



Education, Employment and Quality of Life among undergraduates of the Indigenous Tharu tribe in Terai Region of Lakhimpur Kheri

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ABSTRACT

Tharu tribals are an indigenous tribal community found in large numbers across the Terai pockets of Northern India. Due to limited access to mainstream technical education, there has been a nominal representation of Tharu youths in the national employment Diaspora of India. As youth of any community holds significance, it becomes their responsibility to provide their community a better approach to comfort living enhancing the quality of life. There has been a poor representation by Tharu youths in mainstream employment, which involves usage of modern and advanced technology. Another dilemma of the Tharu youth is the unacquaintedness of theirs with culture and traditions since they migrate to more civilian areas of the city. Living in seclusion, away from their peer groups in mixed neighborhoods poses additional challenges before them, and they are often found to be having low self-esteem because of their educational backwardness and socio-economic backgrounds. Communicative flaws and poor interpersonal skills make the targets tougher for them and they deem to have a comparatively poor quality of life which could be well attributed to lack of specialized education leading to unemployment. The current paper examined the educational backgrounds and employment statuses of Rana Tharu Tribals hailing from Terai Region of Lakhimpur Kheri, and investigated the relationship between education, employment and quality of life therein. The study comprised of primary and secondary data and several book articles, empirical studies and research articles concerning the related literature were consulted in order to find and understand the link between education, employment and quality of life. Another emphasis of the study was to ascertain how successful are the government policies in Terai Region across the no man's land between India and Nepal, and whether or not they contribute to their development in particular.

Keywords: Indigenous, Tharu Tribe, Education, Employment, Quality of Life

Introduction

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has been working tirelessly and making dedicated efforts to ensure the social well being of Tharu Tribe in the district of Lakhimpur Kheri which has a substantial population of this indigineous tribe that struggles for the conservation of its

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cultural identity. The tribe happens to be an endangered tribe of the Terai region of Lakhimpur Kheri in Northern India, in wake of deforestation and razing off the green belts on both sides of the Indo-Nepal border. There has been a geo-political tussle between Tharu tribals living in 46 small villages located across the mighty Dudhwa National Park and the Uttar Pradesh State's Forest Department (UPSFD) since long. The district administration of Lakhimpur Kheri spends a great deal of time and budget to moderate this conflict between the two, it has been a tug of war over collection of forest based products by the Tharu tribe and other forest dwellers from the core forest areas deemed as reserved. The administration had remedially assured tribal people that all their demands would be met and therefore during January 2011 and several meeting were called to resolve the dispute (Times of India, 2011).

Whatever might be the problem, the tribe faces challenges at every step due to the ongoing transitions in their lifestyles, posed upon by the migration towards more urban areas of the district. In 2015, Akhilesh Yadav, the then Chief Minister of the state of Uttar Pradesh, had realized and taken note that there was an emergent need for the mainstreaming of Tharu tribal community and encouraging the members of the tribes to make efforts for the same. He reiterated that government of the state was dedicated to offer seamless guardianship to its people who seek progress and development by rising above their present situation. Acknowledging the grievances of the tribe, he had said, "These people, who have been living in the jungles and have also helped in saving them face immense hardships & it is the responsibility of the government to help them progress under the provisions of the Constitution and join the mainstream". The Chief Minister spoke for the welfare of all including the Tharu tribe and has expressed a desire to hold a regular socio-cultural event under aegis of the state government, the event would be known as 'Tharu Mahotsav', suggesting that handicraft items prepared by the tribe could be displayed at the upcoming Lucknow Haat, a traditional fete which would display the cultural heritage of the state, primarily showcasing the erstwhile royale of capital city, Lucknow (The Hindu, 2015).

The Government of Uttar Pradesh lauded the efforts of district officials of Lakhimpur and Bahraich, significant parts of which are inhabited by Tharu tribals. The government looks forward to take the plunge of developing a master plan for which funds will be provided, solely dedicated to the tribe's welfare. It is quite evident that the tribe passes through the times of turbulence, surviving a seemingly sharp clash of civilizations, even after the words of development and assistance assurance. Members of the tribe have been lingering in uncertainties since long and in almost seven decades of independence the tribe still strives hard for survival and basic amenities. Professional, Vocational and Technical education has been a white elephant for these dwellers of jungle, but as there is a silver lining in every cloud, the case of Tharu tribe being no exception to this, has taken the challenge to plead for justice on its own.

Education as evident, refers to the act or experience which has a formative effect on the mind, character and abilities of a person. Education in its most formal sense could be known as the formal process through which a society transmits its cultural heritage and its accumulated knowledge, values and skills to the next generation. The new generation of the tribe has moved out of jungle to carve a newer and better niche for them. The children from the tribe have been attending primary school in the nearby areas of Gauri Phanta and Chandan Chauki, for secondary education they have moved to the more civilized areas of the districts at the sub divisional levels like Sampurna Nagar, Nighasan, Palia Kalan and Bhira Kheri. The tribe now has dedicated itself to conserve their identity and heritage by educating their children par excellence, they have been accomplishing these tasks through making schools, colleges, universities and other institutions accessible to their children. Financial assistance from the state and central governments has been the backbone of these activities,

although scarce but the government funds have given a new hope to the tribe through which they see a better future.

All around the globe, across our knowledge-based economies, the role of education has been pushed to establish benchmarks of economic growth, which is actually being underpinned for being the main driver of advances, innovation and high productivity. It has been seen as a medium to transmit knowledge and wisdom through generations and thus education is believed to be the basis of human civilization. The current study aimed at examining the significance of education in the lives of Tharu tribals, observing their orientation towards acquiring education and investigating the employment ratio among the educated youth of the tribe, finally arriving at studying the quality of life in the tribal youth, represented by the college graduates.

The Tharus of Terai

The Tharu Tribe inhabits the Terai Region, more specifically the foothills of the Sivalik Mountain Range which is the gateway to the Himalayas. Terai is the narrow strip of land which spans across 550 miles of the southern border of Nepal, next to northeast India. Found mostly in the Lakhimpur Kheri and Bahraich districts of the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, the tribe has been living in the land which has a unique bio-diverse appeal. The entire area of their habitat is densely forested having the most fertile land, paving way for agriculture to be their chief occupation. The Tharu tribesmen have divided themselves into several sub-groups; the Rana Tharu tribesmen live in the southwestern corner of Nepal, which is exactly in the forest ranges of Lakhimpur Kheri. Ethnically they could be considered having a Rajput background background, which is a high caste in Rajasthan, another state of India.

Considering the chronological perspectives about this tribe, the great desert of Thar is considered to be their original abode, thus that region could be referred to as their native place regardless of where they dwell at present. There have been numerous stories folklores and legends which suggest that after Mughals arrived in India during the 16th century, a Mughal king wanted to marry one of the Tharu women, notwithstanding which they would have faced dire consequences. So the women and children chose to flee towards east and got themselves settled in this densely forested region. The Tharu men chose to stay back to fight the Mughals. It is said that when the women heard about all their men were killed, they then married the slaves who had been in their service all along the travel from Rajasthan to the Terai Region and settled permanently in their new home in the foothills of Sivaliks. The forests of the Terai are the jungles known for the significant presence of tigers, elephants, wild boars, snakes and malarial swamps. The swamps have been keeping outsiders away, and the Rana Tharu interestingly developed resistance to the malaria, which makes them a unique human race. Thereafter during the next four centuries their own traditions and culture flourished and they found a unique identity for themselves for the years to come.

The Rana Tharu have been leading ordinary, quiet and simple lives for four centuries as of now, they are basically gentle people. They have lived in clusters of villages in mud houses, known as Tharu huts, these houses are well plastered inside and out with cow dung and mud, so fine it feels like silk. When it comes to artifacts, they have acquired mastery over the art of pottery; they generally make almost everything they use by themselves. They give every creation a special touch of art, for instance the walls of their houses are decorated mostly with the relief plaster sculptures and windows which follow a geometric pattern. The houses are large and made in line with the idea of housing a large familial group; the women cook together, care collectively for their children and pass on their cultural heritage and traditions to the next generation successively (The Joshua Project, 2016).

Across the historical accounts focusing on tribes, Tharu tribals were the only ones who were able to reside comfortably in the malarial jungles all along the Indo-Nepal border. Since

the advances on social and community medicine have been making way, mosquito control had become available; it has been reported that there are a number of other people who have migrated into the core concentration areas of Tharus (Nepal, 2006).

The chief occupations of the indigenous Tharu community are cultivation, hunting and fishing, which mean they have no other options to make their living besides those mentioned here. Since agriculture happens to be the main stay of the tribe; the tribesmen practice it greatly in the primitive for growing rice, wheat, gram, pea, barley, mustard, potato, sugarcane and lentils. The main cash crop being sugarcane, they also grow vegetables, tobacco and bananas in backyards of their homes, popularly known as Tharu huts. Rice is their staple crop but they also grow corn largely. The men plow the fields and plant the crops; they also weave the nets which their women use for fishing. They are brilliant hunters and go for hunting in the jungle which is the backdrop to their neat fields of cultivation and villages. The women of the tribe plaster their houses and make beautiful pottery and baskets from recycled agricultural waste.

They have very strong relationship with the forests and water bodies. The entire population of the Tharu tribe is around 100,000 in India, while in Nepal this figure reaches to the number of 1533879, which makes Tharu community as 6.75% of the total population of Nepal (Nepal, 2006).

Tharus have many discerning characteristics which are representatives of its culture and socio-economic systems. The Tharu tribe has their traditional language, which happens to be Tharu across most of the areas inhabited by them and Kochila in some of the specific pockets, besides the much competitive Hindi. The Tribe subscribes to their traditional cultural norms, rites and rituals, which largely vary based upon their geographical locations. They are mostly believers and worship both the spirits of nature, as well as the Hindu deities. Their belief system has seemingly merged animism with Hinduism in sync with their ancient traditions and has taken the form of a new religion of their own. Their dresses are vibrant and colorful, their handicrafts are unique and their culinary habits are intriguing. They follow a different dressing system which differentiates women who are unmarried with married and married with children and vice versa. Their dresses are colorful and very beautifully embroidered; they often buy scraps of left-over fabric from the fabric merchants and each woman puts her own dress together in a very unique and gorgeous fashion. They wear beautiful jewelry and make their own clay pots, cooking stoves, woven baskets and fishing nets which look like butterfly wings. This clothing identification regime could be seen amongst Buddhist traditions where individuals wear distinctively different clothes in order to maintain the unique identity of theirs (Nepal, 2006).

Education and the Indigenous

Education by all means is very complex discipline, often very difficult to measure. One major difficulty which researchers come across often during statistically assessing educational outcomes is the cumbersome measurement of the soft skills, which are believed to be acquired in the societal life of individuals. These skills are attributes of the knowledge attained outside the premise of formal educational system, thus it could be through co-curricular activities, excursions, leisure reading and cultural activities, etc. Also the quality of formal qualifications, such as the university degrees is not necessarily always of the identical levels. In order to measure the overall level of education and its impact thereafter, one would require both the data about the formal education and the data related to other non-formal educational activities, which involve extracurricular activities. It is seen as an increasingly important aspect of the entire process of education and therefore its assessment effectively engaging. Education has its societal benefits but at the same time it is also a basic determinant of the quality of life of most individuals. People who are believed to be possessing limited skills and competencies are often excluded from the recruitments process

of good jobs, thus left with fewer prospects for economic prosperity, linger amidst uncertainties, and as a result experience a poorer quality of life.

Researchers have been opining that the early school dropouts face a higher risk of social exclusion resulting in poverty. Such individuals are also less likely to be active in the civic and societal life, which gets them excluded from political affairs of the society they come from. It is so because quality education enhances an individual's understanding of the world he/she lives in, this further leads to the perception of their personal ability to influence it. Experts have favored public support for acquiring education on the premise that education largely improves the overall quality of life of people. Less is known about the mechanisms, and therein relative impacts of such mechanisms, with help of which advanced education effectively contributes to overall life satisfaction amongst individuals. There have been many researches in this area but most have reported typically the estimated contemporaneous relationship between education and life satisfaction, which has been debated well in previous researches. This equilibrium mentioned here comes into action once income and other socio-economic variables are controlled and are believed to be functional (Frey and Stutzer, 2000; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004; Headey, Muffels, and Wooden, 2008; Powdthavee, 2008).

The income is naturally seen as the main mediating factor of education on a person's well-being (Diener et al., 1993; Clark, Frijters, and Shields, 2008a, Powdthavee, 2010a), it could be proven good if reversed too. Several scholars have argued the role of education in influencing an individual's life satisfaction with respect of non-monetary channels as compared against the monetary realms which determines the financial status of that individual (Brighouse, 2006; Michalos, 2008).

Oreopoulos and Salvanes (2011) reviewed the popularly known benefits of education and concluded that education was actually one of the most important predictors of one's health status, employability, and probability of being married. Aforementioned predictors are all well-known indicators of life satisfaction (Oswald, 1997; Layard, 2005; Layard et al., 2013). Chen (2012) made his observations by using data from four East Asian countries to depict that the statistical affinity between education and happiness is significantly mediated more by non-pecuniary factors, like the strength of social networks and cosmopolitan experiences, than just the monthly or yearly income. There has been vast empirical evidence in discipline, however, that entire still remains scarce, and the very extent of any indirect effects of education upon the life satisfaction remains imperfectly understood, thus amounting to a meager understanding of quality of life.

Education to Employment

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is the primary institution that is dedicated to the welfare of Indian tribes. Serving as the nodal centre for the overall policy framing, developmental planning and appropriate coordination of programme that are specially designed for development of Scheduled Tribes' essentially contributing to inclusive growth. The Ministry has formulated projects that are enlisted in the subjects mentioned in the different lists of executive actions of the Government of India. This very well includes allocation of business and other rules, which were incorporated during the year 1961. Initially, the Ministry for the upheaval of the indigenous and tribal people was formed in the year 1999 following bifurcation of Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. It was then pledged within the premise of sanctum sanctorum of the government body; that, more a focused approach must be implied upon the integrated socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes, that are considered as the most underprivileged section of the Indian Society. It was thus decided and envisioned that all the efforts would be made in a well coordinated manner. Earlier, the issues and concerns of the tribal communities were attended by different Ministries in a coordinated sequence.

The necessity of education has been one of the most powerful bases for bringing about socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes, it cannot be over-emphasized. Educational advancement is seen as the stepping-stone to economic and social change furthering to the development. It is considered as the most effective instrument for empowering the tribals. As the Education Division of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs has been making all the possible efforts to supplement the tireless efforts of the Ministry of Human Resources Development, which is the line Ministry responsible for the academic advancement, and the State Governments/UT Administrations by administering and implementing various schemes with the objective of enhancing access to education through provision of infrastructure by way of construction of special hostels for ST students, in some areas they are even planning to bring up Civil Services Coaching Centres which would have housing facilities for the students coming from Tharu tribe.

Several Tribal Ashram Schools are in pipeline and some Vocational Training Centre are nearing completion to start functioning for the maximizing of retention of tribal students within the different stages of school education, leading to promotion to higher learning by providing monetary incentives in terms of scholarships like the Pre-Matric Scholarship, Post-Matric Scholarship (PMS) which have gained popularity amongst the students and they have been availing the benefits of the same. On the other hand Scholarships for better education such as Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship and National Overseas Scholarship for tribal students have provided a new ray of hope for the children of indigenous Tharu tribe, who could never think of sending their wards for better education and higher education earlier, now believe that their future would be considerably different than their present.

Quality of Life: The Case of Tharu Tribe

As the domain of quality of life is very extensive and corresponds to the issues concerning the objective welfare of individuals; it very well includes occupation, income, working conditions, along with their subjective well-being, comprising of life satisfaction, contentment with present conditions. Quality of Life in case of indigenous people becomes a little crucial to be ascertained because the indicators of actual quality of life are refractive at large. Although, there have been numerous contributions yet when it comes to the assessment of quality of life; the focus shifts towards the contributions which have highlighted the link between education, employment and community welfare. This is to synchronize the emphasis to understand and interpret what exactly represents quality in life for people from different societal backgrounds with already known precincts of the domain.

Blanchflower and Oswald (2004) had analyzed welfare as the supporting indicator of quality of life, which finds substantial support from the schemes and development program dedicated to the welfare of Tharu tribe, irrespective of the agency providing it. In most of the cases, it's the government at the centre which frames policies for the underprivileged classes ensuring their welfare amounting to overall development, while in rest of the cases its state government which takes effective measures to guarantee that the objectives public welfare must should be enduringly met with an emphasis on inclusive growth. Henceforth welfare could be considered an important determinant of the quality of life, more specifically in the case of indigenous people which includes Tharu tribe.

Moretti (2004) has reflected upon the benefits of the timely investment in the higher education, maintaining that it could amount to the transitions in the quality of life. As Ferrante (2009) explains the connection between the role of education and life satisfaction, it becomes interesting to learn more about how education lays the foundation of satisfaction with life among individuals. Greenhaus, Collins and Shaw (2003) have highlighted the prominent link between work, family and quality of life, throwing light upon the psychological framework of satisfaction being related to professional contentment, which further leads to better family life tantamounting to enhance quality of life. Tharu tribals who

had left the home and found a place for them in the mainstream have been leading better lives against what life has been for them in the jungles. They have acquired better education which has catapulted them in an even better condition where they have more sustainable economy and more content family life.

Kapteyn, Smith and Soest (2009) have focused upon the determinants of life satisfaction, with an assumption that it is based on four pillars, including job or daily activities, social contacts and family, health and income. This affirms the assumption that employment is quintessentially an integral part of the idea of life satisfaction, which further strengthens the concerned generalized observations in the studies holding relevance. It could be well ascertained that while analyzing the quality of life among individuals, both at personal and community level, there are arrays of indicators which could be used as the predictors of quality of life. This necessarily includes the indicators related to education and employment, as there is a close link between essential education, appropriate employment and functional quality of life.

People of the Tharu tribe have garnered courage to move out of their cocoons and begun sending their wards to more civilized areas, as there is a growing insecurity of life in the event of deforestation and poaching of wild animals which often results in their migration towards the areas inhabited by the Tharu tribals. They are of view that getting good education to children would fetch them better employment than cultivation at the risk of life in jungles, which would further result in the economic fortification of the families and upheaval of the Tharu tribe in general.

Methodology

The Research methodology for current study had a mixed design, comprising of concurrent surveys of research articles, books and magazines, empirical studies, online articles retrieved from different websites along with group interactions and informal interviews with the students of Tharu community studying at Yuvraj Dutt Post Graduate College (YDPGC), Lakhimpur Kheri.

Participants

The participants were 30 college graduates (12 males & 18 females) of from the *Rana Tharu Tribe*. They were all final year bachelors' students at the Yuvraj Dutt Post Graduate College (YDPGC), Sitapur Road, Lakhimpur Kheri. At the time of study these participants were receiving training for skill development under a CSR initiative of the Tata Consultancy Services, a leading IT company, working as a Public-Private enterprise in many sectors, administering several schemes of the Government of India.

Procedure

Due permissions were taken wherever it was felt essential; and informed consent was given before the interactions actually began. The students were well informed about the nature of the questions, which might be asked during the interactions. The information therein acquired was properly tabulated and the specific indicators were analyzed through qualitative approach, leading to some interestingly good observations. All across the course of research study, the emphasis was upon highlighting the link between the role of education in acquiring better employment, and how better employment could provide better quality of life.

Results

All the students were highly ambitious and were well aware that better education would ultimately make their lives better, of course with better employment. The nature of these findings is pedagogical and establishes that first and foremost, there is an immediate need of educating the tribal youth about education which could make them aware of what subjects to choose as their specialization is based upon their interests. Since the tribe is

scattered across Indo-Nepal border, the relatives of some students had migrated to Nepal and found better lives for them, also this fact has encouraged most of the females to get married in Nepal and make a life and future there. This pattern of migration has been solely dependent on the proximity of Nepalese towns from the forest in which this tribe is based, but most of the students wanted to remain Indian nationals for life. Irrespective of the fact that they seldom get to witness the functional government and experience welfare, there has been a strong sense of nationalism among the students.

The results depicted interesting trends across the observations; there has been a steady growth in the development of understanding towards the selection of comparatively more job oriented education among the Tharu youth. The students have been increasingly selecting the commerce stream believing that it could make them land in better jobs. Many of them preferred studying commerce over science, when asked about the reasons most of them didn't answer. This implies that the students are following some previously established trend which has been set sometime earlier by their predecessors and have relatively insignificant orientation of the subject selection for their education.

Table 1: Frequency distribution of participants

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Female	18	60%
	Male	12	40%
	Total	30	100%

There were total 30 students, out of them 12 were males and 18 were females, males formed 40% of the sample under consideration while female made 60% of the sample. There was little or no cohesion in the male and female groups and students were hesitant to interact initially, when told that these observations were for a research study, they started opening up and divulged interesting facts about them and their lives. Undoubtedly, this rare tribe needs more attention from the stakeholders of fundamental development as they struggle for basic amenities in this age of sophisticated instrumentation and extraordinary developments.

Table 2: Frequency distribution of participants' streams of study

Streams of Study	Frequencies		Percentage	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Arts and Humanities	3	4	25%	22%
Physical and Life Sciences	2	9	17%	50%
Commerce and Business	7	5	58%	28%

It was observed that 7 out of 12 male students were studying commerce, 3 were enrolled into arts and humanities while 2 had chosen sciences as their study programs. Out of 18 female students 9 were enrolled in science streams and expressed a common goal of studying medicine as 5 out them were preparing for pre-medical exams while being enrolled in a bachelors program. 4 female students had opted for arts and humanities, when asked about why they did not opt for commerce, both replied that they weren't looking for jobs but would like to marry grooms with good jobs. This further implies that the female students of the tribes aren't really preparing for the challenges of the modern world, although there have been many among them who are interested in higher education but all of them expressed an ambition to become a teacher.

Table 3: Career Orientations among participants

Career Orientations	Medicine	Engineering	Vocational	Academics
Male	0	2	7	3
Female	9	0	5	4

When asked about their career orientations none of the male students displayed interests towards pursuing medicine as a career, but they did express to engineering Institutes so that they could earn some job oriented degree/diploma which could fetch them better jobs, such students were 2 in number, while 7 of them expressed a desire to become specialized technical expert and 3 of them told that they would like to become a teacher after receiving higher education.

Female students had shown greater enthusiasm regarding the entire process of interaction and some of them displayed commendable confidence. Out of the total 18 female students 9 showed an interest to pursue medicine as their career while none of them wanted to become an engineer, 5 of them wanted to become dieticians and 4 had a wish to become a teacher in a school. Female students were highly focused in their studies and replied every answer with great zeal but they had an inherent shyness towards the question of higher education to, due to the fact that their tribe practices early matrimony. Summatively, it could be inferred that there is a change of perception that is evident from the inclination of female students towards attaining better education and performing well.

Discussion

Patriarchal legacy has had its share of impact even on the tribals; the females were hesitant to take up corporate jobs and were more interested in homemaking. The males were open to all kinds of jobs and look up to their acquaintances who have got good jobs in the public sector of India. Transitions have begun but since the nature itself is transitory it would certainly require time, but there is light at the tunnel's end. NGOs and other societies have come up to educate the tribal youth about career selections and spreading awareness about the government schemes, the effects of which were prominent across the participants. Formal and structured interviews could not be done due to the shying away of participants as they were never being contacted by any agency for a similar research initiative. But all of them participated in the interaction with great interest, clarifies that there is a great need of the action oriented welfare initiatives for the mainstreaming of the indigenous Tharu tribe.

Education among Tharus is seen as the only medium through which they can work for their upliftment and mainstreaming for it leads to employment if attained in a requisite manner and discipline. Employment, thus is their primary target so as to make their lifestyles better and acquire enduring sustenance. As the results have shown that female students had expressed a wish to study inspired by their desire to get married to an educated and employed groom, it could be deduced that the Tharus have begun taking note of changing their lifestyles and they are consistently working for the same. These trends could suffice for the fact that they are working efficiently on improving their quality of life so as to mainstream their coming generations.

Implications and Suggestions

More such studies and engaging activities could make the students more acquainted with the career choices and options available. The governance needs to reach the doorsteps of the governed, then only the welfare goals shall be achieved and targets met. Tharu tribe happens to be a flourishing indigenous community, well aware of the fact that sustenance and development would only reach them if they chose to adapt to their new environments. Poised and focused the college graduates even dream of becoming bureaucrats now, so as to bring more development and benefits to the community. Further researches could focus upon the migratory activities and employment opportunities among the tribes and role of governments in providing them housing assistance under its dedicated programmes and schemes.

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