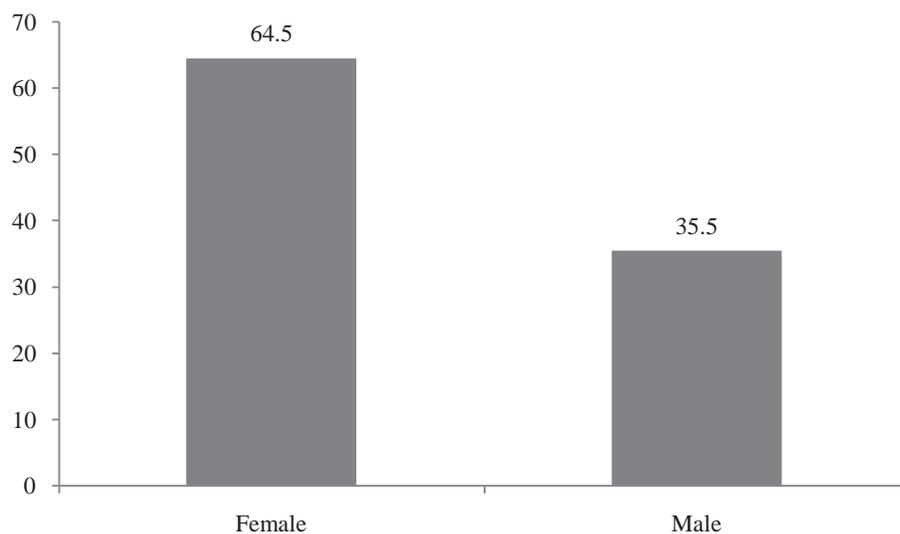
DNT/SNT/NT Community	Satisfactory	Can Write	Can Read	Can Speak
Attur Kilnad Koravars	14 (73.7)	14 (73.7)	14 (73.7)	14 (73.7)
Attur Melnad Koravars	89 (53.0)	116 (69.0)	115 (68.5)	116 (69.0)
Boyars	137 (59.6)	133 (57.8)	133 (57.8)	136 (59.1)
Dombs	18 (43.9)	18 (43.9)	18 (43.9)	17 (41.5)
Jogis	36 (73.5)	32 (65.3)	33 (67.3)	32 (65.3)
Koravars	118 (52.7)	119 (53.1)	118 (52.7)	120 (53.6)
ThottiaNaickers	139 (65.6)	138 (65.1)	137 (64.6)	139 (65.6)
Valayars	118 (59.9)	119 (60.4)	117 (59.4)	114 (57.9)
Total	669 (58.7)	689 (60.4)	685 (60.1)	688 (60.4)

Source: Field Survey

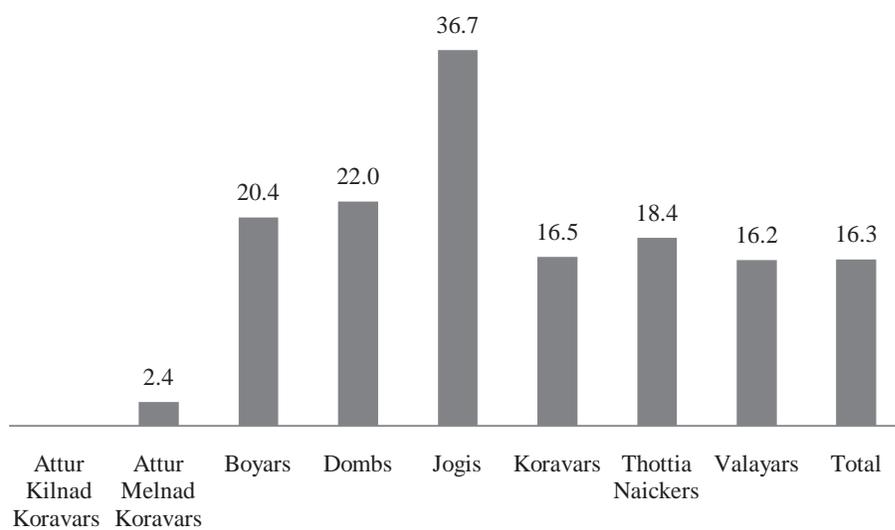
Figure 9.15: Level of awareness about school management committees among parents



Source: Field Survey

Figure 9.16: Gender of child for whom education loan was taken

Source: Field Survey

Figure 9.17: Involvement of children in housework

Source: Field Survey

16. Conclusions

Like elsewhere in the country, Tamil Nadu also has a small share of DNT families continuing their traditional occupations. Among the DNTs, Valayars, Koravars, Thottia Naickers, Jogis and Boyars have some families that continue their tradition. In course of migration to different parts of the plains, for reasons unknown, some of them took up occupations such as basket-making, fortune-telling, rearing of pigs and selling salt and lime whereas the Jogis work as husbandman and daily wage labour. The Boyars are engaged in the traditional occupation of making clay pots and masonry product.

Regarding the possession of agricultural land, we find that majority of the DNTs in Tamil Nadu are landless and the land is mostly held by Valayars, Koravars, Thottia Naicker, Jogis and Boyars. Majority of DNTs in Tamil Nadu live in their own houses mostly a Kutcha house having up to two rooms only. Although majority of DNTs in Tamil Nadu get tap water for drinking, toilet facilities are available to only 34.9 percent of households and majority defecate in open space. The practice of open defecation was found to be high among Jogi and Attur Melnad Koravar while it is relatively low among Domb households. Majority of the DNT families possess ration cards but a large number of them do not have other documents like voter card, caste certificate, NREGA card, Aadhar card etc. and limit many of them from availing the supports and entitlements provided in various situations.

The study also highlights many instances of discrimination faced by the DNT communities in the social life and children in school. Similarly, the nomadic nature and frequent migration of the DNT families also have adverse impact on their children's education. The tradition of migration found very high among communities like Jogis, Koravars and Dombs. These factors can be linked to the high incidence of dropouts and non-enrolment noticed across tribes especially among Dombs, Attur Kilnad Koravar, Attur Melnad Koravar, Jogis and Koravars. Among those who were currently studying, a little more than one-third secondary school followed by primary, graduation and above and higher secondary.

For majority of the respondents, the choice of medium of instruction was Tamil followed by English. However across tribes, one could observe that English was an important medium of instruction – Attur Melnad Koravar, Thottia Naickers, Boyars, Valayars; and Koravars.

The reasons for never enrolled varied from lack of schools in nearby locality, rejected admission by school, disinterested in education, illness restricting pursuance of education, and the need to earn as well as parents migration.

Among those who reported dropping out of school, majority had dropped out after secondary level. Failure in studies was reported as one of the main reasons for dropping out of school. The other reasons included poverty and children's disinterest in studies followed by lack of awareness about the importance of education, marriage, language difficulties and discrimination in school.

In terms of seeking advice of community on children's education, most of the households reported not in the affirmative across various parameters. The proportion of parents reporting children's participation in various programmes also stood very low at 34 per cent (cultural), one fourth (sports) and 13 per cent for extracurricular activities. Aspirations of parents in relation to the future of their children were also elicited. Majority of respondents reported that their sons are interested in opting for higher studies. They believed if a boy is educated, he can change the economic and social condition of his family and enjoy a comfortable life. Similar views were also expressed about the education of the daughter as evident from the fact that financial access was not a limitation for pursuing education as far as daughter's education was concerned.

PART D

Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter 10

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY

1. Introduction

The dynamic role of education in facilitating social, political and economic mobility places this as a key component in development indices. The existing evidence suggests that India exhibits sharp differences in the patterns of development across different regions and communities. For instance, Adivasis and Dalits, who constitute a significant share of country's population, lag behind other communities on various indices of development. Given this larger context, the present study looks at the experience of Denotified, Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Tribes, the most underprivileged, vulnerable and stigmatised of all the tribal communities identified across different Indian states, and makes an attempt to link their educational status with their place in the larger context of development. It must be stated at the outset that although we use the term 'tribe' to describe these communities, the largest proportion of them fall within the category of 'Other Backward Classes' (65.8 per cent), and not 'Scheduled Tribe,' a problem we reflect on in some detail in this report.

Overall, we find a close relationship between the poor socio-economic conditions of the DNT families and their educational backwardness. While considering the dynamic role of education both as a catalyst of progress in other areas of development and serving as an end in itself, the findings of this study offer new insights. Broadly, the patterns of education emerging across the states are a reflection of the institutional arrangements including policies, administrative structures, institutions and programmes functioning at different levels.

The study highlights several instances that validate the existing feeling that the existing arrangements are insufficient to improve the educational status of the DNT communities; the support they receive through these arrangements are minimal and poor in quality. The findings also highlight how local specific factors influence the way the DNT communities utilise these arrangements in different situations. In some contexts, this can be linked to the in-built forms of exclusion practiced in the education system and the belief that the schooling system has been instrumental in

transmitting the dominant culture, passed off as either ‘modern’ or as ‘tradition’ as the case may be.

Beyond excluding these communities from accessing modern education, the findings also reflect other issues including the impact of such mainstream education on the everyday lives of these communities. There are concerns regarding its impact on their knowledge, culture, languages, traditional occupation, livelihood options, lifestyle, and other aspects of community life. The evidence strengthens some of these concerns on the ground that many of these measures do not seem to recognise the contemporary conditions, predicament, diversity, aspirations and needs of these marginalised communities. It also calls for timely interventions that ensure provision of adequate, relevant and quality education at elementary, secondary and tertiary levels to all communities. A decentralised approach may bring local governments and community members together in the decision making process at different levels of school education and thereby reduce the gap between the public provision and the specific requirements of children in different contexts.

2. Salient Aspects of Study

The material cultures of the DNTs and nomadic communities are largely based on forest; they use forest resources as the key source of food, timber and non-timber products for house construction and agriculture implements, and other necessities of everyday life. Many of these communities share the historical experience of nomadism -- stigma and vulnerability to surveillance both under the British colonial rule and in Independent India under local governments.

2.1. The question of classification

At the national level, the DNT/NT/SNT communities are a population of approximately of 60 million but each state has its own classification that varies sharply. Thus, the status of a DNT or NT may vary across the states; it may be listed under SCs, STs, OBCs or remain unrecognised. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh, the Banjara community is classified as ST, but in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh they are classified as OBC. The same tribe was classified as SC in Karnataka, Punjab and Haryana. Across the states, we find several instances of these vulnerable social groups being erroneously included in other social categories. When

a DNT community is listed in the category SCs or OBCs, the DNT members have to compete with a larger pool of people (often with better human and material capital base) to access the benefits of affirmative action including the reservation in educational and employment opportunities or other benefits. Such issues have been viewed as anomalies that have a direct negative effect on the social, political and economic opportunities of different groups and as threats to the culture, custom, traditions, languages and traditional occupations of these communities. Therefore, the community members and leaders interviewed for this study have demanded ST status, which may help them access reservations and affirmative action measures better and improve their quality of life. The study recognises the importance of addressing such issues and calls for corrective measures and policies across the states.

2.2. Location and livelihoods

In terms of location of residence, majority of the communities were predominantly rural-based especially in Goa, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Telangana (more than three fourths of the households surveyed). In case of Karnataka it was lowest (43 per cent) while one third of households in Gujarat were urban based. Long duration of stay (either since birth or for more than 30 years) was reported in many states especially Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh (more than 80 per cent of the households) indicating changes from nomadism to settled residence, while it was lowest in Chhattisgarh (27 per cent) and relatively lower in Goa and Tamil Nadu (53 per cent) and Karnataka (44 per cent).

These communities have their own history of origin and specialized social space defined by the traditional occupations, like hunting, food gathering, collection of minor forest produce, collection of fuel, collection of fodder, pastoralism, shifting cultivation, artisan (craft) activities, forest labour, petty business, and performing arts etc which were closely linked to the forest resources. Earlier, the forest communities enjoyed greater degree of freedom in accessing the forest resources and followed distinctive livelihood practices, cultural and religious traditions, to regulate the use of natural resources. Compared to this, the present generation faces many difficulties in following these traditions and forest-based traditional occupations.

The low educational status and lack of skilling opportunities to meet the needs of modern employment reduce their chances of tapping new and emerging opportunities. And yet, they are caught in a bind. Given the limited scope in continuing with their traditional occupations, they are forced to look for other livelihoods. The proportion of households that continue traditional work as the primary occupation was marginal across the states except Gujarat (25 per cent of the households) and Madhya Pradesh (22 per cent) while it was around 11 per cent each in Tamil Nadu and Telangana.

The study shows that many of these families are now moving to the lowest levels of other forms of livelihoods like non-agricultural labour, which for instance, accounted for a significant proportion in the states of Gujarat, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu (53 per cent), Goa (48 per cent) and Maharashtra (34 per cent). Agricultural labour was high in Maharashtra (25 per cent) followed by Tamil Nadu (18 per cent) and Karnataka (14 per cent). Petty shops and businesses were reported by around one-third of households in Andhra Pradesh (32 per cent) and Telangana (29 per cent). Cultivation was reported however by the households from Chhattisgarh (19 per cent), Andhra Pradesh (16 per cent), Madhya Pradesh and Telangana (13 per cent) and around 10 per cent in Maharashtra. Interestingly, 22 per cent of households in Chhattisgarh were artisans. In the absence of better job opportunities, many of them are forced to take very risky, low-paid and casual works or resort to the begging. In such situations, the women and girls are rendered particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation, trafficking or forced entry into sex work.

As an alternate livelihood, the scope of agriculture and farming cannot be improved with the current situation where majority of the DNTs do not possess agricultural land and the material resources to engage with land other than working as labourers. Possession of agricultural land was high in Chhattisgarh (35 per cent) closely followed by Telangana (28 per cent), Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (around 25 per cent). It was lowest among households from Goa at 1 per cent and Tamil Nadu at 2.3 per cent. Independent cultivation was however reported by significant proportion in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Telangana (82 per cent and 92 per cent each respectively). The acreage was predominantly between 1-5 acres in these states.

2.3. Nomadism to forced migration

Along with the poor social and economic conditions of the DNTs, forced migration is a major concern that has a direct bearing on family stability and educational access. It is important here to make a distinction between cultures of nomadism (where the community negotiates mobility, settlement and residence in familiar ways that are culturally rooted), and forced/distress migration, which throws communities into precarity at every level. Migration was high Tamil Nadu and Chhattisgarh at 40 per cent and 59 per cent in Telangana. The case of Chhattisgarh is particularly distinctive as 35 per cent of households from this state reported possessing land. Considering that 22 per cent of households of the state were engaged in artisanal work, their migration could be attributed to sell wares, as 51 per cent of those who migrate report frequency as twice in a year for 3-6 months. In Telangana, 54 per cent of migrant households reported migration once a year with around 80 per cent reporting duration as 1-3 months, with wage labour accounting for 31 per cent of total households in Telangana. In Tamil Nadu, 43 per cent report migration once a year and 34 per cent report twice a year; of which 48 per cent for a duration of 1-3 months and 41 per cent for 3-5 months. One must note that 53 per cent of households had reported non-agricultural labour as their primary occupation in Tamil Nadu. The frequent migration has been a major reason for a large number of school drop-outs and non-enrolment at any level across states as observed in field level.

Low wages from underemployment and poor asset base pushes these communities into the cycle of deprivation and marginalisation in various spheres of life.

2.4. Government subsidies

Access to government subsidies is directly affected by the distribution of certification and cards that facilitate access. Ration cards (except Goa with only 4.3 per cent) and voter identity cards (except Tamil Nadu with only 38.4 per cent) are two popular documents possessed by the communities in all the states under the study, which shows that people are aware about PDS; in personal interviews however, the study found that it is extremely difficult to obtain ration supplies from ration shops. Awareness about caste certificates was found to be very poor among the people across different states (except Goa with 100 per cent and Karnataka with 62.8

per cent). Those who are aware also face a lot of problem in securing it. Focus Group Discussions conducted in Gujarat show that when they apply for caste certificate in the State's Social Justice and Welfare Department, they face a lot of procedural hurdles in the department e.g. domicile certificate, religion certificate, etc. Some people are not aware of these documents. Also, sometimes documents like reference letters, which should be issued by Community Panchayat member/Municipal Council member/MLAs are only available with payment of bribes. This might be the reason for fewer number of persons in possession of Caste Certificates. The Aadhar card is getting increasingly popular. There is very little awareness of health insurance. Very few people (a maximum of 77.4 per cent in Goa and only 10.8 per cent in Madhya Pradesh) have health insurance. The households surveyed have not been able to access work through NREGA, with the exception of Telangana, which has maximum number of card-holders i.e 50.5 per cent. At the other extreme is Goa none have the NREGA card – the Goa case was a census survey of all Dhangar Gouly households.

2.5. Housing and basic amenities

While looking at the living conditions of DNT communities surveyed from various states, the pattern suggests that majority of them live in poor housing conditions with no access to most of the basic amenities like access to safe drinking water and sanitation and face severe challenges in health and nutrition. Across the states, the access to toilets was inadequate; it was as high as 88 per cent of the households surveyed in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Telangana while it was around 70 per cent in Goa, Chhattisgarh and around two thirds of the households in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu. In Maharashtra too, 58 per cent had no access to toilets.

In case of housing while the overwhelming majority indicated 'own house' the proportion of those with pucca houses were less than a quarter of the households surveyed except in case of Maharashtra, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

Electricity at home was available to majority of the households and it was lowest in Maharashtra (53 per cent), and Andhra Pradesh (69 per cent). Access to Anganwadi was encouraging across the states except Tamil Nadu (35 per cent of households).

Availability of PHC has been relatively better, although it was relatively low (less than half of the households) in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh and Telangana too it was marginally above half of the households. This indicates that there need to be concerted efforts to address the health care needs of DNTs across the states. As these communities tend to live in settlements with high concentration of DNT families, the development intervention could target these exclusive settlements and improve the quality of collective living.

Use of appliances such as computer/laptop can be an indication of educational attainment. It was seen that across states use of mobile have been high (though relatively lower proportions in Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh – less than 60 per cent of the households), but the possession of computers/lap tops have been marginal (less than 4 per cent) except in Tamil Nadu (18.5 per cent) and Maharashtra (8.4 per cent). The low level of ownership of individual transport vehicles (motorcycles, bicycles, rickshaws) points to the fact that these households are totally reliant on the public transport system for their mobility. A good and safe network of public transport then becomes mandatory for education access.

2.6. Educational attainment

The study highlights some specific issues related to the poor educational status of DNTs in the country. The educational status across states reveals that ‘never-enrolled’ were high across states: more than a quarter of the respondents surveyed except in the state of Maharashtra – the lowest at 5.5 per cent, Tamil Nadu (18 per cent) and Andhra Pradesh (21 per cent). In the state of Madhya Pradesh, it was as high as 48 per cent. In terms of drop-outs, the southern Indian states along with Chhattisgarh fared relatively better with low levels of drop-outs, but the completion reported by respondents has been strikingly high with larger proportion indicating the primary or secondary level education. This is a matter of concern. In other words, while drop-outs as reported might have been low, the ‘completed level of education’ at graduation or above formed a very low proportion across states covered in the study.

2.6.1. Parental involvement

The parental involvement in decision-making with respect to education and schooling of children was also found to be lacking across the states.

The interaction with other members of the community – teachers, family and friends, community leaders – on the educational needs of children by parents have been low and this has also been reflected in an overwhelmingly majority of parents not visiting the schools (relatively better in the states Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh). The awareness about school management committees and their functioning has been alarmingly low and this was true across the states. Irrespective of these, parents aspired that both their son and daughter should continue education which would enable them to secure a government job.

2.6.2. Discrimination in school

The existing social relations, more particularly the discrimination and stigma that students from these communities face in the class rooms and outside also have adverse effect on their education. Many of them shared different practices that socially isolate the DNT students in the schools. Most of the poor, non-literate DNT parents are unable to support their children in schooling contexts. Due to various reasons, they hardly go to the children's schools or interact with their teachers. But, importantly, most of them aspire to see their children getting better education and job opportunities.

2.6.3. Medium of instruction

We find that many of the DNT communities use their tribal language as the main medium for communication at homes and among the community members but majority of their students study in schools where the medium of instruction is Hindi or state's official language (Madhya Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Chhattisgarh, Goa, and Gujarat). This leads to various issues including the difficulties in teaching and learning practices and children's capacity to manage multiple languages in same context. Similarly, the content and focus of the mainstream school curriculum hardly connects with the living conditions and cultural contexts that the DNT students can associate with. We notice the shrinking scope of following the traditional occupations; alongside providing necessary support and training that may help them in utilizing the new opportunities outside, we also understand the importance of extending support to sustain some of the traditional occupations. For instance, providing subsidies to make traditional occupations economically viable.

Given their poor access to material goods, most of these communities have not been able to utilise the opportunities outside their reach and remain among the most vulnerable and marginalised groups in the country. Based on the evidence collected on various indicators across the different states in the country, the present study concludes on the basis of empirical evidence across nine states, that the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi Nomadic communities have been facing an existential crisis and the existing policy regimes have not improved their status from being the most vulnerable sections in the Indian society. They continue to be voiceless, are forced to live in poor conditions, and suffer from an inter-generational neglect that denies them real and viable opportunities for social and economic mobility despite the fact that formal education remains a core aspiration among them, for the large part unrealised.

Special interventions as in the case of Maharashtra by setting up a separate division for DNTs and NTs could prove beneficial to implement target specific programmes in the realm of education.

3. Recommendations for Policy and Future Action

Based on the findings, the study offers some suggestions, which may enable more effective policy measures to address the educational challenges of DNTs more effectively. Clearly, the fact that educational access is embedded in specific socio-political and cultural contexts necessitates a multi-pronged approach to ensuring individual and social well-being, of which educational status is a core index.

- i. A systematic effort may be made to list the DNTs and NTs with their present social category both at national level and state levels. This will help reclassify them and thereby avoid disentanglements that this study has noted across different states.
- ii. In the case of communities that are stigmatised and vulnerable to accusations of criminality, ‘immorality,’ and arbitrary arrests, appropriate measures need to be taken to combat violations of human rights both by members of the dominant communities as well as by state officials; such measures must include training of state officials and school authorities on the history of criminalisation and its specific impacts on communities at the local level. Fear of mis-treatment arising from stigma is a major reason for children dropping out of school. Interviews with teachers in

Madhya Pradesh for instance reveal the pervasiveness of negative stereotypes that inhibit teacher-pupil relations at the school level.

- iii. Immediate attention may be given to address the issues related to distribution of caste certificates and birth certificates that directly affect the admission of the DNT students in the schools.
- iv. Appropriate measures may be adopted to promote the traditional occupations among the DNTs and make them economically viable for instance by providing subsidies for their artifacts. This must accompany measures to work with communities to ensure children complete formal schooling.
- v. Providing more livelihood options to prevent distress migration will help children continue their education uninterrupted.
- vi. As distress and crisis make women and girls more vulnerable, efforts may be made to initiate protective care and security to girls in school and quality of life to vulnerable families, as this will have the effect on sending girls out to school.
- vii. The poor living conditions in the settlements of the DNTs need to be improved through targeted policy regimes creating thereby, a more conducive and enabling environment for imbibing formal education.
- viii. Strengthening the government schooling system is an immediate need – in terms of infrastructure, teacher capabilities, and curricular reform. A majority of the students across the nine states that participated in this study attended government schools – between 88-90 per cent in seven States – i.e. Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh; and 75 per cent in Telangana and Goa. Although there is a proliferation of private schools across the country, this study has shown yet again that children from the most marginalised communities continue to attend government schools.
- ix. At the school level, recognising the traditions and languages of the DNTs and enabling the learning practice in their mother tongues will have positive impact on both teaching and learning practices. Multi-lingualism in education has been proven to carry positive

outcomes for educational attainment. Schooling practices and pedagogy for children of these communities must reflect these learnings from education research.

- x. While considering the fact that distance to the school was a major factor in obstructing uninterrupted schooling, the reduction in dropouts and increase in retention by schools will be made possible through a common school system where schools are available in the proximity of neighbourhoods and settlements. This will also ensure the more active participation of parents and community in the school lives of their children. This one critical aspect of schooling foregrounded by this study is the abysmal parental involvement in school matters. While this might be in part due to the lack of education and awareness among parents, a larger reason lies in the physical and social distance of the school from the families and communities of these children from poor, marginalised contexts.

- xi. The residential school model has been universally applied in the case of adivasi children's education. However, parents belonging to these communities, like parents from more economically and socially secure communities, must be given a choice between residential and day schools – both well equipped and secure – so that they are able to choose schools based on their specific preferences and life circumstances.

- xii. The study has also shown that there is a vast diversity in educational attainment among different communities that fall within the DNT/SNT/NT category – with a few communities faring reasonably better on the continuum. There also appears to be a correspondence between educational attainment and access to material resources, especially land. This points to the fact that economic/livelihood security is a major player in keeping children in school.

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A NATIONAL STUDY ON
EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES AND ATTAINMENT OF
DNTs IN INDIA

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DENOTIFIED, NOMADIC AND
SEMI-NOMADIC TRIBES IN INDIA**

Sponsored by
Indian Council of Social Science Research [ICSSR], New Delhi
&
Conducted by
Council for Social Development, Hyderabad

Introduction

Council for Social Development is carrying out a study on some aspects of education. For this purpose we are meeting members of DNT, NT & SNT communities in urban and rural areas to learn from them about their educational experience, opinion and their plans for future for themselves or for their children. All these studies are sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi.

We hope that you will kindly agree to cooperate in this study.

On our part, we assure you that the information given by you will be used only in this study and will be kept strictly confidential; *Your name will not be disclosed in any publication / report that is made public.*

Please feel free and confident while answering the questions that are given in this questionnaire they are simple and they relate to you.

We thank you for your time and patience.

Many thanks.

Signature of the Director of the Study

Household Number

--	--	--

I. Identification

1. State: _____

2. District: _____

3. Mandal/Block: _____

4. Village / Town / City : _____

5. Hamlet/Settlement/Habitation: _____

6. Rural / Urban : _____

7. Name of the Respondent: _____

8. Whether DNT-1/DNT-2(Stigmatised)/NT: _____

9.1. What is your Social Category? 1. SC 2. ST 3. OBC 4. Most-Backward Classes (MBCs)

5. General 9. Do not know 0. Not Applicable

9.2. Sub Tribe / Sub Group: _____

10. For how long you are staying at present place (continuous residence) _____

II. Socio-economic background

11. Language spoken at? (Head of the household)

Location	Languages		
School (by children)			
Home			
Community/Neighbourhood			
Public Place			

12. Does anyone know English at home? 1. Yes 2. No

12.1. If yes, who speaks? _____

13. Household details

Sl. No.	Name (begin with the head of Household)*	Sex [M/F]	Age in years	Marital Status**	Relation ship with Head	Education Level						Out of school (6-17 years)	
						Comple ted	Currently studying	Medium of Instruction	Govt. / Private	Distance of school from residence (in Kms)***	Mode of Transport	Dropped out - I	Non Enrolled- II
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													
6													
7													
8													
9													
10													
11													
12													
Non Residential Members : 1. Married 2. Migration 3. Hostellers													
16													
17													
18													

* Head of Household may be either man or woman. Where head not available any adult member may be key informant.

** Marital Status: 1.Married 2. Never Married 3. Divorced 4. Separated 5. Widowed

*** Currently studying children

- I. Reasons for dropped out : (take the serial no of dropout child)
 II. Reasons for Non enrolled : (take the serial no of Never enrolled child)
 III. Whether nominally enrolled / actively enrolled : _____

14. Besides above members of your family who are not residing with you now;

14.1 Highest level of education attained by grand parents _____

14.2 Highest level of education attained by any brother not mention above _____

14.3 Highest level of education attained by any sister not mention above _____

15. Occupational / Employment Status

Sl. No.	Please take the household serial no.	Occupation / Employment			Income (per month)		
		Main	Secondary*	Others	Main	Secondary	Others
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
Non Residential Members : 1. Married 2. Migration 3. Hostellers							
7							
8							
9							

* If informant engages in NREGA as secondary activity, this may be listed

16. 1. Do you own agricultural land? 1. Yes 2. No

16. 2. Do you have independent access to agricultural land _____

17. If yes, how much land you possess _____

Is the traditional / tribe based occupation still continued in your family

1. Yes 2. No 9. DK 0. NA

18. If no, who gave up first? _____

19. Why gave up? _____
 20. Reasons for giving up _____

III. Housing, household assets & ownership

21. The present house, in which you live, is it on rent or do you have of your own?
 1. Own 2. On rent 3. Relatives/neighbours house without rent
 4. No house or residing 5. Temporarily in others house
 6. Anything other [Specify] _____

22. Type of House (By observation) _____

23. Total number of rooms in the house; _____

24. From where do you get water for drinking? _____

1. Tube/bore well 2. Protected well 3. Open well 4. Spring/stream
 5. Piped water 6. Pond 7. Other source (specify) _____

25. Where do you go for toilet? _____

26. Do you have electricity in your neighbourhood? 1. Yes 2. No

27. Do you have electricity in your house? 1. Yes 2. No

28. Do you possess the following official documents?

Type of	1. Yes, 2. No
Ration Card (Specify)	
Voter ID Card	
Caste Certificate	
Job Card (NREGA)	
Adhaar Card	
Health Insurance	
Others (Specify)	

29. Do they have the services of the Anganwadi? 1. Yes 2. No

29. 1. Access to PHC? 1. Yes 2. No

30. Do you have the following in your Household 1. Yes 2. No

Sl.No.	Assets	Please tick
1.	Table/Chair	
2.	Electric fan / Cooler	
3.	Kitchen appliances like Cooker	
4.	Radio/Tape Recorder	
5.	VCR/VCD/DVD	
6.	Refrigerator / Cooler	
7.	Television	
8.	Computer / Laptop	
9.	Telephone / Mobile phone	
10.	Cycle/Cycle Rickshaw	
11.	Auto Rickshaw	
12.	Scooter / Motorbike	
13.	Tempo / Lorry / Car	

* Please add other assets if any

31. Total family expenditure (per month of previous month)

Sl. No.	Expenditure items	Amount (Rs.)
1	Food expenditure (includes all food items)	
2	Expenditure on education – Boys	
	Expenditure on education – Girls	
3	Health expenditure	
4	Other expenditure	
	Total	

Food items: 1. Cereals 2. Gram 3. Cereals substitutes 4. Pulses and Pulses Products 5. Milk and Milk Products
 6. Edible Oil 7. Eggs, Fish and Meat 8. Vegetables 9. Fruits and Nuts 10. Sugar
 11. Salt and Spices 12. Beverages

31.1. Is this expenditure every month? 1. Yes 2. No
If no give details _____

31.2. Food expenses taken care from wages in kind where ever applicable (Specify)

32. Loans / Sale of Assets for children education

Children	Sex	Level of education	Asset sold per child	Amount	Loan Taken	Source of Loan

Assets Sold : 1. Land 2. Cattle 3. Ornaments 4. Others (specify) _____

Source of Loan : 1. Bank 2. Cooperative bank 3. Co-operative
4. SHGs 5. Moneylenders 6. Relatives/friends 7. Other

IV. Neighbourhood

33. Who are your neighbours? (√ the appropriate option given below)

1. Own caste/tribe people 2. Other caste/tribe people 3. Segregated house
4. DNT Settlement 9. DK 0. NA

34. Are there educated persons living in your neighbourhood? 1. Yes 2. No

35. Do you go to them to seek guidance for your children's education? 1. Yes 2. No

35.1. If no, why you don't go for guidance? _____

36. Who helps the child to study at home? _____

37. If private tutor, how much fee paid per month? _____

38. Does your child like to go to school? 1. Yes 2. No 9. DK

39. Does your child experience any of the following in the school:

Sl. No.	At school	1. Yes 2. No
1	Being called by the name of the community	
2	Made to sit in the back bench	
3	Not paid any attention by the teacher	
4	Addressed as not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship	
5	Addressed as Adivasi alluding to being uncultured	
6	Sitting arrangements in classroom are Humiliating	
7	Mid-day-meal	
8	Teachers' attitude is offensive / insulting	
9	Fellow students' attitude is offensive / hurtful	
10	Playground & cultural activities	
11	Drink water from the same pot & glass	
12	Taking Tea or Water to the teacher is prevented	
13	Do you asked for manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	
14	Any other (specify)	

40. Has anyone in the family suffered from any illness in last 6 months? 1. Yes 2.No

40.1. If yes, please ask the following question for all the illness in the family (for last 6 months)

Relation with respondent	Illness (pl note down the illness in verbatim)	Access health facility Yes-1, No-2	Type of facility*	Need to stay at the facility	Whether treated differently from other caste patients** Yes-1, No-2	Need to pay for the treatment Yes-1, No-2 Partly -3	Total expenditure (Rs.)

* 1. Community Health Center 2. Government hospital 3. Rural Medical Practitioner (RMP)
4. Traditional healer 5. Private nursing home 6. ANM
7. Ayurvedic Practitioner 8. Any other (specify) _____

**If there was any differential at the facility, please note down in details about the discrimination.

V. Parental involvement & perception towards child education

41. Did you find any problem in getting your children admitted into school /college? 1. Yes 2. No
If yes, what sort of problem? _____

42. Did you consult anyone for the following purposes:

Sl. No	Reasons	1. Yes, 2. No	Consult with whom*
1	Admitting your child?		
2	Deciding Subject		
3	Choosing School/College		
4	Financial support		
5	Guidance?		

* 1. Own Family member 2. Community Leader 3. Teacher 4. Health officials 5. Local political leaders
6. Neighbours 7. Educated members in the community 8. NGO 9. Others

43. In past 12 months, have you gone to your child's school for any of these reasons
(Please tick appropriate ones)

1. Celebration 2. Sports event 3. Meeting with teachers
4. To collect reports 5. On receiving complaints from school 6. Not gone

44. Are you happy with your children schooling 1. Satisfactory 2. Not Satisfactory

44.1. Parents perception on the following

Can your children write?

Can your children read?

Can your children speak?

45. Do your children participate in school/college in 1. Yes 2. No

1. Cultural programmes
2. Sport activities
3. Co-curricular activities
4. Don't know

46. If your Child did not participate in any extracurricular activities in school/college, what are the reasons?

47. Upto what level do you wish to provide education to your son?

1. Primary 2. Middle 3. SSC 4. Hr. Secondary
5. Higher degree 6. High-professional degree 9. DK 0. NA

48. Upto what level do you wish to provide education to your daughter?

1. Primary 2. Middle 3. SSC 4. Hr. Secondary
5. Higher degree 6. High-professional degree 9. DK 0. NA

49. What do you want your son to become _____?

50. What do you want your daughter to become _____?

51. Any of your children studying outside your village/town/city (residential school / hostel)?

1. Yes 2. No

51.a. If yes, give reasons (Please tick all the applicable)

51.b. For Higher education

51.c. Inadequate facilities/not regular/ in the village/town school

51.d. Caste discrimination in the local school

51.e. Poor teaching in local school/college

51.f. Availability of multi-grade school

51.g. Hostel/Residential/Ashram Schools

51.h. Others (specify) _____

51.1. In past one year how many times you have gone to your children's school? _____

52. Does your child assist you in your work at home? 1. Yes 2. No

52.1. If yes, what work and how much time the child spends for doing it?

Sl. No.	Child (M/F)	Nature work	Hours of work daily
1			
2			
3			
4			

53. Does your child study at home regularly? 1. Yes 2. No

54. Information on school related committees

Committee	Are you aware of it 1.Yes, 2.No	Are you member of it 1.Yes, 2.No	Did you attend any meetings 1.Yes, 2.No
PTA			
VEC			
SMC			
Others			

55. Do you think that your child is interested to go for higher studies?

1. Yes 2. No 9. DK 0.NA

56. How education is important to your son? _____

57. How education is important to your daughter? _____

VI. Affirmative action in education

58. Are you aware that there are welfare/affirmative action schemes

for your children in education? 1. Yes 2. No

58.1. If yes, what are the schemes/facilities that your children are currently getting?

Tick from the list given in the table;

Name of the scheme	1.Govt. 2.NGO 3.Others	Received for which level of education	Received by [Son/daughter etc]	Do you feel that the amount/ provision is adequate	If not received, then why?	Difficulties in getting	Whether Useful, 1.Yes 2. No
Reservation/Quota							
Free-ship/studentship							
Scholarships/MCM/ Merit							
Post-metric Scholarship							
Remedial/other coaching							
Pre-admission coaching							
Hostel Facilities							
Tuition fee waiver							
Vocational training/capacity building							
Free textbook Stationary							
Free food/MDM & Accommodation							
Notebooks							
Uniform							
Cycle							
Laptop							
Transportation							
Any other (Specify)							

Note: Every State to provide state specific list.

VII. Migration (Migrant Family Only)

59. Is this your native place or have you migrated here? 1. Yes 2. No

60. If migrant, reasons for migration? _____

61. 1. If forced migration, give reasons forced migration?
1. Displacement
 2. Denial of access to forest resources
 3. Denial of opportunity to pursue traditional occupation
 4. Criminal cases/intimidation by law enforcement agencies
62. When you migrate, what happens to your children's schooling? _____
63. How many times a year do you migrate? [State number of times] _____
64. How long do you stay in each place? [State number of times] _____

**VIII. Isolation, socio-economic-cultural marginalization & discrimination
(for DNT-2 only & and any other caste/community as applicable)**

Guidelines for Investigator

65. Have you ever gone to police station?
- 65.1. If yes, why? [Specify reason]
66. Have any of your family members gone to police station?
- 66.1. If yes, why? [Specify reason]
67. Is there any criminal case registered under any of your family members?
- 67.1. If yes, on whom? _____ Why? [Specify reason]
68. Were you ever arrested or detained?
- 68.1. If arrested, why? [Specify reason]
- 68.2. If detained, why? [Specify reason] For how long? ____ Months __ Years ____
69. Any of your family members arrested?
- 69.1. If yes, for how long? ____ Months ____ Years ____
70. Any of your family members detained?
- 70.1. If detained, why? [Specify reason] For how long? ____ Months ____ Years ____
71. Do you or your family members get harassed by police?
- 71.1. If yes, why? [Specify]
72. Have you ever approached police for help?
- 72.1. If yes, why? [Specify reason]
73. Did you receive help from the police?
74. Did you or any of your family members ever asked to pay bribe to the police/officials?
75. Have you ever met a lawyer?
76. Have you ever gone to court in connection with a family case?
77. Has education in family been affected by any of the above cases/factors?
78. Does any of your school/college going child face theft/criminal charges?
- 78.1. If yes, why? [Specify reason] _____ what is his/her age? _____ which tribe
79. Did he/she detained?
- 79.1. If yes, for how long?
80. Did you or your family members ever discriminated due to criminal/theft charge by others?
- 80.1. If yes, how did it impact you or your family members? [Specify]
81. In your opinion, what is the way out from discrimination? [Specify]

Personal Observations (by Investigators):

Date of interview: _____

Place of interview: _____ (tick whether school/residence/other place)

Time of interview: _____ Am/Pm to _____ Am/Pm

Time taken for interview: _____

Name of the investigator: _____ Signature of investigator: _____

**Annexure 4 of Report on the National Commission on
Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities
(Renke Commission 2008)**

Education

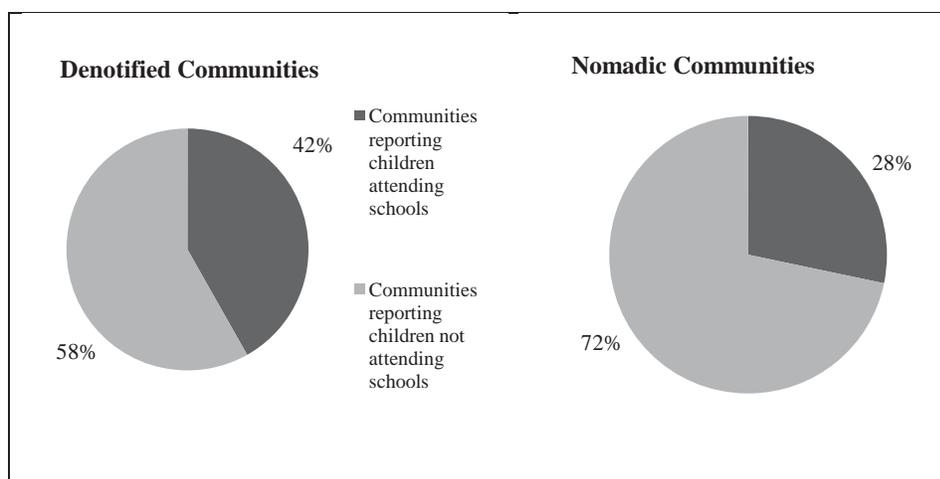
4. Access to education

This section discusses access to education for children of Denotified and Nomadic communities. Education is a key development indicator for any community and provision and access to education is a first step for empowering any community. The findings from this section highlight poor access to this key service.

4.1 Percentage of children attending school

Only 42 per cent of the Denotified communities and 28 per cent of the Nomadic communities report that children are attending schools. Issue emerging among these communities is that more than half (58 per cent) the Denotified communities and more than one fourth (72 per cent) of the Nomadic communities saying that their children are not going to school. This is unacceptable situation. Not only that these communities have been deprived traditionally of social, cultural, economic and political rights, now their children are not attending schools. Only possible way of including these children is to provide hostel facilities and outreach activities with parents and communities to convince them to send their children to school. Girl children require special attention.

Figure 4.1: Children attending school

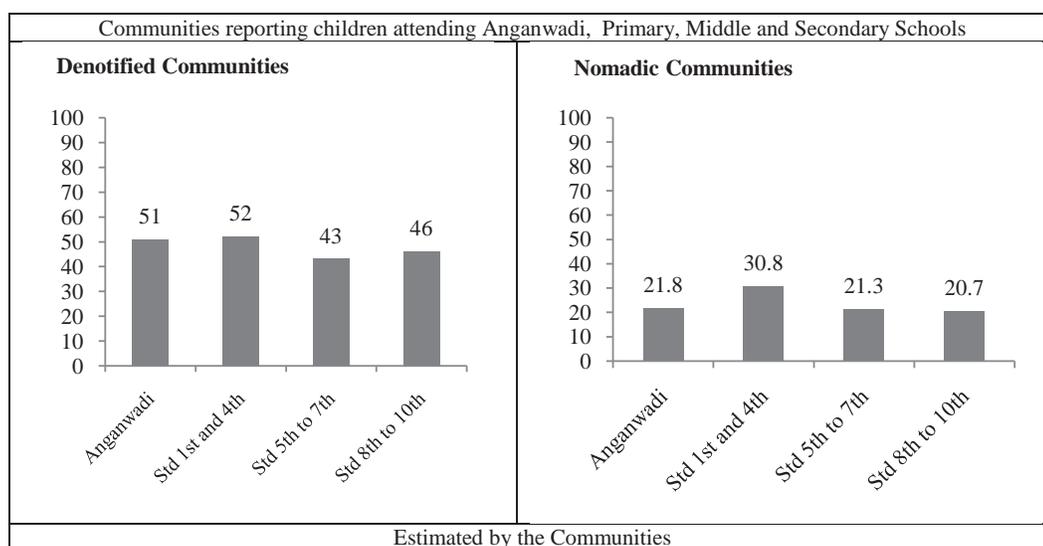


4.2 Enrolment of children in School

Children in less than 50 of the Denotified communities reported that all the children were enrolled in schools. This was very low, only 20% Nomadic communities reported enrolment of children in schools. In the case of children using Anganwadi Centres, proportion of communities reporting among Denotified communities was 50 per cent and 22 per cent among Nomadic communities. Also increase in proportion of children not attending schools as level of education increases indicates a situation of potential drop outs from schools.

In view of mobility and marginalised status of the communities, there is a need for concerted efforts for mainstreaming children from these communities into schools. Instances of seeking admission and discrimination faced in schools owing to their belonging to these marginalized communities were also reported by communities.

Figure 4.2: Communities reporting children attending Anganwadi, primary, middle and secondary schools



4.3 Distance from educational institutions

Government specifies norms for access to educational institutions for the children in the community. While each village/urban ward is required to have a primary school, only 12 per cent of Denotified communities and 21 per cent of Nomadic communities report availability of primary school nearer to their habitation. Majority of the remaining communities reported 1 km or more than 1 km distance to primary schools.

Figure 4.3: Distance to Educational Institutions – Denotified Community

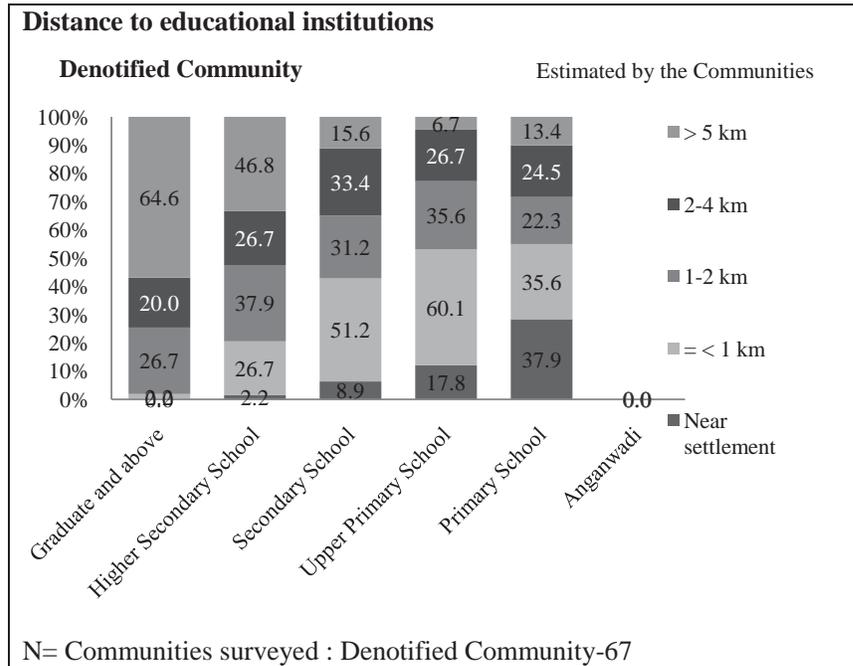
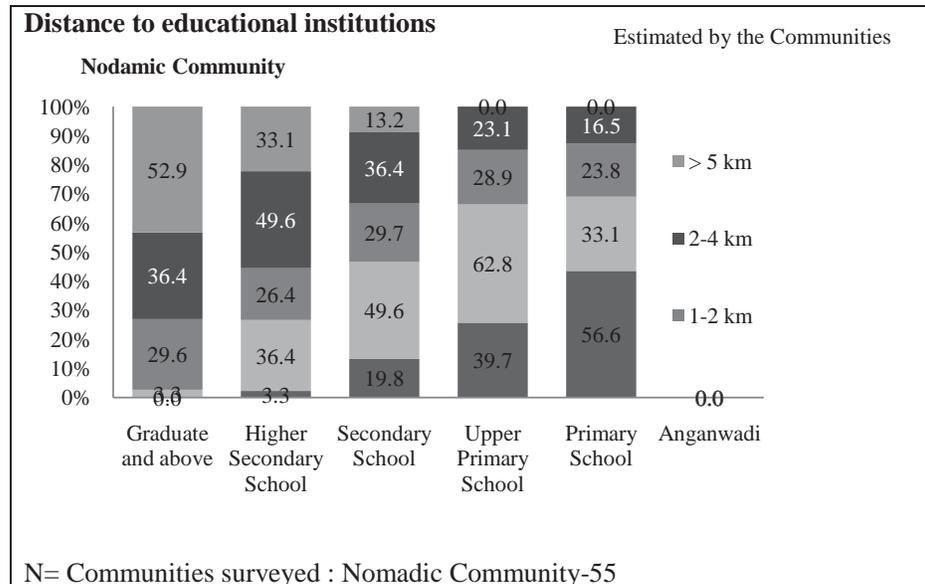


Figure 4.4: Distance to Educational Institutions – Nomadic Community



4.4 Hostel facilities

Total number of children availing hostel facilities is very low as seen in the table below. In view of the fact that distance to educational institutions is high and very low numbers of children are accessing hostel facilities, poor educational status and attainment would prevail in the community. This requires initiatives at two levels – creating greater awareness among communities for enrolment and ensuring that children attend schools as well as at planning and allocation of resources to ensure better access of these services for marginalized communities.

Table 4.1: Number of children in hostel

Educational Institution	Total No. of boys	Total No. of girls
Denotified Communities (N*=14148)		
Primary schools	1	1
Upper primary schools	5	7
Secondary schools	3	4
Higher secondary schools	3	4
Nomadic Communities (N*=4340)		
Primary schools	224	4
Upper primary schools	220	
Secondary schools	3	
Higher secondary schools	4	

* Boys and girls in the school going age

The table above highlights negligible number of children, out of 14148 boys and girls of school going age, availing hostel facilities in case of Denotified communities. In contrast, out of 4340 boys and girls of school going age among nomadic communities, quite a few are availing hostel facilities. If the facilities for education are provided, parents of these communities would utilise hostel facility for their children. Strengthening, increasing the capacity, targeting, etc., would definitely help in better utilisation of hostel facilities by the Denotified and Nomadic communities.

Annexure 3

A list of DNT-NTs from various states in India (National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic & Semi-Nomadic Tribes, Government of India)

These are lists of the Denotified as well as the Nomadic Communities as recognized by each State, wherever these categories officially exist. Other states do not have these categories, however, the kinds of communities may exist there, with no specific recognition.

Andhra Pradesh (Undivided) - Denotified Communities

Telaga Pamular	*Dandasis	*Kondadoras	*Rellies
*Paidies	Kintili	Kalinga	Nakkalas
Parili Mukkalas	Donga Yathas	Vedurupaka Malas	Boyas
Nedetti Kothalas	Reddikas	*Yanadis	Dommaras
*Yerukulas	Anipi Malas	Vaddi Upparas	Budabukkalas
*Lambadis	Vaddaras	Komparis	Pamula Buda Bukkalas
Reddi Yanadis	Jarugu Malli Madigas	Donga Dasari	Bandas
Donga Yanadis	Donga Yerukulas	Donga Waddars	Donga Dommaras
Jogulas	Yoyalpad	Annaboina Malas	Mutharachas
Pichiguntalas	*Sugalis	Korchas	Donga Malas
Amagunta Palegars	Paryas	Thota Naicks	Bhattu
Turakas	Pedda Boyas	Dobbala Korchas	Donga Korchas
Dasari	Sakalas	Peddigollas	Mondi Vagulas
Nir Shikaris	Donga Ura Korchas	Iranis	Kayyar Bhatta
Jatur Mixed Gang	Todnapur Maharattras	DongaBoyas	

Chhattisgarh- Denotified Communities

Banjara	Bairagi	Pardhi	Pasi
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Nomadic Tribes

Bhat	Jogi	Joshi	Sikligar
Gosai	Dhangar	Kasai	Devar
Rajgond			

Delhi - Denotified Communities

Aheria	Banjara	Bawaria	Bhil
Chamar Jatav	Chohra (Chura)	Dom	Kanjar
Khatik (Khatic)	Mallah	Nat (Rana, Badi)	Pasi (Pasia)
Pernas (Perna)	Sansi	Bazigar	Madari
Sapera	Sikligar		

Gujarat – Denotified Communities

Bafan	Chhara	Dafer	Hingora
Me	Miyana	Sandhi	Theba
Wagher	Waghari	Chuvalia Koli	Koli

Nomadic Tribes

Bajania, Bajigar	Bhand, Nat Bajania	Garudi	Kathodi, Katkari
Nath, Nath Bawa	Kotwaliya, Kotvaliya	Turi	Vitodiya, Vitoliya
Vadi, Jogi Vadi	Vansfoda	Bawa-Vairagi, Vairagibava	Bhavaiya, Targala
Garod, Garoda	Marwada_Waghari, Marvadi Vaghari, Marwada	Od	Pardhi
Ravalia, Rawal,	Shikligar	Sarania, Saraniya	Vanzara (Shinangwala and
Raval, Raval-yogi			kangasiwala), Vanjara
Jogi	Bhopa, Gadi Luharia	Gadalia, Gadliya	Kangasia, Kagasiya
Ghantiya, Gantiya, Natada	Chamta, Chamatha	Charan-Gadhvi, Charan-Gadhavi	Salat Ghera, Salatghera

Haryana – Denotified Communities

Bangali	Barar	Bauria	Nat
Gandhila	Sansi*	Tagus of Karnal District	Mahatams
Dhinwara	Minas	Bhora	

Nomadic Tribes

Bangali	Bauria	Bazigar	Dumna
Gagra	Gandhila	Nat	Od
Perna	Sansi	Deha	Gauria
Banjara	Shorgir	Hansi	Kanjar
Mallah	Spela	Sikligar	Sirkiband

Karnataka – Denotified Communities

Pardhis	Yerkula	Kaikadi	Berad
Talwar	Naikmakkallu	Naiwadi	Bhampta(Rajput)
Pardeshi Bhampta	Bhamta	Takar	Uchila
Tudug-wadder	Girni-wadder	Dang-Dasar	Kamati
Karcha	Pamlor	Javeri	Johari
Takanakar	Chigribetegar	Nirshikari	Pharechari
Sansia	Chhara	Nat	Kanjari
Kanjar	Beria	Chapperband	Bandi Waddar
Mannu Waddar	Kallu Waddar		

Nomadic Tribes

Bairagi(Bava)	Balasanthoshi-Joshi	Bazigar	Bharadi
Budbudki-Joshi-Gondhali	Chitrakathi-Joshi	Dholi	Daveri
Dombari	Ghisadi	Garudi	Gopal
Kelkari	Kolhati	Nandiwala-Joshi-Gondali Full Malli	Nathpanthi/ Dauri Gosavi
Panguaul	Joshi (Sada Joshi)	Sarania	Tirumali
Vaidu	Vasudev	Vadi	Vagri
Vir	Bajania	Kille Kyathas	Sarodi
Durgamurga	Howgar (Howadigar)	Pichaguntala	Masania Yogi
Bunda Besta(Bestar)	Katabu	Darwesh	Kashikapadi
Dombidasa	Bailapatar		

Kerala – Denotified Communities

Domban

Nomadic Tribes

Arandan	Cholanaickan	Kattunaickan	Malapandaram
Kurumbar	Ulladan	Uraly	Kadar

Madhya Pradesh- Denotified Communities

Kanjar	Sansi	Banjara	Banchhada
Kalbelia	Bharmatia	Moghiya	Bagri
Nat	Pardhi	Badia	Habuda
Bhatu	Kudh Bhandia	Bijaria	Kabutaria
Sandutya	Pasia	Chancravedias	Bairagia
Sanoriya			

Nomadic Tribes

Baldia	Bachhowalia	Bhata	Bhantu
Dewar	Durgimurgi	Ghisadi	Gindhali
Irani	Jogi Kanphata	Joshi, Balsanthoshi, Joshi Bahulikar, Joshi-Chitrakathi Joshi, Harda, Joshi- nadia, Joshi-Harbola, Joshi-Namdlwala, Joshi-Pingala	Kashikapdi (kashikpdi Harda)
Kalandar (Gulamday)	Kamad	Karohia	Kassai (shepherds)
Loharpitta (Gadiar Joher)	Dhangara	Nayakda (Nayakda Bhill)	Shikaligar, ardhia Saigu, Lgor, Sarania, Shikaligar
Sirgiwala kuchvand (kuchband)	Suduguhu Sidhan (Bahurniya)	Vaniyanthan Rajgond	Gaddis
Robhar is (Cattle Breeders)	Golars (Golams, Collas) Bala Ghats, Gokkars	Godaina	Bharadhi, Hardas
Bharaddi Harboles	Hajara		

Maharashtra - Denotified Communities

Berad	Bestar	Bhamta	Kaikadi
Kanjarbhat	Katwoo	Banjara	Raj Pardhi
Rajput Bhamta	Ramosi	Wadar	Waghri
Chhapparband (Muslim)			

Nomadic Tribes

Gosavi	Beldar	Bharadi	Bhute
Chitrakathi	Garudi	Ghisadi	Golla
Gondhali	Gopal	Helve	Joshi
Kashi Kapdi	Kolhati	Mairal	Masanjogi
Nandiwale	Pangool	Rawal	Sikkalgar
Vaglale	Vaidu	Vasudev	Bhoi
Bahurupi	Thehari	Otari	Dhangar
Vanjari	Mariaiwale Kadkalakshmi, Margammawale	Gihara/ Gahara	Gusain/ Gosain
Muslim Madari, Garudi, Saapwale and Jadugar	Bharatiya Irani	Gawli, Muslim Gawli	Darweshi, Vaghwale-Shah (Muslim), Aswalwale

Orissa - Denotified Communities

Munda Potas, Munda Potta	Ghasis, Ghasi, Ghasia	Pydis, Paidi	Lodhas, Lodha
Jaintira Pana, Jaintra Pans	Telenga Pamula, Telaga Pamula	Minkas, Minka	Gandas, Ganda
Dandasi Pano	Oriya Domb	Anduria Domb/ Adhuria Domb	Domb, Dombo

Nomadic Tribes

Mankirdia	Mankidi	Birhor	Kela
Bajikar	Ghantara Ghada, Ghantara	Sabakhia	Ghusuria
Madari			

Punjab - Denotified Communities

Sansi	Bazigar	Bauria	Barar, Brar
Nat	Gandhila	Bangali	Mahatam, Mahtams

Rajasthan – Denotified Communities

Baori	Kanjar	Sansi	Bagri
Mogia	Nut	Multanis	Bhat

Nomadic Communities

Baldias (Banjaras)	Pardhis	Domabaris	Gadia Lohars
Iranis	Jogi Kalbelia	Jogi Kanphata	Khurpals (Kulphaltas)
Shikkaligar (Mentioned as Sikligar in Central OBC list, Sl.no 59)	Ghisadis		

Semi-Nomadic Tribes

Sarangiwala-Bhopas	Rebaris	Raths	Mangalias
Bhayas	Kannis	Janglus	Jalukus
Jhangs	Sindlus	Jogis (Other than those included in Nomadic Tribes)	Ramaswamies
Bharaddi-Jadhavs			

Tamil Nadu - Denotified Communities

Attur Kilnad Koravars	Attur Melnad Koravars	Appanad Kondayam Kottai Maravar	Ambalakarar
Ambalakkarar	Boyas	Battu Turkas	C.K.Koravars
Chakkala	Changayampudi Koravars	Chettinad Valayars	Dombs
Dobba Koravars	Dommas	Donga Boya	Donga Ur. Korachas
Devagudi Talayaris	Dobbai Korachas	Dabi Koravars	Donga Dasaris
Gorrela Dodda Boya	Gudu Dasaris	Gandarvakottai koravars	Gandarvakottai Kallars
Inji Korvars	Jogis	Jambavanodai	Kaladis
Kal oddars	Koravars	Kalinji Dabikoravars	Kootappal Kallars
Kala Koravars	Kalavathila Boyas	Kepmaris	Maravars
Monda Koravars	Monda Golla	Mutlakampatti	Nokkars
Nellorepet Oddars	Oddars	Pedda Boyas	Ponnai koravars
Piramalai Kallars	Peria Suriyur Kallars	Padayachi	Punnan Vettuva Gounder
Servai	Salem Melnad Koravars	Salem Uppu Koravars	Sakkaraitamadai Koravars
Saranga Palli Koravars	Sooramari Oddars	Sembanad Maravars	Thalli Koravars
Thelungapatti Chettis	Thottia Naickers	Thogamalai Koravars	Uppukoravars
Urali Gounders	Wayalpad	Vaduvarpatti Koravars	Valayars
Vettaikarar	Vetta Koravars	Varaganeri Koravars	Vettuva Gounder

Uttar Pradesh - Denotified Communities

Banjara	Bhar	Kahar*	Gandeela
Ghosi (Hindu)	Kewat	Mallah	Lodh
Mewati	Audhiya	Tanga Bhat	Khurpalta
Mugia	Madari	Singiwai	Aughar
Baid	Bhat	Chamarmangta	Jogi
Joga	Kingiria	Mahawat	Bhatri
Sapera	Karmanga (Hindu Mahawat)	Beldar	Kanmailia
Gosain	Godanhar	Lona Chamar	Bargi
Sikligar	Kankali	Brijbasi	Kalandar Fakir

Nomadic Tribes

Banjara	Bhar	Dalere, Kahar	Gandeela
Ghosi	Kewat	Mallah	Lodh
Mewati	Audhiya	Tanga Bhat	Khurpalta
Mugia(Mung)	Madari	Singiwal	Aughar
Baid	Bhat	Chamarmangta	Jogi
Joga	Kingiria	Mahawat and Lungipathan	Bhatri
Sapera	Karmanga, Hindu Mahawat	Beldar	Kanmailia
Gosain	Godanhar	Lona Chamar	Bargi
Sikligar	Kankali	Brijbasi	Kalandar Fakir

West Bengal - Denotified Communities

Bediya, Bedia (Beria)	Karwal Nat	Bhar	Dhekaru
Maghaiya Domes, Moghaya Doms	Gond, Gonda	Lodha	

Nomadic Tribes

Gond (ST)	Lodha, Kheria, Kharia (ST)	Bahelias	Bauri (SC)
Chamar, Charmakar, Mochi, Muchi, Rabidas, Ruidas, Rishi (SC)	Dom, Dhangad (Doma) (SC)	Ghasi (SC)	Kanjar (SC)
Khatik (Khatis) (SC)	Mallah (SC)	Nat (SC)	Pasi (Pasia) (SC)
Beldar (Berad) (SC)	Jogi (OBC)	15. Suku (Sugali) – Not Present-	Bhar (OBC)
Birhor (ST)	Bediya, Bedia (Beria) (ST)	Yogi Nath (OBC)	Fakir, Sain (OBC)

Annexure 4

**EXCERPTS FROM EARLY, COLONIAL ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS OF
COMMUNITIES THAT PARTICIPATED IN THIS STUDY**

[The purpose of including this appendix is only to provide a ready reference for the earliest accounts we have of communities that were classified as criminal or nomadic tribes and provided the basis for colonial and post colonial surveillance and stigmatisation. These are very short verbatim extracts for 28 communities, which are listed in this study]

BEDAR OR BOYA: “Throughout the hills,” Buchanan writes, “Northward from Capaladurga, are many cultivated spots, in which, during Tippoo’s government, were settled many Baydaru or hunters, who received twelve pagodas (£4 5s.) a year, and served as irregular troops whenever required. Being accustomed to pursue tigers and deer in the woods, they were excellent marks men with their match-locks, and indefatigable in following their prey; which, in the time of war, was the life and property of every helpless creature that came in their way. During the wars of Hyder and his son, these men were chief instruments in the terrible depredations committed in the lower Carnatic. They were also frequently employed with success against the Poligars (feudal chiefs), whose followers were of a similar description.” In the Gazetteer of the Anantapur district it is noted that “the Boyas are the old fighting caste of this part of the country, whose exploits are so often recounted in the history books. The Poligars’ forces, and Haidar Ali’s famous troops were largely recruited from these people, and they still retain a keen interest in sport and manly exercises.”

In 1751, the most select army of Morari Row of Gooty consisted chiefly of Beder peons, and the accounts of their deeds in the field, as well as their defence of Gooty fort, which only fell after the meanness of device had been resorted to, prove their bravery in times gone by beyond doubt. There are still a number of old weapons to be found amongst the Boyas, consisting of swords, daggers, spears and matchlocks. None appear to be purely Boya weapons, but they seem to have assumed the weapons of either Muhammadans or Hindus, according to which race held sway at the time. In some districts, there are still Boya Poligars, but, as a rule, they are poor, and unable to maintain any position. Generally, the Boyas live at peace with their neighbours, occasionally only committing a grave dacoity (robbery). (EXCERPTED FROM: Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari [1909] 2010, I: 180-209)

BUDUBUDIKE:- The Budubudike or Budubudukala are described in the Mysore Census Report as being “gipsy beggars and fortune-tellers from the Marata country, who pretend to consult birds and reptiles to predict future events. They are found in every district of Mysore, but only in small numbers. They use a small kind of double-headed drum, which is sounded by means of the knotted ends of strings attached to each side of it. The operator turns it deftly and quickly from side to side, when a sharp and weird sound is emitted, having a rude resemblance to the warbling of birds. This is done in the mornings, when the charlatan soothsayer pretends to have divined the future fate of the householder by means of the chirping of birds, etc., in the early dawn. They are generally worshippers of Hanumantha.” The name Budubudike is derived from the hour-glass shaped drum, or budbudki.

According to the legend, the primitive Budubudukala who first adorned the face of the earth was a belated product of the world’s creation. When he was born or rather evolved, the rest of humankind was already in the field, struggling for existence. Practically the whole scheme was complete, and, in the economy of the universe, the Budubudukala found himself one too many. In this quandary, he appealed to his goddess mother Amba Bhavani, who took pity upon him, and presented him with her husband the god Parameswara’s drum with the blessing ‘My son, there is nothing else for you but this. Take it and beg, and you will prosper.’ Among beggars, the Budubudukala has constituted himself a superior beggar, to whom the handful of rice usually doled out is not acceptable (EXCERPTED FROM: Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari [1909] 2010, I: 393-396).

CHHAPPARBANDS, numbering 103 (1901), including 39 males and 64 females, are found chiefly in Poona and Satara. The word chhapparband means a thatcher, the occupation of the caste being thatching and the making of false coins. As a criminal tribe, they have lately been taken under control and settled on the land by Government. They claim a Rajut origin. They appear to be immigrants from Upper India, and speak Hindustani at home, employing Upper India Brahmans as

their priests. They marry their girls between ten, and twenty and their boys between twelve and twenty-five. The remarriage of widows is permitted. The chief object of their worship is the goddess Bhavani. They burn their dead. They eat fish and flesh, and drink liquor. (EXCERPTED FROM: R.E. Enthoven, 1922, I: 286-287).

“**DASARI** or Tadan,” Mr. H.A. Stuart writes, “is a mendicant caste of Vaishnavas, the reputed descendants of a wealthy Sudra of one of the northern districts, who, being devoid of offspring, vowed that, should he be blessed with children, he would devote one to the service of his god. He subsequently had many sons, one of whom he named Dasan (servant), and placed entirely at the service of the deity. Dasan forfeited all claim to participate in his father’s estate, and his offspring are therefore all beggars.

As ballad-singers, two Dasaris generally travel about together, begging from house to house, or at the weekly market, one singing, while the other plays, and joins in the chorus. The titles of these Dasaris are Anna and Ayya.

Dasari has been recorded as an exogamous sept of the Koravas, Malas, and Yerukalas (EXCERPTED from Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari, [1909] 2010, II: 112-119).

DHANGARS, also known as Gavadas in the Satara District,. Numbering 467, 622 (1901), including 232, 901 males and 234,721 females, are found all over the Deccan, Konkan and the Southern Maratha Country.

The social position of Dhangars is below that of Kunbis, but in point of language, house, dress and food they differ little from Kunbis. Dhangars rank themselves with Marathas, and do not eat from the Ghisadis, Burudas, Parits and Jingars, whom they consider below them. Dhangars thus claim a fairly high status in Hindu society, but there can be little doubt that they are a pre-Aryan race.

Dhangars seem to be spread not only over the Deccan and Konkan but also over the Central Provinces, Berar, the United Provinces and Central India, where they are called Dhangars. The Dhangars of the Central Provinces and Berar are, like the Dhangars of the Deccan and Konkan, shepherds and wool-weavers, so that their indentity is not at all improbable. The same cannot perhaps be said of the Dhangars of Northern India, who are employed in felling the jungle, and work as labourers and scavengers...Again, the very fact that there is no such Sanskrit word as Dhangar, or other word corresponding to it in sound, seems to show that originally Dhangar was a tribal, and not a functional name. The Dhangars or Dhangars, whether in Northern or Southern India, may, therefore, reasonably be considered to belong to the same race.

In the Deccan and Konkan, however, Dhangar lost its original tribal signification, and came to denote, in addition to Dhangars proper, a heterogenous group of distinct races following the profession of shepherds...Though some of the Dhangar sub-castes have settled down as stationary husbandmen or wool-weavers, there are not a few of their castemen, such as Khilaris, who have not yet given up their nomadic habits. In the fair season they travel long distances westward to the hills, and even to the Konkan supplying the people of the villages with manure, for which they are generally paid in kind (EXCERPTED FROM: R.E. Enthoven, 1922, I: 311-321).

DOMMARA are a tribe of tumblers, athletes, and mountebanks, some of whom wander about the country, while others have settled down as agricultural labourers, or make combs out of the wood of *Elaodendron glaucum*, *Ixora parviflora*, *Pavetta indica*, *Ficus bengalensis*, etc., which they sell to wholesale merchants. They are, Mr. H.A. Stuart writes, “a nomad class of acrobats, who, in many respects, recall the gipsies to mind, and raise the suggestion that their name may possibly be connected with the Doms of Northern India. They speak Telugu, Marathi, and Hindustani, but not generally Tamil. They are skilful jugglers, and both men and women are very clever tumblers and tight-rope dancers, exhibiting their feasts as they travel about the country. Some of them sell date mats and baskets, some trade in pigs, while others, settled in villagers, cultivate lands. In social position they rank just above the Pariahs and Madigas. They profess to be Vaishnavites (and Saivites). Infant marriage is not practiced. Widow remarriage is freely allowed, and polygamy is common. Their marriage tie is very loose, and their women often practice prostitution. They are a predatory class, great drunkards, and of most dissolute habits. The dead are generally buried, and (on the day of the final death ceremonies) cooked rice is thrown out to be eaten by crows. In the matter of food, they eat all sorts of animals, including pigs, cats, and crows.” When a friend was engaged in making experiments in connection with snake venom, some Dommaras asked for

permission to unbury the corpses of snakes and mungooses for the purpose of food (EXCERPTED FROM: Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari [1909] 2010, I: 185-190)

ERUKULA: They are called Yerukula after their women's traditional profession of fortune-telling (eruka chepputa). They believe that they are the descendants of Ekalavya, the great archer of Mahabharata. They are distributed in thirty districts of the country having sixty-seven segments. Their counterpart in Karnataka are listed as a scheduled caste under the nomenclature Korama and Koracha. A semi-nomadic community of Andhra Pradesh, the Yerukula are divided into several occupational endogamous tribes, namely Dabba Yerukula (those who make baskets with split bamboo), Yeethapulla Yerukula (those who make baskets with wild date-palm leaves), Kunchapuri Yerukula manufacturers of weaver's combs), Uppu Yerukula (salt hawkers), Yeddu Yerukula (transporters of merchandise on bullocks), Karivepaku Yerukula (hawkers of curry leaves), Nara Yerukula (rope-makers), Kavali Yerukula (crop-watchers), Parikimuggu tellers), Kooth Yerukula (tattooers), Bajanthi Yerukula (acrobats and musicians) and Ura Yerukula (pig-rearers in villages). Their population in the state is 3,00,557 (1981 census) They speak Yerukula at home and Telugu with others. They are non-vegetarian. The Yerukula women specialize in soothsaying and fortune-telling. Besides performing domestic chores they participate in the economic activities such as basket-making, mat-weaving and in the preparation of weaver's brush. They also join in the harvesting of crops in case of settled cultivation. The followers of the Vaishnava sect among them cremate the dead and while those of the Shaiva sect practice burial.

The traditional occupations of the Yerukula tribe range from basket-making to pig-rearing. The traditional council of this community is still powerful and exercises jurisdiction over offences. The majority of the Yerukula are Hindu, and a sizeable section of them, especially in the coastal districts of Guntur and Prakasam, have embraced Christianity. They are served by washermen and barbers. According to the 1981 census returns, 14.21 per cent of the Yerukula are literate. They have responded in a positive way to family planning programmes. The community has representatives in the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council of the state (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, II: 267, Hassan, S.S., 1920, II: 185-95; Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari [1909] 2010, III: 442-43)

JOGIS (A sub-division of **VANJARIS**) numbering 10,974 (1901) including 5,760 males and 5,214 females are found scattered in small numbers all over the Presidency. The term Jogi is derived from the Sanskrit *yoga*, union, and means a follower of the Yoga of Patanjali school of philosophy. It is popularly applied to all who lead a life of asceticism. The Jogis form a religious brotherhood founded by the Saint Gorakhnath. They are also called Nathas after their founder Gorakhnath.

They have two divisions of a territorial type, (1) Gujarat Jogis, and (2) Maratha Jogis, who include the Karnatak and Kanara Jogis. The former are pure ascetics. The latter have two divisions, regular and secular. The regular Jogis live by begging, the secular Jogis in addition to begging also work as husbandmen and labourers. Some breed buffaloes and dogs, and some make and sell smooth black stone vessels. Marriages are prohibited between members of the same clan or order. The restrictions upon intermarriage are the same as those among Marathas. Widow marriage is allowed. They eat goats, sheep, hares, deer, wild pigs and fowls and drink liquor. Except that they initiate their boys in their order at the age of twelve, and that they bury their dead, their ceremonies do not differ much from those of the surrounding cultivating castes (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 103-104).

KAIKADIS, numbering 7,595 (1901), including 3,629 males and 3,966 females are found chiefly in the Deccan, and in small numbers in the Karnatak and the Southern Maratha Country. They are a wandering tribe and were once notorious robbers; but they have now adopted comparatively settled habits, though some of them still commit thefts and indulge in house-breaking. They state that their original home was Telangana, which seems probable from their language, a mixture of Kanarese and Telugu. Some speak incorrect Marathi, greatly interspersed with Telugu words. The tribe is loosely organized, and appears to have been recruited at times from other criminal tribes such as the Bhamtas, Lamans, etc.

Kaikadis are notorious as thieves and are always under the eye of the police. They are hereditary basket-makers. They make baskets of many sizes of bamboos, the branches, leaf, fibres, and stalks of the *tarvad* tree (*Cassia auriculata*), of *babhul* (*Acacia arabica*) twigs, and cotton and *tur* stalks.

Husbandmen smear these baskets with cowdung and store grain in them. They also make reed sizing-brushes used by weavers, snares for catching birds and deer, bird's cages, and children toys. Some beg by exhibiting snakes. They carry sand, earth, bricks, tiles and stones on their donkeys, remove sweepings and filth and of late have taken to tillage. Some are labourers.

They eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, deer, hares, fowls and pigs and drink liquor. They rank below Kunbis and above the impure classes (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 126-130).

KANJARIS: Their origin is obscure, but some accounts assign them Gujarati as their home language, and it is probable that they have been recruited in many directions. They are a wandering tribe of beggars, and in Satara are notorious thieves. They also make and sell brushes or *kunchas* used by weavers in cleaning wool. They have two divisions (1) Kuncha Bandhnare and (2) Jat Log, who neither eat together nor intermarry. Marriages are prohibited between members having the same surname. Marriage is infant as well as adult. The remarriage of widows is permitted. Divorce is not allowed. The chief objects of worship of Kanjaris are Mariai and Musalman Pirs. They declare that they are neither Hindus nor Musalmans. They have neither religious teachers nor priests. The married dead are burnt and the unmarried buried. For the propitiation of deceased ancestors they perform *pitar*, that is, they feed castemen on the anniversary of the death. Kanjaris eat fish and the flesh of goats and fowls and drink liquor. They eat food cooked by Marathas, Kolis, Dhangars, Thakurs and Musalmans, but not by Marwaris, Telis, Mahars and Mangs. None except Mahars and Mangs will eat food cooked by them.

MUSALMAN KANJARIS, numbering 10 (1901), including 7 males and 3 females are found in Ahmednagar, Sholapur, Dharwar, Bijapur and Belgaum. Many must have returned themselves simply as Musalman. They appear to be a quite distinct community from their Hindu namesakes, making their living by rearing and selling poultry. They are supposed by some to be converts from the Od or Pardhi tribes and by others representatives of the Hindu Kanjar tribe which is now extinct. Except that they say that they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school and ask the Kazi to register their marriage, they are almost Hindu in religion, worshipping and offering vows to Hindu gods and keeping Hindu festivals. They marry only among themselves and form an organised society with a headman of their own, who, with the concurrence of the majority, can fine anyone who breaks their caste rules. They hold a low position among Musalmans (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 158).

KAS AIS OR KHATI KS, numbering 8,860 (1901), including 4,500 males and 4,300 females are found scattered in small numbers in every part of the Presidency, performing the work of butchers. In Ahmednagar of the Presidency, performing the work of butchers. In Ahmednagar district they belong to the Dhangar caste and eat but do not marry with Kunbis and Malis. In the Kanara district they claim to be descendants of the sun and to belong to the Kashyap and Kaundanya family stocks, and persons of the same stock do not intermarry. They appear to have been recruited from Dhangars, Marathas and Kunbis who took to killing sheep and goats when the Musalman incursion into the Deccan created a demand for such food. They perform birth, marriage and death ceremonies similar to those of the Kunbis. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but widow remarriage is forbidden among the Kssais of the Kanara district.

They worship all Brahmanic gods and keep all Hindu fasts and feasts. Their family gods are Devi of Tuljapur in the Nizam's country, and Kandoba of Jejuri in Poona. They keep the image of their gods in the house, and offer them sandal paste, flowers and food on Mondays, and on full-moon and new-moon days. Their priests are local Brahmans, who conduct their marriages. They have no religious teacher of their own and cannot tell to what sect they belong. The family goddess of the Kasais of the Kanara district is Yellamma, whose shrine is at Kulburga in the Nizam's country, and their family priests are Havik Brahmans, to whom they pay great respect. They go on pilgrimage to Dharamsthal in South Kanara and to Chandragutti in Mysore.

Formerly the business of Kasais was confined to selling sheep and goats, the slaughtering work being done by Musalmans. Now they act as butchers as well as meat-sellers, while a few are husbandmen and labourers. Their women, besides minding the house, grind corn and help their husbands in selling mutton; and the children take the animals to pasture outside of the town. They eat fish and the flesh of goats and sheep and drink liquor (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 163).

KOLHATIS or tumblers, numbering (1901) 4,611 including 1,922 males and 2,689 females, are found in the Deccan, Karnataka, Kanara, Kolaba and Thana. In addition to 4,611 Hindus, 68 returned themselves as Muhammadans in 1901. The Kolhatis are generally known as Dombaris in the Karnatak and as Khelkaris in the Ahmednagar district. The Dombaris appear to be socially inferior to the rest of the Kolhatis. The caste is much mixed, being recruited from numerous sources, and largely dependent on the prostitution of its women.

They marry their boys before they are twenty-five and their girls even after they attain puberty. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed. Among them marriage in the case of girls is optional. When the girl attains the age of puberty she is called on to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parent's consent, she decides to lead a married life, she is well cared for and carefully watched. If she chooses to be tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is thereupon declared a prostitute. Both men and women of the Kolhatis are tumblers and beggars...Some of the Kolhatis in Poona district were given *inam* lands by the Peshwas for their skill in athletic games. Their appliances are a drum, a flute, a leather strap, and five poles fifteen to twenty feet long. Boys and girls are trained to tumble at the age of five and are good tumblers at the age of eleven.

They eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, ducks and wild boars and also drink liquor (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 237-243).

KOLI a term of vague meaning covering a number of tribes of inferior status which have little in common beyond a position inferior to the Kumbi or cultivating caste. Probably the term Koli has been used for centuries to describe the greater part of the original inhabitants of the Presidency so long as they adhered to a tribal organization. Dr. J. Wilson (Aboriginal Tribes) translates Koli as clansman, and this closely represents its significance. A Koli settling down to agricultural pursuits in the Deccan frequently becomes a Kunbi and thus helps to recruit the Marathas. In Gujarat Kolis gain an improved status by intermarriage with Rajputs. The term Koli is almost certainly the origin of the word coolie, applied promiscuously in India by Europeans to manual labourers. The derivation of the word itself has not been satisfactorily traced. In the Census of 1901 Kolis numbered, 1,714,107 (males 882, 606, females 831,501) and in 1911, 2,006,121 (males 1,040,310, females 965,811). Gujarat Kolis differ very widely from those of the Deccan and Konkan, who have much in common.

As the Kolis now stand they are clearly a very mixed race, with too little pride in their descent to trace distant relationships or form large and distinct marriage groups. The infusion of Rajput and Bhil blood is most marked in some of the groups of Gujarat Kolis, and the distinction between Rajput and Koli and Bhil and Koli in extreme cases is almost non-existent.

The earliest records of Koli exploits are mainly the deeds of the coast dwellers of the Gulf of Cambay. In A.D. 1535 they pillaged the baggage and books of the Emperor Humayun*. In 1705 they captured Baroda⁺. Probably many of the pirates of the gulf were Kolis. These gave much trouble to the English, who in 1734 and 1771 sent expeditions against them, and on the second occasion captured their strongholds of Sultanpur and Tulaja⁺⁺.

But historically the Kolis came into prominence more during the second to fourth decade of the nineteenth century than at any other period. At that time the regions of North Gujarat were particularly unsettled. There was no strong central power; the authority of the *Gaekwar* in Mahi Kantha was nominal only, and the pretty Rajput and Koli Chieftains were constantly fighting. The early writers of the 19th century described the Kolis as "bloody and untameable plunderers," uncivilized and filthy.

KOLI – A sub division of Uppars, Vaidus, Machhis, Kharvas, Bhois, Kabbaligars, Kachhias; a synonym for Bagdi (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 243-260).

KORAVA: Members of this nomad tribe, which permeates the length of the Indian peninsula, through countries where many languages and dialects are spoken, are likely to be known by different names in different localities, and this is the case. They are known as Korava from the extreme south to the north of the North Arcot district, where they are called Koracha or Korcha, and in the Ceded Districts they become Yerukala or Yerakala. In Calcutta they have been traced

practising as quack doctors, and assuming Maratha names, or adding terminations to their own, which suggest that they belong to a caste in the south higher in the social scale than they really do. Some Koravas pass for Vellalas, calling themselves Agambadiar Vellalas with the title Pillai. Others call themselves Palli, Kavarai, Idaiyan, Reddi, etc. As railways spread over the country, they readily adapted themselves to travelling by them, and the opportunities afforded for going quickly far from the scene of a recently committed crime, or for stealing from sleeping passengers, were soon availed of. In 1899, the Superintendent of Government Railways reported that “the large organization of thieves, commonly called Kepmari Koravas (though they never call themselves so), use the railway to travel far.

Korava society is purely patriarchal, and, in whatever division of sept of the caste a Korava may be born, he has to subordinate himself to the will of his elders or the leaders of his particular gang.

It is noted, in the Madras Police Report, 1905-1906, that “a large number of members of the notorious Rudrapad Koracha gangs have recently been released from His Highness the Nizam’s prisons, and their return will add appreciably to the difficulties of the Bellary Police.”

A small class of Koravas is named **PAMULA** (snake) as they follow the calling of snake-charmers. In the Census Report, 1901, Pusalavadu (seller of glass beads) and Utlavadu (makers of utlams) are given as sub-castes of Yerukala (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 266-270).

LOHARS (Luhars) or Blacksmiths, from the Sanskrit *lohakar* worker in iron, numbering 115,622 (1901), including 59,126 males and 56,496 females, are found in all parts of the Presidency.

The caste is known as Lohars in the Marathi-speaking districts. Lohards or Luhars in Gujarat, and Lohars or Kamars in the Kanarese districts. Though the Maratha, Gujarat and Kanada or Kanarese Lohars follow the same occupation, they are three distinct castes, speaking a different language and neither eating nor marrying with one another. Besides these three, there are two more divisions closely allied to the Maratha Lohars, (1) Konkanis, or those residing in the Konkan and (2) Panchals, a class of Maratha Lohars claiming a superior status.

The hereditary occupation of Lohars is making and repairing agricultural implements, for which they are paid by the villagers in grain and sometimes hold land for service on a small quit-rent. They also make locks, key-latches and similar articles of iron. In the Belgaum district some are skilful workers in brass, silver and gold, and some make excellent images of Hindu gods. Owing to the decline in their trade, due to foreign competition, some of the Gujarat Lohars have become silversmiths and carpenters. In Kanara also some have taken to carpentry.

In South Gujarat and Cutch they privately eat fish and flesh and drink liquor, but elsewhere they are strict vegetarians (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, I: 384-392).

MONDI [**?MONDIBANDA**]: The Mondis speak Tamil, and correspond to the Bandas of the Telugu Country, banda meaning an obstinate person or tricky knave. (The name Banda is sometimes explained as meaning stone, in reference to these mendicants carrying about a stone, and threatening to beat out their brains, if alms are not forthcoming.) They are as a rule tall, robust individuals, who go about all but naked, with a jingling chain tied to the right wrist, their hair long and matted, a knife in the hand, and a big stone on the left shoulder. When engaged in begging, they cut the skin of the thighs with the knife, lie down and beat their chests with the stone, vomit, roll in the dust or mud, and throw dirt at those who will not contribute alms.

The caste is divided into a series of bands, each of which has the right to collect alms within a particular area. The merchants and ryots are expected to pay them once a year, the former in money, and the latter in grain at harvest time. Each band recognises a head-man, who, with the aid of the caste elders, settles marital and other disputes.

Marriage is usually celebrated after puberty. In the North Arcot district, it is customary for a man to marry his maternal uncle’s daughter, and in the Madura district a man can claim his paternal aunt’s daughter in marriage. The caste is considered so low in the social scale that Brahmans will not officiate at marriages. Divorce is easy, and adultery with a man of higher caste is condoned more readily than a similar offence within the caste. (EXCERPTED FROM: Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari. [1909] 2010, V: 71-72).

NAIKDAS, numbering 59,161 (1901), including 29,322 males and 29,839 females, are found chiefly in the Panch Mahals, in Surat district, and the Rewa Kantha and Surat Agencies. They are also known as Naiks. The name 'Naikda' or 'Little Naik' is probably due to their being considered inferior to the Broach Talabadas, who were formerly known as Naiks. The habits of all are not settled. Some wander from one place to another in search of employment during the fair weather. In the rainy season they settle down and perform agricultural labour. Their dwelling is a hut, the frame of rough timber, the walls of mud and bamboo generally plastered with cowdung or palm leaves. Naikdas are degraded Kolis. They are undoubtedly of a primitive stock, much mixed from various sources. They admit persons of higher castes, such as Kolis, Bhils, etc., into their caste. The convert has to treat the the Naikdas to liquor. The Naikdas profess not to marry with any other caste. But if a Koli woman lives with a Naikda, or a Koli with a Naikda woman, the couple can be admitted into the Naikda caste.

From the Bombay Gazetteer it appears that the Naikdas eat with Musalmans, and that a Naikda guilty of taking his meals with a Dhed, Chamar or Bhangia would be readmitted into his caste by giving a dinner to his castemen. They therefore rank very little above the impure castes. They show little sign of progress (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 120-25).

NATS, numbering 584 (1901), including 279 males and 305 females, are found chiefly in Gujarat. They are a wandering tribe of tumblers and acrobats from Marwar. They are Hindus and worship Metri Mata. They allow widow marriage and bury their dead (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 126).

PAMULA (snake people):- A name for snake-charming Koravas, and Jogis, who, in the character of itinerant showmen, exhibit snakes to the public. The name also occurs as an exogamous sept of Mala and Yanadi (EXCERPTED FROM: Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari. [1909] 2010, VI: 29).

PARDHIS, or Shikaris (hunters), 12,214 (1901), Name and origin. Including 6,320 males and 5,894 females, Their occupation as game hunters takes them in small wandering bands to all parts of the Presidency; but nearly half (5,150) were found in Khandesh district at the time of the 1901 census; and the only places in which they were elsewhere numerous were: the Cutch State, the Nasik, Sholapur and Bijapur districts. In Cutch they are snake charmers and catch snakes. The word 'Pardhi' is derived from paradh, hunting. The tribe is also known by the name of Phanse Pardhi and Adhivichanchar. Phanse means a noose, and this implement is much used by the Pardhis in catching game. Adhivichanchar is derived from atavi (Kanadivi), meaning forest, and sanchar, meaning wanderer, the name, like Phanse Pardhi, being descriptive of the life of the tribe.

As a collection of wandering bands of hunters and game snarers, the tribe has always offered and asylum to individual outcastes or broken fragments of other tribes or castes. It is therefore a somewhat heterogeneous collection, and bears evidence of having been recruited at times from Rajputs, Kolis, Vaghris, dhangars, Kabblingars, and Korchars.

Though ostensibly snarers and hunters, they make their living mainly by committing robberies. They openly rob the standing crops. The landlords stand in such awe of them that they secure their goodwill by submitting to a regular system of blackmail. If they refuse to let the ears be taken, they would run a good chance of losing the whole crop when it was gathered in the thrashing floor. Some of the Phanse Pardhis make and sell baskets. A division of them called Jogires in Dharwar make black-stone vessels of various sizes which are used in keeping pickles and sometimes in cooking. In addition to the flesh eaten by the Pardhis, cows are said to be eaten by the Phanse Pardhis. They drink liquor to excess.

PARDHI A synonym for Takari (Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 169-173).

RAMOSHIS, numbering 60,555 (1901), including 31,444 males and 29,111 females, are found throughout the Presidency except Gujarat but mainly in Poona, Satara and Ahmednagar. The word Ramoshi is said to be a corruption of Ramavanshi, i.e., the descendants of Rama. An alternative origin for the word given by Campbell is Ranavasi or forest-dweller as the Ramoshis mainly live on the outskirts of villages. They are also called Naiks or Naiklok. Those of them who do not eat flesh are styled Ramabhakts or devotees of Rama. The Ramoshis appear to be the outlying northern section of the great Kanarese or Telugu tribe or group of tribes which go by the general name of Bedars, with whom they may once have been more intimately connected than is now the

case. The Ramoshis of Belgaum still state that they are of the same caste as the Bedars, with whom they eat but do not intermarry. The existence of a Bedar division of the tribe, the use of Kanarese names for their men, the traces of Telugu words in their language, their title of Naiks and their traditional occupation of committing robberies, for which the Bedars are also notorious, lend much support to the theory of their Bedar origin. It appears that the tribe has been recruited from other castes such as Kunbis and Mangs.

Ramoshis speak Marathi. They have also a special language which they use when they are engaged in crime. The names in common use among men are Dhondo, Itu, Khandu, Lakshman, Narayan, Narsu, Pandu, Pangya, Taty, Tukaram, Tulsiram, Nagappa, Sivappa, and Yellappa; and among women, Aija, Begu, Chaitra, Dhondi, Kondi, Lakshmi and Rakhma.

Occupation: The hereditary occupation of the tribe is stealing. Formerly, under the Maratha Government, Ramoshis and Mangs were in charge of the hill-forts, and their depredations were winked at. Under British rule, Ramoshis and Mangs are mustered every night, all except those who have been convicted being permitted to rest at home. Ramoshis are included among the criminal tribes of the Presidency. The chief occupation of the tribe is now Government or Private service as watchmen, and husbandry. When out of work they live by stealing. They are very honest among themselves, and do not betray their comrades even at the risk of their lives. They are treacherous with others, but those who have entered Government service have a great regard for their masters and are true to their salt. Many are landholders. Some hold inam lands for serving as village watchmen. Some are field-labourers and are paid either in cash or in corn. Those who are well-to-do lend money (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 297-304).

SALATS or stone-workers, from salya a stone, numbering 4,227 (1901), including 2,114 males and 2,113 females are found only in cities and in some large towns in the Gujarat districts and States.

They are Swaminarayans and Shaivas, worshipping Mahadev but respecting other Hindus gods. In Cutch some of them are Vallabhacharyas. They believe in witchcraft, exorcism, the evil eye and the ordinary omens. They keep the regular Hindu fasts and Feasts and visit the usual places of pilgrimage. Their priests are Audich and Sompara Brahmans.

Occupation: They live by stone-cutting, the working in the oolitic limestone or Probandar and the sanstone of Jhalavad affording employment to a large number masons. Besides being used for house building the stones are worked into articles of domestic use and ornaments such as images, filters and water-bottles. Some of them, especially in Navanagar, have a talent for portrait painting.

Food: Sompara Salats do not eat fish or flesh or drink liquor (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 316-17).

SHIKARI, meaning a sportsman or hunter, occurs as a synonym of Irula, and a sub-division of Korava. The name shikari is also applied to Native who "accompanies European sportsmen as a guide and aid, and to the European sportsman himself" (EXCERPTED FROM: Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari. [1909] 2010, VI: 379).

SIKLIGAR: In the Madras Census Report, 1901, eleven individuals are returned as belonging to an Upper India caste of knife-grinders (Sikligar). In the Madura Manual, Sikilkarars are described as knife-grinders, who wander about in quest of work from village to village.

TURIS or Drummers, numbering 3,195 (1901), including 1,565 males and 1,630 females, are found chiefly in Ahmedabad, Kaira, Kathiawar, Mahi Kantha, Palanpur and Rewa Kantha. Nearly half the numbers recorded in 1901 were resident in the Palanpur State. They take their name from the iur, drum. According to their own story, the Turis are the descendants of a Bhat. In the reign of Siddharaja (A.D.1100) a Dhed named Mahid offered himself as a sacrifice to stop the leakage of the Sahasralingh lake in Patan. At that time Dhedas were forced to go bareheaded, to carry a spittoon hung round their necks, and to drag branches of the shami (*Prosopis spicigera*) tree to wipe out their footmarks. They were forbidden to rear cows and buffaloes or to worship the pipal tree or the basil plant. As a return for his self-sacrifice, Mahid begged Siddharaja to free his caste people from these degrading rules and to give them a priest and a bard. Siddharaja agreed.

Another account is that Turis are descended from a Bhangia and a Musalman dancing girl. In appearance, house, dress and language Turis do not differ from Dhedas. In position they rank between Dhedas and Bhangias. Dhedas will not dine with Turis, and Turis will not dine with Bhangias.

Occupation: Turis cultivate during the rains. In the fair season they eander about, playing the drum called tur, and reciting tales half prose half verse to the accompaniment of a guitar, saranji. Owing to the competition of the Ravalias, their income has, of late years, greatly decreased, and they are now a poor class.

Turis eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, deer, bears, hares, and porcupines. They drink liquor and eat opium (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 392-93).

VAGHERS, numbering 2,198 (1901), including 1,092 males and 1,106 females, are found chiefly on Okhamandal in the north-west of Kathiawar. They claim to be the earliest settlers in the peninsula, but have no spread along the south coast of the Gulf of Cutch, and are found in Okhamandal and most of the coast villages and towns of Halar in the Navanagar State. There are several villages entirely peopled by them, in which they hold giras lands granted to them by the Vadhel Chiefs of Arnala near Dwarka.

Vaghers are a turbulent and warlike race, and for a long period caused great trouble by their piracies and dacoities. They were reduced to order in 1867 by the combined British and Gaikwari forces. Even now they have retained predatory tendencies and are under special political control.

Vaghers, who appear to have been originally fishers, have indulged freely in piracy in the past; they are now landholders, fishermen and sailors. The Okhamandal Vaghers still hold their giras lands, but the soil is poor, and from A.D.1860 they pay a tax of one rupee a family to the Gaikwar. Some are labourers and a few are police patels.

Vaghers eat food cooked by Kharvas, Kumbhars, Rabaris, Bharvads, Ghedia Kolis and Khavasas. Rajputs, Mers, Valands, Ahris, Charans and Kathis eat food cooked by Vaghers.

MUSALMAN VAGHERS include the Bellas, Malias, and Vavanas, as also the Bhadelas. They have such surnames as Chamadia, Chavda, Dal, Jam, Manek and Subani, which indicate their Hindu origin. They are Sunnis by religion and follow the general Musalman customs. They are hardy long voyage sailors and sail to Calcutta, Ceylon, Karachi, Madras, the Malabar Coast, Maskat, the Persian Gulf and Zanzibar, also to south-east African ports. They go on their own vessels commanded by Vagher captions or nakhudas (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 397-99).

VANJHAS numbering 3,884 (1901), including 2,037 males and 1,847 females, are found principally in Kathiawar, and in small numbers in Palanpur, Rewa Kantha, Surat Agency and Jawhar.

Vanjhas are hereditary weavers. Some have taken to carpentry, while others are husbandmen.

The Vanjhas living in Kathiawar do not eat flesh. They eat at the hands of Sonis and Sutars. Lohars, Hajams and Rajputs eat at their hands (EXCERPTED FROM: Enthoven, R.E., 1922, III: 442-45).

