

Indigenous Population: Education and Culture of Knowing

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Introduction

India has the one of the largest population of indigenous peoples compared to other countries. There are about 80 million indigenous populations which are scattered around the country based on their ethnics, social, cultural and economic way. There is different range of indigenous peoples in our countries which varies from small to largest. For example the Sentinelese of the Andaman is the smaller group as compared to Gonds and Santhals of central India are the largest. There are some communities who are living in a extreme destitution and there are some whose annual income is well above an average income. Indian indigenous communities do share one characteristic as they are social, economic, culture and religious. The common problem which tends to arise for the tribal population is to seek autonomy, right to seek justice on the bases of their own tradition and their own laws and right to exploit their own natural resource. In constitution of India and statues of tribal these issues are addressed and specific articles are mentioned for the tribal population in India. The treatment of peninsular tribe and north eastern tribe is different from one another. The British Indian government had made two criteria for determining the self government for tribes: (a) Either tribals have capability to handle its own affairs, or¹ (b) either the significant role played by non-tribal population in a tribal region.² According to these criteria the tribal residents of the north eastern states gets isolated but looks more progressive and given more autonomy as compared to the rest of the country which have been placed under the guardianship of provincial governors. The tribes of the north eastern states are codified in the sixth schedule and the other tribes are codified in the fifth schedule under the constitution of India. The recommendation of distinct community and their differences in attitude of two region of the tribe were approved by the constitution of India at the time of independence. Majority of the tribal population are in the fifth schedule areas so the Indian parliament decentralizes and legislate the (panchayat extension and schedule areas) which is known as PESA act 1996 exclusively for these areas. PESA officially ordered the tribal and non tribal communities to pass down the political, administrative and fiscal to the local government. PESA did not amend the Fifth Schedule but the tribal communities participate in system through local/self government. After a decade, it was clearly visible that PESA didn't achieve that objective because of the state administration to cede authority which compelled the tribes of the fifth schedule areas to reassert their own identity and rights violently by threatening the state government. Yet, the government did make any alternative schemes for tribal population in peninsular area in India and no debate took place governing this tribal region. Various developments took place in last few years like revision of the National Tribal Policy, formation of two new states in year 2000 i.e. Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, and passing of Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act in December 2006. For the first time Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act grants some measures of ownership to tribal residents in forest land. With this change, it is concluded that rights of tribals becoming a national concern for the Indian government.³

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¹Tribal Laws & Customs in India, <http://www.legalservicesindia.com/article/article/tribal-laws-&-customs-in-india-847-1.html>

² Tribal Rights in India, <https://lawupdaterblog.wordpress.com/2016/10/11/article-on-tribal-rights-in-india/>

³Tribal laws in India and tribal conventions on rights of indigenous people worldwide, <https://www.legalindia.com/tribal-laws-in-india-and-tribal-conventions-on-rights-of-indigenous-people-worldwide/>

The Tribal's Struggle with existing Laws

In spite the guarantees given by PESA and also the custom and traditions are respected by state government and their laws, the state laws would respect tribal traditions and customs. This Act reduces the value of the tribal traditions of self-governance. The sub national lack of interest does not violate the tribal norms instead the statutory schemes of the government which forces the tribes to follow the non-tribal concept. When the system was promoted for non tribal communities by the local government, as per part IX of Indian constitution and the aged old system of indigenous governance was instantly abolishes by the parliament of India. This created an unexpected turn for the tribes which create an unexpected shift from traditional institutions to an alien concept of electing representatives. Panchayats affected the participation of the tribal people and not utilizing the institutions properly. Our nation has one of the largest populations of indigenous peoples as compared to any country in the world. Approximately there are 80 million indigenous populations in India which is one fourth of the world's indigenous population and these peoples vary in cultures, ethnicities, and socioeconomic situations. They go from isolated or lost indigenous communities of the world, like the Andaman's Sentinelese, to some of the largest populated indigenous communities, like Santhals and Gondsof central India. There are some indigenous communities who live under condition of extreme poverty but there are also communities whose social, economic and psychological welfare is well above national average. There is only one characteristic that Indian indigenous communities do share around the world and that is social, economic and political marginalization.

In recognition of this material fact and reflection of continuous struggles by indigenous people for more than a century and half, India has an array of laws, governmental policies and Constitutional provisions which aimed to protect the rights of such indigenous communities. Still India is reluctant to recognize and acknowledge international framework for protections indigenous people. These protections embodied primarily in International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, 1989 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), 2007. Although India is a signatory to Convention No. 107 of ILO on Indigenous and Tribal Populations and also voted in favour of the UNDRIP. Therefore it firmly insists that indigenous communities of their own group cannot claim for protection and equal status under these laws. The Indian government rejects term 'indigenous peoples', and says that all Indians are indigenous and especially hostile to any reference to the rights of indigenous people to self rule, self-determination or self-governance". In spite of the fact that India's prevailing laws provides various degrees of protection to certain communities in some cases.

The Indian approach and legitimate structure for indigenous people's right and their liberty will value the spirit of international law. Part I and Part II gives different reports such as Part I describes on the contrary to political and social situation of the indigenous communities whereas Part II examines the legal framework and existing policies on specific areas of indigenous people's right.⁴ On the basis of this report the Indian legal and political situation tends to focus on the principles of equity, self-governance and justice. On contrary, if compare India with other nations on international standards for the rights of indigenous people than India is far behind. The legal policy and instruments of Indian law for indigenous people's right is spoiled by one fundamental flaw that clashes Indian states with the political rights of indigenous peoples and the subsequent widespread violations of these.

Case Studies on Educational System

In India societies are differentiated by high level of structural inequalities based on the ethnicity and caste. According to Indian society the tribal people are mostly socially and educationally backward group in India. The differences in social and economic histories of indigenous people which tend to differentiate the education for Indigenous and tribal people.

A study conducted by K. Sujatha (1994) on tribes of Andhra Pradesh⁵ states that adoption of viewpoint for development of educational system for tribal communities lacks to address the disadvantages distinguishing the tribal population. She also states that the major constraint behind the tribal education problem is the adoption of dual system of administration⁶.

Rani, M (2000) observed in her study that tribal children remain unable to establish communication link with the teacher because of language barrier and thus lead to discontinuation of education.

⁴India and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, <https://aippnet.org/india-and-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples-2/>

⁵Challenging Issues of Tribal Education in India, IOSR Journal of Economics and Finance (IOSR-JEF), <http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jef/papers/vol3-issue2/Version-2/J03224852.pdf>

⁶Language, Rights and Opportunities: The Role of Language in the Inclusion and Exclusion of Indigenous Peoples, <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IPeoples/EMRIP/StudyLanguages/FernandDeVarennes.doc>

Jha&Jhingran, D. (2002) believe and supported that in the tribal areas the teacher should use their mother tongue or home language as a medium of language in the early stage of education. Hence this will create greater significance for the tribal children for their education as the main language is quite different from the regional language and will help them to learn more efficiently. It is also advisable to have local teachers foreducating tribal children.

According to the Praitchi Committee Report (2002) the lack of motivation among teachers, lack of inspection, cost of schooling and also the private tutoring is the main problem in the path of tribal children's education.

Gautam, V. (2004) wrote in his article that dropout rates among tribal children are pretty much high. He also examines that due to the appointment of non tribal teacher and the communication gap between them was the main reason for high dropout in tribal schools.

According to Maharatna in 2005, his main concern was how the tribes and the mainstream society can develop mutual interaction between them but does not concern how tribes can be bought within the mainstream society and culture.

Nair, P. (2007)⁷ gave weightage to non-formal education in tribal regions especially to each group of children in remote areas. Non-Formal education targets children who are drop-outs of formal education system at early stage. This non-formal method of education provides room for innovations and also gives flexibility to rigid educational system, in terms of teaching method, evaluation procedures and target group of learners.

Sedwal, M. and Kamat, S. 2008 has mainly focuses on issues related to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These groups recognize the affirmative action within the Constitution of India.

Case Studies on Traditional knowledge of Indigenous Tribes

Indigenous Knowledge of Kani Tribe:-

This case was related to Kani tribe who lived in the Agasthyamalai in Western Ghats. The total population of the indigenous tribe is about is 25000. A group of scientist from Jawaharlal Nehru Tropical Botanical Garden and Research Institute (JNTBGRI) went for the expedition and found out the value of the leaves and the fruits of one of the wild plant to avoid fatigue.⁸

JNTBGRI and All India Coordinated Research Project on Ethnobiology (AICRPE) team conducted research on wild plants under the headship of Dr Pushpangadan.⁹

After years of research team discovered that the most effective way to get twelve compounds was through crushing of leaves. The combination of these compounds with three other plants and TBGRI produced scientifically verified and standardized herbal formulation for its reproduction. At last the name was given Jeevani which is known as "giver of life".

Dr Pushpangadan and their research team thought that without proper intellectual property protection they would not be able to generate proper revenue for Jeevani and no financial gain for Kani Tribes. Dr Pushpangadan had filed patent application for Jeevani with IP India on 2008. Patent application was published in India but yet not granted. Under the terms and conditions of agreement held between JNTBRI and Arya Vaidya Pharmacy Ltd. (AVP). JNTBRI will receive two percent of Royalties on sale of the Jeevani. JNTBRI maintain right to license for other companies as well. From there on licensing remain consistent and renewed thereafter.

The use of traditional knowledges quite rich among the kani tribes it played pivotal role on their years of survival. Dr Pushpangadan and their team never took the traditional knowledge for granted. Yet JNTBRI received United Nations Equator Prize for its work in fostering the creation for their work. It is the foreign national who exploited the traditional knowledge and attempted to protect the component of the Indian Traditional Knowledge under patent regime. The Jeevani product was sold in United States market without the knowledge of JNTBRI. When it came to JNTBRI knowledge, this erupted to a great dispute and brought considerable attention from media. Hence the case never fully resolved and the trademark resolution abandoned in year 2001.

⁷Abdulraheem, A. (2011) Education for the Economically and Socially Disadvantaged Groups in India: An Assessment Economic Affairs Vol. 56 No. 2 June 2011 (Page 233-242)

⁸Jeevani to fetch benefits for Kani tribe, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kerala/jeevani-to-fetch-benefits-for-kani-tribe/article7718163.ece>

⁹Using Traditional Knowledge to revive the body and community, <https://www.wipo.int/ipadvantage/en/details.jsp?id=2599>

Jeevani has been a big success for JNTBGRI, AVP and the Kani people, despite the lack of IP protection in major markets such as the United States¹⁰. Jeevani is now popularly known as the “ginseng of India” and one of most successful products of AVP’s. The success of Jeevani has made a significant financial impact on the lives of the Kani people¹¹.

Indigenous Knowledge of Tai-Khamyangs:-

Tai-Khamyangs or Khamjangs popularly known as “Shyam”, are distinct schedule tribe of Assam having their own unique traditions and culture. They migrated to Assam in early 18th century AD from North Myanmar after crossing Patkai Hills.

Khamyanks are traditionally pile dwellers and presently agriculture is their main occupation. They also have vast knowledge about indigenous use of various plant species for curing diseases like asthma, boils, abscess, eczema, cough, dysentery, jaundice, piles, rheumatism and many more. Medicines for these diseases are prepared from the leaves, fruits, tree barks, seeds, roots and rhizomes, stems and sometimes whole plant (followed from leaf to root) of medicinal plants.

In Assam Tai-Khamyangs are considered as one of the most knowledgeable tribe in the field of Ethnomedicine. Their herbal medicines are not only popular among localities but non-Khamyangs also come to avail the benefits of medicines prepared by the traditional practitioners. But in the last few years there has been erosion in Indigenous knowledge of the people due to unwillingness of younger generation to learn their traditional learning, pressure of modernization and urbanization, change in the socio-cultural pattern of the life and most importantly the depletion of forest and extinction of surrounded natural resources. If this trend persists then very soon ethnomedicine knowledge of Khamyangs would be lost forever.

State of Madhya Pradesh V. Kumari Nivedita Jain¹²:-

The Supreme Court of India dealt with the question of admission of students to the M.B.B.S. Course in the State medical colleges. Madhya Pradesh Government framed criteria of minimum 50% as qualifying marks for admission of general category students in medical colleges whereas no minimum marks criteria was set for Scheduled castes/Scheduled Tribes students. Upholding the validity of the rule, the Supreme Court submit that entry 66, List I, did not apply to the selection of candidates for admission in medical colleges because standards would come in after admission of students. The Court ruled that entry 25, List III was wide enough to include within its ambit the question of selection of candidates to medical colleges and there was nothing in entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I to suggest the contrary.

Developments in Protection of Indigenous Knowledge

Initially, International law was framed to protect the folklores and the culture of indigenous people. For the first time in 1967, the work of unknown author was recognized on an international instrument of IPR, when an amendment to the Berne Convention sought to recognize the claim of unknown authors in case of unpublished works. Hence, its scope was limited, as the term folklore wasn’t expressly mentioned¹³. UNESCO and WIPO drafted the Tunis model, which drafted national legislation guidelines to bring significant changes for protecting the folklore for an indefinite period, whether it was fixed in some material form or not. Finally model provisions were released by UNESCO and WIPO in 1982 for the Protection of Expressions of Folklore. This model law got rid of the idea of individual ownership and instead creates a competent authority at the national level to protect folklore. The prior permission of the authority needs to be consented before using the folklore outside the traditional or territorial context. They also need to acknowledge the origin of the folklore and provide for criminal penalties in violation of the provisions. However, till date it has not been tested because no country has adopted them so far¹⁴. The application of the model provisions are limited as they do not seem to consider all aspects of indigenous interest. The protection mechanism on an authority which was created by the state, it neglected the role of the indigenous community as an agent to control and

¹⁰Despite the lack of IP protection in major markets such as the United States, Jeevani has been a big success for JNTBGRI, AVP and the Kani people, http://www.wipo.int/ipadvantage/en/articles/article_0078.html

¹¹ International Journal of Law and Management Studies, <http://www.ijlms.in/issues/vol1iss3.pdf>

¹²1981 AIR 2045, SCLT, <http://www.sclt.in/content/state-mp-and-anr-vs-kumari-nivedita-jain-and-ors>

¹³Paul Kuruk, “Protecting Folklore under Modern Intellectual Property Regimes: A Reappraisal of the Tensions between Individual and Communal Rights in Africa and the United States”, (1999), 48 American University Law Review 769

¹⁴Paul Kuruk, “Protecting Folklore under Modern Intellectual Property Regimes: A Reappraisal of the Tensions between Individual and Communal Rights in Africa and the United States”, (1999), 48 American University Law Review 769.

preserve the indigenous knowledge, hence, denying the inherent link which exists between indigenous knowledge and the holders of such knowledge.

The earlier treatment of indigenous people in the conventions of the International Labour Organization did not address the issue of indigenous knowledge. ILO made an attempt to integrate the indigenous people into their respective countries presents them as backward¹⁵. The ILO went a step further and recognized that indigenous customs essential to survive¹⁶. The Convention on bio diversity focuses more on the rights of indigenous people over the control and protection of indigenous knowledge. The need to promote indigenous knowledge for the protection of biodiversity is recognize in the Article 8(j)¹⁷. The indigenous knowledge recognition and the fact that it is valuable and can be exploited are positive steps toward protection of indigenous knowledge. Although it does not tackle the right of control over knowledge that vests in the indigenous community, hence it provides for the benefits of sharing with the indigenous community. Many declarations of indigenous people like the Mataatua Declaration which highlight that indigenous people should define for themselves their cultural and intellectual property and that existing mechanisms were not sufficient¹⁸.

Overview on Indigenous

Population of indigenous people in India comprises an estimate of 104 million or 8.6% of the national population. Although, India has officially recognized 705 ethnic groups, but there are many more groups which qualify for the status of scheduled tribe has not been registered by Government of India. Each of them has different cultures, social practices, religions, language, and occupations. The tribal groups are diverse in many ways, as they have different function of the environment in which they live, the level of exposure to outside world. The government of India gets involves with the tribal population of their history, economic status and their present lives. Majorly Indigenous people found in the northeastern part of India- Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland, though the percentage is small compared to the total population in India. Despite the fact that the percentage is small but they were given protection under the Constitution of India (1950) and they are the most burdened ethnic group in India..

Analysis:- In 2009-2010, approximately 1.08 million of indigenous students were enrolled in higher education. Out of the total strength, around 0.40 million were females and 0.68 million were males. The number of male population was higher than the female indigenous population. The number has increased since last decade. The enrolment for male population grew 304.48%, whereas female enrolment grew 399.14% during 2000-2010. The annual growth rate of indigenous enrolment during this period was 33.52%. The female percentage has also increased from 32 percent to 37 percent during the last decade. The participation of females getting enrolled was very less as compared to male during 1990-1991. But eventually the number has increased from 0.02 to 0.06 million in 1995. In the year 2004 and 2005 the figure of enrollment increased that is 0.15 million females and 0.43 male's indigenous population. By the year 2009-2010 the participation percentage of males were 6 percent and female were 4.82 percent.

An analysis in level of education revealed that out of the total number of indigenous students enrolled in higher education, 0.36% enrolled in Ph.D./M.Phil. programmes, 7.25% in postgraduate programmes, 60.38% in undergraduate programmes, 6.87% in Post-School diploma programmes, 0.28% in postgraduate diploma programmes and 24.85% in open universities.

Challenges in Spreading Education among Indigenous

Problems faced in spreading education among tribals are as follows:-

- Language – Language is the major constraint among tribals that stops them access to education. There is huge communication gap between teachers and students.
- The Location of the Village – the location of village in remote areas is one of the reasons for high dropout rate. As children travels to neighboring villages for attending school.

¹⁵Michael Halewood, "Indigenous and Local Knowledge in International Law: A Preface to Sui Generis Intellectual Property Protection", (1999), 44 McGill Law Journal 953.

¹⁶Also know as Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, <http://www.ilo.org/>

¹⁷Michael Halewood, "Indigenous and Local Knowledge in International

Law: A Preface to Sui Generis Intellectual Property Protection", (1999), 44 McGill Law Journal 953.

¹⁸Michael Blakeney, "The Protection of Traditional Knowledge under Intellectual Property Law", 22(6) (2000), European Intellectual Property Review 251

- Economic Condition - The economic condition of tribal people is so bad that they do not desire their children to attend schools.
- Attitude of the parents – As parents do not want to spend money on their children education. Instead of spending money on education they prefer their children to work so that they can support their family. With this kind of attitude most of the tribal children remains uneducated.
- Teacher Related Problems – teacher are often absent because of the location of the village and with this tribal children does not get proper education which destroys the quality of the education.
- Lack of proper monitoring- There is no system of proper monitoring by the Tribal Welfare Department and School Education Department as the coordination is very poor.

The major shortcoming is that formal school systems rarely reflect the realities of indigenous livelihoods or traditional educational systems:

- National curriculum ignores indigenous people’s culture, history and their languages. No textbooks, scripts and other educational materials reflect their traditions, values and norms of the tribal society.
- The languages of indigenous peoples as well as their skills and traditional knowledge are ignored or underestimated by education system. As curriculum of formal school education is provided in national languages.¹⁹
- The School terms-daily schedules do not match with the indigenous people’s livelihood, for example, pastoralism and nomadism.
- The methods for conveying instruction and class discipline clash with those commonly practiced at student’s home or community.
- Most non-indigenous teachers are not willing to teach indigenous communities because of lack of cultural training and understanding of indigenous people’s values and their ways of life.
- Role of elders and other members of the tribal community are very low for setting up the directions or educational goals of the school.

The following factors also negatively affect indigenous people’s access to formal education:

- Lack of school infrastructure in the areas where they live;
- Lack of mobile schools;
- Lack of culturally adequate boarding facilities for nomadic and semi-nomadic indigenous children;
- Financial burden on tribal children by imposing various indirect costs related to education e.g.:- materials, uniforms, school meals, transport;
- Poor learning facilities like shortage of basic school amenities i.e. tables and benches;
- Poorly ventilated classrooms and unsafe school environments.
- Militarization in indigenous territories disturbs the normal functioning of daily cycle and firmly establishes fear which affects the children’s education including the use of community schools as military detachments.

These shortcomings create negative impacts on many indigenous peoples worldwide which share traumatic school experiences. There are some instances like:- separation of children from their families; living in boarding schools which are unfriendly and unsafe; abused by fellow pupils; learning foreign systems of knowledge in a language other than their own; taught by teachers from cultures that are different from their own.²⁰

Thus many indigenous children experience the loss of their identity and with the mainstream values and norms. While not all the indigenous youth fully becoming a part of the dominant national society. Research shows that the loss of cultural identity and schools are the important factors lead them to substance abuse and suicide among indigenous youths.

Limitations in Intellectual Property Law to Protect Indigenous Knowledge

The Intellectual property right is inadequate to protect the expression of indigenous knowledge of the tribal community like art and craft, invention from herbs and so on. The origin of the copyright law lies in the

¹⁹Challenges in policy and practice: pastoralists and nomadic peoples, <http://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/old-site-downloads/download-657-Case-Study-Challenges-in-policy-and-practice-pastoralists-and-nomadic-peoples.pdf>

²⁰Barriers to Aboriginal education, <https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/education/barriers-to-aboriginal-education>

western roots which recompense the efforts of the individual. Thus it focuses the efforts of individuals and has requirements for the originality, fixation, protection to be limited duration and focuses on economic remedies. Folklore is a kind of indigenous knowledge which passed from generation to generation in the tribal community. Thus leads to problems of vesting of rights as the intellectual property for the individual and not the community. The Australian case of *Yumbulal v. Reserve Bank of Australia*²¹ it showed that how individual notion of copyright law is difficult to reconcile with indigenous interests. In this case, the Court said the community was not provided with the protection under copyright act which is essentially communal in first place. The court rejected the indigenous artwork which was printed on currency note and also prevent the use of the artwork in a culturally abusive manner. The Court gave the decision which relied on the terms of the contract between the bank and the individual artist. Hence, the Court stated the limitations of IPR to recognize communal ownership to property. After granting such decision the customary law of the Indigenous people was completely ignored by the court that shows failure of IPR based on western description and also ignored the other types of descriptions. The law for copyright requires some degree of originality in which expressions of folklore may lack as in many cases. This kind of work is necessary which grant greater importance for the preservation of the culture. The length of time and the protection is very limited which requires to balance between labour produced and the demands of the public. Thus the development of the folklore is indeterminate and passed on generations to generations that's ensures the cultural preservation of the community. Hence placing a fixed time for its protection actually goes against the very process of development of folklore and against the hope of indigenous people. Further, it can enforce protection through the litigation process which will emphasizes on their economic, commercial work and also help them with their financial strength which is their rights in a court of law.²²

Suggestions

Some suggestions for improvement of education system in tribal region are as follows:

- Literacy campaign/awareness campaign should be organized in tribal dominated districts to change the perception of the tribals towards the importance of education.
- Counseling from various agencies can change the attitude of the tribal parents towards imparting education.
- All relevant study materials should be supplied in local language of their region.
- Should give importance to the appointment of more tribal male and female teachers in the tribal areas. The psychological, cultural, and ecological characteristics of tribal children should be considered carefully by the teachers in tribal areas.
- For raising enrollments in higher education, scholarships/stipend during courses should be provided to the tribal students, particularly in engineering, medical and other vocational courses.²³
- More residential schools should be established in each states and districts and need to be extended up to PG level in tribal areas.
- Social security of students should be maintained in residential schools, especially security of adolescent girls.
- Higher level officers should properly monitor the functioning of schools. School monitoring must focus on teaching methodology, teaching/working hours, and attendance registers.²⁴

Conclusion

Our study is step towards documenting the facts relating to traditional knowledge of indigenous tribe which could be used for the understanding of essentials of tribal community. To the best of our knowledge, we also tried to highlight the immense scope of further study in the traditional knowledge, geographical, educational and political area. However, the advent of modern civilization has adversely affected the tradition and heritage of the tribal community and thus the younger generations are not exposed to traditional practices. There should be focused efforts to promote the use of traditional knowledge. Modern arena of advancement can also provide an opportunity to promote and explore the existing traditional knowledge among Indigenous tribe.

²¹[1991] FCA 448; 21 IPR 481, BarNetJade, <https://jade.io/article/151709>

²²The Challenge of indigenous education - unesdoc - Unesco, <http://unesco.org/images/0013/00134773e.pdf>

²³New Perspectives in Sociology and Allied Fields edited by Shashikant Sharma, Page 88.

²⁴ Issues of tribes in India: Education and Health, <https://internationaljournalofresearch.com/2016/08/23/issues-of-tribes-in-india-education-and-health/>