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# An Analysis of Education and Poverty in Tribal People of Jharkhand

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**Abstract:** *This paper attempts to examine the linkages between 'Education and poverty in Tribal Jharkhand'. The paper is divided into three sections. Section I discusses the role of education institutions in the Human Resource Development. It deals with theoretical aspects of the problem and describes the various linkages between education and poverty. Section II analyses exclusively education in Jharkhand and its impact on life in society, especially underprivileged and tribal, and in Section III authors provide a summary of the major findings, problems faced by educational institutions in Jharkhand, and suggestions to solve them.*

**Keywords:** *Education, Poverty, Tribal*

## I. INTRODUCTION

One may define education as an activity, or a series of activities, or a process which either improves the immediate living conditions - social, economic, political, human, cultural, environmental, etc, or increases the potential for future living. From this definition, we can infer that taken together these functions constitute the main contribution of education in the development all around the world. Amartya Sen's main argument for faster development of India has been to repeatedly stress on the criticality of Primary Education. He feels that the only way our colossal State Machinery can be made more accountable to the people it purports to serve is to be assessed regularly by the people themselves. Hence people need to be educated first so that they are in a position to assess the functioning of the state and its officials.

The major role that education has been able to play is with regard to skill inculcation and skill-improvement of the persons. Acquisition of knowledge and ensuring access to the resources for a decent standard of living makes long life the desired aim of growth. Education plays a decisive role in this process. One component of the education interface of human resources policy is to focus on people itself. In fact, the destination of education is 'People' or 'Man'. The ultimate goal of education is people's material, cultural and spiritual fulfillment. This human factor or the human context is of extreme importance and should always be held as the focal point of educational effort (Haksar, 1977).

## II. EDUCATION IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

There are broadly four stages of schooling in India, namely primary and upper primary, secondary and higher secondary education, covering a total of 12 years. Classes 1-5 (primary) and 6-8 (upper primary) together constitute the elementary education level, whereas the definition/duration of secondary education differs from State to State. The official entry age to primary education is 5 or 6 years, depending on State legislation (UNESCO, 2000).

Education comes under the purview of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education. Legislative, administrative and financial responsibilities are shared between the central and State governments. In some of the States, local self-government bodies (panchayati raj) are also involved in educational management in order to facilitate community participation and better adapt education to local conditions. In areas with high percentage of scheduled caste and/or scheduled tribe populations there are also educational institutions operated by special departments in charge of these groups (e.g. "Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes Development Department" in Orissa).

## III. GOVERNMENT EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES AND POLICIES

Government policies: The provision of free and compulsory elementary education to all children up to age 14 has been a national goal since Independence and is enshrined in the Constitution. The Government of India's (GO I) overall development philosophy under the 9th Five Year Plan (1997-2002) stresses not only economic growth but the need to give "special emphasis on all-round human development, with stress on social sectors and a thrust on eradication of poverty." Education is defined as "the most crucial investment in human development". The Plan document sets the following objectives for the education sector:

Further development of early childhood education, with particular attention to strengthening the educational component of ICDS, ensuring greater linkages with primary education and decentralization (e.g. involvement of local government bodies and women's groups);

1) Primary elementary education: Recalling the goal of free and compulsory education up to class 8 (no timelimit set for reaching this goal), emphasis will be placed on universal primary education as a first step. Strategies to reach this goal include the following: mobilization of community support, particularly by strengthening Village Education Committees (VECs), greater use of non-formal and alternative education programmes and tackling the issue of child labour (under overall responsibility of the Ministry of Labour).

2) Adult education: Literacy is identified as "the key to most of India's development programmes" and a top priority in the National Agenda for Governance. Goals in this area include further expansion of the on-going literacy programmes, creating linkages with other socio-economic programmes (health and hygiene, skills training, etc.) and greater awareness generation among women and their empowerment.

The Plan document recognizes that "we are woefully lacking in providing basic services such as education to the majority of our population especially in rural areas. Extension of these services to the mass of our population is an urgent priority, not only because it is a desirable social end in itself. but also because it is a precondition for achieving rates of growth of 7-8 percent per annum."

3) Educational financing: The level of government financing for education has fluctuated over the years. The promise to spend at least 6 percent of the national income on education, which has been made since the 1960s I, is yet to be realized and is again included in the 9th FYP document. Public expenditure on education as proportion of GNP decreased during the early 1990s but seems to have been on the rise again recently (see table below). Nevertheless, this figure has remained consistently below the average for Southern Asian countries.

Table1. Public expenditure on education as percentage of GNP 1980

	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996/97
India	3.0%	3.5%	3.9%	3.3%	3.8%
Southern Asia	4.1%	3.3%	3.9%	4.3%	Not available

4) Sources : UNESCO: Statistical Yearbook 1999; UNESCO: World Education Report 1998; Education for All - The Year 2000 Assessment Report, India; Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, 1999

As regards the distribution of the education budget between educational levels, there have been some positive changes which could indicate a shift away from the traditional emphasis on higher education levels. The share of the recurrent education budget going towards primary education increased from 34 percent in 1990 to 37 percent in 1997. This is an encouraging sign although the figure remains below what other countries in the region spend on primary education (average for South & West Asia: 44 percent). If the upper primary grades are counted in (elementary education level), the figure rises to just over 50 percent (1997). Funding for education comes from different sources, notably central and State governments. However, the latter cover the major share of recurrent educational costs and are generally the main actors in education. This is one reason why the outreach and quality of the education system vary significantly between States, depending on the financial and general political context in each State.

#### IV. INCENTIVE SCHEMES IN EDUCATION AND POVERTY

Incentives in education have a long history in India. The system of incentives to overcome social, economic and other handicaps has been an integral part of the government's strategy to provide universal elementary education (DEE) since a long time. Incentive schemes are meant to help disadvantaged children, particularly those from scheduled castes and tribes and girls, to gain access to education and attend school regularly. They include the distribution of free textbooks or uniforms, scholarships as well as mid-day meals or dry food rations.

The experience with such programmers in India has been mixed. Although the potential benefit of incentive schemes is in no doubt, their token and erratic implementation affect whatever positive effects they may have on the schooling of poor children. The Probe report, for example, notes the limited coverage of most schemes (for example, only

1.3 percent of children surveyed for the report received free uniforms), lack of timeliness in the provision of incentives (delays of one or two years were found to be "not uncommon") or deliveries of insufficient quantities (with children in different grades expected to share one textbook, for example). Ill-functioning incentive schemes generate hostility between parents and teachers (parents suspecting school staff to cheat about their entitlements) and substantially increase the workload of teachers, to the detriment of the educational process.

'The National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NPNSPE) or Midday meal (MDM) scheme

Background: This is the largest and most important of all incentive programmers in India. School feeding programmers have existed in some States since as early as the 1920s; they were largely funded by State governments with some assistance from international organizations such as CARE. After long deliberations, the centrally- sponsored, national MDM scheme was launched by the GOI on 15 August, 1995. Its objectives are two-fold: (i) enhancing the nutritional status of children and (ii) promoting UEE in terms of increasing enrolment, retention and attendance by encouraging poor parents to admit their children in primary school and keep them there.

The central government support to States under this program is as follows: (i) provision of food grains, free of cost, to the implementing State agencies through the Food Corporation of India (FCI); and (ii) reimbursement of transportation cost to district authorities for transport of food from FCI stores to schools/villages. States pay for additional food items required for cooked meals (pulses, vegetables, oil, spices, etc.) and salaries of cooks.

The scheme offers the States three options: (i) cooked meal (100 grams of rice/wheat per student per day for 200 school days per year); (ii) pre-cooked meals; or (iii) dry ration (3 kg of wheat/rice per student per month for 10 months). The per-child provision has been fixed on the basis of the estimated additional nutritional value required by children in the primary school age group to meet their nutritional deficiencies. In this sense, the provision of food grains/dry rations is higher compared to cooked meals anticipating that part of it would be shared by other family members. To be eligible for receiving the food students have to show a minimum monthly school attendance of 80 percent.

The scheme was intended to cover all government, government aided and local body primary schools in the country in a phased manner over a period of three years. Private unaided schools and NFE centers were not envisaged to be covered. The scheme is proposed to be universalized to all rural blocks and urban slums and disadvantaged sections during the Eleventh Plan.

## V. EDUCATION AND POVERTY IN TRIBAL JHARKHAND

Education of tribal is an important issue considering, not only the fact that they were denied equal opportunity in the past by government and policy makers but also as it is crucial for development of tribal communities and the nation. Tribal children, like several marginalized groups of children in Jharkhand are trapped in an intergenerational vicious cycle of poverty, illiteracy and deprivation. This is evident considering the extremely poor adult literacy rates which are reproduced in the next generation as low education levels among the children from tribal communities. Although the government has launched various policies and programmers for tribal welfare and education, in reality very few of them have percolated down to the tribal and benefited them. Many of the programmers did not benefit the tribal community because the programmers were not contextualized and localized considering regional, geographical and physical differences and barriers. Another reason that the benefits of the programs have not reached the tribal was/is lack of political will, corruption, and lesser attention on development in tribal area.

The Indian Constitution assigns special status to the tribal. Traditionally they are known as adivasis, van basis, tribes, or tribal. The tribal's are living in different parts of the country, having their own culture, social system, structure, and values. According to the 2001 census, the tribal population in India is 74.6 million. Jharkhand state constitutes 6.6 million tribal populations.

There are thirty different tribal communities residing in the State of Jharkhand and they constitute 26.3 percent of the population of the State. More than sixty percent of these tribals are living below the poverty line. The average literacy rate is 54.13 percent in Jharkhand, but among the some tribal, particularly among the female, literacy rate is as low as 10 percent . Literacy is one of the most basic parameters for the success of democratic system of governance. If we take stock of the baseline realities of education of tribal's in Jharkhand in both the rural-urban domains, the gap is appalling (Census of India, 2001).



Table 2. Literacy Status of Jharkhand 2001

Division	General	
Rural	Urban	
I. Santhal Paraganas	33.05	71.13
II. North Chotanagpur	34.32	66.82
III. South Chotanagpur	34.82	33.12
IV. Palamu	29.03	65.31
Overall Jharkhand	34.31	73.96

Source: Jharkhand Profile, 2001

Table 3. Literacy rates amongst the STs in Jharkhand 1981-2001 (Figures in Percentage)

Total	Male	Female	
1981	16.99	26.17	7.75
1991	26.78	38.40	14.75
2001	32.10	41.33	26.11
All India 2001	65.37	75.85	54.16

Source: Census of India, 2001.

The literacy rate in Jharkhand is only 54.13 percent (2001) and female literacy rate is still lower at 39.38 percent. Literacy rate among the tribal population (38.10%) is less than the literacy of the general (54.13%) population in Jharkhand. Primitive tribes have the lowest literacy rates ranging from 4.22 to 7.58 per cent. Thus, STs have very little share in the overall percentage of literacy rate in Jharkhand. The reasons for this are varied. However, one should not forget that "the millennium development goals cannot be met without getting tribal children, especially girls, educated."

Although the State has a network of government and privately run schools in cities and urban centers with varied standard of teaching, the benefits of these schools are mostly reaching to urban people and tribal exposed to these cities. Despite the government claim that the state of Jharkhand has reduced the number of out-of-school children, it is unfortunate that most of the schools, colleges and institutions which are addressing the need of general population and tribals are still marginalized. At school, the experiences of tribal children range from discrimination to a sense of complete alienation. Students from ST communities encounter a series of obstacles including commuting long distances to school in hostile environmental conditions, abuses and discrimination from teachers and fellow students from non-tribal backgrounds, difficulty in comprehending the language of instruction and negotiating space for themselves which they had been denied historically.

Table 4. Enrolment of ST Students in Primary, Middle, and High School Levels

1-5th Standard	6-8th Standard	9-10th Standard
35.51%	23.43%	18.63%
31.36%	28.01%	23.19%
41.05%	35.47%	31.57%
32.32%	26.21%	21.73%
35.56%	28.97%	24.49%

Source: Jharkhand Profile, 2001

To address some of these disparities, recently the state government has launched a mammoth enrolment drive "School Chale Hum - Abhiyan 2006" with UNICEF which is a good initiative but there is also a need to understand that the children who are currently out-of-school are those belonging to socially and economically weak communities and groups, including linguistic and religious minorities and tribal groups living in habitations scattered over hills and forests. Past experiences indicate that some of these earlier drives have met with limited or no success.

Extending the system of primary education into tribal areas and reserving places for tribal children in middle and high schools and higher education institutions are central to government policy, but efforts to improve tribal educational status have had mixed results. The major challenge and concern with this type of drive is that they are mostly concentrated in the urban areas. Another challenge in addressing and providing education to tribals was/is their geographical location. Most of the primitive tribes still live in hills, dense forest with difficult terrain and many a times, it is difficult to reach them because of lack of road and transport facilities. It is challenge to provide education to tribals and setting up school and institutions in small, scattered and remote tribal habitations. The majority of the tribes live in sparsely populated habitations in the interior and in inaccessible hilly and forest areas. At the time of creation of Jharkhand, there were about 12,000 revenue villages/inhabited tolas that did not have a primary school within 1 km. radius.

Under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan/Gram Shiksha Abhiyan, nearly 11,500 alternate schools have been opened since August 2002 but now there is a need for qualitative improvement, in terms of infrastructure, Staff allocation, provision of books and other facilities. It has been seen and quoted in many studies (See, Vinoba Gautam, 2003) that high school dropout rate among tribals is one of main reason behind their lagging behind in education. Many tribal schools are plagued by high dropout rates. Since schools as institutions and teachers as critical agents have remained fundamentally unchanged, the school atmosphere is not very conducive to accept and retain tribal children in schools. Tribal children's school experience is an important variable which determines whether the child continues to be in school or decides to drop out. Children attend for the first three to four years of primary school and gain a smattering of knowledge, only to lapse into illiteracy later. Few who enter continue up to the tenth grade; of those who do, few manage to finish high school. Even the Ashram schools (residential schools for tribal boys and girls) started by the Government in 1990-91 are poorly maintained and sometimes lack even the basic facilities. Given the low levels of literacy among the ST population, several children from these communities happen to be 'first generation learners' and in the absence of State support for helping them cope with studies, very many children drop out of the schools. Therefore, very few are eligible to attend institutions of higher education, where the high rate of attrition continues. For example members of agrarian tribes like the Gonds of- ten are reluctant to send their children to school, because they need their children to work in the fields. Another reason behind high dropout rates is medium of instruction or language constraint where most of tribal children do not understand the textbooks, which are generally in the regional language. The nontribal teachers in tribal children's schools are another problem where teachers do not know the children language. This was also found in study of Janshala Programme. Commission after commission recommended that at least at the primary level students should be taught in their native tongue but recruitment of qualified teachers and determination of the appropriate language of instruction has always remained troublesome. Recently (July 2003) the State Government has decided to ensure teaching in the mother tongue from Class I in tribal languages (Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kurukh) and regional languages (Khortha, Kurmali) but the need is to develop teaching-learning material in these languages and to train/redeploy the teachers. The issues and challenges in tribal education can be categorized as external, internal, socioeconomic and psychological. The external constraints are related to issues at levels of policy, planning and implementation while internal constraints are with respect to education system, content, curriculum, pedagogy, medium of instruction etc. The third set of problems relates to social, economic and cultural background of tribal and psychological aspects of first generation learners. It is important to note that tribal in Jharkhand are at different levels of socio-economic and educational development. To address some of these challenges, the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 emphasized tribal education and recommended opening of primary schools in tribal areas on priority basis; developing curricula and devising instructional material in tribal languages; and encouragement of tribal youth to take up teaching in tribal area; and incentive schemes for the tribals, keeping in view their special needs and lifestyle. The National Programme of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), which aims to achieve Universal Elementary Education (UEE) also emphasized special focus on education of the tribal children.

Tribal children were identified as the Special Focus Group (SFG) under SSA. One of the main goals of SSA is to "bridge all social category gaps at primary stage by 2007 and at elementary stage by 2010". It is good that the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) recognizes the varied issues and challenges in tribal education in view of the heterogeneous structure of tribal population in the country (Carnoy, 1992). Conclusions - We can conclude that there is immense need to understand the context, and background of education system in Jharkhand to address the question of providing equal access of education to tribal. Tribal communities in the state have been historically denied access to resources and opportunities. The present efforts of the government to bring these children into formal schools fail at two levels. Firstly, it is not able to enroll all tribal children and provide good quality functional schools. Secondly, even when tribal children are enrolled into schools, the education system besides doling out some incentives does not do much to improve the school environment to treat these first-generation learners with respect and dignity. Instead, tribal children are made to put up with an offensive and insulting climate that continuously discriminates and alienates.

For such historically deprived communities, providing access to education is simply not enough, the government has to take a proactive role in creating overall conditions and opportunities that will facilitate their transition and breaking of the intergenerational cycle of poverty and illiteracy.

A sensitive cadre of teachers and bureaucracy is definitely required to make the difference. At another level, educational deprivation must be seen in the context of overall deprivation of the community and hence emphasis must be placed on improving the situation of tribal communities in general. Education is a critical input in human resource development and is essential for the country's economic growth. Though the major indicators of socio-economic development viz., the growth rate of the economy, birth rate, death rate, infant mortality rate (IMR) and literacy rate, are all interconnected, the literacy rate has been the major determinant of the rise or fall in the other indicators. There is enough evidence even in India to show that a high literacy rate, especially in the case of women, correlates with low birth rate, low IMR and increase in the rate of life expectancy. The recognition of this fact has created awareness on the need to focus upon literacy and elementary education programmes, not simply as a matter of social justice but more to foster economic growth, social well-being and social stability. The State had set for itself the goal of achieving universal primary education by 2005 and achieving 85 percent literacy by 2010 which requires far reaching changes in policies and rules, tremendous efforts in community mobilization and continued innovations in teaching methodologies. This is true especially in the case of marginalized and tribal population as this discussion has adequately shown that education for tribal has not received whole hearted support of the state and focused efforts in this area are still wanting. Moreover, there is an urgent need to revamp the system of incentives, by making them more focused, significantly improving their implementation and enhancing cost efficiency despite the problem's, food incentives have a potentially greater role to play than at present in Jharkhand.

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