



GENDER DISCRIMINATION: ITS IMPACT ON GIRLS' SCHOOLING IN FOUR STATES OF INDIA

May, 2006



Supported by:
Plan International (India) New Delhi



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IN FOUR STATES OF INDIA**

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Submitted to
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Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by the support of a large number of persons and organisations. Most of all, I would like to thank Randeep at Plan International (India), who conceived the research, and was with us through all the inevitable trials and tribulations. All others at Plan, who facilitated our work, were also immensely helpful during the months of research.

Our field trips were facilitated by the PUs in each of the four areas – CASP-Plan in Delhi, Gram Niyojan Kendra in U.P., Adithi-Plan in Bihar and Urmul (Bajju)-Plan in Rajasthan. Without their ready support, such research, carried out in difficult and often remote and inhospitable terrain, would have been impossible.

I would personally like to thank each member of our research team – for the patient, hard and dedicated labour each one put in. This report is truly the result of collective endeavour and commitment. Everybody put in days and weeks, enabling smooth functioning and teamwork right from planning and research design to data gathering, data collation, analysis and dissemination.

I will also like to thank our computer support person, Kumar Amit, and accounts overseer, Mr Sharda, for their support with the essential logistics.

And, of course, I am grateful to all our families for putting up with our obsessive involvement with the project. This research became a personally meaningful journey for each of us. The opportunity to enter into the lives and problems of some of the most deprived children in today's India has been a sobering, moving and extremely educative experience.

This report goes out with deep respect for the girls in each area, who live in tough circumstances – yet carry on. These girls dream of education, leading to a better life. We believe their dreams for the future must be nurtured, with the widest possible hopes for the future.

I hope this humble effort will contribute its mite to the larger processes that might actually improve the lives and schooling of these precious children.

Deepti Priya Mehrotra
New Delhi,
February 2006

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research identifies forms and extent of gender discrimination and its impact on girls' schooling in 4 states of India. Forty schools were selected for the study – 10 each in Bihar, UP, Delhi and Rajasthan. Interviews and group discussions with a few hundred children, observation (including detailed classroom observations) of a few thousand children, and interviews and group discussions with teachers, school Heads, parents and other community members formed the basis of our findings. Teacher trainers, school and village administrative bodies, and education officers at local, state and national levels were interviewed. Visits to a number of alternative education sites, set up by state and non-state agencies to address the salient issues, helped to complete the picture.

GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN PU AREAS:

The present research finds gender discrimination is widespread in all 4 PU areas, and deeply affects the lives of girls in school. Especially when compounded by acute poverty, marginalized caste/religious affiliation, death of a parent and/or drought conditions, gender discrimination has a visible and palpable effect. Gender discrimination is manifested in multiple forms in schools, at home and in wider society. These multiple forms of gender discrimination adversely affect girls' academic achievements and attendance levels, and frequently lead to an untimely end to the very process of girls' schooling. Thus they have a very powerful negative impact. Our case studies indicate this most poignantly. At the same time, we found girls struggling against all odds to go to school, study and do well. They are keenly motivated because through education, they might get a job, earn and support families, and do their parents proud. Through education, perhaps they could break out of the vicious circle of poverty, helplessness and dependence they are otherwise trapped in.

Arzoo (11, Class 4, Delhi) is studying despite having no parental support. Her elder sister protects Arzoo, enabling her to study. Her elder brother has a friend who provides for all of them, but the atmosphere is fraught with violence and a feeling of threat. Her sister and Arzoo's tenacity have allowed her to study this far, but the future is uncertain. For Komal (12, Delhi), luck ran out long ago. Three years of schooling could not teach her to read or write, and she left school after her father's death. She does housework and piece-rate work with her mother, to earn. She is married and will soon be sent to her in-laws' home. Zaibunnisa (10, Delhi) left school when her family moved from the village to Delhi, two years back. She helps her mother with housework and care of two younger siblings. She did so even in the village, and was never able to pay attention to her studies. Her academic achievements are non-existent.

Gauri (14, Class 5, UP) lost her father a few months back and since then her school attendance has plummeted. Her mother plans to arrange an early marriage since the

threat of sexual harassment has intensified ever since the father's death. It is unlikely that Gauri – a diligent student – will be able to study further. Munni (13, UP) too is keen to study but was forced to leave school after Class 5 because her family needed her labour at home and in the fields. Her father is alcoholic and though her mother would like Munni to study, she is unable to ensure it.

Rimli (11, Rajasthan) studies in Class 5, but suffers from a severe eye problem for which she has received no treatment. She has five siblings younger than herself, and her time at home is spent entirely in housework and sibling-care. She has absolutely no time to study. Ranjana (8, Rajasthan) left school soon after she was admitted, because she was required to take the sheep and goats out for grazing. This left her with no time to study, or attend school.

It is worth noting that all the above case studies are of girls from marginalized social groups. Thus girls fare especially badly in terms of their schooling when gender discrimination is compounded by additional sources of marginalisation (in the above cases, the girls are belonging to either Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or the minority Muslim religion).

Gender discrimination manifests in multiple ways in the lives of girls in the 4 PU areas – as gender based stereotypes regarding work and activities, overwhelming importance attached to marriage, social sanction of gender-based violence, as well as biases in textbooks, lack of female teachers, male-dominated atmosphere of many schools and classrooms, sexist comments and presence of dominant social hierarchies within the schools.

Gender-Based Stereotypes -- at Home and School

Gender stereotypes were tested through specific research tools. It was found that an overwhelming majority of children (95%) believe “girls should do housework.” This intermeshes with the views of parents and teachers, and girls’ daily experiences: 95 % girls spend at least 1.5 hours per day on housework; and 33% spend 3 hours or more. Girls displayed a strong belief that housework is ‘girls’ work’ and ‘woman’s work’, and they will be punished if they do not do it. Some said if a girl does not do housework, her in-laws will beat her (later in life). Several girls said it is wrong for boys to do housework; also boys simply *cannot* learn to cook! Thus girls (as small as 6 years) have internalised prevailing gender stereotypes regarding girls being ‘naturally’ fit for housework. Boys had similar views, indicating a similar process at work. At the same time, a small number of children were found questioning the stereotypes.

In addition to regular housework, some girls earn through home-based piece-rate work, agricultural labor and paid housework. 13-year old Naina (Class 2, Bihar) works in the landlord’s haveli (palatial house) from 7 to 9.30 in the morning, attends school (10 to 4 p.m.) and again works in the haveli from 6 to 10 at night. Her parents work with the same landlord as bonded agricultural laborers. Overwork, combined with poverty and malnutrition, leads to poor health, absenteeism, low learning levels and significant

dropout rates. Says Naina, “If I am ill I take leave from school but I can’t take leave from the haveli.” From Rajasthan, 8-year old Reena explains she dropped out of school because: “Who else would take the goats and sheep grazing?”

We found families and children expressing social prejudices in their games and activities, as well as issues of mobility and morality. Most girls believed girls should play with dolls, should not cycle or go marketing, should not roam about freely, should wear ‘proper’ clothes, should not talk or mix with boys.

Girls in all 4 areas perceive marriage as essential – at an early age, as arranged by parents. Nearly 100 % parents and teachers perceive marriage as the main event in a girl’s life. School is acceptable only if it fits into this framework. In Delhi, UP and Bihar many girls and parents spoke of education as important because *boys’ families now want educated girls*. Thus a group of ten girls, aged 9 to 12, studying in Classes 4 and 5 in UP, said, “If we don’t study we will not get married. Our parents will not be able to find good boys for us.” At the same time, marriage often dictates the end-point for education as well: around puberty, many girls leave school in order to stay home, immersing themselves in housework, in preparation for marriage. Most teachers believe schools should help girls become good housewives. A majority of parents said educated girls will not return to them if there is marital conflict. According to a group of parents in UP, “An educated girl will not come back to live with her parents. She will manage better. If she is unhappy there are many ways – poison, fire, rope, the well...” Many parents in Bihar, Rajasthan and Delhi agreed. A group of fathers, Delhi, said: “Our daughters study upto Class 5 or 8 -- not beyond. Their place is at home. If a girl were to go out and find a job, she will be killed.” Shifts in thinking are taking place, often through hard circumstances. For instance, a couple in Delhi said, “ Our elder daughter was tortured by her in-laws and could not write to us. She died there. We want our younger daughter to study as much as she wants. At least she can write letters! We will not marry her early.”

Perhaps the most unpalatable fact emerging from the present research is the widespread social sanction to violence against girls and women. In all 4 areas over 50% girls expressed fear of emotional and/or physical violence at home, in school or en route to school. They are exposed to endemic domestic violence and sexual harassment. Gender-based violence carries on with impunity. Community women said they do not trust or go to the police. Nor is there any reliable mechanism for counseling, legal literacy and support for victims. Violence can significantly impede girls’ schooling. Seema (12, non-school, UP) witnessed her father kill her mother with a knife (‘khukri’) many years ago. After that he ran away from the village. Seema lives with her two elder brothers and has never attended school.

Said a Head Master, primary school, Delhi: “I was determined to build a boundary wall to protect the girls. Earlier ruffians would walk into class with knives!” A mother said, “The way to our house is through the jungle, there are always ruffians there. I feel scared to come alone. What then of my daughter?” The school today has a boundary wall, but no

guard and girls often slip out to go home especially since the school has very little teaching, and no drinking water or bathrooms.

Sarita (14, Class 8, Rajasthan) walks several kilometers to school. It takes her about an hour each way. The bus would cost too much -- Rs 10. But the walk is scary, with long lonely stretches: "One day a jeep stopped near me and men started asking questions. They chased me when but I ran away." She was very frightened but still walks that road daily, determined to attend school. She enjoys studies and dreams of becoming a teacher.

In the context of endemic violence, girls schooling is obstructed if school is far from home, there is no safe affordable transport, lack of female teachers, more boys than girls in school/class, lack of functional bathrooms, and lack of psychological support and of health care in the schools.

Gender Discrimination In Class And School

Schools perpetuate a 'hidden curriculum' reinforcing gender biases. This includes marked gender bias in textbooks. Our content analysis of textbooks revealed that In all 4 areas textbooks have predominantly male characters in stories and pictures. The few female characters are in passive or typical family roles. Stereotypical images are strongly reinforced in children's minds, through the authority of textbooks (which are the fulcrum around which teaching process in our schools revolve). Moreover, we found discrimination in subjects offered in middle school, for instance in UP schools girls have to do 'Home Science' and boys 'Agricultural Science'.

Non gender-sensitive teachers compound the problem of gender discrimination. In at least 75 % schools, teachers make sexist comments about girls's roles, and act as negative role models since they embody stereotypical roles. In at least 50 % co-educational schools, teachers pay more attention to boys, allocate work on gender basis and organise separate seating for girls and boys. The atmosphere in many co-educational schools is overwhelmingly male-dominated. The gender-biased atmosphere creates discomfort and low self-esteem that obstruct girls' learning and push them to leave school. In a senior school, Rajasthan, girls are denied sports and science lab facilities, and are not allowed out of one room during the lunch break.

Marked lack of female teachers has a direct negative impact on girls' schooling. Girls and parents express a strong preference for female teachers. Yet, there are far fewer female than male teachers. The number of female school Heads is even less. Gender hierarchies are reproduced (head of school, head of family...)

Status Of Girls' Schooling

Admission levels for girls were found to be high in all 4 areas (though not universal, particularly in rural Rajasthan). But attendance levels are low, particularly in Rajasthan, UP and Bihar. Dropout levels are also high. Well over 50% girls will not be able to study beyond Class 5. Yet, we found over 90 % girls want to study beyond class 5. In any case,

the number of seats for girls in middle schools is nowhere sufficient to absorb all the girls who were registered in primary schools.

Only in a few schools did we find any active teaching taking place. The policy of no-detention followed up to Class 5 lets children move from one class to the next without achieving requisite learning levels. Attendance and Retention Rates are also affected by facilities and incentives. We found there is a lack of functional toilets, drinking water facilities, safe and affordable transport – all of which negatively impacts girls' participation in schooling. Lack of health facilities is significant too. Textbooks are provided in all 4 areas, but frequently not on time. Scholarships are provided, although the picture is confused, with widely varying figures quoted – indicated lack of information and irregularities in disbursement. As for the mid-day meal scheme, while it has resulted in improved school registration figures, this is not necessarily translated into the same degree of improvement in levels of learning. Nor does it ensure attendance – especially since in several schools the meal itself is not regular, timely, appetising or sufficient in quantity. Logistics around provisions and cooking are yet to be streamlined, sometimes distracting teachers' and children's attention away from studies!

We studied the relevant government schemes, particularly NPEGEL (National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level) and KGBV (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas) and paid visits to several alternative educational sites such as the KGBVs, Mahila Samakhya learning centres and Balika Shivirs, indicates that there is some focused effort to address the issues that impede girls' schooling. However the alternatives raise new dilemmas for mainstreaming. There is no escaping the urgent need for qualitative improvement of the existing mainstream system. We found government officials at all levels weighed down by problems, paying lip service to the need for girls' education, but unable to see how to create the required change.

This study of the 40 schools clearly indicates **our schools are not girl-friendly**. We elicited suggestions for improving the situation with regard to girls' schooling, from stakeholders in each state – including children, parents, teachers and other community members. Based on their suggestions, our observation of best practices and analysis of 'what keeps girls in school and what pushes them out', we drew up a list of key recommendations.

These **Key Recommendations** are strategic interventions designed with the intention of mitigating gender discrimination and its impact on girls' schooling. They include gender training for teachers, teacher trainers and educational administrators, non gender-biased textbooks and curricular and extra-curricular choices. We also recommend active Mother Teacher Associations and other community-based groups, strengthening of girl-friendly innovations under SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan), NPEGEL and KGBVs, and monitoring government disbursement of incentives.

Girls' education should be accompanied by empowerment measures – formation of strong girls' collectives as well as women's action and support groups. Campaigns and counseling

on gender-based violence, highlighting positive role models for girls, and relevant learning eg legal literacy are all essential measures. Clear linkages between alternative and mainstream educational sites are also necessary. Balika shivirs for older out-of-school girls, remedial teaching and bridge courses are at present required. Exit points from school should be linked to vocational education, and counseling available at each transition point. Relevant life-skills education for adolescents is also recommended.

The awareness should spread that right to education is a fundamental right. Resources promised by the government should be accessed, monitored and maximally used. Communities and families should be empowered to seek accountability from the educational system –using the Right to Information, where needed.



Chapter 1

Need For The Study

The present study investigates the extent and forms of gender discrimination in 4 PU areas, that is Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi, and analyses their impact on girls' experience of schooling. The findings are expected to contribute to policies and programs incorporating gender concerns at Plan, PU and State levels.

Previous research indicates the existence of significant gender gaps in both enrolment and retention in schools. There is need for focused research to understand the exact reasons for these gaps in different areas of the country. The specific contexts will help determine the status of girls' schooling. Detailed research will also indicate the way to overcome the present obstacles and barriers to girls' schooling.

There is a need to look at the various factors that impede girls' schooling. Gender discrimination exists within families and communities; does it also exist within schools? We will study the various factors – pedagogic, community-related and systemic. Factors that need to be studied included gender dynamics within schools, teacher attitudes, parental attitudes, children's own attitudes as regards gender, the role of textbooks and pedagogic methods, as well as teaching-learning methods and basic school facilities. The complex of factors that keep girls in school, and those that push girls out of school, need to be understood. We will elicit the perceptions of various stakeholders, including children, parents, teachers and other community members as well as government personnel.

Efforts to address the salient issues will also be investigated. Thus the research will look at NGO and governmental efforts to address the issues of gender discrimination and related schooling issues. Balika shivirs, residential schools for girls, incentives all need to be studied and focused recommendations made as regards each of these strategies.

The present study is needed in order to provide basic research data to the PUs in the four areas so that they can devise meaningful programs through which effective interventions can be made, for improvement of the situation as regards girls' schooling.

Thus the study aims at providing and disseminating data to Plan and to the PUs, as well as making focused recommendations. These would help each PU to devise Action Plans, and support Plan in future efforts at influencing policy and programmatic changes at State and national levels.

Chapter 2

Gender and Schooling – A Review of Literature

Social scientists as well as women's movements in various parts of the world have noted that *gender inequality* exists in every part of today's world – although the manifestations differ.

Gender refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in families, societies and cultures. The concept of gender includes expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviours of women and men. These roles and expectations are learned. They can change over time and they vary within and between cultures. The concept of gender is vital because it facilitates gender analysis revealing how women's subordination is socially constructed. As such, the subordination can be changed or ended. It is not biologically predetermined nor is it fixed forever.¹

Gender Equality means that women and men have equal conditions for realizing full human rights and for contributing to, and benefiting from, economic, social, cultural and political development. Gender equality is therefore the equal valuing of men and women, and the roles they play.

International conferences convened have affirmed global commitment to end gender discrimination. These include Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979); International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, 1994); Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995; and World Summit for Social Development, 1995.

Gender discrimination interlinks with class, caste, race and other hierarchical structures that predominate in different societies. The existence of significant poverty affects the lives of a large percentage of women. Amongst the poor, women and girl children are typically worst off. Globalisation processes have negatively impacted the status of poor women. There is a growing trend of feminisation of poverty in a context of intensified joblessness, loss of traditional livelihoods and reduced access to productive resources.

Gender Discrimination in Education

Gender inequalities are discernible in different countries in significant gender gaps in school enrolment, retention and achievement. These disparities are directly related to gender discrimination within families, communities, economy and polity.

International commitments to *Education for All* necessarily include the imperative to educate all girls. In 2000 the Dakar Framework for Action and the Millennium Declaration

¹ UNESCO, Asia-Pacific Program of Education For All, Bangkok

specified education as well as gender goals. Achievement of gender parity and equality in education were emphasized.

EFA Dakar Goals include:

Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality. (Goal 5)

The Millenium Development Goals include:

Eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education by 2015.

The following key causes have been identified globally, as responsible for gender disparities in education:²

- strong cultural preference for sons
- domestic work burden shouldered by girls
- early marriage
- cultural practices (eg dowry)
- adolescent pregnancy
- sexual taboos
- vulnerability to sexual violence and HIV/AIDS
- armed conflicts
- poverty and social disadvantage
- cost of schooling
- distance of school from home
- insufficient number of seats in schools
- lack of infrastructure, such as water, latrines
- intolerance, discrimination and violence within schools
- sexism in textbooks and curricula
- lack of women teachers
- poor quality of education
- high rates of educated unemployed

Globally the following Best Practices have been identified as supporting access to schooling for girls:

- demographic transition: decline in mortality and fertility rates
- public policy for girls' education and
- political backing and purposeful backing by the state
- legislative reform and change in favour of women's rights and equality
- incentives to parents for sending their children to school – eg scholarships, food
- placing parents and communities in charge of food incentive programs
- sexuality and reproductive health information for adolescents

² Gender and Education for All: The Leap to Equality, EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003-4, UNESCO

- youth-centred projects to counter gender-based violence
- working with teachers
- curriculum reform
- empowering women teachers
- incentive measures for out-of-school girls, eg bridge courses
- expanding ECCE to enhance primary education
- empowerment of mothers
- empowering women to take control of their lives
- NGOs boosting state efforts to achieve UPE and gender parity goals
- Good governance
- Provision of basic infrastructure
- Wider reform to promote poverty reduction and economic growth
- Public-private partnerships
- Improvement in quality of education
- Focus on groups at risk of exclusion
- Policy informed by grassroots experience and rigorous analysis.

Today there is a strong global coalition around issues of gender and education. However the pressure to quickly complete large-scale target-oriented programs may be making it difficult to pay close attention to the deep-seated gendered ideology being perpetuated through schools.

Social scientists³ have noted that early socialization patterns are gender differentiated from birth, with girls and boys receiving positive reinforcement for fitting into appropriate gendered behaviour slots. Play materials help mould role expectations and social conditioning – eg dolls for girls and toy guns for boys. Role models, based on family and media figures, influence them. In schools girls generally perform better in tests of verbal ability and boys in spatial ability. This is due to the differentiated conditioning, games and stimulus they received in their pre-school years.

Primary school curricula can further reinforce learnt gender roles and attitudes. Divergence of sexes is encouraged by segregated schooling; differential seating arrangements within a mixed class; separate rows during assembly; and different curricular and co-curricular options. Teachers often share stereotyped social assumptions. To change the gendered stereotypes already internalized by girls and boys, teachers and school heads have to be aware, sensitized and motivated to work pro-actively to break down gender stereotypes and patterns.

Gender Discrimination in Education: The Indian Situation

*Toward Equality – The Unfinished Agenda – Status of Women in India-2001*⁴ points out continued gender discrimination and low status of women in India as compared to men.

³ Karen Chapman,

⁴ National Commission for Women, 2002

Gender bias is discernible in nutrition intake; morbidity and health-seeking behaviour; low political participation; high incidence of violence against women; and low economic status. Women form only 17.40% of those employed in the organized sector. Average daily wages for casual wage labourers are lower for females as compared to males.

A striking manifestation of discrimination in contemporary India is the silent one of 'female feticide', indicated by low and sharply declining child sex ratios (CSR is number of girls to boys in the 0-6 age group). From 945 in 1991 for India as a whole, the CSR fell to 927 in 2001. In some states the ratio has declined to less than 900 girls per 1000 boys.

Policymakers have articulated a commitment to girls' and women's education, as evident in the National Policy on Education, 1986: "Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women."

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (India's flagship programme for achieving Universal Elementary Education, launched in 2000-01) emphasizes female education. Figures quoted in recent government documents⁵ indicate rapid strides in the following indices during the past few years:

- female literacy (increased from 39.2 % in 1991 to 53.67 % in 2001)
- ratio of girls' enrolment to total enrolment at primary school level (risen from 28.1 % in 1991 to 46.83 % in 2002-03)
- enrolment of girls to total enrolment at middle school level (risen from 16.1 percent in 1951 to nearly 43.90 % in 2002-03)
- dropout rate among girls at primary level (reduced from 70.9 % in 1960-61 to 33.72 % in 2002-03): elimination of gender gap
- dropout rate for girls (has come down from 85 % in 1960-61 to 53.4 % in 2002-03): the gender gap is below 1 %
disparity in GER (gross enrolment ratio) of girls vis-à-vis boys at elementary stage (has declined from 17.1 % in 2001-02 to 4.1 % in 2002-03).

Yet despite marked improvements in educational indices for girls' schooling, gender discrimination remains rampant.

Factors affecting girls' schooling⁶ include content of education and mode of communication – which are often alien to the children being taught. Textbooks are gender-biased. A 1986 study of Hindi textbooks produced by NCERT found 21 boy-centred stories and zero girl-centred ones! There is evidence of unequal access to facilities such as science labs for girls.

⁵ GOI, MHRD, Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, *Education For All*, Nov 2005

⁶ Malvika Karlekar, 'Girls' Access to Schooling: An Assessment', in Rekha Wazir, ed, *The Gender Gap in Basic Education*, Sage, 2000

Distance of school from home affects schooling. Jetley and Sheel⁷ found that in U.P. nearly half the school-going girls went to school outside their village or locality, and 21 % of these experienced difficulties in reaching school, including lack of appropriate transport. Based on a national study conducted in 44 districts, Nayar concluded that villages with populations of less than 100 were especially dis-privileged. They lacked minimum educational facilities as well as roads, water and electricity, all of which impeded girls' schooling.⁸

It has been estimated that 14.4 % students in rural areas and 49 % in urban areas pay tuition fees as well as other charges.⁹ An NCAER study found that the single most important reason for non-enrolment of children in primary schools is financial – therefore the cost of schooling even in the governmental sector is likely to be a deterrent.¹⁰ Lack of child-care facilities also makes it difficult for girls who have responsibility for care of younger siblings.

Shanta Sinha¹¹ points out that “irrespective of the index chosen to measure discrimination, it is fairly clear that in almost every state, barring the notable exception of Kerala, the girl child suffers in comparison to boys. As far as child labour is concerned... a large amount of work in which girl children are engaged does not even figure as child labour.... Girl children are largely engaged in running the household from a very early age....”

Tasks of fodder and water collection are often assigned to unmarried girls. Children are frequently absent from school due to domestic chores. Low schooling levels for girls are linked to low social and ritual status of girls and women, and high rates of dowry¹².

Increasing poverty and environmental degradation adversely affect women's work burden, which spills over onto girls. According to Nambissan, “Today girl children among the rural poor are increasingly taking on adult women's roles”.¹³ The internalization of the female role is harsh indeed for these girls. Classroom processes add to girls' problems since teachers tend to pay more attention to boys; reward them more for academic achievement; and allocate tasks differentially (cleaning up to girls and lifting heavy articles to boys etc). “These attitudes and stereotypes which may underlie classroom interaction comprise part of the hidden curriculum of schools that tends to further reinforce identities as males and females among children” (Nambissan).

⁷ Surinder Jetley and Ranjana Sheel, *Girl Child and the Family – Eastern Uttar Pradesh*, BHU, Varanasi, Centre for Women's Studies and Development, 1993

⁸ Usha Nayar, *DPEP – Gender Issues in Primary Education*, 1994

⁹ andhyala B.G. Tilak, *How Free Is “Free” Primary Education in India?*, NIEPA Occasional Paper no. 21, New Delhi, 1995

¹⁰ A.Shariff and Ratna Sudarshan, *Elementary Education in Rural India: Selected Gender Disaggregated Indicators*; workshop paper

¹¹ Shanta Sinha, ‘Child Labour and Education’ in Wazir, op cit.

¹² A.R. Vasavi, *New Hope in the Hills – Schooling and the Demand for Quality Education – Local Education Report: Thanjavur*, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore, 2002 and A.R.Vasavi, *Children's Double Burden: Livelihood and Schooling in a Fishing Community – Local Education Report: Chirala*, NIAS, 2002

¹³ Geetha B. Nambissan, Gender and Education: The Social Context of Schooling Girl Children in India', *Perspectives in Educatio*, 1995, Vol 11, Nos. 3 and 4

Most available data on education in Indian schools fails to capture social and gender gaps. Part of the reason is that data from schools and education departments is marked by a tendency for over-reporting¹⁴. Despite this, it is clear that during the 1990s there was a significant increase in overall literacy rates and school participation rates across the country. DPEP goals helped bring about an increase in number of schools, including alternative schools (AS), Education Guarantee Scheme schools (EGS) and private schools. The trend of improved indices for girls' schooling continued (as we have already noted) during 2000-05, under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. But a new trend that has emerged is of 'hierarchies of access' -- ie a child's caste, community and gender defines which school she or he will attend. For instance, parents frequently send sons to private schools where facilities and coaching are better in quality, and daughters to government schools.

Government school standards are declining sharply. Most government schools face shortage of teachers, and an even greater shortage of female teachers. Many schools are dysfunctional: "While there is a growing demand for primary education, even in U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan, the ability of the government schools to respond has not been demonstrated – as yet" (Ramchandran and Sahjee). Elimination of gender, caste and class biases inside the classroom, especially among teachers, remains a challenge.



¹⁴ Vimala Ramchandran and Aarti Sahjee, 'The New Segregation – Reflections of Gender and Equity in Primary Education', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol XXXVII No 17, Apr 27-May, 2002

Chapter 3

Methodology and Processes

Overview

The present study has involved literature review, designing research tools and field visits to the 4 states Bihar, UP, Rajasthan and Delhi. The field visits were held between 20 October and 5 December.

40 schools were selected for the study: 10 each in Bihar, UP, Rajasthan and Delhi. Interviews and group discussions were held with 330 children aged 6-16 (300 girls and 30 boys), 240 parents, and 85 teachers (including 17 school Heads) ¹⁵. Children were interviewed individually, in groups (Focused Group Discussions) and for detailed Case Studies (24 in all). Similarly, parents were interviewed individually and in FGDs. A number of mother-daughter FGDs were also conducted in each state. In each state, teachers were interviewed individually and in FGDs. Classroom observations were conducted in 34 schools.

We visited alternative educational programs for girls such as ‘Balika Shivirs’ in Rajasthan, ‘Mahila Shikshan Kendra’ (run by Mahila Samakhya) in Bihar, and ‘Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas’ in Bihar and Rajasthan. At each of these a number of interviews were held with staff and students. NFE centers and balwadis were visited in UP, Bihar and Delhi.

The following tables provide an overview of the 40 schools and surrounding communities visited during the field research. This is where our core data is derived from.

Location of the 40 Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Delhi	K-block Sangam Vihar	I-blk S.V.	K-2 S.V.	Molar bnd	Dakshinपुरी	J-blk S.V.	Devli	Tajpur Pahari	Tajpur villge	Mithapur
UP	Shyamkat Villge	Naunia	Mukravali	Trilokpur	Nautanva-1	Gavaria	Dhaur-hara	Mahua	Sheikhfarenda	Nautanva-2
Bihar	Kapat Pura	Chaturbhuj	Devgan	Baligaon	Muzaff sector 1	Sarmaspur	Musahari	Devgan	Dhartipur	Ramngr
Rajasthan	Hadaan-1	Ghantiali	Kalansar Marg	Thumli	Jhajhu	Hadaan-2	Khiyarmngr	Mithidiana Marg, Chimana	Koliath Kharia Patvtn	RD-961 Mithidia

¹⁵ The field research was facilitated by the PUs – Adithi-Plan in Bihar, Gram Niyojan Kendra-Plan in UP, Urmul Bajju-Plan in Rajasthan and CASP-Plan in Delhi.

A number of education officers at cluster, block, district, state and national levels were accessed and interviewed. Teacher trainers were interviewed at DIETS (District Institutes for Education and Training). Members of School Management Committees, VECs, Gram Panchayat and PTA members¹⁶ were interviewed, and meetings of these bodies attended wherever possible.

Over 30 Education Officials/ Teacher Trainers/members of Administrative bodies were accessed and interviewed across the 4 States. These were from local right up to the State level education-related personnel.

A number of other Educational Settings were visited, their personnel interviewed and proceedings observed, so as to provide a review of the relevance of such alternative educational initiatives for girls

Interviews were also held with key PU personnel in all 4 areas.

The 4 Field Areas

Delhi – Sangam Vihar and Badarpur

Sangam Vihar and Badarpur in south Delhi is a harsh terrain. Most of Sangam Vihar is unauthorised. Electricity, water connections and sewerage lines are unauthorized. A land mafia, electricity mafia and water mafia control people's daily lives. Insecurity and deprivation is clearly evident. There are hardly any salaried people in this colony. Most people look for work in the informal sector. The terrain is rocky and uneven, and the narrow roads are difficult to navigate. Cycles and walking are the common means of transport. Badarpur is relatively spacious. There is a sense of history and a semi-rural ambience. However this too is extremely congested. What makes these areas feel particularly vicious is the stark contrast with posh colonies, streets and lifestyles very close by, in south Delhi. The schools reflect this same contrast. Schools of Sangam Vihar are particularly deprived and crowded. Teachers call it a hardship area.

U.P. – Maharajganj district

Maharajganj is a new district in east UP, bordering Nepal. The land is fertile, green, with rivers and rain-fed agriculture. However most people are landless or own tiny uneconomic pieces of land. They work as agricultural labour, often bonded. There is intense poverty faced by most villagers. Schools in the area suffer due to the intrinsic hardship caused by poverty.

Bihar – Muzaffarpur and Vaishali districts

The area shares terrain similar to Maharajganj, UP. It has similar land, poverty and caste issues as well. Substantial part of it is flood-prone. Caste and also communal issues can be especially vicious here, there are several instances of extreme violence. The schools suffer from hardship due to the socio-economic problems of the area but also due to high levels

¹⁶ Village Education Committees, Parent Teacher Associations

of corruption. Funds meant for school can be siphoned off en route. Clearly however efforts are being made, which was visible in the bright look some schools sported -- with animal stories brightly painted, and alphabets, birds.

Rajasthan – Bajju, district Bikaner

This is desert terrain. Vast stretches of sand dunes give way to sporadic settlements. Habitations are often only a few houses, or even just one isolated home. There has been drought in the area for the past 3 years, water scarcity is very harrowing – even poor villagers having to buy water from private tankers. Drought has led to migration and affected schooling. Rajasthan schools had more boys than girls. Gender discrimination by teachers was very visible in classrooms. Compounded with the difficulties of distance and terrain, it is very discouraging for girls.

Data Analysis and Preparation of Report

Beginning mid-December, the data entry, analysis and writing up continued, until mid-February. A large amount of data was processed in order to arrive at the conclusions that presented in the following chapters.

Dissemination of Findings – at a meeting on 15th – 16th February in New Delhi. A number of experts in the fields and other INGOs and NGOs were invited, as well as Plan staff and its partner organizations ie PUs, for the dissemination meeting held on 15th February. A series of posters based on the research findings were also prepared and put up at this meeting. The Report Findings were presented to the august audience, and a discussion ensued. Participants found the report comprehensive and felt it could be used as a beginning point for focused action plans in the field areas. The concerned PUs from the field areas prepared Action plans on 16th February, assisted by Plan as well as the members of the present research study. Each PU drew up a plan for work on the salient issues raised as regards gender discrimination and schooling, keeping in mind the specific priorities in each different local and regions context.

Chapter 4

Forms of Gender Discrimination in Schools

Girls and parents express a strong preference for female teachers. Yet, there are far fewer female than male teachers. The number of female school Heads is even less. Gender hierarchies are reproduced (head of school, head of family...)

Rajasthan: 10 Schools Female Teachers: 5% (2 out of 38) Female Heads: ZERO
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UP: 7 Schools Female Teachers: 41% (14 out of 34) Female Heads: ONE (1 out of 7)

<u>In All 4 Areas:</u> Girls Prefer Female Teachers: 90 % Parents Prefer Female Teachers: 95%
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Multiple Forms of Gender Discrimination in the Schools

The following analysis will focus on discrimination against girls in school, within the wider social context. In seeking to understand the forms of gender discrimination, it is important to keep in mind the widespread poverty within which the majority of these schools are located. Class and caste discrimination exists along with gender.

The analysis is based on our fieldwork including Classroom Observations in 32 schools (includes observation and interactions with 32 teachers and over 2,000 students); Individual Interviews and FGDs with 360 children, 240 parents and 85 teachers (including 17 school Heads); and interviews with education department functionaries in the 4 PU areas.

We found that schools in all 4 areas displayed a number of forms of gender discrimination. Gender discrimination was explicitly present as well as implicit in different ways in each of the 40 schools studied.

Gender, Class and Caste:

We found that majority of the girls in the government schools were from poor families. Most families belonged to the oppressed caste groups (SC or scheduled caste)¹⁷. In many families, sons were being sent to private schools, daughters to government schools. Thus these girl-children suffer various forms of discrimination simultaneously: class, caste and gender. Girls from minority religion(s) face an additional prejudice. Teachers in the schools were predominantly Hindu (majority religion), many were middle or upper caste, and had a middle-class orientation. The girls in school face discrimination at the hands of teachers, on the basis of their caste/religious/class. Explicit remarks are often made indicating the deep-seated prejudices of teachers, which reflect the community/social hierarchies and attitudes.

Teacher Attitudes: Paying Attention to Boys, not to Girls

In the mixed schools (ie all UP schools and most schools in Bihar and Rajasthan), teachers generally paid more attention to boys than to girls while teaching. This was most marked in the Rajasthan schools. While teaching, the teacher (in at least 50 % of the Rajasthan schools) did not even look at the girls. He looked only at the boys. He maintained no eye contact at all with the girl students. He would ask questions, addressing only the boys. Only (some) boy students answered his questions. The girls remained quiet. The boys were relatively more active in class.

Class 4, Rajasthan, Shiksha Karmi primary school

There are 6 girls and 10 boys in the class. Teacher and children are sitting on sack-cloth mats on the ground. The girls and boys are sitting in separate groups and there was no interaction between them either during or after the class. The teacher reading aloud a few paragraphs from the Hindi textbook. When he looked up to explain or ask questions he looked directly only at the boys, and maintained eye contact with them. No girl spoke throughout class, while several boys answered. The girls looked alienated. Later we checked the children's notebooks and asked questions orally. The girls' learning levels were significantly lower than the boys'. Only one girls could do the Maths questions which most boys could do. We found a similar situation in Class 5 in that school.

In UP/Bihar too, some teachers directed their attention to the boys, barely noticing the girls. Boys were relatively more outspoken and active in the classrooms. Girls were relatively silent.

Class 3, UP primary school

There are 38 girls and 71 boys in the class. The teacher is on a chair while children sit on plastic mats. Boys and girls sit in separate spaces and do not talk to each other. The teacher maintains a distance from the girls. He asks more questions from boys and less from girls. Even his table is more towards the boys rather than being in the center. The teacher's behaviour of giving no attention at all to the girls is worse than if he were to

¹⁷ Some were from ST (scheduled tribe) groups, though it was a very small number. Another small number were from upper caste (but poor) families.

scold them. In fact he does scold some boys for changing their seats. He did not teach at all. He appointed some boys to keep everybody quiet, and check their clothes and shoes. The girls are silent throughout class. It is very surprising that although boys are releasing their energy through occasional movement from one place to another, girls are not moving at all. Even if the girls move they are very shy.

In most Rajasthan schools there were fewer girls than boys. The teacher exclusively addressed boys, making no eye contact or even looking at the girls. The girls seemed to be almost invisible – and often their body language shows that they wish they were indeed so! Hunched shoulders, drawn in, their eyes downcast – they barely wanted to be noticed.

Classroom Organization

In most mixed schools, the girls and boys sat in separate spaces in their classrooms. This was particularly the case in Rajasthan¹⁸. The girls usually huddle together, in a group distinct from the boys. The girls huddled together towards the front, while the boys spread out in the middle and at the back.

These separate spaces are formed through peer interaction, and by teachers. Both children and teachers see and articulate that this is the best possible arrangement.

Female/ Male Teachers

Overall, the number of male teachers in our study was significantly more than the number of female teachers. Within states the picture differed. Delhi had many more female teachers than the other areas. Rajasthan had exceptionally few female teachers (2 out of 38 teachers in 10 schools).

There was a preponderance of para-teachers amongst the female teachers in both U.P. and Bihar. These were generally assigned Class 1 and 2 to teach. Male para-teachers often had higher classes assigned to them even if they do not have the same qualifications. Subjects taught showed a marked differentiation, especially in higher classes. No female teacher was found teaching maths or science in middle or senior schools in UP, Bihar or Rajasthan.

School Heads were predominantly male. This was true even in all-girls' schools. In Rajasthan, we found no female Head in any of the 10 (predominantly mixed) schools.

One student said, "Female teachers are better. Yes, they also beat us. But still they also talk affectionately."

¹⁸ In other (mixed) government schools in Delhi, the same phenomenon is reported. Girls generally sit in separate rows from boys. Teacher trainees from B.El.Ed., Lady Shri Ram College, report that girls and boys resist attempts to change this pattern. However, if they are led to change in a gradual way – by forming mixed work-groups etc – they gradually change. However, many teachers in these schools prefer that the girls and boys sit in separate spaces.

Mothers and girls, especially older (middle school) ones uniformly said, “We want a female teacher. Because we can talk to her. We can tell her if we have a stomach-ache. We can’t tell a male teacher.”

However in one Delhi school (that has more male than female teachers), a girl said, “Guruji is better than Madam. She doesn’t teach. He teaches us nicely.”

Thus, individual differences between teachers matter to children – beyond gender. However, the sex of the teacher does make an enormous difference.

Lack of Security in Schools and en Route

Lack of female teachers brought in a feeling of insecurity in the minds of parents, and even girls. This was pervasive. Mothers and fathers especially often said – or hinted – at this.

This was especially marked at the stages beyond primary school. For ‘grown up’ girls an even greater need is felt for the presence of female teachers.

The routes are often not safe/ not considered safe by parents. Sometimes there are incidents of abuse or assault on the way to, or back from, school. The schools uniformly do not take responsibility for any of these.

Most schools lacked a boundary wall. In the Rajasthan desert, or in Bihar fields, the school was just a bare building that anybody could come into, trespass across – or leave. Several Delhi schools had a wall. But none had a guard at the gates – here too anybody could enter and (even more easily) any of the students could slip out. Mothers said this was a big worry, since their girls could just leave the school in case they wanted to, and nobody would know.

Lack of Safe and Affordable Means of Transport

In all 4 PU areas many girls walk – from half to one hour in the morning to school, and another half to one hour back. They lack any means of safe, low-cost transport.

In part of the Rajasthan field area, some private bus operators allow schoolgirls to travel free in their buses. In UP a few girls were given cycles in a recent programme. This was very well received. It helped the girls who come from a distance to be able to come conveniently to school. Several teachers, girls and a few parents have said that cycles would help girls’ schooling quite a lot.

Gender Stereotypes Reinforced – the ‘Hidden Curriculum’

By failing to actively address gender stereotypes, the schools end up reinforcing these. Most teachers displayed biases. They saw marriage as the main event in a girl’s life. They accepted dowry has to be given. They felt girls must learn to do housework.

Questions such as the following were asked to test gender stereotypes: 'Meena is a 10-year old girl. She likes to play cricket, cycle and go to the market. Aman is a 10-year old boy. He like to play with dolls, swing on a rope swing, and do housework. What do you feel about these two children?'

Most teachers found it odd and unacceptable that a boy should like to do housework. In their opinion this is not appropriate work for boys or men. They thought girls should do housework rather than cycle or go to the market. They expressed concern at Meena's interests because she should learn to do housework. Teachers as a group were not interested in seeing a transformation in women's workload, or the norms regarding marriage. They actively promote gender inequality by reinforcing gender-based family and housework roles.

One (male) teacher in a Delhi school said, "Female teachers can't spend time in school. They are so concerned about their own children, they go home. I spend hours in school!" He therefore has taken over a lot of administrative tasks. When asked who looks after his children, he said his wife did; she herself is a post-graduate.

Women teachers in all 4 areas perform a 'double shift' -- housework at home and teaching in school. However hardly one or two of them even hinted that they have any problem with this.

At least 90 % teachers (specially male) in UP, Bihar and Rajasthan were openly indifferent to, or against, girls studying "too much". By and large (in UP, Bihar) they felt girls should study up to middle, maximum Class 10; or (in Rajasthan) only at the primary level. Only in Delhi did many teachers (about 50 %) feel girls should study at least up to Class 10/ 12, and further if they are able to.

Seeing teachers reproduce a lot of gendered behaviour and attitudes, students' own stereotypes are further confirmed. They see female teachers exhausted by household tasks; subservient to male teachers. They see male teachers talking big, boasting, mobile. This makes a great impression on students. Thus teachers act as negative role models who reinforce gender stereotypes.

Teachers Consider Marriage more important than Studies, for girls

Parents widely discriminate between girls and boys, which teachers accept. Several parents said they are sending their sons to private schools, while the daughters are sent to government schools. It seems that if parents can afford it, they prefer to send boys to private school where studies are better (although fees are higher). Boys are also sent for private tuition, markedly more than girls. Girls schooling is the whole considered much less important than the schooling of girls. Girls stay back home if there is an ill person to be looked after, or younger siblings to take care of. Teachers in all 4 states were found making negative comments to elementary school girls, such as --- "Why study, after all you have to do the housework." This is humiliating for the girls. Girls end up internalizing the prevailing norms.

A boy (Rajasthan) said, "Girls do all the work. We only go out, earn. Girls do the cooking, cleaning.... We don't do it because nobody lets us do it."

A girl (Delhi) said, "Girls should do the housework. If there is a sister, why should a boy do the housework?"

By and large teachers, like parents, frame girls' education as a secondary activity in the girls' lives. The main activity is still projected to be marriage. Paradoxically, schools reinforce prevalent beliefs regarding the overwhelming importance of marriage in girls' lives.

The poor quality of teaching in most government schools is simply accepted within teachers. Parents are angry when they come to know. We found teacher excusing themselves with the remark, "Well, will these girls become DMs? They have to look after the cooking and the cleaning." The reason boys are sent to private schools is that the quality of learning is higher there. So girls are exposed to a lower quality of teaching, and end up achieving lower levels of learning achievement.

Most girls spend a few hours daily carrying out household chores. They are unable to study at home. Teachers in all 4 areas said many children, "do not open their bags at home at all." Even well-meaning parents sometimes fail to recognize the importance of daily study at home in order to attain learning levels in school.

Gender Bias in Textbooks

We closely studied 6 textbooks from (1 or 2 from each state, selected randomly from textbooks we were able to access). Gender bias is marked in all 6 textbooks. For instance the Bihar Class I Hindi textbook (Bihar State Textbook Publishing Corporation Limited) has only male characters in 5 out of its total 8 stories. The female characters in the other 3 stories are depicted as weak, docile or in the role of mother. The only play in the book has no female characters at all. Similarly in the Delhi Class III Hindi textbook, males and females are in stereotypical roles (females caring, weak, cunning, docile, helpless while males are strong, powerful and the stories are centred around them). The play in the textbook shows a clever vixen who dies due to her greed, at the hands of male chicks who are cleverer and able to deceive her!

In all 4 areas textbooks have predominantly male characters in stories and pictures. The few female characters are in passive or typical family roles.

TEXTBOOKS	PICTURES WITH ONLY MALES	PICTURES WITH ONLY FEMALES	PICTURES WITH MALES AND FEMALES
Bihar, Class 3, Hindi, BSTPCL	41% sports, agriculture, care of animals	9% weak, docile or as mothers	17% girls tying rakhi to boys, mother nursing male baby
UP, Class 5, Hindi, DOEB	56% jumping, moving a rock	8% gazing at sky	17% females' heads covered
Rajasthan, Class 5, Hindi, RSTC	39% brave, active	6% women with heads covered	30% filling water, serving food to males,
Delhi, Class 3, Hindi, SCERT	32% riding, sports, painting a lion	9% childcare, dancing, dolls	19% males more active than females

Textbooks are central to the envisaged teaching learning process. Biased textbooks are bound to have a powerful negative impact upon children. From the textbooks studied, girls would learn that they are inferior and less important than boys, and should be passive, while boys can be active.¹⁹

Gender Bias in Curricular and Co-curricular Activities

Differences in curricular and co-curricular activities can reflect and reinforce gender distinctions and hierarchies. We found this very clearly in one instance. In UP, in the middle school the two subjects 'Home science' and 'Agricultural science' are offered differentially. Home science is offered only to girls, and Agricultural science only to boys.

When the DIET staff, Maharajganj, was questioned about this, one (male) teacher present sniggered and said, "What is wrong? Home science is a broad subject, not only about housework; it is also about good health, balanced food." But both the female staff members (Principal and Lecturer in the DIET) grew thoughtful, saying, "We had not thought about this." There *is* potential for improving this situation from the angle of teacher trainers as well as curriculum designers.

In many schools co-curricular activities were differentially offered. Sports is an exclusively male domain in most schools. Very few schools had sports equipment, but boys were seen playing physical games. In one school in Rajasthan, sports equipment was given out only to boys. Girls had never had access to it. (They said the PU had kept a female instructor earlier, and she had involved them in playing. After she left the other teachers do not involve them. When our team took out some balls and encouraged them to play with us, the girls hesitated at first, then began to play enthusiastically.)

¹⁹ The New Curriculum Framework devised by NCERT (National Council for Research and Training) is making an effort to devise textbooks that are not gender-biased

In the same school, the science lab was exclusively used by boys. Girls had never stepped inside it.

In some schools only boys lead or sing at the assembly (in a Rajasthan school, girls said they do not know how to sing the morning prayers. With encouragement they began singing – and sang it well).

DIET Principal, Bikaner, acknowledged: “There is gender bias in schools. Many teachers don’t allow girls to play. In functions they don’t let girls play comic roles, where they have to laugh and make people laugh.”

Differential Tasks Assigned to Girls/Boys

If teachers ask children to run errands, a gender bias is usually seen. Thus girls are asked to wash pans, make tea etc while boys are asked to lift a table or chair.

Girls commonly sweep the classrooms, while boys clean the playground. When our team asked whether it could be the other way (boys sweeping classrooms, girls cleaning the ground) children refused to entertain the possibility. “Boys can’t pick up the broom” was one response.

Issues like Violence and Fear not Addressed in schools

Although violence is a salient fact in all 4 areas, it is not addressed as an issue with children or their families. Teachers are sometimes aware of the fear girls live in, but (perhaps partly because it is a pervasive fact in their own lives and they have come to take it for granted) do not think it is something they need to, or can, address.

Domestic violence is endemic in all 4 areas. But it is an issue children do not get any help for, in school. On the other hand by reinforcing docility and meekness in girls, teachers make them more vulnerable. Girls suffer enormously if they are victims or witnesses to habitual violence and abuse. Psychological trauma makes it difficult to focus on studies and often the child might drop out of school. If she stays on, it is more likely due to some extenuating circumstance in the family (like a very caring mother or elder sister) rather than due to the teachers in school.

Arzoo (11, Class 4, Delhi) lives with her 16-year old sister Heba, 17-year old brother and brother’s friend Sunil. They subsist on Sunil’s earnings as a driver. A year ago Sunil’s younger brother tried to molest Heba. She wanted to commit suicide, but thought – “What will happen to Arzoo if I die?” Heba is devoted to caring for Arzoo and sending her to school. Their mother is mentally ill, unstable and lives separately with two younger children. Their father is dead. Recently a neighbour raped the mother but “the police refused to file a case saying nobody would want to touch a mad woman!” (Heba’s words)

Parents articulate their fears regarding sending daughters to school, as, “Girls should not go out alone once they grow up. They can get into trouble....” Parents are, worried about sexual assault. In order to protect girls they sometimes prefer to withdraw them from schools and keep them home.

A reason for early marriage is the prevailing lack of security for girls.

A mother in UP: After my husband’s death I am frightened. My son has migrated for work. Our house is isolated in the fields. I know my daughters are vulnerable. I will marry off my 14-year old soon. The villagers are alright, but there is a lot of police and military here.”

Parents are also motivated by strong patriarchal impulse to control and check girls’ sexuality.

A group of parents, UP: “A girl and boy eloped from school. There are many more such cases.” This sort of fear and comments were heard from all the 4 areas.

A group of parents, UP: “An educated girl will not come back to live with her parents. She will manage better. If she is unhappy **there are many ways – poison, fire, rope, the well....**” Many parents in Bihar, Rajasthan and Delhi agreed.

The school and its teachers don’t empathize with girls or try to help them develop self-worth and coping skills. Girls usually develop low self-worth, due to all the negative conditioning they are provided at home and school. Most teachers have no idea about the need to attend to children’s emotional, psychological needs.

Lack of Attention to Health

In hardly any of the schools is any medical attention provided. This is a serious lack, especially for girls. Girls are relatively malnourished, and provided less medical help by their families, as compared to boys. About 90 % girls interviewed said they suffer from headaches/ dizzy spells/ stomach ache. They said they take no medication for any of this.

Despite the mid-day meal (given in many schools), most girls appeared to be anemic. A Delhi schoolgirl said she can hardly read because her eyes ache, and she can’t see very well; however she has never been taken to have her eyes tested.

All the schools lacked a proper medical checkup. Most never have any kind of medical checkup at all. Nor do schools keep first-aid boxes.

Lack of Life Skills Education

Sexuality, puberty and menstruation are not mentioned in the schools. The textbook chapter on reproductive health is never taught. Girls pick up negative feelings about menstruation – both from the taboos surrounding the topic at home (they are not to visit the temple or touch the Quran; not to go into the kitchen; not to touch pickles) and from the lack of respectful mention of the theme in school. Teachers avoid the topic altogether.

'Life Skills Education' would also include direct exposure to issues relevant to their surroundings and useful for them to know, such as legal issues, how to file a complaint at a police station, how to access and decipher land records, personal laws relevant to different communities.... None of this is taught in any of the schools. Knowledge provided is standardized, ignoring different contexts, textbook-focused and with little relevance to the daily experiences of children, particularly rural children.

Lack of bathrooms

Only 12 out of 40 schools had functional bathrooms. Nor were these well kept. Children used open grounds for relieving themselves when they needed to. In some schools a part of the school is stinking and dirty due to this problem. There is no provision for children taking water with them if they go to defecate, leading to hygiene problems. For girls, this is an especially horrible situation particularly if the school is congested and there is lack of privacy. For older girls who have attained puberty, lack of bathrooms is sufficient reason to withdraw the girls from school.

Lack of Sufficient Seats and Schools for Girls

Existing schools would be unable to absorb all the girls in the age group 6-14, were all these to actually want to access and attend school. Further, the number of seat and schools diminishes from one level to the next, leading to immense shortfall.

After completing primary school, many girls drop out even if they want to continue their studies, due to lack of sufficient number of seats in middle schools. This was the case in all the 4 areas. The number of schools tapers sharply from primary to middle stage – existing ratio in the country is 1 middle school to 3 primary schools. SSA goal is to make this ratio 1: 2. But even if this is achieved, the goal of universalizing elementary education up to Class 8 will not be achieved. From middle to secondary stage, the number of seats and schools diminishes even more sharply.

Rigid Timings – daily as well as seasonal

All the schools have rigid fixed timings – on a daily basis as well as in terms of the school term and vacations. These are fixed with little concern for the suitability for students, in terms of their other compulsions, concerns and work responsibilities.

Some schools are flexible in practice, tolerating late-coming and absence – to the point of being casual and unconcerned. Some others are rigid – punishing children if they come late to school, and for absence.

We found that Delhi schools were by and large strict about timings and absenteeism, while in the other 3 areas teachers were more lax.

Both approaches can be a problem. If girls come late or are absent, due to family compulsions, then it is hardly appropriate or useful to punish them. On the other hand

simply excusing late-coming or absence can result in the children falling behind in their studies.

Harsh Punishments

Teachers often humiliate the girls who come in late, or who have not attended for a few days. They also humiliate girls who are unable to pay the monthly fees.

In Bihar a girl said, "If my father can't give me the money, I don't go to school. I go to school only when my father has the money."

Most girls said they are afraid of their teacher if they are late to school. Sometimes they are severely scolded, even beaten.

A mother in Delhi said, "They school cut off my daughter's name because she was absent for 10 days. We went to the village and she had to come with us. We begged them to take her. We paid readmission fees."

One teacher in Delhi said, "One girl came late everyday. I used to scold her. One day she started crying. Then I asked her what was the matter. She said her mother makes her sweep and mop the house in the morning before coming to school, that's why she often gets late. After that I didn't scold her. I felt so bad for her."

A teacher, U.P.: "Chhadi is the best TLM"! (Rod (for beating) is the best teaching learning material.)

Schools: Co-educational or All-Girls: Ambiguity over which is better

Whether school should be co-educational or all-girls' is an important decision, impacting girls' schooling experience. At present the decision seems to be made in a fairly arbitrary and unreflective manner, without considering the possible consequences of each decision.

In Delhi – a metropolitan city – all 10 schools were all-girls'. A teacher explained her school was earlier co-educational but due to pressure of numbers two shifts were made – girls in the morning shift, boys in the afternoon. In UP, Bihar and Rajasthan rural schools, the schooling is usually mixed. Children of both sexes study together, the timing usually being from 10 to 4.

In Rajasthan a teacher said co-educational schools promote girls' equality to boys. But the atmosphere existing in many schools seems to actually strengthen gender hierarchies.

14-year old girl, Class 7, UP: "My parents told me not to talk to a boy. If a boy talks or passes a comment I look down, don't say anything."

Another girl in UP said, "I don't eat the meal they give us in school. I feel shy to eat in front of my (male) teacher and all the boys. I prefer to go home and eat there."

Simply by being in the same school it is not necessary that healthy gender relations will be set up. A girls' school, on the other hand, might sometimes provide more space for girls to develop self-confidence and identities. At the same time, it does seem unnatural that girls and boys should be put into separate schools. After all the gender differences do get emphasized by placing girls and boys into separate educational institutions. This is a paradoxical situation and we are left with many questions rather than any definite black-and-white answer.

Minimal/ Poor Parent-Teacher Interaction

There is no active parent-teacher interaction in any of the 40 schools. Only in 1 did we find a functioning PTA. We were told by government authorities that PTAs and MTAs (Mother Teacher Association) exist in many schools. However we were unable to find any evidence of this on the ground. In fact, in 90% of the Rajasthan schools, mothers never come into the school (only fathers come, that too sporadically).

In no school in all 4 areas did we find parents able to simply walk in as respected members of the educational system. Teachers and Heads freely blame parents for being unconcerned about their children's education. Parents on the other hand blame teachers for not being concerned about educating the children.

It is assumed that all children come from 'normal' ie two-parent, functional families (with perhaps extended relatives also living together). Single-mother families, families with alcoholic fathers, families where the father is bigamous, families with some homosexual relations – these are never taken as something that can be articulated, acknowledged. A child may suffer from prejudice and stigma if she comes from a 'different' kind of family. She can be the butt of unkind taunts and insulting comments. Her real problems are left un-articulated. It would help if such facts could be looked at, and brought to reflective awareness.

Schools: Bureaucratic Organisations rather than Agents of Social transformation

At root of many of the problems of gender discrimination in schools is the pervasive running of schools as bureaucratic, top-down organizations rather than as agents of social change.

Schools exist to serve the system rather than the children. They are non-child friendly. Teachers are sent off for census duty, election duty... . It doesn't seem to matter that no teaching will take place. During our Bihar field trip, we found teachers (particularly male) missing in several schools – due to the ongoing elections. Schools had re-opened after the Diwali-Id-Chhat festival fortnight-long vacations – yet there was no teaching!

Teachers receive orders and have to fit into pre-decided curricula and school frameworks. They are trained only to deliver curricula, rather than as agents of social transformation. In such a scenario it is difficult to imagine how a teacher can be pro-active in terms of trying to end or campaign against gender discrimination.

Caste and Religious Prejudices not questioned

In some schools we found caste and religious prejudices were explicitly present. Thus in a Delhi school with a substantial percentage of Muslim population around it, the percentage of Muslim girls studying in school was relatively low. A (Hindu, male) parent explained it casually saying, “It is because of their religion – they don’t send their daughters to school.” However, another (Muslim, woman) parent softly countered, “It is because of our poverty that we can’t send our girls to school.”

During fieldwork in Bihar and UP caste and religious prejudice were very glaring in the communities. Poverty seemed more intensive among Muslims in some villages, as also fear of the dominant community. Violence on the basis of caste and religion is endemic. The schools largely have lower-caste children, however even when there are different castes the school as an institution explicitly does not discriminate amongst them. But in more than one school the ethos promotes Hindu over any other religion: in the celebration of festivals, prayers, even a temple here and there. Girls are implicated as they are seen as the vulnerable section of any given group. Thus they can be special targets of caste/communal prejudice/violence. Although this was not possible to explore in depth in the research, we got enough hints to be able to state with confidence that it will be affecting girls in the schools.

Lack of Positive Women Role Models

Neither in their textbooks nor in their environment do girls find active, articulate women being respected for their struggles. They find women being harassed, violated and bad-mouthed. Any woman who takes a radical stand is slandered. It is still common to find the belief that women earning is a slight upon the family’s honour (izzat). Thus girls are usually confused about whether or not they should aim at a job as part of their life-ambitions.

When asked, many girls were silent as to their ambitions (what do you want to become?) When we persisted, many said they want to be teachers or nurses, or social workers. These are the roles existing in their immediate environment, which they can aspire to as possible dreams. A few parents encourage this to some extent. But these seem to be the outer limits – mostly unreachable, for the vast majority of the girls studying in our schools.

Chapter 5

Impact of Gender Discrimination On Educational Status of Girls

ADMISSION LEVELS: HIGH
ATTENDANCE LEVELS: LOW
LEARNING LEVELS: POOR
DROPOUT LEVELS: HIGH

An Upper Primary School, Rajasthan:

	CI 1	CI 2	CI 3	CI 4	CI 5	CI 6	CI 7	CI 8	Total
Girls	20	15	10	3	8	15	11	3	56
Boys	35	28	35	21	22	63	67	55	141

Girls in school: 28%

Girls in class 8: 5%

A Senior School, Class 6-10, Rajasthan:

	CI 6	CI 7	CI 8	CI 9	CI 10	Total
Girls	11	6	2	5	0	24
Boys	59	39	33	50	15	196

Girls in school: 5%

Girls in class 10: Zero

Clearly, **gender discrimination has a strong impact on the educational status of girls.** This has been reflected over the years in the lack of gender parity in schools at primary, middle and secondary levels.

The composite picture for the 4 areas, as indicated in the present research findings, shows that admission, attendance and retention figures for girls are adversely affected by the prevalence of gender discrimination (within the overall context of poverty and under-development).

Most of the girls face discrimination on the basis of gender, as well as on the basis of caste, class and (often) religion. These forms of discrimination act simultaneously, determining and defining an overall negative situation for the girls. The girls develop very low self-esteem, and labour endlessly at the relentless tasks they are allotted, which leave precious little time for studies. Low-caste (or minority religion) status complicates the picture for them. The girls end up having very little space to negotiate a new kind of identity. Being able to study, even while battling the various forms of social oppression that are heaped upon them, is not at all easy.

Basically, the schools fail to address the daily life problems and life-cycle crises girls face in their given contexts. Rather than being positioned as places for understanding and supporting girls in their lives, schools are merely the delivery centers of a vast

bureaucratic apparatus. The girls are not taught about their rights, or tools of critical thinking and analysis. They are not empowered to handle the exigencies of (early/ compulsory) marriages, domestic violence, exorbitant demands for housework etc. Nor are livelihood and survival needs of the poor (which the majority of girls belong to) addressed. Schools fail to pay attention to girls' health, nor do not have any family life education Marriage still frames the lives of girls – in the eyes of parents and teachers – whether or not they go in for schooling. Assumptions of gendered hierarchies (male head of family, male decision-makers etc) are unquestioned. Emotional and psychological needs are not attended to. Women's needs and skills are not respected. Daily life situations and exigencies are not respected. Teachers themselves usually put forward negative role models in displaying deeply gendered roles and attitudes, thus reinforcing and perpetuating these.

The government efforts to achieve UEE during the past three years have tried to address some of these problems, and specially draw in girls. Due to this there have been some improvements in the status of girls' schooling.

While there has been marked improvement in admission figures during the past few years, retention rates are low, particularly at the stage of transition from primary to middle school. In all 4 areas, a substantial number of girls drop out at this stage.

The Overall Picture

ADMISSION LEVELS: HIGH

ATTENDANCE LEVELS: LOW

LEARNING LEVELS: POOR

DROPOUT LEVELS: HIGH

Attendance Levels

Children Present in one Rajasthan school: 19% (16 out of 84)

Children Present in one Bihar school: 5.5% (32 out of 580)

Average absenteeism in Bihar, Rajasthan, U.P. schools: over 50%

It was impossible to gauge the exact attendance figures in various schools, since school Heads were unwilling to show the Attendance Registers or divulge the figures to us. However, in individual interviews as well as FGDs, a number of teachers answered questions regarding students' attendance levels. The estimates for girls' attendance, given by teachers in different schools of Bihar, UP and Rajasthan, ranged between 40 percent to 80 percent. The estimates they gave for girls' attendance during peak agricultural seasons were even less – ranging from 25 percent to 60 percent. In fact, during our fieldwork (harvesting time – November) attendance in some schools was as low as 10 to 15 %, and even 1 %! The harvesting season was further complicated by ongoing elections in Bihar, and various festivals in all the 4 states (although the festival season had officially got over by the time we went to the field).

In U.P., Bihar, Delhi and Rajasthan in many schools we were told that children come for the Mid-day Meal, and then scamper off. Nor was there much effort to keep them in school!

A teacher, Rajasthan: "It has not rained for 3 years. They are coming here only because of the drought. If it rains all these small children will go off to work in the fields... In the school crows will be flying, it will be empty!"

Attendance figures are evidently fudged, in all 4 states. We found clear discrepancies in some figures (eg no. of children in Class 1 is 47 in a U.P. school, but attendance is recorded as 48!)

Dropout Levels

Girls who will not study beyond Class 5 – well over 50 %

Girls who want to study beyond Class 5 – over 90%

Percentage of children in one primary school in Bihar who do not sit for CI 5 exam: 40%

At the transition from primary stage to upper primary or middle school, over 50% girls drop out in all 4 areas.

In any case, the number of seats for girls in middle schools is nowhere sufficient to absorb all the girls who were registered in primary schools.

Mother-Daughters FGD, Sangam Vihar, Delhi

Mother-Daughters group (12-year old Farmida, Shama, Kavita and their mothers):

The girls have studied up to Class 5 but then dropped out.

Girls: "We want to study further!"

Mothers: "We want our daughters to study further!"

Girls' dreams: Two want to become doctors, one a teacher.

They have not joined middle school because it is too far.

One mother: "Our daughters are self-confident and will bring honor to our name. They have courage. They will adjust and listen to everybody."

Another mother: "The girls help with housework. They care for younger sisters and brothers. We will marry them at 16 or 17 years."

Third mother: "In our homes, the men take the decisions."

Retention levels are low. In many schools this is hidden until class 5 – due to the no detention rule. Rather, they should be passed (pushed?) from one class to the next, whether or not they have achieved minimum learning levels.

Learning Levels: During Classroom Observations in 32 schools, we discovered active or creative teaching methods being used in only 4 or 5 schools. Levels of learning were far from satisfactory for their class levels.

A Rajasthan primary school: "Children from Class 1 to 5 all sit together, presided over by one teacher. In all there are 45 children (20 girls, 25 boys). The teacher instructs all of

them to write down mathematical tables, then sits doing his own work. Children work quietly, heads bent. The teacher does not bother to check their work. When we look at the children's work, it is full of mistakes. There is simply no process for correcting these mistakes.'

In a Delhi school: 'Over 80 girls of Class 5 sit quietly without any teacher. From time to time a teacher or the Head comes in and scolds them. The Head tells us, "The girls are waiting for their Mid-day meal. Today it is late in coming." We ask him about their classroom teaching and he says, "Oh their teacher is absent. Some teachers are absent everyday."

In a Bihar school: Classes 1, 2 and 3 sit together. In all there are 15 children (7 girls, 8 boys). The teacher looks tense and scolds the children. She instructs all of them to copy some words onto their notebooks. Most are unable to do it. They are all distracted, looking outside hoping something interesting might happen. They look as if they are forced to sit in class. When we evaluate the children's learning levels, we find none of the children can read Hindi, and only 4 or 5 of them knew the Hindi alphabets. Only 2 or 3 children can count from 1 to 20. Only 2 or 3 children know the English alphabet. Only the same children could tell some of the weekdays in English.

Our evidence indicates that learning levels are definitely poor. The picture as regards academic learning is indeed rather gloomy. Due to lack of quality teaching, lack of attention to girls in class, lack of respect for their compulsions and contexts, the girls by and large feel extremely from the teaching-learning process. Girls as well as boys were below standard in terms of academic achievements, but girls seemed to lag behind the boys in most subjects.

From interviews with girls, Hindi seems the favourite subject for most girls. They like it because "it tells stories, there are poems, it is our own language and we can understand it." They perform better and have better grasp of this subject.

English is the most difficult subject for most girls. Several said they like the subject, but do not score in it. Poor teaching is no doubt part of the reason girls find it difficult to learn English. The majority are from families where English is not spoken. Thus a special thrust is required for teaching this language. However, we found even teachers in most schools of UP, Bihar and Rajasthan spoke faulty English, with pronunciation errors and mistakes while writing.

Many girls never pick up the 3 R's, even when they reach class 5. Since they have been passed from one class to another without proper evaluation, their lack of academic learning is not on record. Many simply do not sit for the common exam at Class 5.

Sub-standard teaching emerged as the norm. There is just a steady drone for a short while on the part of the teacher with the children looking blank. Teachers often shout and scold

as a substitute for teaching. The most common teaching method is to make children copy-write passages from their textbooks.

We tested children in all the 32 classes where we conducted Classroom Observation -- by asking questions in Hindi, Maths and English, and also by checking their notebooks. In well over three-quarter cases, the children had not reached the expected learning levels. Most children fell far behind. The situation was only marginally better in Delhi as compared to the other 3 states.

A mother in Delhi (very angry): "We shifted residence and therefore shifted our daughter to this school (in Sangam Vihar) in Class 2. She knew how to read but here she has forgotten even that! All day they are made to just sit and do nothing. The teachers do not turn up. We cannot afford private tuitions. My girl is in Class 5 and she can't read or write!"

A U.P. school – classroom observation, Class 5: The teacher told the children to write a few sentences about Chacha Nehru. The children copied from the textbook. When we asked the students about what they had written, they couldn't explain it. For instance they had written (copied), 'Chacha Nehru became the country's prime minister.' We asked, 'Chacha Nehru became prime minister of which country?' but the children couldn't answer. There had typically been no explanation or discussion, nor were children ever expected to think beyond the set question answers.

Most girls (well over 50 percent) drop out during primary school, or at the end of it i.e. the transition stage from primary to middle. Large numbers simply do not sit for the exams. In a Rajasthan school a teacher told us 40 % don't sit for the exam.

Families keen to educate their daughters face a paradoxical situation if the school does not deliver the goods in terms of appropriate teaching reflected in students' learning levels.

Sudha (11-year old girl's maternal grandmother), Delhi: "I didn't educate my daughter. When she went to her in-laws, her husband turned out to be a drunkard. She was very simple and came back to us. She has one daughter. I want this child to study, so she has more options in life – not like her mother. So we send her to this school. But when I see this school, the teachers don't teach, she learns nothing, I think we should keep her home. She will learn more at home than she learns in school.... We still send her."

Facts About the Figures

Assessing admission, attendance, retention and learning-level figures is actually impossible to do with any degree of precision. This is because there is at present a very high pressure upon schools to show high figures. The figures are clearly fudged – in all schools. Only the extent of fudging differs between one school and another.

In Rajasthan a government functionary said to us, "See this is how this school is, whenever I come to it." (The school was shut, a handful of children were loitering around). "But the

teachers fill up the figures for DISE²⁰, showing children are coming, the school is open, mid-day meal is being given...”

Figures for mid-day meals, textbooks and scholarships are obviously fudged in many (if not most) schools. This means that the funds coming in for say mid-day meals are being under-utilised for the purpose, and are instead lining some pockets.

Specific Situation of each of the 4 States:

Whereas the factors outlined above (and in the previous chapter in detail) hold for all 4 areas, here I will briefly dwell upon factors that hold more especially for each of the areas.

Rajasthan

Admission of all girls is still not a reality. Attendance levels are abysmally low. During our fieldwork it was as low as 20 to 30% % in some schools. One school was simply closed because the teacher hadn't come.

Retention – is abysmally low – probably less than 40 percent girls remain in school beyond Class 5. Most girls drop out during primary school. Very few remain to take the class 5 exam. Of these most do not go into Class 6.

Learning levels are poor in all the different kinds of schools. Rajasthan has a variety of school opened under different programs – such as Rajiv Gandhi Pathshalas and Shiksha Karmi schools. We visited RGP's as well as Shiksha Karmi schools and did not find a substantial difference in any of the indices (attendance, teaching methods, learning levels, retention levels).

In most Rajasthan schools the number of girls was far less than number of boys, and this discrepancy usually grew with the level of the class. (As one teacher aptly put it, “As the class increases the number of girls decreases.”)

The explicit neglect and lack of attention to girls makes it very difficult for those who are there. The extremely male-dominated atmosphere further makes girls withdraw into their shell. They don't ask questions, therefore the learning process is hampered. The system drains away their self-esteem. Thus there is a push-out factor in the schools.

Lack of female teachers, lack of attention to girls' security in and on the way to school, and the very large distances between school and home further complicate the picture as regards girls' schooling in Rajasthan. Further there is lack of attention to crises situations like the ongoing drought, and what it means in terms of family survival and girls' work roles. Moreover girls are married early, and the main emphasis is on teaching them housework skills. Large families make the workload all the more onerous for girls.

²⁰ District Information System Education

Finally the lack of attractive, bright and welcoming schools must be a definite negative factor. In a state with beautiful art and colors so intrinsically a part of life (conspicuous in clothing and the beautiful artwork on walls of simple village homes) – it is utterly shameful to see dull, unimaginative, ugly buildings as school structures. These would certainly be putting off many girls!

Delhi

Delhi is different from the other three areas not only in being a metropolis, but also because all the schools studied here are single-sex – all-girls’-- schools. The other three areas have predominantly mixed schools. Having all-girls’ schools does minimize the explicit gender discrimination evident in many of the mixed schools. Being all-girls, there is no occasion for classroom or school organization being biased in favour of boys. However, gender discrimination still does exist in most other forms.

Despite being all-girls’, there is a substantial number of male teachers, especially for older classes and school Heads. Some schools have no female teachers, which is a major discouraging factor for girls and their parents. Many teachers (male and female) exhibit gender stereotypical attitudes and role behaviour. Many of them are negative role models for girls in terms of the stereotypical behaviour exhibited.

There are high levels of felt insecurity and lack of safety within Delhi schools, and even more on the way to schools. Schools (particularly middle schools) are at a distance from the girls’ homes, with no viable means of safe and low-cost transport available to them. There is a lack of sufficient number of middle schools for girls. There is no bathroom or drinking water facility in most of the Delhi schools. There is no playground, or attention paid to sports, in most.

Delhi schools set in the slum areas harbour violence and instability. Families often migrate back and forth from the village, disrupting the schooling cycle. Fathers often go out to work as manual laborers, women either do home-based piece-rate work or go out to posh colonies to work as domestic servants. Girls help their mothers do piece-rate work, which eats into their study time. Caring for siblings is also onerous.

Even in Delhi we found a number of parents totally opposed to jobs as a possibility for their daughters. This was specifically concentrated in one colony where a group of father told us, “Our daughters study upto Class 5. Some of them insist, we let them go up to Class 8. No need for more.... They don’t need to study further.... No, we do not want our daughters to work outside for money. If any girl were to do so, we would first kill her.”

Teachers in Delhi are a mixed bag – there are a number of good, motivated teachers and a large number of bad, uninterested ones. The impact upon educational status of girls can be seen as follows:

Admission: Whereas most girls are being admitted into school at the primary stage, there are some girls still being left out. The age of admission into class 1 is sometimes higher than 6 years.

Attendance: Attendance is an issue in Delhi schools. Low attendance in primary school is primarily due to housework demands (including sibling care), tending to the sick in the family; accompanying parents to the village; lack of priority given to girls' education in the family.

Learning levels: Mixed. Can range from satisfactory to extremely unsatisfactory. We found high school figures of a Sangam Vihar school: 19% was the success rate at the Class 10 Board exam. So of 100 children who struggle to somehow reach that stage, some 81 are declared unfit, failures.

Retention and dropouts: show up at the transition stage from Cl 5 to Cl 6. The number of seats and schools tapers off from the primary to middle level, with very few seats at high school. Many girls are left with a desire to study, feeling failures, yet with no option but to stick to housework and low-paying menial earning options.

Ms Veena Singh, District Education Officer, South District, Directorate of Education, Delhi:
Sangam Vihar has 13 primary schools (up to Class 5) and only 2 secondary schools (up to Class 10); there is no higher secondary school (up to Class 12) at all. The one girls' Secondary School in Sangam Vihar had 3226 girls on its rolls. It had a sanctioned strength of 66 teachers, but only 52 posts were filled while 14 were vacant (in October 2005). This meant there was a student-teacher ratio of 55:1. The school has no water and no tubewell and is built on rocky ground.

Mr Chetram Kaushik, District Education Officer, Central Zone, Municipal Corporation of Delhi:
One school is tented as the land belongs to the Forest Department, Delhi. There are 20 tents. There are approximately 1150 children per shift (girls' shift in the morning, boys' shift in the afternoon). Thirty porta-cabins have been sanctioned but have still to be installed. There is water but no electricity connection.

U.P. and Bihar

Conditions in U.P. and Bihar display a great deal of similarity. There are the same severe caste-based hierarchies, with violent reprisal if there is any challenge from lower castes. Villages are set in green fields but the conditions within are far from idyllic.

Gender-based domestic violence is acute. Women showed us their wounds inflicted by men of the family. In U.P. a woman had a large chunk of flesh cut out by a scythe by her brother-in-law, as revenge during a dispute over land between the brothers (her husband and his brother). She showed us this, bitterly. A 12-year old girl told us she had seen her father kill her mother, as she sat at the stove – with a large knife ('khukri' – used for cutting vegetables and as a scythe). Villagers corroborated her disclosure. Community women said they never go to the police with such cases, because police takes bribes and no justice is ever arrived at.

The U.P. field area is adjacent to Nepal. There is lot of talk of Maoists crossing the border, and Nepali police as well as Indian police scouring the countryside for them. For local poor women and girls, both the terrorists and even more the police are a threat. The danger of sexual assault is an ever-present Democle's sword.

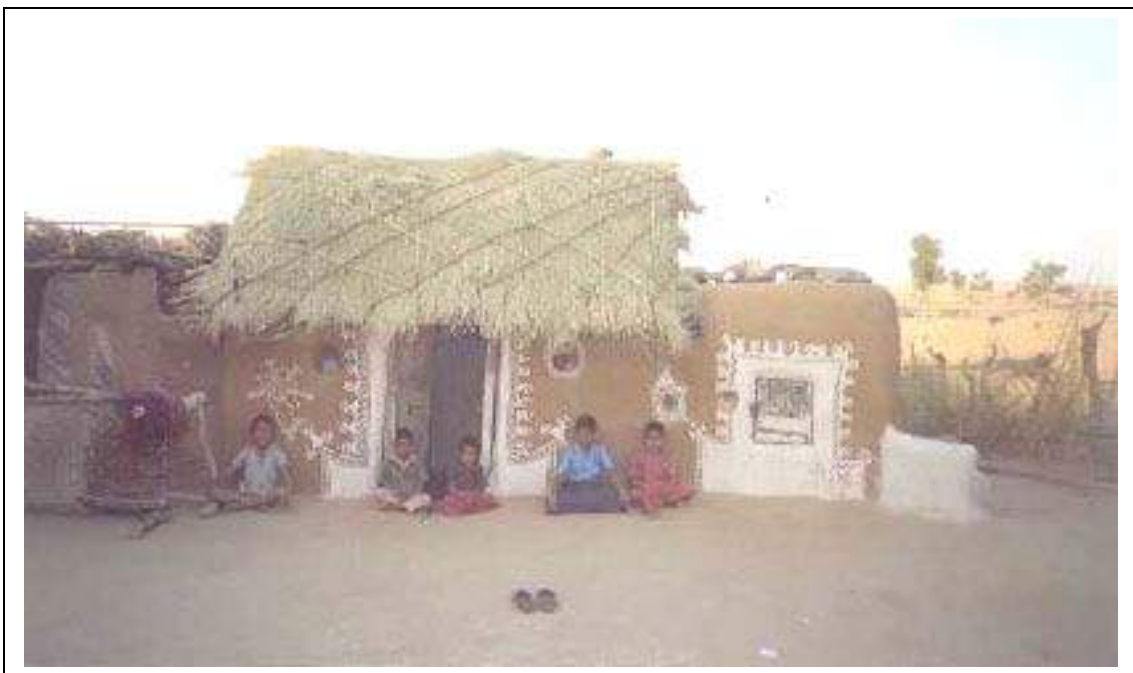
Teaching and schools are caught up in a lot of corruption as regards local governance bodies, local politics and mafias. Thus the funds coming in for various schemes are often not reaching the schools they are meant for.

As a result of the above (and other gender-discrimination factors) the following is the case in U.P. and Bihar schools:

Admission: Levels have gone up significantly in the past 5 years but the girls (and boys too) are not to be seen in school so much. There is marked preference for sending boys to private schools, where studies are qualitatively better. Thus within government schools we did not find marked gender disparity in favour of boys. In fact in some schools the number of boys fell more rapidly from one class to the next, as compared to the number of girls.

Attendance – uniformly low. Girls are preoccupied with household tasks which are essential for family survival. As a teacher said, “If the girls don't do the housework the families can't run.” Teachers seem to accept that this is the state of things, and condone extremely low attendance levels.

Retention – Girls drop off very sharply at transition stages – Class 5 and Class 8.
Learning levels – The schools fails to teach actively. Learning levels are generally low.



Chapter 6

What Keeps Girls in School and What Pushes Them Out

In The Context Of Endemic Violence, The Following Factors Impede Girls' Schooling:
• School far from home
• Lack of safe affordable transport
• Lack of female teachers
• More boys than girls in class/school
• Lack of functional bathrooms in school
• Lack of psychological support, health care

We found, from our 40 school visits, that **our schools are not girl-friendly**. There are too many factors that make girls uncomfortable and unhappy, discourage and finally push most of them out of the system.

At the same time there are some factors present, scattered in different schools, that have a positive impact on girls' retention.

What keeps girls in school, and what pushes them out?

Here is a matrix of relevant factors:

What Keeps Girls in School, and What Pushes Them Out

What Keeps Girls in School

Concerned, affectionate teachers
Female teachers
Good/ active teaching
Attention to weaker students
Good learning levels
All-girls' school
Positive parent-teacher interaction
School close to home
Viable transport
Teachers sensitive to girls' issues
Teachers do not beat
Flexible timings
Bathrooms function
Drinking water

What Pushes them Out

Hostile, unkind teachers
No female teachers
No/ bad/ passive teaching
No special attention to weaker students
Low learning levels
Co-education
Poor parent-teacher interaction
At a distance from home
No viable transport
Teachers insensitive to girls' issues
Teachers beat a lot
Flexible timings
No functional bathrooms
No drinking water

Middle school close by
 Sensitivity to children's emotions
 Peer group – schoolgoing girls
 Cost of education low
 Scholarships as per need
 Mid-day meals
 Teachers respect girls' compulsions
 High/balanced ratio of girls to boys
 No fear of teacher/ school/ studies
 Parents protective, but not anxious
 Safety in school & en route
 Teachers counsel when needed
 Parents value education
 Low level of household duties
 Pressures of early marriage
 Educated girls preferred for marriage
 Positive role models
 Girls are healthy
 Health care in school
 No disability or illness in family
 No crisis in community
 NFE or tuition for help on studies
 Bridge, balika shivirs linked to school
 Family members stable, caring
 Respect for women and girls
 Family livelihood stable
 Less need for female child labour
 Flexible timings

No middle school close by
 No sensitivity to children's emotions
 No/few schoolgoing girls in village
 Cost of education high
 No scholarships
 No mid-day meals/low quality
 No respect for girls' compulsions
 Few girls, many boys in class/school
 Fear of teacher/studies/school
 Parents over-protective/ too anxious
 School or route are unsafe
 No counseling when needed
 Parents devalue education
 Major burden of household duties
 No pressures of early marriage
 No such preference
 Lack of positive role models
 Poor health and nutrition
 No health care in school
 Disability or severe illness in family
 Drought, flood – or other crisis
 No NFE, tuition for help with studies
 No courses for out-of-school girls
 Death of parent or unstable family
 Low respect for women and girls
 Family livelihood unstable
 Tasks such as grazing goats
 Rigid standardized timings

The left side column 'What Keeps Girls in School' helps us understand what factors would go into making a Girl-Friendly school.

Along with the above, other practices that would be of help include the following: crèches (to take the load of care of younger siblings off from older girl children); relevant life-skills education; counseling/mentoring at each transition point; and exit points with links to vocational education.

Munni, 13, non-schoolgoing, UP:
 "I really want to study! I studied up to Class 5." Munni's two elder brothers studied up to Class 8, younger ones (aged 10 and 7) are in Class 5 and Class 2. Her only sister, aged 20, didn't study at all, is married and in her marital home. Now Munni handles a major part of the housework. She says wistfully, "If others also did housework, I would have time to study." Adds her mother, "I would like my daughter to study. She could do a job and be self-reliant. We can't send her to school due to poverty. We have no land, and my husband drinks too much!" She herself works as an agricultural laborer as well as midwife.

Anwari, 9, non-schoolgoing, Bihar:

Anwari has 4 brothers (aged 12, 7, 5 and 4 years) and a 6-month old sister. None of the children has ever attended school. Her family lives on the edge of starvation. She says, "I work from 6 a.m. to 10 at night. My brother works all day in a cycle shop for his daily food." Her father, a riksha driver, earns Rs 30 a day and mother, a field laborer, Rs 25 if she gets work. Both parents suffer from TB. Says her father, "Talking of studies seems like an abuse. If there is no money how will these children study? Every father wants to educate his children. If we die studies would support her, she could stand on her own feet. But we are helpless." The mother explains, "From 6 a.m. I leave the small children with Anwari. She looks after them."

Girl-sensitive communities, empowerment programs for women, counseling and support for families in difficult situations, and space for girls' collectives where they can meet, work and learn are necessary goals to work towards.



Chapter 7

Incentives – What Exists and What are the Gaps

What are the relevant concepts and actual programs on the ground that have tried to grapple with the factors due to which large numbers of girls are pushed out of schools?

In exploring this question, we will focus (in this chapter) on the role of incentives – such as uniforms, scholarships. What incentives have worked and are working? What incentives are required? If required, in what quantum and for how long?

Incentive Schemes

A number of incentives are offered by Central and State governments in order to render schools more attractive for children coming from disadvantaged backgrounds. We will look at incentives under the following heads:

- Mid-Day Meal
- Scholarships
- Textbooks
- Uniforms

Mid-Day Meal (MDM) -- The National Programme for Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE), popularly called the Mid-Day Meal scheme, is reported to be a great success.²¹ The largest school nutritional programme in the world, it currently covers about 120 million children. All children in primary schools (as well as in alternative educational centers run by the government) are to be covered. The logic behind the scheme is to improve admission, attendance, retention and learning levels of children, as well as improve their nutritional status.

Under the scheme, “a cooked mid-day meal with minimum nutritional content of 300 calories and 8-12 grams of protein is provided to each child studying in Classes I to V. In drought-affected areas, cooked mid-day meals continue to be provided to schoolchildren during summer vacations.” Appropriate mechanisms for quality check are to be devised in different areas. Responsibility for cooking and disbursement is with the local School Development and Management Committees (which include representatives of local Panchayat bodies as well as school teachers/ Head and parents).

In the 4 areas, the children said the following with regard to Mid-Day Meals:

²¹ *Education For All*, MHRD, GOI, Nov 2005

Schools	MDM Provided in	Quality	Quantity	Timing	Hot
Delhi (10)	10	Mediocre	Insufficient	Irregular	No
UP (10)	2	Poor	Insufficient	Regular	Yes
Bihar (10)	3	Poor	Insufficient	Regular	Yes
Rajsthn (10)	5	mediocre	Insufficient	Regular	Yes
All	20		All		

In all, some 20 schools were actually giving out MDMs – 15 were not. In a scheme much advertised as being ‘universal’ this is a gross travesty: some 50 % schools were not getting the promised meals.. Also in several schools there was confusion because children’s and teachers’ versions differed. We understood that there is a lot of problem and difficulties surrounding the mid-day meals. In some schools they are served sporadically, or for only a few days per month. The 20 schools we have recorded are those where mid-day meals seem to be served daily and there is some organized system taking care of it. As a rule of thumb we recorded whether mid-day meal was served the day of our visit.

- In Delhi, whereas meals were provided in all schools, the problem was with regular timings. This problem can negate the positive benefits of a meal scheme. Girls often come into school with no or very little breakfast (the schools start early – 7.30 a.m.) and having put in some quantum of work in the household. Because they get school meals, less attention is paid to feeding them in the morning. However, in most schools in Delhi, the timing of meal was irregular. We were told (in at least 5 schools) that meals can come in any time between 9 and 1! This has disastrous consequences for the learning process. Children who are hungry (and, by 11 or 12, desperately hungry) can hardly concentrate on studies. Attention is directed towards waiting to hear the food arrive. The meal has become the central point of the day in several of these schools. Its arrival heralds a break from monotonous sitting-in-the-classroom, and children flock to the room where distribution takes place. Two women from the local community are hired to take charge of the distribution. The teachers are first given a pile of food, especially if it is good food (like ‘puri-alu’, although this is not part of the calculation while provided food), then children are served. Most children want more food, but in no school was a second helping served. Only plain rice seemed to be left over sometimes. There is a crowd around the serving, so smaller children get knocked over and often prefer to rush home and eat, rather than eat in school.

– In UP, only 2 schools were currently being served MDM²². While 2 schools have never had meals served, in another 6 the meals had been discontinued during the 2 or 3 previous months. The reason given was the local Panchayat elections, due to which the School Managing Committees too were in some disarray. If school meals are so heavily dependent on local elections, etc, this is very harmful for the children.

²² In UP local governing bodies’ elections had been held about two months prior to the field-research. Several respondents told us this was the reason for temporary disruption of Mid-day meals.

- In Bihar some 7 schools were not serving meals. The reasons were not always clear. In one school, teachers said they didn't know where the rations were to be procured from. Cooking arrangements were a problem. Whatever the reason, according to some parents and teachers, money was coming in for the meals, and was being siphoned off for other purposes that had nothing to do with the children or the schools. Funds were perhaps being mis-utilised by the local Panchayat/ school Head etc.

In both UP and Bihar, children and parents were critical of quality of the meals. Several said the food was unclean, too watery or not fully cooked, and the menu was monotonous. Some girls said they prefer to eat at home. One said she avoids eating in school because she feels uncomfortable with the boys and teachers watching her eat.

A number of teachers and school Heads felt the way the MDM scheme was being implemented, it diverted too much attention away from the teaching-learning activities which should be the main preoccupation of teachers and students. Since some of the burden of cooking and serving meals falls on teachers, their teaching activity suffers. Some teachers said the school now is little more than a 'khichri centre' (khichri is a mixed preparation of rice and lentils). In Delhi, the cooking is outsourced – which reduces the pressure on the school, but which has the negative consequence that meals arrive cold and timing is irregular. In UP, Bihar and Rajasthan the norm is to have the meals cooked in school. Either separate sheds have been constructed (in some Rajasthan schools) or, more commonly, rooms utilized for cooking and serving. In both UP and Bihar, the number of classrooms is uniformly less than required. Additional burden of cooking and serving food further vitiates the physical space and dilutes the academic atmosphere. Teachers complained of the difficulties of storage, rotting and cleaning of food. Many classrooms had sacks of rice lying around in corners, sometimes rotting.

Thus whereas the Mid-Day Meal scheme has great potential, the irregularities in the system almost negate the positive benefits of the scheme for at least half the children 'served'.

Scholarships

Scholarships offered to girls vary across different states. In fact a great deal of confusion was apparent on the ground regarding scholarships.

In Delhi, we were told there is a fee concession for SC/ST students (girls and boys) ie instead of the Rs 3 per month paid by other students. SC/ST students pay only Rs 2.50 per month. There is no further concession for girls. Nor is there any scholarship or stipend for families identified as poor (BPL or below poverty line). For girls (and boys) who do well in studies, a small number of scholarships are offered (for 'medhavi' or intelligent students) at class 4 and 5 levels.

In U.P., education authorities informed us that Rs 300 is paid annually for all children in primary school, as a 'scholarship'. This is paid to the parents. However, parents never quoted this figure. A bewildering range of figures was quoted – ranging from 'nothing' to

Rs 20 per month (for 10 or 12 months) to Rs 100/ Rs 200 annually. From teachers and Heads we got different amounts too. The timely receipt and disbursement of funds was another messy issue. Heads, and the School Development Committees and Panchayats involved, said they have to send the number of students on their rolls to the educational authorities; yet there is generally a delay in receipt of funds (sometimes for a year or more).

In Bihar there are no separate provisions for girls, but there is scholarship provision for all students Below the Poverty Line (BPL).

In Rajasthan we were told there is no separate scholarship for girls or SC/ST.

Everywhere, parents spoke of cost of education as a major problem. They do want financial support for schooling. However it is important to provide this with a close monitoring of the income levels of different households, and the needs of the families and children thereof.

Textbooks

Disbursement of textbooks is universal, in all primary schools in all 4 areas. This is no doubt a positive phenomenon. But in all the areas there is irregularity in timing of textbook disbursement. The number of textbooks available is also a problem. In Delhi we were told that usually insufficient numbers were available, so they were first given out to the SC/ST children. A child in UP said the textbooks had come in after the exams!

The PUs sometimes try to fill the gap due to delayed disbursement of textbooks. In UP, the PU (GNK) gave sets of 15 textbooks to several schools, so children who didn't have textbooks could study.

Disbursement of textbooks needs to be rationalized and monitored far better.

Uniforms

Uniforms were distributed in the Delhi schools, though distribution was seldom timely. During our research we found sweaters/ wool being distributed in mid December, although winter set in by November. Sometimes cloth is given out, while at other times the stitched garments are disbursed. Cloth/ garments are given to parents, and often parents do not get the message (from their small children). In that case they miss out, since the item has to be picked up within a set time period (1 or 2 fixed days). Often parents are unable to leave work and come at the fixed time.

Delhi schools are strict about wearing uniforms. Girls usually have only one set – and wash it as they reach home, hanging it out to dry and wearing it the next day.

In UP, Bihar and Rajasthan, there is no system of distributing uniforms (or cloth). Nor is there insistence upon children wearing uniforms. Children usually come in casual clothing.

Hardly any child was seen wearing shoes. They were wearing slippers, and a large number were walking in barefoot.

Gaps and Needs

There are gaps in the planning and distribution of incentives, as noted above. The major gaps identified are:

Mid-day meals: Regular and timely disbursement of the mid-day meals. Quality and quantity of the meals also requires urgent attention. Cooking modalities need to be rationalized so the school's teaching and learning processes do not suffer.

Scholarships: Clear information about scholarships available to students of different categories needs to be provided by the educational system to the ordinary parents. This is a big gap in the present scenario. Timely disbursement of the scholarship amounts is also called for.

Textbooks: Supply of textbooks needs to be regularized in terms of the timeliness. Disbursement timing has to be well synchronized with the school terms and come in well before examination time. Number of textbooks should also be sufficient for all the children. The quality of textbooks, of course, needs separate attention.

Uniforms: When uniforms are provided, it should be in a systematic way, with proper information to parents so that they can come and collect the cloth/garments.

On the whole there are a number of incentive schemes in place, which do encourage more parents to send their children to school. Incentives, particularly the Mid-day Meal scheme, have helped increase admission levels in school. However, incentives should not become an end in themselves, causing academic work in schools to suffer.

Communities, including parents, need to be provided proper information about each of the incentive schemes. There is ample scope for corruption in the pipeline, and the fact is that some funds meant for incentives is being siphoned off. This was clear from what respondents in the 4 field areas told our research team. Thus the need of the hour is to institute a proper system of management as well as monitoring of each of the incentive schemes. Accountability and transparency in incentives distribution is the biggest gap, and challenge.

Chapter 8

Alternative Educational Settings

What are the relevant concepts and actual educational programs that have tried to grapple with the factors due to which large numbers of girls are pushed out of schools?

In exploring this question, we will focus (in this chapter) on the role of alternative educational setting – for out-of-school education of girls. What has been tried? What has worked? What changes or further programs are required? What can be the role of NGOs/INGOs in this sphere?

We will look at the following programs –

- Balika Shivirs (camps for girls)
- Mahila Samakhya's Kishori Chetna Kendras (centers for adolescent girls)
- Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (residential schools)

We will also briefly explore the relevance of NFE centers and Balwadis (child centers) run by NGOs and/or the government.

Balika Shivirs

We visited 2 Balika Shivirs in Rajasthan. These are 9-month residential camps for girls. Most of these are girls who have never attended school, some are dropouts. The girls are not literate. Their age is over 11 years. Thus these girls would find it difficult to attend the primary school now – with children far younger.

Girls at the Balika Shivirs we visited had settled in within a few days. They learnt how to sit relaxed but ready for learning reading and writing. They began the learning process with games and songs. Very soon they became acquainted with the basic rudiments of literacy and mathematical skills. The girls are on the path to picking up the skills.

Clearly the girls were in a space that was enormously enabling. They said, “Earlier we missed home but now we want to stay here.” The teachers teach them for a few hours daily. Even beyond the formal classes, girls study. Teachers are available for any further help the girls require.

The teachers have a far more affectionate relationship with children here. Teachers said, “We are their mothers and fathers here, their sisters and brothers. We are not just their teachers.” Unlike the formal school, here the children are closely bonded with teachers. Teachers are concerned with emotional and psychological needs, and do tend to look after the children with all this in mind.

The teachers are usually single women from similar disadvantaged backgrounds, who have had problems in their own families. They are able to understand and provide empathetic support to many of the girls.

Whereas we did not have time for focused study of learning levels in the Balika Shivirs we visited, earlier reports indicate that the learning levels in Balika Shivar have often been exceptionally high²³. First tried in the late '90s, during 2000-05 these have been attempted in Rajasthan in several districts. These are 'Accelerated Learning' centers. Within 7 to 9 months girls have been found to learn as much as children learn in 5 years of primary schooling!

This exceptionally high achievement level of Balika Shivirs is sustained by several factors. Girls are old enough to grasp more than they could at a younger age, and therefore are able to 'catch' far quicker. They are highly motivated. They are in a space that is conducive to day-long teaching and learning. They learn from one another, from the teacher and from constant self-practice. Parents are motivated to send them because rather than 5 years here they will pick up the rudiments within a few months. Of course, parents check up the safety and security of their girls. Once convinced, they are keen to send their daughters for these camps. They also check out the basic facilities and food that will be provided to their daughters.

Such centers are in danger of becoming more attractive than the normal schools for some parents! However, it is important to see them as a transitional stage. They are a good way to bring learning to the girls who are above-age, but can learn. Younger girls should be encouraged to go into the primary schools.

An important dimension of Balika Shivirs is that at the end girls are encouraged to take admission in formal schools. The percentage of girls who do so varies. Furthermore, several of those who take admission drop out at a later stage. Sometimes they find school frustrating after the experience of accelerated learning in a stimulating environment that they had in the Balika Shivirs.

The learnings from 'why Balika Shivirs work' should actually be used to strengthen and re-invigorate the teaching-learning process in the mainstream schools. This is the process that needs strengthening.

Mahila Samakhya's Mahila Shikshan Manch and Kishori Chetna Kendras

Mahila Samakhya has been a successful programme for bringing awareness and empowerment to women through collective processes. These are rural women who are drawn into collective processes, increasing their strength and capacities through information, discussion and action.

²³ For instance *Snakes and Ladders: Factors Influencing Primary School Completion for children in Poverty Contexts*, South Asia Human Development Sector Report No. 6, South Asia region, the World Bank, 2004

Kishori Chetan Kendras are special educational camps held by Mahila Samakhya. These are designed for adolescent girls. In these, girls learn academic subjects as well as issues related to life-skills and community life. They may thus be able to enter/ re-enter school, and also to become decision makers and leaders in their own communities.

It has been found that adolescents grow rapidly in self-confidence, awareness and are able to intervene effectively in family and community matters, winning respect. Once the process is underway, they become learners and doers – and peer educators.

The learnings from this process should be used, again, to re-invigorate the mainstream schools.

We visited Mahila Samakhya in Bihar, and found the staff extremely enthusiastic and skilled, with abilities to truly support the needs of young adolescent girls. The girls were enthusiastic and capable. Apart from language, social science and so on, the girls had been taught self-defence and played sports. This is path-breaking in the rigid and anti-woman atmosphere of this area, where adolescent girls usually are withdrawn and constrained, never playing active games or even talking loudly and independently.

Sister Sabeena, State Project Director, Mahila Samakhya, Bihar:

MS's most successful education is conducted through the residential Mahila Shikshan Kendras where adolescent girls, many of them dropouts, and women are given a comprehensive eight-month training course. Some are subsequently enrolled in formal schools while others begin working for educational institutions or take up some form of social work.

Investment in these girls is high. Many of them are orphans and from very poor homes. She cited the example of a Musahar girl who was the first in her community to study and write the class 5 exam. The girl is now encouraging others to study, teaching them about hygiene and cleanliness etc.

KGBVs

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalays are residential schools run for girls in remote parts. Started in 2003, some 750 KGBVs are envisaged, to be opened in districts with low literacy, for out-of-school girls who reside in remote and difficult sites.

We visited two KGBVs – one in UP/Bihar, the other in Rajasthan. The one in UP/Bihar was for a 100 girls. It had a committed staff. The girls living in the hostel were from disadvantaged communities (in terms of caste and religion, and of course poverty). The teachers had worked hard to motivate their parents to let the girls study here. The space was clean and well-kept. The girls had a daily schedule that included play and relaxation, and studies. Teachers helped them when required. The girls said they were happy here, and didn't want to go home. "Who will want to go home and do all that work?" said one. They were able to focus on their studies, here.

Similar was the situation in the KGBV hostel in Rajasthan. This is not a school, only a hostel. The girls study in the local school. They keep to themselves, not mixing much with

the local girls in their classes. These girls are from poor and remote families. They are quite highly motivated in terms of their studies. The teachers are very close to them. Efforts to control the girls were also evident, and many ideas had been internalized by the girls. For instance, the girls said, “We should wear chunnis. Girls who don’t wear chunnis are bad. Girls who wear jeans look bad and useless...” The teachers insist that the girls wear chunnis. They also herd them straight from hostel to school, and back from school to hostel. There is no question of allowing the girls to go out anywhere else.

The parents of course are very keen that all these rules and ‘care’ be well in place. Without this, there will be loose talk and they fear that their daughter will earn a bad reputation. However, they have allowed their daughters to live away from home – which in itself is a big step forward.

The atmosphere in the KGBVs is encouraging girls to learn – girls who would not otherwise have any opportunity to do so.

Other Supportive Programs – NFE centers, Bridge courses, Open school, Balwadis

Supportive out-of-school programs that focus on girls’ learning include NFE centers, bridge courses and open school. Balwadis for pre-school children support schooling because there is a convergence between the two. Children who come to balwadis and learn something there (as we saw in Balwadis run by the PUs in Delhi, UP and Bihar) are more likely to attend school and learn better there, than the non-Balwadi children.

NFE centers (as those run by the PUs in the 4 areas) support schooling by providing help to schoolchildren. Thus the NFE centers run by the PU in Bihar help schoolgirls to learn their school subjects. Some girls said to us, “We come 3 days to the NFE center, and 3 days to school. Here in the NFE center we learn. Didi answers and questions and clears our doubts. In school we can’t ask the teachers anything.” At the NFE center they have a kind, affectionate atmosphere. Their parents, specially mother, come and interact with the teachers. Thus the girls’ home atmosphere and problems are understood, appropriate counseling and understanding is available.

Bridge courses are provided by NGOs to enable school dropouts to enhance their learning levels, enough to re-enter school. Open schools allow girls to learn at their own pace, and give exams in a staggered way rather than all at once.

Gaps and Needs

These programs have worked well. The need of the hour is to strengthen such programs, and also make sure that they do not become substitutes for schools. Rather they should supplement girls’ schooling. They should provide the means for enhancing the school itself. They are like crucibles where experiments in teaching and learning can take place.

Increasingly initiatives could be taken in such centers to bring in new teaching material, and particularly to innovative in areas like life-skills and sex education. Forming girls and

women's collectives is an important process that these groups have demonstrated, and that should be taken up by PUs and linked up to school processes.

Providing linkages, and seeing that such efforts do not keep dying out or dwindling, rather that they become models for upscaling at the larger level, is the direction PUs can work towards.

It will also be useful to see what the experiments in different states have been, and what has been useful. What is replicable across the state and in other states as well?



Chapter 9

Addressing the Issues: Government Schemes Focused on Girls' Education

What does the Government of India promise for Girls' Education? What are the special provisions focused on improving the status of girls' schooling, reducing gender gaps at every stage, and in fact universalizing elementary education for girls (as much as for boys).

A number of schemes have been devised to especially address the education of girl children at the elementary level.

SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan)– India's flagship program for UEE – was launched in 2001. Although rapid strides were made in target-oriented achievements such as increases in admission and retention figures for children and reducing the gender gap, within a couple of years it became clear that more focused interventions for girls were still required. That is why NPEGEL (National Program for Education of Girls at the Elementary Level) was launched in 2003. The KGBV (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya) scheme was also devised and got off the ground by 2005.

The following encapsulates the major interventions envisaged by Government of India focusing on girls' schooling at the elementary level. The funding responsibility is divided between Central and State governments, while implementing agencies are the State, District, Block and Cluster level Education Departments in each State.

- Targeted Provisions for Girls Under SSA
- Free textbooks
- Separate toilets for girls
- Recruitment of 50% women teachers
- Early Childhood Care and Education centers in/near schools
- Teacher sensitization programmes to promote equitable learning opportunity
- Back to school camps for out-of-school girls
- Bridge courses for older girls
- Gender-sensitive teaching-learning material
- Intensive community mobilization efforts

National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level

NPEGEL is an important component of SSA, launched with the objective of providing additional support for girls' education. It focuses on promoting schooling for girls at the secondary stage, especially girls from disadvantaged communities, through a range of

strategic interventions. It is to be implemented in Educationally Backward Blocks in 21 States (low female literacy and high gender gap blocks). It specially aims at schooling of

- Out-of-school girls
- Dropout girls
- Girls from SC/ST groups
- Girls with low attendance
- Girls with low achievement levels.

NPEGEL girl-friendly innovations include

- Development of one girl-friendly school per cluster. Within each cluster, grants are to be provided to cover 1 or more of the following:

- school maintenance and part-time instructor
 - award to a school/teacher for achievements in girls' education levels
 - student evaluation, remedial teaching, bridge courses, alternative schools
 - supplementary teaching for open school or short-term residential camps
 - gender training of teachers
 - child care centers.
- For each school a Mothers/Women's Committee should decide on incentives for girls – stationery, workbooks, uniform, escorts in difficult areas etc – apart from free textbooks (within Rs 150 per girl student).
- Provision for community mobilization with special focus on girls' education

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme:

KGBV is aimed at setting up residential schools for girls who would otherwise be unable to study. This includes girls residing in hard-to-reach, small and scattered habitations that lie at a considerable distance from the nearest school. The scheme is designed to ensure access and quality education to girls through the provision of 500 to 750 residential schools and boarding facilities at the upper primary level. The scheme is applicable the identified Educationally Backward Blocks in 21 States of the country. At least three-fourth seats are reserved for girls from marginalized or minority communities while the rest may be made available to girls from families below the poverty line.

Attempts are also being made to reach out to out-of-school children through Alternative Learning Schools and the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS). These are set up in areas where there is no primary school within a radius of one km from habitations. Accessless habitations are covered by EGS. Where there are only 15-20 children an Alternative Learning School is set up. In Bihar, under the Bihar Education Project (umbrella program for education in Bihar) 'Apna Schools' are set up for boys and girls between the ages of 8-11 years, while 'Aangana Schools' are set up exclusively for girls aged 9 plus. These schools are covered within ALS and EGS.

Chapter 10

Addressing the Issues: Stakeholders' Suggestions

BEST PRACTICES

The following practices were found occurring in different schools scattered across the 40 schools in the 4 PU areas. None of the factors was present in all schools. In fact, some factors (for instance `gender-sensitive teachers') were extremely few and far between!.

The `best practices' include the following:

- Female teachers
- Schools close to homes
- Active Parent-teacher associations
- Mother-teacher associations and Mothers' committees (Mata Samiti)
- Mid-day meals – where it is regular, on time, hot, sufficient quantities
- Incentives – textbooks, stationary, scholarships provided by governmentActive teaching for substantial part of the day (we found this in only about 5, that is 13%, schools)
- Teachers aware, sympathetic and helpful (we found a few scattered teachers in some schools)
- Low student teacher ratio (most schools had a ratio between 50: 1 to 60:1 which is far too high)
- A bright atmosphere in school, walls painted with pictures, lettering, slogans (in some Bihar schools); children making paper decorations and hanging up (in one Delhi school); well painted, bright and airy school (2 or 3 in all!), functioning bathrooms, provision for drinking water.
- Balika shivirs – residential camps for older out-of-school girls; `Aangana schools' – as a transitional stage – accelerated learning to help girls enter mainstream schools;
- KGBVs²⁴ -- residential schools/ hostels for girls in difficult areas
- Cluster model schools for girls – under NPEGEL²⁵
- Girls collectives -- Kishori Chetna Manch, Meena Manch, Jagjagi Kendras
- Women's collectives – Mahila Samakhya
- Balwadis, Anganwadis for pre-school children
- Non-Formal Education Centres

²⁴ Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas

²⁵ National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level – launched by Government of India in 2003

Stakeholders' Suggestions

What are the suggestions made by various stakeholders, towards addressing issues of gender discrimination vis-a-vis girls' schooling? Many of their suggestions concerned implementing one or more of the best practices, as outlined above.

We will look at the main suggestions made by children (schoolgoing and non-schoolgoing girls, and a few boys), parents, teachers, school heads, teacher trainers and education department functionaries.

Suggestions Made by Children, Parents and Teachers

More Female Teachers – Students, parents and teachers all supported this suggestion. Girls felt they would be able to talk freely with female teachers, parents felt that their daughters will be more safe if the schools have female teachers. Teachers feel that female teachers will encourage girls to feel more comfortable in school.

Better Teaching – Parents were the most vociferous regarding this suggestion. Several children expressed this, though not so emphatically, partly out of fear of their teachers

Adequate number of Teachers – Teachers were the most vociferous regarding this suggestion, since they feel the burden of high student-teacher ratios on a daily basis. However parents also made the same suggestion.

Schools close to home, with safe, low-cost transport in case school is far from home – This was extremely important for parents and for girls, since they are acutely aware that the absence of proximity of schools and/or safe affordable transport forces girls to drop out of school. Teachers also mentioned the point.

Textbooks to be provided on time – School children, parents and teachers all reiterated the importance of the timely provision of textbooks.

Equal access to games equipment and science labs etc for girls – Girls at middle school level were the ones to raise this point.

Access to bathrooms, drinking water – Parents were most vociferous about these suggestions. Girls and teachers also brought it up.

Functional literacy and relevant skills to be taught – Several parents (usually mothers) made this point.

Teachers should not scold, beat or punish harshly – Children and parents were concerned about this point and made the suggestion quite frequently.

Schools should provide some help or counseling at the transitional stages – Parents were most concerned about this.

Accountability from teachers – to ensure that teachers come to school, teach, and teach well, which would be reflected in learning levels of the children. Parents were most

concerned about this. Some older children, school Heads and a few school teachers also put forth the same suggestion.

More schools, especially more middle schools required – Parents, girls as well as teachers made this point.

Families should not make girls do too much housework – A few teachers said this, similarly a few children said the same thing.

Sufficient number of classrooms – Teachers (specially in Bihar, UP where the shortage of classrooms is most marked) were the main ones to put forward this suggestion. Parents, children and teacher trainers also put it forward.

Proper information and timely implementation of incentives schemes – Teachers and parents made this suggestion. Some children seconded it. The suggestion was made especially in terms of scholarships and mid-day meals.

Less out-of-school duties for teachers such as election duty, census duty – Teachers (including school Heads) put forward this suggestion most emphatically. Some parents made the same suggestion.

Further Suggestions by Teacher Trainers (DIETs)

- Gender training modules and gender sensitization of teachers
- Creative teaching-learning methods to be taught and used
- Pre-service and in-service training of teachers

Additional Suggestions by Education Department functionaries

- Teachers should be accountable – they must teach, and teach well. Education departments want more accountability to ensure this.
- Communities should come forward to promote girls' schooling.
- Parents should recognize importance of girls' schooling.
- NGO partnership for running balika shivirs, bridge courses
- NGO partnership and community involvement for setting up girls' groups and women's groups with a focus on education.

Chapter 11:

Key Recommendations:

HOW ARE WE TO REDUCE GENDER DISCRIMINATION AND IMPROVE GIRLS' LIVES IN SCHOOL?

Pedagogic Methods and Materials

- Gender training for teachers
- Gender training for educational administrators, teacher trainers
- Textbooks to be monitored for gender biased content
- Non-gender biased teaching material to be accessed/created and used
- Home science, agricultural science, sports, art for all
- More female teachers at every level of school

Community Groups and Monitoring

- Mother Teacher Associations to be formed and active
- PTAs, VECs, SDMCs to be properly formed and active
- Community outreach with focus on girls' education
- Monitor and strengthen girl-friendly innovations under SSA, NPEGEL²⁶, KGBV
- Monitor distribution of Incentives by government, including mid-day meal, textbooks, scholarships
- Support mobile libraries, stationery distribution where needed

Girls' and Women's Empowerment

- Form and strengthen girls' collectives like Meena Manch
- Form and strengthen women's collectives
- Campaigns and counseling on gender based violence
- Positive role models for girls to be highlighted
- *Relevant learning* eg legal literacy, land documents etc

Linkages with Alternative Education and Educational Settings

- Balika Shivir for older out-of-school girls – a transitional phase
- Strengthen remedial teaching, bridge courses

²⁶ NPEGEL girl-friendly innovations include, for each cluster, a grant of Rs 60,000 to cover one or more of the following: a) recurring grant up to Rs 20,000 for promotion of girls' education including school maintenance and hiring part-time instructor; b) Rs 5,000 award to a school/teacher for achievements in girls' education levels; c) up to Rs 20,000 for student evaluation, remedial teaching, bridge courses, alternative schools; d) up to Rs 50,000 for payment of fees and supplementary teaching for open school or setting up short-term residential camps; e) up to Rs 4,000 for gender training of teachers; f) recurring grant of Rs 5000 and non-recurring grant of Rs 1000 for child care centers. Apart from these, for each school a Mother/Women's Committee can decide on incentives for girls – stationery, workbooks, uniform, escorts in difficult areas etc – apart from free textbooks (within Rs 150 per girl student). There is also provision for community mobilization with special focus on girls' education (Rs 35,000 per cluster for the first year, Rs 20,000 for the second and third years, Rs 10,000 for the fourth and fifth years).

- Exit points from school with links to vocational education
- Counseling/mentoring for each transition point
- Relevant *life-skills education* for adolescents

Broad Strategies Recommended

- Right to information could be used
- Right to education as a fundamental right – this awareness should spread
- Use of resources provided by the government under various heads in various schemes should be monitored and ensured.
- Listen to what girls want, their dreams and ideas.... Build on this

Action Plans: Possible Strategic Interventions by PUs and Plan

The present research findings should be utilized to develop Action Plans for improving the situation as regards girls' schooling in the 4 PU areas.

Our findings and recommendations should support PUs to devise ways to improve the situation for girl children at the ground level. Gender discrimination and schooling issues are deep-seated and include cultural, social, economic, bureaucratic and system-related problems. We therefore suggest a series of phased interventions within a holistic, multidimensional and participatory framework.

Vision and Scope of Possible Interventions:

To significantly impact gender discrimination and improve girls' schooling, a series of *systematic interventions* would need to be undertaken in all 4 PU areas. These will be planned in *partnership* with the PUs in each area. Focused interventions at the *different levels* of home, family, community, as well as schools and the school system are necessary.

The *key to successful interventions* is sensitive interface effectively with communities and schools to enhance girls' access to improved schooling.

Action Plans will be evolved through participatory discussions in mid-February. For this, a dissemination and planning meeting is to be held, with PUs and Plan as well as other specialists in the field, on February 15 and 16, in New Delhi.

Annex 1

Girls' Responses to Gender Stereotypes

Responses with regard to Gender Stereotypes

The following question was framed to test gender stereotypes:

'Meena is a 10-year old girl. She likes to play cricket, cycle and go to the market. Aman is a boy. He likes playing with dolls, swinging on a swing and doing the housework. What do you feel about these two children?'

In response to the 'Meena-Aman' question, girls said:

Delhi

Kanchan, 10, CI 5: "Housework is to be done by girls. It doesn't feel good if boys do housework."

Rekha, 8, CI 2: "Housework should be done by girls. Boys doing housework does not look good."

Kavita, 12, non-school: "Housework should be performed by girls only. Brothers do no housework, they do wage work outside."

Sahana, 11, CI 4: "I won't do housework. I like cycling, marketing etc. But that a boy should do housework – I don't like that, since he too has to study, to move ahead.... I want to study, but I think when I grow up I have to marry too."

Farmida, 12, non-school: "Girls should do the housework, it is not a good story in which the girl likes to go out and work."

Barkha, 13, CI 5: "I will like it if my brother were to do housework. If brother doesn't the sister will have to do the housework. It *is* a little weird if girls do outside and boys do housework."

Zeenat, 10, non-school: "I like to cycle, my bro likes to play with mud and with dolls."

Suchita, 12, CI 4: "Housework should be girls', why should a boy do if he has a sister?"

Archana, 11, CI 5: "Girls should get what they want – cycling, marketing, going out. But boys should not cook or play with dolls."

U.P.

Saroj, 16, non-school: "Don't like the story."

Manju, 14, non-school (has 5 younger siblings): "Playing with dolls – for girls. Riding a bicycle – for boys."

Kapura Gond, 13, non-school: "It is alright in its own place."

Meera, 10, CI 3: "It is good if the girl rides a bicycle, does outside work, plays. Brother can do what work he feels like doing. If he gathers the wood for cooking, then only the food can be made. It is necessary for the boy to do housework."

Sailesh, 13, CI 5 (Boy): "I liked listening to this story because the girl doesn't have to do too much work. The girl also can play and do some housework."

Pushpa, 10, CI 5: "Now if my brother does housework, it isn't right. I didn't like this story."

Surekha, 13, CI 7: “Meena should ride a bicycle and play cricket. But Aman should not cook food. He is a boy, that is why he shouldn’t cook.”

Meera, 10, CI 3: “It will feel good when girls do outside work. If a boy feels like it he can do housework, but both should go to study.”

Dilip, 14, CI 7, (Boy): “The story is okay. But boy should do outside work and girl ought to do housework. But boy should also look after his mother.”

Rukhsana, 13, non-school: “Both are quite right.”

Alinisha: 12, CI 4: “I like the story but it is not as if only girls have to do housework. A girl can do housework but she should have the freedom to go out, ride a bicycle, all this.”

Shanti, 9, CI 1: “If a boy does housework I will like it because my work will get lighter. But I don’t know how to ride a cycle. If somebody teaches me I will surely like to learn.”

Rinku, 9, CI 1 (boy): “If a girl goes out of the house it will not be accepted, the family will not let her go. I don’t mind it, but if a girl does housework it is good, there is nothing wrong about it.”

Pooja, 8, CI 3: “Boys should not do housework.”

Bihar

Khusbu, 11, CI 6: “Boys can’t do all this work (housework, skipping rope). This is not boys’ work. These are girls’ work.”

Sarita, 15, CI 6: “Girls should also do housework”

Sheela, 10, CI 4: “I don’t like this. I don’t like what this girl is doing. Girls should do the housework and boys should do the marketing, go to the bazaar.

Gayatri, 10, CI 4: “If a boy does housework it will not feel good. Girls should do housework. Boys should earn outside.

Asha, 12, non-school: “I like the work that girls do – I like that only.”

Ranjana, 12, CI 6: “I like the story. Whether it is housework or outside work, work is work. If the boy does housework, the girl does outside work, both are working. They are not forcing one another to do anything..”

Babita, 12, CI 7: “I like the story. It is not right that she cycles. Going to the bazaar is fine, and also if she were to do housework it would be fine. If the boy swings on a swing and does housework it is good. No, it is *not* good.”

Rajasthan

Santosh, 11, non-school, youngest of 10 siblings (has 4 brothers, 4 5 sisters): “I don’t like it. Girls and women are for housework. Men will do the outside work.”

Santosh, 14, non-school, has 3 brothers, 3 sisters, is married, left school to do housework: “I like this girl Meena. I too do not like doing the housework.”

Nainu, 12, CI 5: 3rd of 6 sisters and 1 brother: “I will like it – if the boy does housework, it feels good.”

Roshni, 10, CI 4: 3rd of 4 sisters and 3 brothers: “I don’t like it if the brother does housework. But I do like to ride a cycle. I can come from school by cycle.”

Nirma, 14, CI 7: “This story is not quite right.”

Kailash, 11, CI 7 (Boy -- is 4th of 11 siblings – 6 brothers and 5 sisters): “I don’t feel good about this story. Boys should not do housework.”

Panni, 16, married, non-school, has studied up to CI 5 (is 7th of 9 siblings – 3 boys and 6 girls): “I like to do outside work. It is good if the brother does housework.”

Phunsi, 11, CI 5: “How can I like this story? Why should boys do housework if a girl is there? If there isn’t any girl then boys have to do housework.”

Basanti, 10, CI 3 (is the eldest of 5 siblings – has 4 younger brothers): “It really feels good when a brother does some housework.”

Durga, 14, CI 5 (5th of 6 siblings – has 4 elder sisters, 1 elder brother and 1 younger): “If the girl does housework, boy outside work, it is good.”

Girls’ Daily Schedules

Delhi:

Kanchan, 10: Wake at 6, do housework, eats breakfast, then school. After school do housework, play a bit, go for tuition, then do housework. Sleep at 9.30

Rekha, 8: Wake at 6.30, do housework, eat *roti sabji*, go to school. After school I go for tuition, study at home. Clean, sweep, do the dishes. See serial on TV, sleep at 8.

Sabiya, 9: Wake at 6, fetch milk from dairy, get ready, have breakfast, go to school. Have lunch, go to study Arabic and Urdu, returns home and do homework. Help with housework, eat dinner and sleep.

Suchita, 12: Study half hour in the morning, and after school too. Fill the water. Cleaning, swabbing, sweeping, washing night dishes is my responsibility. (Sleep after 8. I get dizzy, eyes water when I study, have a constant headache.... I want to be a doctor.... Parents don’t have time to talk to each other, mother works in a factory and returns home at 10 in the night, father does wage labour.... My family talks of my marriage.)

Arti, K-block Sangam Vihar, CI 3: Wake at 6, do housework, go to school. After school, I work in the house stuffing toys and crackers. I sleep at 10 in the night.

U.P.

Meera, 10, CI 3: Wake at 5. Eat and go to school, it is half an hour walk. After school, I do housework, and I do school-homework.”

Pooja, 8, CI 3: Wake at 7, sweep and clean the house, clean the utensils then go to school. After school I look after my little brother.” (she has 4 younger siblings, 3 sisters and the smallest a 2-month old brother).

Bihar

Khushboo, 11, CI 6: Wake at 6, study and play until 8, do housework with mother, bathe, go to school. After school help in the shop, study, help with cooking, eat and sleep.

Babita, 12, CI 6: Wash utensils in the morning, cook food, walk (over 1 hour) to school. After school, help with cooking, eat, watch TV, sleep.

Rajasthan

Nainu, 12, CI 5: Wake at 7, fill water, wash the utensils, then go to school.

Basanti, 10, CI 3: Wake at 5, do housework, eat a meal, then walk to school – a 1-hour walk across 4 or 5 fields. At school from 10 to 4, then walk back home.

Menstrual Taboos (in all 4 States):

- have to keep away from kitchen
- can't do housework
- can't go to temple
- can't touch the Quransharif

Girls's Feelings about Marriage

12-year old, Bihar: "My mother and aunt talk about my marriage. I feel funny about it. I think, I do so much housework yet my mother says, let's marry her off."

Shanti, 9, Bihar: "They talk of my elder sister's marriage. But when they talk of my marriage too, I like it."

12-year old, Bihar: "My elder sister was married, I too will be married when I am 16. But I feel angry about this."

Gender-Related Stereotypes Reflected in FGDs with Children

K-Block Sangam Vihar, Delhi, 10 girls, CI 3

Some girls said they do light work in the house – such as sweeping and cleaning the floor, filling water, cutting vegetable. Others continued – we clean the utensils, knead the flour, get things from the shop, look after our younger sisters and brothers. Over half the girls said they wash the clothes. They said, we don't get time to study because Mummy makes us do all this work.

Naunia Village, U.P., 9 children – 6 boys, 3 girls – aged 9 to 11, in CI 4 and 5:

The girls said boys should not do housework, the sister should do it, she should do the cooking. Because when she goes to her own home after marriage, if she doesn't know how to cook, everybody will taunt her, she will be beaten. Therefore girls should do housework. (All these girls wake by 6.30 and do housework up to 9, then reach school by 10.)

Shyamkat village, U.P., 10 girls, CI 4 and 5

The girls said – "If we don't study we will not get married, will not find a good boy.... Boys should not do housework, it is wrong. We will do the housework. A boy can't make rotis, he will not know how to do so. Even if we teach him, he will not be able to learn. This is our work."

Ramnagar village, Bihar, 7 girls, aged 12-14, in CI 7

A girl should do housework, because later she has to do it. Whether a boy does or not, it doesn't matter. If the girl has a job and the boy doesn't then he can do housework. But we don't like it when our brothers do housework. We should worship our brother. He can do the outside work."

Hadaan, Rajasthan, 17 girls, aged 10 to 16, in CI 6-9

There is no problem, but in the morning we all do housework before coming to school. We do cooking, washing utensils, cleaning the floor... and again we do housework once we return from school. We study at night by the chimney light.... Brothers do not do

housework. We do the housework. That is our work. Boys doing housework – it is not a good thing.

Ghantiali, Rajasthan, 11 children (4 girls, 7 boys), aged 9 to 12, CI 5

One boy said, “Girls do more work. Boys earn and study. But we do not do the work – cleaning, cooking, sweeping – because nobody tells us to do this work. This work has become girls’ work only.”

Jhajhu, Rajasthan, 10 girls, age 12-16, CI 8

Girls should wear ‘chunni’ to cover their body. A girl who doesn’t wear chunni is not a good girl, she look bad. Our Madam also scolds such girls saying you must wear a chunni. Those girls who wear jeans look bad and useless. Those who roam about outside find it difficult to get married too.



Annex 2

CHILD CASE STUDIES

Arzoo, 11, Delhi (Muslim)

Arzoo studies in Class 4. That she studies at all is a miracle. Emaciated, with pale eyes, she has a sharp gaze. Her father – a tailor -- died 4 years ago, and her mother is mentally ill. The mother works sporadically as a vegetable vendor, but most of the time there is no income at all. Arzoo and her 16-year old sister have moved out of the mother's house. They live with their 17-year old brother and the brother's friend who works as a driver. They are economically dependent on the brother's friend who is in fact his homosexual partner.

Arzoo's sister is devoted to caring for and sending her younger sister to school. She herself is uneducated. A year ago when the brother's friend's younger brother tried to molest her, she wanted to commit suicide: the only thought that saved her was – “What will happen to Arzoo if I die?”

Arzoo's school is approximately 2 kilometres from home: it takes her over half an hour each ways. She walks half the distance, then takes an auto-riksha up to school. She likes to study, and wants to become “somebody – maybe a doctor or a teacher.”

Their mother has fits of anger in which she abuses and throws things – money, vegetables.... Arzoo's younger brother aged 6 years lives with their. Community goons have raped the mother; but when her elder son went to the police they refused to file a case, saying, “Who would rape a mad woman?”

Komal, 12, Married, Non-schoolgoing – Delhi (Nai ie `SC' or Scheduled Caste)

Komal attended school for 3 years in the village in U.P., but never learnt to read and write. She works for a few hours daily – piece-rate work stitching stars, glitter etc – with her mother. Komal left school after her father's death. She, her two elder brothers, and mother moved to Delhi at that time. Komal's family is not interested in educating her, nor is there any atmosphere for studies at home. Her brothers work as daily wage laborers, with no steady income. Food is short. Komal does much of the cooking and other housework. She has faced sexual harassment on Delhi roads, and hunger in the house. She says, “I myself do not feel like studying. Circumstances have killed my desire to study... My family says it's time for my gauna (leaving for her in-laws'house) but they don't have the money to perform the ceremony. I feel angry when I hear such talk.”

Zaibunnisa, 10, Non-schoolgoing, Delhi (Muslim)

Zaibunnisa studied in her village school, but since the family came to Delhi 2 years ago, she hasn't been to any school. At home she helps her mother do the housework and look after the two younger siblings – a sister (4 years old) and a 5-year old brother. Her father,

a tailor, earns approximately Rs 1000 per month. She says, “My father doesn’t want to send me to school, though my mother would support my studying. My father says if we go back to the village, I can study there.” She herself is not particularly attached to studies. Her eyes sparkle when she says, “I like to cycle. My brother likes to play with mud and dolls!”

Back in the village too, Zaibunissa helped her mother with housework and sibling care. Even when she went to school in the village, she says she was unable to give time to studies. Her attendance was low, since she was often required to stay at home. Her confidence in her ability to study is low, and her academic achievements are non-existent.

Gauri, 14, CI 5, U.P. (Tharu tribe – `ST’ ie Scheduled Tribe category)

Says Gauri, “I don’t like to stay at home. I like to study. Masterji I like, my plan is to study, move ahead. There is shortage of money at home. We take loans. We work in the fields and repay loans by giving a sack of rice.”

Gauri is weak and anemic, so she looks forward to her mid-day meal – but “Since last 10 days we weren’t given the food. I feel bad because I feel hungry. Very hungry.” It is 30 minutes’ walk to the school, from her home which is on the outskirts of the village. If she hasn’t completed her homework, “Sirji beats badly with his stick.” Gauri wakes at 6, works at home and in the fields, cooks or else goes hungry to school if there is no flour in the house. After school she again works right up to 7 p.m. She frequently suffers from headaches, stomach-ache, vomiting.

Gauri’ 18-year old brother helps her when she has a difficulty in her studies. He works as a laborer. Her elder sister helps with the housework and agricultural work. Their mother works as an Anganwadi helper, and in the fields. She says, “If Gauri passes her exams, she can get some work. Then our house’s sorrows will pass. We will be better off.... If we give a sack of paddy to the moneylender we don’t have enough food left in the house.”

After Gauri’s father died of asthma 4 months ago, the school Headmaster gave some money to help them bide over the difficult period. Gauri couldn’t study properly after her father’s death. The mother is often ill, and Gauri stays back to look after her. Says the mother, “Our home is at the edge of the village, amid the fields. People look at us with different eyes after my husband’s death. My son went out to find work, so now only I and my two daughters live here. I feel scared because we are so far from other homes. The villagers are good, but there are others – police, CRP for hunting Maoists and smack smugglers....That’s why I am trying to settle Gauri’s marriage, so she goes somewhere safe. But they ask for huge sums as dowry – how can I give a gold ring, color TV, cash...? I would have to sell my house, mortgage this tiny plot of land.”

“If she gets scholarship, books and copies etc my daughter can study. How can I send her when I can’t even buy a copy for 2 Rs?”

Munni, 13, Non-schoolgoing, U.P. (Chamar ie `SC' or Scheduled Caste)

Says Munni, "I really want to study! I studied up to Class 5, then the family keeps me home because of circumstances. I do housework, agricultural work. My father works as a construction laborer when he gets work." She has two elder brothers who studied up to Class 8, and a 10-year old brother who is studying in Class 5. Her elder sister (aged 20) hasn't studied at all. Her 7-year old brother is in Class 2.

She says, "Nobody in my family supports my studies. If I got free notebooks I could study. I want to study and take up a job... I do a lot of the housework. If others also did housework, then I would have time to study. My family talks of marriage, but I feel really bad about that. When I get my periods, I can't go to the temple.

Says her mother, "I would like my daughter to study, then she could do a job and not be dependent on others for her food. She would be self-reliant. It would help find her a good boy, and she would run her household better. But because of poverty we are not sending her to school." The mother works as a trained midwife, earning Rs 50 per delivery. During the training she found women who could read were given greater respect. That experience has motivated her towards educating Munni. She adds, "My husband drinks – far too much! We have very little land, and have to work in others' fields to earn a living. The daily wage is Rs 50 – when we get some work!"

Naina, 13, Class 2, Bihar (Pasi, ie `SC' or Scheduled Caste)

Naina's father is a bonded labourer who is given Rs 10 as daily wage by the zamindar. Naina too works in the zamindar's haveli (large house). She relates, "I wake up at 7, go to the haveli to work. There I clean and help with the cooking. Then I go to school by 10. After school I again work in the haveli and return home at 10 in the night. I walk back alone, it is just 10 minutes walk from our house."

Naina is studying due to sheer determination and grit. None of her siblings (2 elder brothers, 2 elder sisters and 2 younger sisters) attends school. Nobody in the family can help with her studies. She says, "I like to study. I don't like any other work. There are many difficulties in my way. Only if somebody from outside helps me will I be able to study further. My family will let me study. I want to study and become a teacher." Her head aches, she often suffers from fever and body-ache. If she feels very unwell she takes leave from school – but can't take leave from her work in the haveli.

Says her father, "Our homes are made of straw. If Naina studies it will help improve her life, and support us as well. We want her to study. We love our children. However in school, the teachers hardly teach! All the classes from 1 to 5 sit together and study."

Naina's mother doesn't have one hand from the elbows down. Her husband's brother chopped off her arm and then ran away. Yet she works in the school as a cook for the mid-day meal. She says, "Past 2 months the food is not being given. Earlier food was cooked – 8 or 10 days a month." Angrily, she adds, "Our ancestors were looted by zamindars. But now this government loots us!... When we are ill we have to go to a private doctor, they take Rs 50 for seeing you!"

Naina's school provides no mid-day meal, nor has she received uniforms or books from school. Luckily the school does not insist on a uniform. As she puts it, "Me having a uniform? – Impossible! If I have clothes to cover my body it is enough!"

Anwari, 9, Non-schoolgoing, Bihar (Muslim)

Anwari's father is a riksha driver, earning Rs 30 a day, and mother a field laborer, earning Rs 25 as daily wages when she gets work. Anwari has 4 brothers (aged 12, 7, 5 and 4 years) and a 6-month old sister. None of the children has ever attended school. She longs to study. But her family lives on the edge of starvation.

Anwari looks after her younger siblings (there are 4 younger than this 9-year old girl!). She says, "I work from 6 in the morning to 10 in the evening. My elder brother too works all day – in a cycle shop – for his daily food, nothing else."

No food has been cooked in the house all day, not even tea. Both parents suffer from TB. Parents and children all are weak, malnourished. Says her father, "Talking of studies seems like an abuse. If there is no money how will these children study? Every father wants to educate his children. If we die studies would support her, she could stand on her own feet. But we are helpless."

The mother explains, "I go out to work. From 6 in the morning I leave the younger children with Anwari. She looks after them. We are very poor. My heart desires that she should study.... We earn so little we can't even have a proper shelter. This plastic sheet over our heads lets in the rain, so it becomes as wet as it is outside, and there is no question of sleeping. For fuel we use dry leaves. We have no electricity – how to pay for a metre?"

Sarita, 14, Class 8, Rajasthan (Beniwal ie `SC' or Scheduled Caste)

Sarita has 4 elder brothers – the eldest never attended school while the next three left school after Class 8. She has 5 sisters – 3 older than her, none of whom attended school at all. Two are younger than her – and studying. Sarita's school is several kilometers away. She usually walks both ways – 1 hour each way. She seldom takes the bus, because it costs Rs 10. But the walk is scary, with long lonely stretches; one day a jeep stopped near her and men started talking to her, chasing her when she started running away.

Sarita does housework, sibling care and agricultural work. Waking at 5.30, she cooks the meal, milks the cow, eats and goes to school. She likes her studies, especially Hindi. She enjoys playing games like kabaddi. In her school textbooks often arrive late so it is very difficult to study. She dreams of becoming a teacher. Married at the age of 9 months, now her parents are thinking of sending her to her in-laws' house. But she says, "I don't like this. I don't believe in this marriage. I don't know if I am married or not.... We were married together – all 4 sisters. My three elder sisters, and myself. The eldest was 15 years old, then 10, 8 and myself not even 1 year old!" The other three live in their marital homes.

Sarita's elder brother is keen to educate the younger girls. Her mother is proud and happy to have her daughter attending school: "She has a keen desire to study. The way is long. School is safe, but the way is not so safe. We send her because she will learn special skills, maybe she will get a job. In our village the custom is not to educate girls, but we do.... We would like to educate her up to Class 10 but that school is really too far. It would take 4 hours to go and come – by bus."

Boy Atmaram, classmate of Sushila. Cl 8. It is fine to have girls studying with us. Girls should study till BA, MA. They think better then, they can help their children study better. Life is hard, girls can do better if they study too.

Rimli, 11, Rajasthan, Schoolgoing, Class 5 (Meghwal, ie `SC' or Scheduled Caste)

Rimli wants to take up a job later. Her father has no job, and agriculture is possible only if or when it rains. At present her family is surviving on loans, taken from upper caste wealthy people in their village, at very high rates of interest.

Rimli suffers from a severe eye problem. She wants to become a doctor, but says, wistfully, "What's the use of dreaming?"

At home nobody can help with her studies. She is the eldest of six children, and has to put in a lot of time into taking care of her younger siblings. Her sisters are aged 10, 6, 5 and 2 years old, and brother is 6 years old. The 10-year old studies in Class 4, while the next three children study in Class 1. The 2-year old sister stays at home all day. Rimli also handles housework – helping her mother.

Rimli wakes at 7 a.m., sweeps the house, washes the utensils, eats a meal and then leaves for school. She walks to school alone – it takes 1 hour each way. She likes to study, enjoys playing. She particularly likes to study Hindi and English. The mid-day meal is served sometimes – she says it is often raw and tasteless, but sometimes it is good, clean and hot. She has one school uniform, which she washes in the evening and dries in front of the (kitchen) fire.

Due to weak eyesight, Rimli can't see properly in the sunlight. She finds it very difficult to see when she comes into light, or goes from light into a room. She says, "I don't like it if my brother does housework. Housework should be done by girls." Her family isn't talking of marriage yet. She says, "I don't think marriage is good. I want to study and become a doctor." Her family is, for the time being, allowing her to study.

Rimli's classmate, 13-year old Raj Kumar, is also of Meghwal caste. He says, "The upper castes fill water from the same well, but when they come to fill water, we Meghwals have to move away." Raj Kumar is of the opinion that it is good for girls and boys to study together because it reduces discrimination against girls. He adds, "In our village men beat their wives. The woman just cries, what else is she to do? My father abuses my mother a lot, but my mother remains quiet. What is she to do? I don't like it. ... In our village men harass girls."

Annex 3

Textbook Analysis – All Four States¹

1. Uttar Pradesh

Publisher:- Textbook Department, Department of Education, Basic, Uttar Pradesh.

Class-V

Pictures

Total Pictures: - 52

Pictures showing only males: - 29 i.e. 55.8%

Pictures showing only females: - 4 i.e. 7.7%

Pictures showing both males and females: - 9 i.e. 17.3%

Pictures showing inanimate objects: - 8 i.e. 15.4%

All pictures of males show them in stereotypical behavior. They are depicted as heads of Panchayats and as active characters. Male children are shown as doing actions like jumping, trying to move a rock. Among the nine pictures depicting both males and females, three show females with their heads covered. One picture shows them carrying pots of water also. The four pictures showing only females depict only small girl children in passive actions such as looking at the sky. Also sometimes only their faces are depicted in the pictures. Pictures breaking stereotypes is only one which shows two males crying.

There are twenty one chapters in the textbook. Of these there are four stories, seven poems, seven information based texts, one play, one moralistic story, one autobiography. Most of the stories have only male characters and all of them have stereotyped roles. There is only one story which has female character also. The female of this story is depicted as weak. This character appears in the story as a prominent character in the beginning but slowly the strength and importance of this character fades away as the story progresses.

None of the poems are story poems. All of them describe an event, a scenery. Among all these poems there is only one poem which is centered around female character (Rani Laxmi Bai).

The book is biased towards rural settings. It is evident from the fact that most of the texts, be it stories, plays, poems or descriptive texts, have rural settings. It is also biased towards lower middle class. Most of the stories have characters which are shown to be poor or from this strata of society.

¹ By Nisha Ramachandran

There are no attempts to give creative exercises in the textbook. Questions are mainly recall based and can be directly answered from the text. There are also no open ended questions in the textbook.

2. Rajasthan

Publisher:- Rajasthan State Textbook Committee, Jaipur

Class V

Pictures

Total Pictures: - 33

Pictures showing only males: - 13 i.e. 39.4%

Pictures showing only females: - 2 i.e. 6%

Pictures showing both males and females: - 10 i.e. 30.3%

Pictures showing inanimate objects: - 8 i.e. 24.3%

The maximum number of pictures depict from only males. These pictures are stereotyped as they show men as brave. Most of the pictures show men as active characters. Pictures which show females are the least number of pictures. As can be seen from the table above that there are only two pictures which depict females. Both these pictures show older females and girl children. These pictures show older women with their heads covered. Pictures showing both male and female characters have the second largest percentage after pictures depicting only males. The pictures however show more males than females. Also most of the females have their heads covered. Females are shown in stereotyped roles. They are depicted as drawing water from well, serving food to males, decorating home on festivals, girl children and women talking to each other only and not to males, mother loving her son, females standing far away from males. There is a clear bias in pictures which depict males and females in stereotyped roles. Only one picture tries to break this bias which depicts a young girl saving a male. Here the girl is still not shown as an active character. She is shown as standing after doing the action of cutting the rope which was tied to the male.

Total texts in the book are 31. of these there are 7 stories in the book. There are 10 poems, 6 information based texts, 1 play, 1 fun story and 6 moralistic stories in the textbook. Most of the stories have male characters. There are no stories which are solely based on female characters. The male characters in these stories are depicted as brave, outgoing, and ambitious but females as caring, loving and fragile. The fun story also has only male characters only. There are three moralistic stories which have only male characters and the rest three have both male and female characters. The stories with female characters depict them as brave women but as if they are exceptional.

There are 10 poems in the textbook but none of them is a story poem.

The biases present in the textbook are based on the setting of the stories. Most of the stories are based on rural settings. There are no biases based on class and caste.

3. Delhi – SCERT

Class- III

Pictures

Total pictures in the textbook are 43.

Total pictures showing only male characters are 14 i.e. 32.5% of the total.

Total pictures showing only female characters are 4 i.e. 9.3%.

Total pictures showing both male and female characters are 8 i.e.18.6%.

All the pictures of males show them in stereotypical behavior. They are depicted as riding animals, painting picture of lion, playing with football. All the pictures of females also show them as doing stereotypical behavior like playing with dolls, dancing, caring for children. Males in the pictures are also shown to be more active as compared to females. However some pictures show them in non-stereotypical behavior like beating a boy but this picture is also communicating wrong notions as it shows violence.

There are eighteen chapters in the textbook. Of these there are eight stories, six poems, three information based texts and one play. Stories with only males as their characters is three. Stories with both males and females as their characters are seven but their roles are stereotyped as female characters are shown to be caring, weak, cunning, docile, whereas these stories are centered around male characters. They are also shown as stronger, brave and extrovert. For example the story of Bagula aur Kekada (The Swan and The Crab) portrays fishes as females and their character is depicted as weak and helpless. Both the crab and the swan are males depicted as strong and powerful. The play in the textbook is Lukko Mause (Lukko aunt) which shows lukko as a clever vixen who dies at the end due to her greed. The cleverer chickens are shown as males who are more intelligent to deceive the vixen.

The textbook does not show any class differences. There is an attempt to make the textbook a mixture of urban and rural setting. Although most of the chapters have a rural setting chapters such as Ek Yaatra Aisi Bhi describes a trip in Delhi Metro. There are no biases on the basis of caste. The book however is religiously biased as most of the characters of the stories are shown as Hindus.

The textbooks have a lot of scope for creativity. There are questions which enhance the creativity of the children. There are questions which require children to imagine beyond stories and rope in their own experience.

Class IV

Pictures

Total pictures in the textbook are 28.

Total pictures showing only male characters are 15 i.e. 53.5% of the total.

Total pictures showing only female characters are 4 i.e. 10.8%.

All the pictures of males show them in stereotypical behavior. They are depicted as flying kites, stacking stones in a sack, looking at stars with a telescope. All the pictures of females also show them as doing passive behavior like sitting in a boat with a cat, sleeping. Males in the pictures are also shown to be more active as compared to females. The picture showing women in non-stereotypical behavior is one in which a girl is saving a boy but this picture also has two boys standing behind her on her either side.

Of the total texts i.e.19 there are seven stories, six poems, five information based texts and one play. Stories with only male characters are only 5. Of the total seven stories 71.4% have male characters. Only one story has female characters. Story such as Pyaasa Kauva(The Thirsty Crow) and Ek Nanha Dost (A Small Friend) are in house productions and in both the texts the characters are depicted as males. This may give the children that there are only 'male' crows and earthworms.

The textbook has been written trying to keep it neutral with respect to class differences. But an underlying fact is that the characters of the stories are depicted as being well off. Most of the stories are in rural settings.

The book does not have any biases based on caste, it is religiously biased book. Of the total seven stories only one has a Muslim character.

The textbooks have a lot of scope for creativity. There are questions which enhance the creativity of the children. There are questions which require children to imagine beyond stories and rope in their own experience.

4. Bihar

- Bihar State Textbook Publishing Corporation Limited

Class I

The pictures are such that they have both males and females in stereotyped behavior. The pictures show men in actions such as walking with sticks, taking care of animals, planting trees, digging. In one picture a man is shown to be leading his family and at the same time holding the hands of a boy and a girl while his wife is walking behind him. In the pictures boys are shown as more active whereas girls are shown as passive, doing household work.

Class III

Total pictures: 41

Maximum pictures have only male characters i.e. 41.5%. these pictures are also stereotyped as males are shown as looking after animals, returning from fields, playing kabaddi. There are no pictures which have only female characters. But there are 17.07% pictures showing both males and females. These pictures show girls as tying rakhi to boys, mother nursing a boy child.

Total stories in the book is 8. Six stories have only male characters. The three stories have female characters who are weak, docile and in the role of mother.

The only play in the book is Chatur Geedad (the Clever Fox). In this play there are no female characters. Hence there is no scope for girl children to participate in this play.

There are no class differences but the book is religiously biased as there is only one character in the story who is Muslim. The textbook has all the stories in rural settings.

The book does not enhance creativity as it has questions which require children to memorise answers from the text itself.



Annex 4

Main Government Schemes For Girls' Education

The government of India is committed to UEE – universalisation of elementary education. The National Policy on Education 1986, as modified in 1992, emphasized three aspects in relation to elementary education:

- Universal Access and Enrolment
- Universal Retention of Children up to 14 years of age
- Substantial Improvement in the Quality of Education to Enable All Children to Achieve Essential Levels of Learning

The commitment to girls' and women's empowerment through education was also evident in National Policy on Education, 1986: *'Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women.'*

The 1992 Programme of Action acknowledged that “rural girls are doubly disadvantaged by non-availability of educational facilities and by the work they have to do related with fodder, water, sibling care and paid and unpaid work.”

India's commitment to UEE was confirmed by the Dakar declaration at the Education For All conference, 2000, where India was a signatory to the following goal: *'Ensuring that by 2015, all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.'*

Gender Mainstreaming: The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) recognised the urgent need to enhance the levels of girls' participation in education, and emphasized gender mainstreaming on the one hand, and introduction of special schemes for promoting girls' education, on the other hand. DPEP, Lok Jumbish and Shiksha Karmi programmes all adopted a holistic approach to reduce gender gaps in education.

Since 2000, earlier schemes have been subsumed under GOI's flagship program for achieving UEE, ie the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

The main vehicle at present for reaching elementary education to all children is a comprehensive programme called Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). This was launched in 2001-02. It was designed in a way that built upon the experience of prior primary education programmes including DPEP, Shiksha Karmi and Lok Jumbish.

SSA is a partnership programme between Central and State governments. It seeks to improve the performance of the school system through a community-owned approach, with specific focus on the provision of quality education. It aims to ensure UEE and bridge gender and social gaps by the year 2010.

Literally, the phrase `Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' means `Campaign for Education for All'. The very term emphasizes the spirit of people's participation in a movement or campaign mode.

SSA covers the entire country: Annual Work Plans of 598 out of 600 Indian districts were approved under SSA during 2004-05. The programme seeks to open new schools, strengthen existing school infrastructure through provision of additional classrooms, toilets, drinking water, maintenance grant and school improvement grant. Existing schools with inadequate teacher strength are to be provided additional teachers. Capacity building of teachers, development of new teaching-learning material and academic support are part of the overall plan.

Targeted Provisions for Girls Under SSA include the following:

- Free textbooks
- Separate toilets for girls
- Recruitment of 50% women teachers
- Early Childhood Care and Education centers in/near schools
- Teacher sensitization programmes to promote equitable learning opportunity
- Back to school camps for out-of-school girls
- Bridge courses for older girls
- Gender-sensitive teaching-learning material
- Intensive community mobilization efforts
- Special fund for innovative need-based interventions for girls' attendance and retention in schools.

SSA goals, spelt out in the SSA Mission statement, include:

*Bridging gender and social gaps in
Primary education: by 2007
Secondary education: by 2010.*

Special Schemes Promoting Girls' Education

National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL)

NPEGEL is an important component of SSA, launched in 2003 with the objective of providing additional support for girls' education. It focuses on promoting schooling for girls at the secondary stage, especially girls from disadvantaged communities, through a range of strategic interventions.

According to GOI, NPEGEL is being implemented in over 3000 Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs) in 21 States. In EBBs the female literacy rate is less than the national average and the gender gap is above the national average. The population and characteristics of marginalized groups meet certain criteria. It is also to be implemented in urban slum areas. The following girls are especially targeted:

- Out-of-school girls
- Dropout girls
- Girls from marginalized social groups
- Girls with low attendance
- Girls with low achievement levels.

NPEGEL adds to the SSA by providing additional components, such as

- development of one model upper-primary school in each cluster
- material incentives such as stationary
- additional interventions like awards
- remedial teaching and bridge courses
- appropriate teaching-learning material
- strengthened planning, training and management support.

Special attention is to be paid to adolescent girls through the development of supplementary teaching material, that will include material on women achievers, nutrition, sanitation, environment, gender and legal aid issues. Curricular enhancement in this context will include classes on self-defence and self-image building.

NPEGEL has been specially designed to give a thrust to girls' education through intensified community mobilisation and locale-specific interventions to improve the school environment, support services like child-care centres, and special incentives.

The Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme, launched during 2004-05, aims at setting up residential schools for girls who would otherwise be unable to study. Girls residing in hard-to-reach, small and scattered habitations that lie at a considerable distance from the nearest school will be reached by the Kasturba Gandhi Swatantrata Vidyalaya. The scheme is designed to ensure access and quality education to girls through the provision of 500 to 750 residential schools and boarding facilities to girls at the upper primary level. The scheme is applicable only in the identified Educationally Backward Blocks in 21 States of the country. At least three-fourth seats are reserved for girls from marginalized or minority communities while the rest may be made available to girls from families below the poverty line.

The residential schools are proposed to be set up in areas with:

- Concentration of tribal population, with low female literacy and/or a large number of out-of-school girls

- Concentration of SC, OBC and minority population, with low female literacy and a large number of out-of-school girls.
- Low female literacy
- A large number of small, scattered habitations that do not qualify for a school.

Schools set up under the KGBV scheme will have necessary TLM, systems for academic support, evaluation and monitoring and community interface so as to prepare families to send their daughters to residential schools. Established NGOs and other non-profit making bodies will be involved, wherever possible, in running these schools.

Other Relevant Schemes

Mid-day Meal Scheme

This scheme is designed for the primary schools. The National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE), popularly known as the Mid-day Meal scheme, was launched in 1995. Its objectives are:

- To give a boost to universalisation of Primary Education by increasing enrolment, retention and attendance
- To improve the nutritional status of students of primary classes.

Education Guarantee Scheme and Alternative and Innovative Education (EGS and AIE) are designed to provide access to elementary education to out-of-school children, and those who live in school-less habitations. The scheme supports flexible educational strategies such as bridge courses, residential camps, drop-in centers, summer camps and remedial schools. During 2004-05, this component of SSA helped provide elementary education to 85.67 lakh children. Around 1.42 crore children are expected to enroll in Education Guarantee Scheme centers and Alternative Education interventions in the next year.

The Mahila Samakhya programme was launched in 1989 to fulfil the commitment to affirmative action in support of women's education mandated in the National Policy on Education. A program designed for women's education and empowerment, MS emphasised the crucial links between women's empowerment and education. The focus is not on service delivery, but on creating a change in gendered social attitudes, beliefs and roles. Education in MS is understood as an ongoing process of learning and empowerment, and has been implemented to meet the needs of disadvantaged women in rural areas. The program revolves around village-level women's collectives, which raise a range of issues relevant to livelihood, education, health and other societal concerns. Mobilising women resulted in a clear demand for education. The women's collectives have taken a lead in enrolling children, especially girls, monitoring schools and motivating parents. MS has articulated its understanding of education as a process that enables women to question, conceptualise, seek answers, act, reflect on their actions and raise new questions. The educational process and methodology, according to the rural women of MS, must be based on respect for women's existing knowledge, skills and experiences.

The programme now runs in the States of U.P., Bihar, Karnataka, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal and Kerala.

An important part of Mahila Samakhya has been formation of Kishori Sanghas (adolescent girls groups) which provide alternative schooling centers and residential camps for out-of-school adolescent girls. The girls become peer educators, providing life-skills education to other out-of-school girls.

Girls and women, through empowerment in Mahila Samakhya, have gained greater recognition and visibility at family, community and block levels. Leadership qualities have developed, a cadre of village-level organizers has emerged, women's collectives have taken decisions to postpone age of marriage of daughters, and (in U.P. and Gujarat) have received intensive training in laws relating to women and have started Nari Adalats/Mahila Panches (informal women's courts).



Annex 5

RESEARCH TOOLS

The research tools were especially designed for this study, in a participatory manner. Under the guidance of the research director, the entire team of field researchers prepared the tools in an atmosphere of mutual discussion, sharing and learning.

The research tools were designed during 1st-20th October. The field methodologies used include:

- Interviews
- Focus Group Discussions
- Case Studies
- Observation – Class observation, School observation, Home observation

The tools prepared include the following, to be used intensively in all four field areas:

- Interview Schedule for Schoolgirls
- Interview Schedule for Out-of-School girls
- Interview Schedule for Teacher
- Interview Schedule for Head Master/Head Mistress
- Interview Schedule for Parent
- FGD Questions and Checklist for Teachers Group
- FGD Questions and Checklist for Parents (mixed group)
- FGD Questions and Checklist for Mother-Daughter group
- Case Study Checklist for Schoolgirls
- Case Study Checklist for Out-of-School girls
- Classroom Observation Format
- School Observation Format
- Village/Basti Observation Format.

Some specific questionnaires/schedules were prepared for PTA, VEC etc groups:

- PTA meeting format
- VEC meeting format
- Panchayat meeting on school issues – format

Apart from this, the Gender Discrimination Research team met a number of government functionaries with a view to elicit information about their programs with regard to gender. Specific information questions were prepared for these functionaries, depending on their role and place in the system.

SAMPLE RESEARCH TOOLS

State _____ Date _____ Team1/2 _____ School no. _____

Headmaster Interview or Teacher Interview

Village : _____
School : _____
Name : _____
Address : _____
Community : _____
Educational Qualification : _____
Since when in this school : _____

About the school

1. Number of children

Children	Total	Std. I	Std. II	Std. III	Std. IV	Std. V	Std. VI	Std.VII	Std.VIII
Girls									
Boys									

2. Number of teachers

Teachers	Total	Teaching Classes	Teaching subjects	Here since when

3. Number of Dropout: - How many children have left the school in the last academic session?

Children	Total	Std. I	Std. II	Std. III	Std. IV	Std. V	Std. VI	Std.VII	Std.VIII
Girls									
Boys									

4. Result of Exams: Pass/Fail

Children	Total	Std. I	Std. II	Std. III	Std. IV	Std. V	Std. VI	Std.VII	Std.VIII
Girls									
Boys									

5. From where have you received your teacher training?
6. What is the distance between your home and the school? How do you commute and by what time do you reach the school?
7. How do you encourage parents for admission? Is there an admission campaign of the school?
8. the number of teachers less in this school? Why?
9. If the number of teachers is less then how are classes managed?

10. What methods of teaching do you use? And other teachers?
11. Are there any limitations of these textbooks? If yes then what?
12. How do you evaluate the learning levels of children?
13. If there are children who need more attention in studies then do you give them extra classes? Any other way in which you help?
14. What action is taken with the children who fail? What are the effects on them?
15. What incentives are currently being provided to: -
 - SC-ST children
 - Girl Children
 - Children belonging to religious minorities
 - Any other

16. How much money do parents spend on girl education?

Expenditure on	Amount spent	About the Expenditure
(i) Admission Fee		
(ii) Annual Fee		
(iii) Examination Fee		
(iv) Books-Notebooks		
(v) Uniform-Shoes		
(vi) Transportation		
(vii) Any other		

17. Is the mid day meal on time, hygienic and nutritious?
18. Do all the children receive free uniform and shoes? Any comments.
19. Do all the children receive free textbooks on time? Any comments.
20. Which children have been awarded scholarship? How many children are receiving it? (Especially girls)
21. Do girl children face difficulties in studying due to which they dropout?
 - Families do not want to educate them.
 - Household chores
 - Work related to farming/agriculture
 - Other work related to income
 - Looking after younger siblings
 - The curriculum is not related to their lives

Nobody to guide them at home
Home atmosphere not suitable for studies
(Poverty) hunger and weakness
School far from their homes
Insecurity/sexual harassment in schools
Beliefs/myths about keeping girls home after the onset of menstruation
Marriage
Some difficulties faced by girls in the school
Discrimination on the basis of caste
Any other

22. Should the government do something more for girl education? Give suggestions.

23. A ten-year-old girl Mina likes to play cricket, ride bicycle and go to the market. Another ten-year-old boy Aman likes to play with dolls, playing on swings and doing household chores. What do you think about these two children?

State _____ Date _____ Team 1/2 _____ School no. _____

Focus Group Discussion with Children

Questions

Till what class do you want to study?

Till what class will you be able to study?

Checklist

About the school

About the teacher

Female teacher/male teacher

Mid day meal

Uniform, textbooks and scholarship

Subjects which they study and books

About games they play in school

About their own future

Advantages of getting educated

Problems in getting educated

Who helps in studies

Economic conditions at home

Social beliefs and thinking

Problems related to families

Conceptions related to gender

State _____ Date _____ Team1/2 _____ School no. _____

Classroom Observation

Standard: -

Infrastructure: -

Fans

Walls

Windows

Blackboard

Lights

Charts

Other books

Clean/dirty

Classroom environment (fearful, happiness, tense, delightful/cheerful, peaceful, serious etc)

Total children: - Boys _____ Girls _____

Classroom processes

The behavior and relationship between

Teacher and children

Children

Boys and girls

Verbal and non-verbal communication between teacher and students and its positive or negative effect.

Difference in behavior of teacher for girls and boys and the negative effect on girls.

How many times questions were asked

Way of talking

Any separate comment

Encouragement for speaking and reading

Bias on the basis of caste and religion

Beating and scolding

Any other

Beating, abusing, scolding or any other violent behavior due to biases based on caste, religion, class.

How much time has been spent by the teacher in the classroom.

Discrimination or negative behavior due to biases based on caste, religion, class.

Pedagogy followed by teacher.

Distribution of tasks

Related to studies

To boys

To girls

Related to classroom and school

To boys

To girls

Use of teaching-learning material by the teacher.

Is the method of teaching innovative.

Children/girls are active or passive in classroom? Are they taking part in the activities of the classroom? Is there any difference in the attitude of boys/girls?

Between boys and girls

Who is more responding in the classroom

Who is taking more initiative in the classroom

Who is distributing the teaching learning material in the classroom

The cognitive level of girls(Reading/Writing/Addition and subtraction)

Hindi

Mathematics

English

Who is the monitor

Only boys

Only girls

Both (boys and girls)

What are they doing, what is their behavior

18. Who is making noise boys/girls

How: - By moving around in the classroom, being more active, sitting at one place, talking slowly, shouting loudly.

Do boys view girls according to stereotypes/pre-formed image.

Do girls view boys according to stereotypes/pre-formed image.

Some important event.

State _____ Date _____ Team1/2 _____ SchoolNo. _____

Interview Schedule For School Going Children

Personal Information

Name : _____
Age : _____
Community : _____
Religion : _____
Class : _____
Married or not : _____

Brothers and Sisters

Brothers (age)	Still studying/not	Class	Sisters (age)	Still studying/not	Class

How much time do you take to reach school?

Do you reach the school by the time of assembly?

Do you like going to school? Why?

- Studying
- Playing
- Friends
- Teachers
- Mid – day meal
- Any other reason

What all work do you do?

- Sowing, reaping crops
- Household chores
- Other work related to income
- Caring for someone at home
- Any other

From where do you come and is there any means? How much money is spent?

What all work do you do day – to – day? (School day)

Till where do you want to study?

Which is your favorite subject? Why.

Are you able to revise your daily class work?

Do you play any games in the classroom? Which is your favorite game?

Where do you sit in the rain? Mat or any other.

Do you receive these incentives? If yes then is it at the right time.

Facilities	Yes	No	On time	No	Comments
Mid day meal					
Uniform: Winter					
Summer					
Books, Stationery					
Scholarship					

About Mid day meal:

Do you like it

Is it hot/cold

Is it Clean/dry

If you do not get uniform, textbooks do your parents purchase them for you? If you do not get them from both school and home, do you face any difficulty?

Have you attended the school run by some organization or adult literacy center or balwadi? If you have attended then why have you stopped?

Do you feel some weakness?

What are your dreams for yourself?

What do your parents think about your future?

Do your family members, relatives or neighbors talk about your marriage or gauna? How do you feel then?

A ten year old girl Mina likes to play cricket, run a bicycle and roam about in market. Aman is a ten year old boy who likes to play with dolls, swinging and doing household chores. What do you think about these two children?

For Older Girls

Do you have your menstrual cycles?

Did your parents ask you to stop studying after you had menarche?

During your menstrual cycles some tasks, which you are not allowed to do?

- Entering the kitchen
- Sowing, reaping, harvesting
- Picking or touching new born
- Going to places of worship
- Going to school
- Any other

4. In how many days do you have your menstrual cycles? Any problems during that time.

- Have cramps
- Want to cry
- Do not like to work
- Want to relax and rest
- Want to eat something special
- Any other

Do you take leave from school during your menstrual cycles?

How do you find those chapters, which have information about body or menstrual cycles?

For Boys

How do you feel about girls studying in your class?

Should girls of your family study? How much?

State _____ Date _____ Team1/2 _____ School No. _____

Interview Schedule
For Non- School Going Children

Personal Information

- Name : _____
- Age : _____
- Community : _____
- Religion : _____
- Class : _____
- Married or not : _____
- Father's occupation : _____
- Mother's occupation : _____

Brothers and Sisters

Brothers (age)	Still studying/not	Class	Sisters (age)	Still studying/not	Class

Did you ever go to school?

Till which class did you study?

Why did you stop going to school?

Why are you not studying now? Why were you not able to study?

Family does not want you to study

Household chores

Look after younger brother and sister

Kept at home after menarche

Other income generating work

Work related to farming

Molestation in school

Molestation on the way to school

School far from home

Studies in school is not good

Curriculum not related to your life

Discrimination on the basis of caste or religion

Nobody to guide at home

Home environment not suitable for studies

Hunger and weakness

Belief that girls should not study

Marriage

Any other

Do you want to study?

Do you see any way by which you can study?

Do you go to study for 1-2 hours somewhere/

Does your village have the following:

Adult literacy center

Shivir of some organization

Balika Shivir (Girls residential school)

Anganwadi

Some others

Which work do you like to do? (Study, household chores, income generating work etc.)

Do your family members, relatives or neighbors talk about your marriage or gauna? How do you feel then?

During your menstrual cycles some tasks, which you are not allowed to do?

Entering the kitchen

Sowing, reaping, harvesting

Picking or touching new born

Going to places of worship

Going to school

Any other

What do you want to become when you grow up?

A ten year old girl Mina likes to play cricket, run a bicycle and roam about in market. Aman is a ten year old boy who likes to play with dolls, swinging and doing household chores. What do you think about these two children?

What work do your brothers do? What type of work will they do when they grow up?

State _____ Date _____ Team1/2 _____ School No. _____

Case Study
Questionnaire for non school going girls

Name : _____

Age : _____

Address : _____

Community : _____

Do you want to study?

Due to which difficulties are you not able to study?

Will you be able to study if some help is provided? Will somebody from your family help you in this?

State _____ Date _____ Team _____ School No. _____

School Observation

1. School: - _____

2. Level: - Primary _____ Middle _____

3. Type of school: - Girls _____ Co-ed _____

4. School Building: - Pucca _____ Kaccha _____

5. Facilities in the school: -

Facilities	Number	Usage	Condition
Classrooms			
Headmaster Room			
Staff Room			
Library			
Laboratory			
Playground			
Drinking Water			
Toilets			
Assembly			
Notice Board			

6. Facilities in the classroom: -

Facilities	Number	Usage	Reach to facilities	Condition
Blackboard				
Chair-Table/ Mat for teachers				
Desks/ Mat for children				
Electricity				
Fans				
Tubelight				
Bulb				
Ventilator, Windows, doors				
Dustbin				
Notice board				
Charts				
Almirah				
Teaching material, charts, playing material, books				

7. Mid day meal
8. About the assembly (environment, way of standing, prayers, body language, any other.)
9. Timetable of school: - (Are classes following the timetable? Time of arrival of the children, school teachers and headmistress/ headmaster at the school?)
10. About the children: - (Clothes, body language, behavior, relationship with each other)
11. Bias on the basis of gender (Biases between boys and girls)
12. Extra curricular activities
13. Environment near the school: gardening etc
14. Cleanliness
15. Any other

State _____ Date _____ Team ½ _____ School No. _____

Basti/Village Observation

1. Homes in Clusters/ groups
 - (i) Divided into groups: -
 - (ii) How many groups – caste/ religion/ community
 - (iii) Village is green/ barren: -
 - (iv) Big groups/ Small Groups – clusters
 - (v) Caste: -
 - (vi) Religion: -
 - (vii) Class/ Community: -
 - (viii) Homes pucca/kacha
2. School:
 - (i) How many government schools
 - (ii) Other schools/ Madrassa/ Religious education
 - (iii) Balwadi

3. Occupation
- | Occupation | At homes | At farming | Some special handicraft | Comments |
|--------------|----------|------------|-------------------------|----------|
| In groups | | | | |
| Individually | | | | |
| Women | | | | |
| Men | | | | |
| Girls | | | | |
| Boys | | | | |
4. Management: -
- (i) Water: -
 - (a) Canal
 - (b) Wells
 - (c) Pond
 - (d) Handpump
 - (ii) Electricity: -
 - (a) Is there Yes/ No
 - (b) In all Clusters Yes/ No
 - (c) In some Clusters More/ Less
5. Toilets: -
- (i) In Forest: -
 - (ii) In Homes itself: -
 - (iii) Public convenience
 - (iv) Do they take water for cleanliness
 - (v) Sewer lines: -
6. Roads and means of transport: -
- (i) Concrete and Tar roads/ Kuccha roads: -
 - (ii) Means of Transport inside the village: -
 - (iii) Means of transport connecting the village: -
 - (iv) Means used in farming: -
7. Places of Worship: -
- (i) A common place of worship for whole village: -
 - (ii) Separate places of worship for different groups: -
 - (iii) Separate for every religion: -
 - (iv) Reach of people of different religions
8. Police Station: -
- (i) Is there a police station: -
 - (ii) How far is the police station: -
9. Cleanliness/ Hygiene
- (i) Sewage: - yes/no
 - (ii) Waste disposal: - how far
 - (iii) Water from homes reaches where/ rainwater where: -

10. Food: what do they eat as food

11. Clothes

12. Health services: - Doctor/ Vaidya (Traditional doctor)/ Jhad Foonk/ Dai (Traditional midwife)/ Any other

(i) Dispensary: - yes/no
How far

(ii) What type of facilities are there: -

(iii) Any ladies doctor? Yes/ No If Yes What is the timing?

13. Liquor shop

(i) How far: -

(ii) If liquor is sold at homes: -

State _____ Date _____ Team^{1/2} _____ School No. _____

Focus Group Discussion Teachers

Name of the village: - _____

Name of the School: - _____

S.no.	Name	Age	Post	Teaching since	In this school since	Specific subjects
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						

State _____ Date _____ Team ½ _____ School No. _____

Focus Group Discussion

Teachers

Name of School: - _____

Questions:

1. What are the difficulties, which you are facing while teaching in this school?
2. Are the girls of your school good at studies?
3. What are the steps taken by the school to increase the admission of girls and their retention?
4. What steps should be taken by the school for girl education?
5. What is the government doing for educating girls? What else should be done?
Your suggestions.

Checklist: -

- Teachers' thinking about the village community
- Teachers' thinking about girl education
- Special efforts by the teacher for girl education
- Difficulties faced by the teachers
- Is there a shortage of teachers
- Teachers' attitude and thinking for teaching
- Which scheme (mid day meal, free uniform, books etc.) is useful for girl education
- Special efforts by school and teachers for admission of girls
- Teachers' perceptions regarding girls and gender
- Teachers' biases regarding boys and girls
- How can the teacher encourage girls to study
- The curriculum is good or should there be some changes
- The teachers' thinking
- The teachers' perceptions regarding society, family and household chores.

On admission and retention

- What are the efforts of the school at present?
- What efforts or procedure can increase admission and retention:
 - (a) At village level
 - (b) At school level
 - (c) At the level of government or policy making

State _____ Date _____ Team ½ _____ School No. _____

Focus Group Discussion

Parents

Name of the village : _____
 No. of parents : _____ Girls who are going to school : - _____
 No. of mothers : _____ Girls who have never gone to school :- _____
 No. of fathers : _____ Girls who have left the school l: _____
 Any other : _____

S.no.	Name	Mother/Father/Others	Age	Children's age	Class	Comments
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

State _____ Date _____ Team ½ _____ School No. _____

Focus Group Discussion

Parents

Name of the village:- _____

Questions: -

1. What are your dreams for your daughters?
2. How is your village school? How are the studies of this school?
3. Why you are not able to send them to schools?
4. Till which level are you thinking to educate your daughters/

Checklist

- Economic condition
 - Own land/ cutting crops/ labour/ bonded labour
 - Any other means income
 - Eat three meals or not
 - Other

- Some specific family problems
- The pressure and time of other works
 - Household
 - Farming/ work for income
 - Looking after younger brothers-sisters
- Is the school good or not
- How much is spent on education
- The school not good
- The school teachers are not good/ donot teach well
- Discrimination on the basis of religion and caste
- Insecurity/ fear
- Conceptions regarding gender
- Marriage

The above is a representative sample of the research tools used. The Research Tools were written and administered in Hindi in all the 4 areas. The translations into English are for the purpose of the present Report.



Annex 6:

Process Documentation

a) **Preparation of Research Tools and Training Workshop for Field Team**

From 1 to 15th October the 4 field team members, background researcher, principal researcher and resource persons met and designed research tools for the study. The process of designing research tools was participatory. This served to bring everybody's ideas on board, enriching understanding through dialogue. Field research methods such as active listening were discussed and learnt. The content was thoroughly discussed. Educational policies relevant to girls were sourced and the team made familiar with these.

b) Field Trips and Research in the 4 States: Delhi, U.P, Bihar, Rajasthan

The field research team visited each of the 4 States in turn. The first State researched was Delhi: Field Research was carried out between 22nd to 28th October.

The second State researched was U.P.: field research was conducted between 5th to 13th November.

In Bihar, Field work was conducted from 14th to 20th November.

The final Field trip, to Rajasthan, was held during 26th Nov to 5th Dec.

In each of the 4 areas, the group of 4 field researchers divided into two teams, Team 1 and Team 2. Each team visited one school per day, over a period of five intensive field-work days. Between them, the two teams collected data on the entire range of relevant issues. Research was conducted to elicit information and views from schoolchildren, parents, out-of-school children, Head Master/Head Mistress, teachers, community leaders, PTA and VEC members. A salient feature of the study in each area was documentation of at least 5 case studies of girls (schoolgoing and non-schoolgoing).

The school and community visits were facilitated by PUs. The first step in each area was to meet and confer with PU members on relevant issues in their area. PU members accompanied the research team to the field. In U.P., Bihar and Rajasthan the field researchers also made trips to block, cluster and district resource sites – meeting BEO, DEO etc (block education officer, district education officer etc); and to the DIETs (District Institute for Education and Training).

The following tables provide an overview of the daily schedules, school characteristics, and research methods through which data was gathered. In each of the 4 areas, data was gathered from 10 schools (and the surrounding communities).

Location of the 40 Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D	K-block Sangam Vihar	I-blk S.V.	K-2 S.V.	Molar-band	Dakshin puri	J-blk S.V.	Devli	Tajpur Pahari	Tajpur village	Mithapur
UP	Shyamkat Village	Naunia	Mukravali	Trilok-pur	Nautanva-1	Gavaria	Dhaur-hara	Mahua	Sheikh-farinda	Nautanva-2
B	Kapat-Pura	Chatur-bhuj	Devgan	Bali-gaon	Muzaff sector 1	Sarmaspu r	Musahari	Devgan	Dharti-pur	Ram-ngr
R	Hadaan-1	Ghantiali	Kalan sar Marg	Thumli	Jhajhu	Hadaan-2	Khiya-rmng r	Mithidia Marg, Chimana	Koliath Kharia Patvtn	RD-961 Mithidia

Delhi schools – D1 to D10; UP schools – U1 to U10; Bihar schools – B1 to B10; Rajasthan schools – R1 to R10

Delhi Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Block/Village	K-block Sangam Vihar	I-blk S.V.	K-2 S.V.	Molar-band	Dakshin puri	J-blk S.V.	Devli	Tajpur Pahari	Tajpur village	Mithapur
Date	25.10.05	26.10	22.10, 27.10	28.10	20.10	25.10	26.10	27.10	28.10	29.10
Pr/Mid PU/non	Primary Non-PU	Pr	Pr	Pr	CI 1-6, NonPU	Pr	Middle NonPU	Pr	Pr	Pr, nonPU
Child-School Going		FGD-8 children	FGD-10	FGD-10	Int-1 girl CSt-2	Int-2	Int-1	Int-2	Int-2 C St-1	Int-2 C St-1
Child-Non-school					Int-2	Int-2	C St-2	Int-2	Int-2 C St-1 FGD	Int-2 C St-2
Parents	FGD-7	FGD-7	FGD-15	FGD-8 FGD-7 Int-2						Int-1
Mothr-Dtr FGDs						FGD-3+3	FGD-4+4	FGD 5+5		
HM, Trs	Tr-1	Tr-1 FGD-5	HM 1 Tr-1 (ttl 10)	HM FGD-5 (ttl24)	T-2 (ttl 10, all F)	Tr-1 (ttl 4)	Tr-1	Tr-1 (ttl 13) all F)	Tr-1 (ttl 13) all F)	FGD-12 (ttl 30)
Clsm Obs	Yes CI 5	Yes	Yes CI 5	Yes CI 5	Yes	Yes CI 5		Yes CI 4	Yes CI 4	Yes CI 4

Int – Interview; FGD – Focus Group Discussion; C St – Case Study;

HM – Head Master or Head Mistress; Tr – Teacher; Mothr-Dtr – Mother-Daughter; Clsm Obs – Classroom Observation.

U.P. Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Village	Shyam-kat co-ed	Naunia Co-ed	Sukhr-auali Co-ed	Trilok-pur co-ed	Nautanva-1 Co-ed	Ganvaria Co-ed	Dhaur-hara Co-ed	Mahua Co-ed	Sheikh-Farinda Co-ed	Nautnva-2 Co-ed
Date	7.11.05	8.11	9.11	10.11	12.11	7.11	8.11	9.11	10.11	12.11
Pr/Mid PU/non	Pr	Pr	Pr	Pr	UKG-8 Pvt Sch, Non-PU	Pr	Pr	Pr, Non-PU	Pr	Pr
Child-School Going	FGD-10	FGD-9	FGD-9		FGD-10 Int-2 CS-1	Int-3 CS-1	Int-3 CS-1	Int-3 CS-1	Int-2	Int-2
Child-Non-sch						Int-2 CS-1	Int-2 CS-1	Int-2	Int-2 CS-1	
Parents	FGD-7 Int-1	FGD-11 Int-2	Int-2	FGD-12 Int-2				FGD-10		
Mthr-Dautr						FGD-4+4	FGD-5+5		FGD-3+3	
HM, Tchrs	HM	T-2	HM FGD-3 (ttl 3 – 2F 1M)	FGD	HM, T FGD-11 (ttl 33, all M)	HM T	T	HM T	T-2	
Clsrm Obs		Yes CI 4&5	yes		Yes	Yes CI 1&2	Yes CI 3	Yes CI 1	Yes	yes
Edu deptt			Blk Bsc Edu Ofr	DIET						
SDC/V EC/PTA Pancht		SDC, Pancht	Balwadi Visit & Ints		Balwadi visit	Balwadi Visit			Babu- Behni manch leader	

SDC – School Development Committee; DIET – District Institute for Education and Training;
Blk Bsc Edu Ofr – Block Basic Education Officer

Bihar Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Vill	Kapat-Pura Co-ed	Chatur-bhuj	Devgan	Bali-Gaon	Muzafse ctr1 Urban Co-ed	Sarma spur Co-ed	Musah ari Co-ed	Bakhri Co-ed	Dharti-pur- Ganipur Co-ed	Ramngr Girls
Date	14.11	15.11	16.11	17.11	19.11	14.11	15.11	16.11	17.11	18.11
Pr/Mid PU/non	Mid (cl 1-7)			Mid	Mid	Pr CI 1-5	Mid	Mid	Mid Non-PU	Mid-
Childr-School Going	FGD-9	FGD-10		FGD-10	FGD-1	Int-2 CS-1	Int-3 CS-1	Int-2	Int-3 CS-1	Int-2 FGD-7
Childr-Non-school						Int-2 CS-2	Int-2 CS-2	Int-1 CS-1	Int-1	Int-2
Parents	FGD-6 Int-2	FGD-11(all mthrs)	FGD 10 Int-1	FGD 10 Int-1	FGD 10 Int-1	Int-1				Int-1

Mthr-Dautr						FGD-13+18	FGD-?	FGD-?		
HM Teachr	Tr-1 T-FGD-7 (all F)		HM-1 Tr-1	Tr-1	HM-1 T (ttl 3, F)	T-1	T-1	T-1	T-2	HM T-1
Clssrm Obs	Yes CI 6		Yes CI 1,2,3	Yes CI 1-7	Yes	Yes -mixd	Yes CI 5	Yes	Yes CI 6	Yes CI 6
Edu dpt			BRC Visit, Int	BEO BRC	DPO -SSA (18.11)					
SDC/VEC/PTA Pncht	Panchyt Mtg – Kaanti	VEC Mtg Kaanti		School Devt Comtee	Mahila Smkhya Visit					

Rajasthan Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Vill	Hadaan-1	Ghantiali	Kalnsr MrgC	Thumli	Jhajhu Girls	Hadaan-2 Co-ed	Khiyara mng Co-ed	MthMrgChi mana, Coed	Khari a Pata van Coed	RD-961 Mithi dia	Jhajhu Co- ed
Date	28.11.05	29.11	30.11	1.12	2.12	28.11	29.11	30.11	1.12	2.12	1.12
Pr/Upr Type PU/non	Sec Sch (cl 6-10)	U.Pr (cl 1-8)	Pr RGP	Pr RGP	U Pr + KGBV Hostel	Pr RGP	Pr Sh K	Pr RGP	U.Pr RGP	U Pr Sh K	Pr RGP
Child- schgoin	FGD-17 All F	FGD-11 (mixed)		FGD-15 (13F2M)	FGD-10 (4 host lrs)	Int-2 CS-1	Int-2 CS-1	Int-2 CS-1	Int-3	Int-3	
Child- nonsch						Int-3 CS-1		Int-2 CS-1			
Parents	FGD-9 (fthrs)		FGD-12 (mthrs)	Int-2		FGD					
Mthr- Dautr							FGD-5+5	FGD-17+21			
HM Teachr	HM T-1 (ttl 5-M)	HM T-2 F	HM T	HM T	FGD-4 (ttl 9-F)	HM T-1	HM T-1	HM T-1	HM T-1	HM T-1	HM
Clrm ob	CI 7 29M3F	CI 7 30M9F	CI 4 8M4F	CI 4 10M6F	CI 1-5 25M20F	CI 3	yes	CI 5	CI 5	CI 4	
Edu dpt			DEO Pr DEO EI DIET	BEO BRCF Gn cdnr							
SDC/VEC/PTA Pancht		Panchyt Intvws			Pcht ints SDMC CRCF						

KGBV- Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya; DEO – District Education Officer; BEO – Block Education Officer; BRCF – Block Resource Coordinator; Gn cdr – Gender coordinator; CRCF – Cluster Resource Coordinator

c) Education Officials Interviewed/Administrative Bodies/ Teacher Training Institutes & Other Educational Settings

Delhi

1. PTA meeting, K-II block, Sangam Vihar, 22.10.05
2. District Education officer – South Dist, Delhi – Ms Veena Singh
3. Education officer, UEE, Delhi – Mr Sisodia
4. District Education officer, South Zone, MCD – Ms Joginder Taluja
5. District Education officer, Central Zone, MCD – Mr Chetram Kaushik
6. Director, Dept of EI Ed, MHRD – Nov 05
7. Gender coordinator, Dept of EI Ed, MHRD – Oct, Nov 05

U.P.

1. Block Basic Education Officer, 9.11.05
2. DIET Staff, Maharajganj – Principal Ms Renu Dwivedi, 10.11
3. DIET Staff, Maharajganj – Lecturer Ms Anamika Mishra, 10.11
4. SDC and Panchayat members, Naunia village – Sarpanch Mr Ramraksha and 11 other members

Bihar

1. BRC Resource Person, Patepur block – Mr PK Sudhakar, 16.11.05
2. BEO, 17.11
3. DPO – SSA, 18.11
4. VDC, Secretary -- Mr Kishuni Chaudhry, Kaanti village, 14.11
5. Panchayat members meeting, Kaanti – Sarpanch Mr Vishvadev Sahni & 4 other panchayat members, 14.11
6. SDC, Kapatpura, President -- Mr VK Tripathi 14.11
7. SDC, Kapatpura – Secretary – Ms Chandrkala Devi Pasi
8. Mahila Samakhya, Muzaffarpur – Ms Poonam, 19.11
9. Mahila Samakhya, Muzaffarpur – Ms Santvana Bharti, 19.11
10. State Project Director (Mr Anjali Kr Singh), 28.11
11. Program Coordinator, Gender/Girls Education (Sr Sabina), 28.11
12. Program Officer ALS (Mr AK Pandey), 28.11

Rajasthan

1. Gram Panchayat Ghantiali vill – Sarpanch Ms Anopi Devi Chaudhry & 12 others - - 29.11.05 – Group meeting
 2. GP Ghantiali, ex-Sarpanch – Mr Jasvant Singh, 29.11
 3. GP Jhajhoo vill, Sarpanch -- Ms Kiran Kanwar & 12 others, 2.12
 4. SDMC, Jhajhoo, President – Mr Santoshchand Jain
 5. DIET principal Bikaner, 30.11
 6. DEO primary edu Bikaner, 30.11
 7. BEO Kolayat, 1.12
 8. BRCF Block level SSA, Kolayat, Mr Tulsidas Kalra, 1.12
 9. CRCF Senior specialist, Ms Kiran Gurjar, Jhajhu, block Kolayat
- Sankul Sandarbh Kendra – Cluster Resource Centre, Hadla Bhatiyaan – 2.12

Alternative Educational Settings Visited

1. Balwadi – U.P.
2. Balwadi – Shaymkat village, U.P.
3. NFE center – Sukravali village, U.P.
4. Balwadi, Sangam Vihar, Delhi
5. Balwadi, Badarpur, Delhi
6. KGBV school
7. Mahila Samakhya, Muzaffarpur, Bihar
8. Rajiv Gandhi Pathshalas – Rajasthan
9. Shiksha Karmi schools – Rajasthan
10. Balika Shivar, Bajju – Rajasthan – 3.12
11. KGBV – Rajasthan

Research Process and Field Experiences

Delhi

The Gender Research (GR) team met the Plan North India Coordinator, Rekha Rajkumar, and Neelima Pandey at the Plan office on 6th October in order to discuss the work in Delhi and Rajasthan. In Delhi the research would be coordinated with CASP, and in Rajasthan with Urmul Bajju.

Neelima told the research team that CASP/Plan is running a number of *balwadis* for ECCE in the Delhi area (Badarpur especially). This is helpful for girls' schooling since it prepares them for attending school. Neelima also shared the problem of *sexual harassment* that is coming up in the Delhi areas and affecting schoolgirls.

The GR team held a joint meeting with CASP/Plan, in their office on 17th October 2005. The Project Director Charu was present along with 8 other staff members. These included management and community level staff members.

During this meeting the GR team shared the goals of the research, and pointed out that it was meant finally to add value to the programs being run by CASP. CASP was requested to share their views and problems regarding gender discrimination in schools in their area. To this, CASP functionaries replied that

- a) There was not much problem in Delhi since the schools are full of girls
- b) One problem is there are not enough schools; many girls are still out-of-school
- c) Girls sometimes drop out due to economic reasons, for instance a girl recently left and has been selling 'bhuttas' with her mother
- d) At puberty girls leave in larger numbers – after the primary level ie after class 5

CASP shared that their work with schools has largely involved provision of furniture, etc. There has not been much programmatic intervention in schools apart from this.

CASP mentioned the balwadis they run, pointing out that these have a beneficial impact on girls' further educational attainments.

The GR shared the plans for Research, encapsulated in a table outlining number of schools, interviews etc to be conducted in each. On the basis of the broad plan, CASP made out a schedule for the research days, ie 25th to 29th October.

Field Research began systematically on 25th October. Before this, a Pilot Research was conducted on 19th October in a school in Dakshinpuri. Also on 22nd October (Saturday) the team attended a PTA meeting in one school in Sangam Vihar.

U.P. – Maharajganj

Discussions on the work in U.P. began in early October. Manish, who is responsible for GNK/Plan, spent some time to brief the Research team on the program in U.P. and Bihar.

The Gender Discrimination Research Team left for U.P. on 5th November. They were there until 12th November. Reaching Gorakhpur on 6th, they went by taxi to Nautanva, where they stayed for the next week. They put up at a hotel that had electricity only for a few hours per day, which made writing up their daily notes an extremely onerous undertaking!

In U.P. the team visited two schools per day, from Monday 7th right up to Saturday 12th, with a break on Thursday the 10th.

Bihar

Discussions on the work in Bihar began in early October, with the briefing provided by Manish and Neelima Pandey.

The Gender Discrimination Research Team reached Bihar on morning of 13th November. This was a Sunday. They were there until 19th November. They stayed in Muzaffarpur.

In Bihar the team visited two schools per day, from Monday 14th right up to Saturday 19th, with a break on 15th since that was a school holiday. Even 14th had very little studies since it was children's day, as well as continuation of the holiday season. (Bihar was very elusive because the holidays that began in early November with Diwali, on 2nd Nov, continued with Id on 4th, Chhat on 7th and then the Guru Purnima on 15th. Apart from this elections were ongoing which meant a major disruption of school and in fact all governmental schedules.)

Rajasthan

Discussions on the work in Rajasthan began in early October, with Rekha Rajkumar briefing the Research Team about the program in Bajju, Rajasthan.

The research team left for Rajasthan on 26th November. They were there until 4th December. They stayed in Bikaner, from where they traveled out to the village schools

nearly every day from Monday 28th to Saturday 3rd. They managed to visit two schools per day, although the distances covered were often enormous.

e) Sharing Recommendations with PUs in all 4 States –

A meeting was held with each PU after the completion of field research, to share with them on-the-spot findings, and make suggestions for the future. An attempt was made to evolve mutually agreeable action plans for the future. Due to time constraint, and also because there was a need to step back and analyse the research findings in order to arrive at more settled and considered recommendations, the suggestions made were more or less one-way. The PUs were not in a position to arrive at agreed upon Action Plans so quickly.

The sharing meeting was held with GNK (the PU in U.P.) on 13th Oct; with Adithi (the PU in Bihar) on 19th Oct; with Urmul-Bajju on Dec 4th (the Rajasthan PU); and in Delhi with CASP on Dec 22nd.

f) Data Analysis and Preparation of Report

Beginning mid-December, the data entry, analysis and writing up continued up to end-January. A large amount of data was processed, in order to arrive at the conclusions that have been presented in the following chapters.

g) Recommendations, Dissemination and Preparing Action Plan

A set of recommendations drawn up on the basis of the findings was shared with Plan and the 4 PUs.

The PUs, Plan, the Researchers and a few specialists in the area will meet intensively to discuss findings and to work out Action Plans. The meeting will held on 15th – 16th February in New Delhi.

For sharing research findings, a poster exhibition has been prepared and the findings will also be presented. Action Plans will be arrived at through intensive participatory small group discussions and sharing within the larger group.

Annex 7

Information from State-level Education Departments: Bihar, Rajasthan and Delhi

I. BIHAR

Education Interviews conducted² in Patna, Bihar

1. Mr. Anjani Kumar Singh, State Project Director, Bihar Education Project (BEP_
2. Mr. A.K. Pandey, Programme Office, Alternative Learning Scheme (ALS)
3. Sister Sabeena, State Project Director, Bihar Mahila Samakhya Society (MS)

Mr. Anjani Kumar Singh, State Project Director, Bihar Education Project

Mr. Singh was welcoming and had arranged for his juniors to be present to meet me in his room. Between them, they provided the following information:

On Out of School Children:

In 2001 a household survey conducted by the Bihar Education Project found that there are over 20.40 lakh children out of school. Another survey is currently ongoing.

Attempts are being made to reach out to these children through Alternative Learning Schools and the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS). These are set up in areas where there is no primary school within a radius of one km from habitations. Access-less habitations are covered by the EGS. Where there are only 15-20 children an Alternative Learning School is set up. Apna Schools are set up for boys and girls between the ages of 8-11 years, while Angana Schools are set up exclusively for girls age 9 plus. The ALS course is for 36 months, each session is for four hours and the centres have flexible timings between 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Four separate sessions are held for classes I to 5. The teaching and textbooks are in Hindi and Urdu. The goal is to later mainstream the students into formal schools.

Bridge Courses have been devised for ages 6-8 years. A three-month bridge course to enable mainstreaming after completion of the course was to be started in December 2005.

A longer bridge course of 6-9 months' duration is conducted for 8-10 year olds so that they can be mainstreamed into classes 3 and 4.

On Formal Schools:

² The visits and interviews in this chapter are by Sujata Madhok.

Mr A.K. Singh said his biggest problem now is shortage of classrooms. The student-classroom ratio is 100-1. He said the dearth of qualified civil engineers and other problems means they have only been able to build 8000 classrooms a year whereas the need is for 1,80,000 classrooms. He plans to create a separate cell of engineers for this work. There is a serious problem of finances, as Rs 3600 crore is needed for building classrooms.

Mr. A.K. Singh said he has to some extent tackled the teacher shortage with the appointment of 70,000 teachers. Bihar now has 4 lakh teachers. There is now reservation of 50%, even 60% for women teachers. Every third vacancy is supposed to be filled by a female teacher. Previously, 16-17 percent of regular teachers were women.

Community support is mobilised through the Panchayat (the elected Panchayat Raj institutions are now five years old in Bihar) and the Vidyalaya Shiksha Samitis. Mata Samitis are very active in the 37 DPEP districts of Bihar.

Panchayats appoint the Shiksha Mitras (parallel teachers) who are paid Rs 1000-Rs 1500 per month. They are usually Intermediate pass. Where possible the attempt is to select SC women teachers from the community or from the block, if no suitable woman is available within the community.

Mr. Singh said that it has been documented that less qualified people make better teachers.

On NPEGEL:

This central Government scheme is being implemented in Bihar, with support from Mahila Samakhya. NPEGEL is applicable to Educationally Backward Blocks where female literacy is low. **As many as 469 EB blocks of Bihar are to be covered by the scheme (out of a total of 533 blocks in the state). The present goal is to cover 311 blocks in 2005-06. As many as 2481 clusters have been selected.**

NPEGEL envisages the setting up of Model Cluster Schools for girls (to be selected from existing well performing schools) and provision of an additional classroom for extracurricular activities as well as special grants for introduction of innovative trainings and teaching of different skills.

In Bihar, under this scheme at the district level the District Gender Coordinator selects two local girls to work with her. This three-person team acts as the district resource group. Construction of classrooms in the Model Cluster Schools is currently going on. In many clusters there are no women teachers. It is difficult to find qualified women locally.

low education levels.

All Maktabas where earlier only Deeni Taleem was taught are now encouraged to add two hours of formal education. The Government pays the Maulvi extra for this teaching. There are huge numbers of children in the maktabas and madaras and the officials hope that ultimately they can be mainstreamed. The Bihar Education Project provides their students with books and offers training for their teachers. There are Purdah schools where again books and training are provided.

On Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas:

Bihar is in the process of setting up 62 KGBVs. It is going in for the second model envisaged in the central scheme. Under this model, a hostel is added on to an existing well functioning school. The hostel will house 50 girls.

The central government has given its approval for 38 schools in 2004-05 and 24 schools in 2005-06. Initially each district is to have one model school. The schools will be run by Mahila Samakhya in those districts where it is already operating and by NGOs in other districts.

General Information:

Since January 2005 Bihar has started supplying free textbooks to all SC/ST students and to all girls in primary schools.

Mid Day Meals are provided in schools up to class 5. Since the introduction of Mid Day Meals there has been a huge swell in retention. However, large numbers of children come to the schools for the meal, then go away.

On dropout rates it was mentioned that the class 5 dropout rate is 36% and by class 8 it is 52%.

On the need for textbooks in other dialects/languages, Mr. Singh said the demand for instance for Santhali is a bogus argument based on politics.

On Life Skills education, they said it was provided by some NGOs such as Aditi for the age group 12-18 years.

On Mahila Samakhya: (Most of this information came from Sister Sabeena)

Mahila Samakhya (MS) works in nine districts of Bihar, covering 34 blocks and 2300 villages. The Mahila Samakhya in Bihar follows the established pattern of working in the field through Sahyoginis, Sahelis and Mahila Samoohs. Education and capacity building for empowerment seems to be the thrust of much of the MS programme in Bihar.

So far MS is housed within the Bihar Education Project and operates under it. However, it is expected to gain some autonomy now as a separate Mahila Samakhya Society has been set up recently. (New staff will be recruited and everything including accounts. MS hopes to face less administrative and political interference in its activities in the future.)

MS derives its real strength at grassroots level through the Mahila Samoohs. Mahila Samoohs or women's groups run a centre in each village. For teaching and other activities Samoohs have to find the place to house their centre and usually use the Panchayat Bhavan or Mahila Kutir. They decide the timings for activities.

Samooh women do a household survey to identify adolescents. The Samoohs select a teacher, choose the girls and even the teaching-learning material. Each Samooh gets a grant of Rs 10,000. The Teacher has to be Matric pass and is chosen from the village or a neighbouring tola if necessary. The Saheli gives the Teacher her honorarium and money is cut if she is absent.

MS ensures the capacity building of the women selected as Sahyoginis and Sahelis through regular training and follow up meetings and trainings over a long period of time. For instance, the Saheli gets orientation through Saksharta Shivirs or special literacy camps. She has ten days of literacy and numeracy classes. Every three months there is a follow up training of three days. After nine months there is further training.

MS runs Jagjagi Kendras for girls who are nine plus and Bal Jagjagi Kendras for smaller girls. The Bal Jagjagis are essentially preschools and are set up in places where there is no ICDS centre. They are open for two to three hours and children are taught through games, singing etc. They are taught about health and hygiene and even given baths if needed. Children enter the Bal Jagjagis at ages 3-4 years and at five plus the Bal Mitra and Samooh members enrol them in regular schools. Sister Sabeena told us with pride that some girls who had entered the Bal Jagjagis in 1993 are now in class ten.

Among the books that are used to teach girls are the Jagjagi Manual, Chingaari, Hamari Kahani Hamari Zubani, Jal Jangal Jameen and Khilori (science based).

The Saheli carries with her the Jhola Pustakalaya or mobile library in a bag for women and children to borrow books and read them. For adolescents there is a Kishori Manch that meets once in two weeks at cluster level. This Manch acts as a pressure group in the community on issues such as early marriage or more education and facilities for girls.

MS's most successful education is conducted through the residential Mahila Shikshan Kendras where adolescent girls, many of them dropouts, and women are given a comprehensive eight-month training course. Some are subsequently enrolled in formal schools while others begin working for educational institutions or take up some form of social work.

Mahila Samakhya, Bihar

Sister Sabeena, State Project Director:

Investment in these girls is high. Many of them are orphans and from very poor homes. She cited the example of a Musahar girl who was the first in her community to study and write the class 5 exam. The girl is now encouraging others to study, teaching them about hygiene and cleanliness etc.

A quarterly newsletter called Halchal is brought out and women read it proudly, to practice and show off their newfound reading skills.

MS influence is felt through NPEGEL in all districts of Bihar, says Sister Sabeena.

(Since Bihar has an old and successful Mahila Samakhya the interviewees focussed on that when asked questions about women's education. They already have a hugely successful model in the Mahila Shikshan Kendras and while the KGBVs are residential schools for the most deprived girls, the pattern is more on the lines of formal schooling than Mahila Samakhya style empowerment. Although NPEGEL and KGBVS are being implemented, the pace seems to be slower than, for instance, Rajasthan.

In Rajasthan, my interviews focused on these two schemes. Since the newly appointed gender coordinator is exclusively incharge of the schemes she had all the details immediately available. Overall, while gender is inbuilt into programmes like BEP and DPEP, it does seem to me that there is less direct focus on it, since the objectives are wider and the intent is to universalise all education.

In terms of resources, in Bihar the budget allocation for NPEGEL is equal to about one-third of the DPEP budget, which seems quite good given the limited scope of the scheme. However, in 2003-04, the initial year of the scheme and in 2004-05 it seems that so far expenditure has been low compared to the expenditure on DPEP and SSA. This should pick up as the scheme gathers steam.

NPEGEL/KGBVS seems to be a twin-pronged approach, with the first being a wider spectrum programme where resources are spread thinly on the ground but are expected to impact large numbers of girls, while the latter is a resource-intensive scheme that will impact a small number of girls. How effective NPEGEL will be remains to be seen. The programme is designed to be flexible and permits innovation to meet local needs but both staffing and resources could be problematic.

On the other hand, KGBVS will obviously affect the lives and lifetime opportunities of a small number of girls. If 50 girls are to be educated and housed in a hostel each year and there are 62 hostels, the scheme will impact only 3100 girls each year in the state of Bihar. The impact in a backward block will be that 50-100 girls are being educated each year. This can at best have a small demonstration effect.)

Education Data*
District Muzaffarpur

No. Of Villages	<u>1796</u>
Total Primary Schools	2150
Total Upper Primary Schools	427
Total Secondary Schools	114
Total Higher Secondary Schools	12
Total Colleges with XI & XII	39
Total Schools	2742

***Data as on Sept 30, 2002**

Bihar: Education Data, November 2005

Total Population (6-14)	19567481
Number of schools	54816
Tolas without Schools/EGS centres	6579
Teacher-Student ratio	96
Teacher Student ratio (with PSM)	62
Student-classroom ratio	105
Literacy rate	
Male	60.32
Female	33.57
Total	47.53
Gender gap in literacy	26.6
Enrolment rate	
Male	91
Female	88
Total	90
Gender gap in enrolment	03
Dropout rate (primary)	
Male	54
Female	59
Total	57
Children out of school	
Male	1032277
Female	1018597
Total	2050874

Bihar Education Project (Bihar Shiksha Pariyojana Parishad)

- This pariyोजना was set up to bring about basic change in the education system and through it create social and cultural change, therefore it was designed as a social mission.

Current Status: The following are currently being implemented:

- District Primary Education Programme III
- Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
- National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level
- Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme (KGBVS)

Present Gains: Mahila Samakhya

- The work of Mahila Samakhya, Bihar is primarily to deal with the challenges of education and empowerment of women and girls and to ensure that women are given the status of equal human beings.
- The Mahila Samakhya programme is run in 2071 villages of nine districts. So far, 2612 women's groups (Mahila Samooh) have been started, with 64622 women and there are also 2270 savings groups (bachat samooh).
- 1735 Jagjagi Kendras are being run for girls and women above nine years of age. Currently, 33434 girls/women are studying in the Jagjagi Kendras. So far, 10200 girls have been enrolled in formal schools after completing their studies at the Jagjagi Kendras.
- For children ages 3-6 years, 901 preschools or Bal Jagjagi Kendras are being run. Currently 31375 children are studying in these. 18213 have been sent from the Bal Jagjagis to formal schools.
- Currently six Mahila Shikshan Kendras are being run (eight month residential schools). After finishing the training 368 girls were enrolled in formal schools. 717 are working in educational organisations or are busy in other social work.
- At Cluster/unit level 66 'jhola pustkalayas' are being run. These benefit both the trainees of Mahila Shikshan Kendras and other women members of the Mahila Samoohs.
- Members of Mahila Samakhya have been elected to the Village Education Committees, with 165 of them being Chairpersons, 7 Vice-Chairpersons, 405 Secretaries and 1231 members.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme (KGBVS)

- 62 KGBVs are being set up in blocks where female literacy is low and gender gap wide. In the first phase, one KGBVS school is to be set up in every district. 50 girls will reside in each residential school.

National Programme for Education of Girls at Primary Level (NPEGEL)

Goals

- Creating facilities to enable access and retention of girls in school
- Participation of women and girls in education
- Emphasis on educational attainment and personality development of girls to enable empowerment

Model Cluster Schools

- In identified blocks all identified cluster middle schools to be upgraded as model cluster schools

Activities to supplement the work of Model Cluster Schools

- Bridge courses for out-of-school girls
- Coaching classes and camps for girls in school and those out-of-school
- Cycling classes
- Karate classes
- Vocational education

Immediate Initiatives: Bal Jagjaqi Kendras

- These centres prepare children ages 3-6 to enter school
- These centres are run in primary schools
- Bihar has over 10,000 such centres
- Several studies suggest that children from the rate of retention and completion of primary school is higher among children from these centres

Current Needs

Teachers	
Number of teachers required as per national standard (40:1)	3.52 lakh
Posts filled	2.84 lakh
Other needs	0.68 lakh
Classrooms	
Number of classrooms required as per national standard (40:1)	3.52 lakh
Classrooms available	1.34 lakh
Classrooms under construction	0.37 lakh
Additional classrooms needed	1.81 lakh

Current Needs

District Resource Centre	
Needed	533
Available	205
To be set up	328
Cluster Resource Centre	
Required (35-40 teachers per centre)	8,800
Available	4,564
Additional requirement	4,236

Reasons for Slow Progress

- Procedural delay in approval of annual plans and budgets
- Delay in timely appointment of teachers
- Delay in civil works and shortage of civil engineers
- Non-fulfilment of posts under the project
- Teachers having to spend time on non-teaching work
- Delay in formation of school education samitis
- Shortage of resources

II. RAJASTHAN

Interview with:

1. Mr. Akhil Arora, State Project Director, Rajasthan Council for Primary Education, Jaipur

Mr Arora (who took charge of the Department in mid December 2005) informed me that although Rajasthan had been far behind other states in education of girls, things had improved vastly in recent years, as reflected in the literacy levels recorded by the Census and in other data. He said that the problems of increasing girls' access to education and retention within the system are handled in the following ways:

1. Girls' education is encouraged under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan through community mobilisation strategies, involving NGOs and other organisations to create a synergy.
2. Alternative schooling facilities and bridge courses are offered for those never enrolled and dropouts
3. NPEGEL improves the quality of inputs for girls education
4. Capacity building and gender sensitisation of government officials
5. The Lok Jumbish programme

2. Ms. Azra Parveen, Incharge Gender Unit, RCPE, Jaipur

Ms. Azra Parveen was deputed to the department six months ago. She has only recently been designated as in charge of the Gender Unit. She supervises the implementation of the NPEGEL and KGBVS. There are no separate state level schemes for girls education.

NPEGEL and KGBV are applicable in Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs). Rajasthan has 32 districts and 28 of these districts contain EBBs. Altogether, 180 EBBs have been identified in Rajasthan.

National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level

Ms Parveen informed me that NPEGEL had been operationalised in Rajasthan since 2002. In the current financial year of the total budget of Rs 21 crores, Rs 17 crores had been released so far (end January 2006). She said they had earlier set up 2212 model cluster schools but currently only had a budget for 205 clusters.

Each model cluster school becomes a nucleus for activities for girls in the area and is selected for its high levels of enrolment and retention. It is ensured that there are 10-15 schools around it which will benefit from activities conducted here.

A classroom is built in each model school at a cost of Rs 1.5 lakh. Another Rs. 50,000 is provided for ensuring water/toilet/electricity connections. A grant of Rs 30,000 is given for buying Teaching-Learning Equipment.

A grant of Rs 60,000/- is provided annually for activities, such as bridge courses, competitions, dramas, self defence classes and life skills classes. Asked how 'life skills' is defined, she said it could be block printing or tie and dye or decorative paper bag making skills for income generation. The scheme is designed to be flexible and meet student needs and demands. Some of the money is used to hire instructors from outside to teach the relevant skill. The School Development and Management Committee decide on the activities.

(In Rajasthan, she said, all upper primary schools have School Development Management Committees and Mother Teacher Associations.)

On incentives, she said that Rs 150/- annually is given to girls from SC/ST, OBC, Minority and also BPL categories. However a sum of Rs 80/- is deducted from this for providing textbooks. There are no other incentives for girls.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas:

Ms Parveen said that since 28 of Rajasthan's districts had EBBS, KGBVs had been sanctioned in all these. A total of 56 KGBVs have accordingly been sanctioned and 49 are

operational by now. These are in hired buildings so far but lands have been identified and buildings are to be built.

There are 2 KGBVs in each of these districts, one of the Model 1 type and the other of the Model 3 type. Under Model 1 a residential school is set up for 100 girls and it has its own teaching staff. Under Model 3 a residential hostel is set up for 50 girls who attend an existing school nearby.

Girls are chosen from extremely poor and deprived backgrounds and are happy to get free education, uniforms, books and board and lodging. Each year in May motivational camps are held and during these girls and their parents are motivated to enrol girls in KGBVs. The girls are usually those who have dropped out. They are taught in classes 6,7 and 8 and prepared for the State Board Examination held at the end of class 8.

Teaching staff is sent on deputation to KGBV schools from other schools. However, during implementation, Ms Parveen said, they have had problems such as the need for more support staff such as cooks, chowkidars, peons etc for which there are inadequate provisions in the scheme. At present contracts have been given for all the school canteens.

To ensure the girls' security, the teachers and other staff are almost entirely female, with the exception of chowkidars etc.

The School Development and Management Committee (SDMC) make major decisions such as a timetable for extracurricular activities and part-time teachers to conduct these extracurricular activities after school hours, appointment of cooks/contractors etc. These SDMCs comprise the headmistress, parents, members of the Mother Teacher Associations etc.

During the current financial year, Ms. Parveen said, the KGBV scheme had received its 75 percent grant from the central government but was awaiting the 25% grant from the state government.

Alternative Learning

On alternative learning, she said Rajasthan has many facilities for 8-14 year olds including 3-month bridge courses, some of which are residential, as well as 6-month residential courses. There are back-to-school camps for dropouts, migrant children etc where children are coached for 10-15 days and then enrolled in regular schools. Remedial classes are also conducted in schools.

Overall, she said the state government is very supportive of education, there is no dearth of resources for education etc. Rajasthan now provides free textbooks for all children up to class 8. Thirty three percent of teachers' posts are reserved for women, just as there is 33% reservation for women in all state public services.

III. Delhi

Summary of Information on Sangam Vihar Schools

(as obtained from interviews with Delhi Government officials)

Sangam Vihar area has 13 primary schools run by the MCD. There are 7 school sites and all but one site runs double shifts, with each shift being defined as a separate school. The morning shifts are for girls and the afternoon shifts for boys. The area is overcrowded and land for the schools is inadequate. In some case, the land has still to be officially sanctioned for the schools. One school does not have a boundary wall as there is a dispute with local people over the land. A temple has been built on the premises in an attempt to grab the land. One school is run entirely in tents, others are semi-pucca or the rooms have been supplemented with porta-cabins.

There are two secondary schools (up to class ten) managed by the Directorate of Education. These are run on one site, with the morning shift for girls and afternoon shift for boys. There is no senior secondary school in the area. These schools are very crowded and facilities are limited.

Lastly, there are many non-formal (NFE) learning centres for out-of-school children. These have been contracted to various NGOs and in some cases school premises are used for running these centres.

1. Interview with Ms Veena Singh, District Education Officer, South District, Directorate of Education, Delhi

The Directorate of Education, which manages secondary and higher secondary education in Delhi, divides the city into education districts and zones.

The South District comprises education zones 23, 24 and 25. Sangam Vihar falls into zone 23. Zone 23 has 7 government schools, 4 public schools and one aided school. (These would be secondary schools)

Ms Singh, who is the District Education Officer (DEO) for the South District, has spent some years as principal of a school in Ambedkar Nagar. Asked about the status of schooling in Sangam Vihar Ms Singh's spontaneous reply is, "Have you seen Sangam Vihar? It is a remote and very difficult area. No buses go into Sangam Vihar. The lanes are too narrow. You can't imagine how difficult it is for our teachers to somehow make their way to school early in the morning. The population in this Sangam Vihar/Tigri/Deoli area is so dense that it is impossible to provide facilities there. These are entirely unplanned areas. Tigri has no (secondary) school so the children go to Ambedkar Nagar."

Her department supervises two schools in Sangam Vihar, one for boys and the other for girls. She acknowledges these schools are overcrowded but says the government is unable to build more schools because there is simply no land available in the area. She says that in earlier times communities were willing to give land for schools but no longer.

She blames population pressures, pointing out that back in 1969 she remembered that Ambedkar Nagar had only one school. Today it has 10 schools and each school has 1100 or 1500 or even 2000 children on its rolls.

As I discovered, one girls' school in Sangam Vihar has 3226 girls on its rolls while the boys school has 2940 students. She was kind enough to share with me the files of both these Sangam Vihar schools. Government Girls Secondary School, C Block Sangam Vihar school had a sanctioned strength of 66 teachers in Oct 05. Fifty-two posts were filled while 14 were vacant. There are teachers for subjects such as math, English, Hindi, Sanskrit, social science, science, domestic science, music and art. The school has no water and no tubewell. It is built on rocky ground. It has classrooms and laboratories for science, maths and domestic science.

It has one peon and one watchman. Two posts for sweepers are sanctioned but not filled. school has one peon, one watchman and one waterman, besides three clerical staff.

There were details in the Government Boys Secondary School file about the class ten result. Each teacher's performance as measured by results was being tracked. However the class ten result was abysmal. In 2005 the pass percentage was 19 percent. After compartment this result improved to 42.01 percent.

2. Interview with Mr Sisodia, Education Officer, SSA

Mr Sisodia informed me that some 30 NGOs in the South District of Delhi had been contracted to run NFE centres. In Sangam Vihar Prayas, Deepalaya and IRAM were major NGOs running NFE centres. The MHRD spends Rs 845 per child per annum on NFE children. He said that Prayas alone runs 28 centres in SV, both in the morning and the evening. There are 40 children per centre. IRAM also runs 20 centres here. He said the objective of NFE is to mainstream the children. Two batches of NFE centre children have been mainstreamed into school so far, he said.

3. Interview with Ms Joginder Taluja, District Education Officer, Municipal Corporation of Delhi, South Zone

MCD manages government primary schools in the city. MCD's South Zone has 12 wards. The District Education Officer (DEO) is the official overseeing 147 MCD primary schools, 30 schools recognised by MCD and 4 aided schools in the zone.

The MCD primary schools are for classes 1-5. However, 86 schools also have nursery classes which admit children who are 4+. Mrs. Taluja said that nursery sections are started in schools where there is demand for them.

Ms. Taluja seemed to be extremely busy and burdened with assorted administrative tasks. People went in and out of her room, she was signing leave applications, cheque books and registers to authorise various payments to her department's staff and others. A retired woman employee came to demand that her dues be sanctioned. Two other employees came in late, were reprimanded, offered various excuses. A teacher came from a school to

say the principal had asked her to remind them about a court case and the need to depute an official to appear on behalf of the school.

A teacher from an outlying school came to request her to post a chowkidar to the school temporarily as the regular chowkidar was on earned leave. She immediately told her staff to hunt for a casual worker to act as chowkidar. Asked about the matter, she said it was important to have a chowkidar in place as most of the schools now have some computers that need to be protected from theft. She said anything could happen, even school records could be stolen. Incidentally, she made no reference to the need for security for schoolchildren! Yet, as one is aware, there have been several cases of physical fights and even rape of girls in schools.

It seemed, from all this coming and going, which was apparent in the offices of both DEOs interviewed, that there is considerable centralisation of tasks and powers and that they find it difficult to cope with their many responsibilities and the large number of schools they supervise. DEOs keep an eye on school postings, transfers and results. DEOs are supposed to inspect schools (although there are separate inspectors with specific beats) and attend functions such as inter-school competitions, award ceremonies.

There does not seem to be any proper planning for the setting up of schools, in either the Directorate of Education which manages secondary and higher secondary schools or the MCD which runs the primary schools. If plans are made, they are not shared with the DEOs. There is no clear relationship between the size of the population in a particular zone and the number of schools established there. I was not able to secure from either of the two DEOs interviewed a map of their area and the schools located within it. They were not aware of the existence of any such maps.

According to Ms Taluja, decisions about the starting of new schools depend on the demands made by the elected Councillors who represent the Municipal Wards.

To give an idea of the size of the south zone, one could mention that schools here range from 15 schools in RK Puram and south Motibagh, two in Ayanagar, 8 in Pushp Vihar, 2 in Bhati mines, 6 in Devli and 28 in Ambedkar Nagar (including Dakshinpuri, Madangir and Tigri). Even a casual look at the list makes it clear that there are more schools in the older areas and particularly in government colonies, than in the new and poorer areas.

Asked about Sangam Vihar, Mrs Taluja's reaction was similar to the other DEO's reaction. She spoke of the lack of space being a major constraint in an unauthorised colony where there is squatting and simply no land available for the development of schools. The K-2 school in SV she said did not even have a boundary wall as there is a dispute. Some families have occupied school land and built a temple there, she said. MCD (South Zone) runs seven primary schools in Sangam Vihar. They are all called Nagar Nigam Prathmik Vidyalayas and are distinguished by their addresses and numbers. In physical terms there are four schools/school premises. One school in G Block is coeducational and there is no second shift here. The other three school premises run double shifts and each shift is

treated as a separate school. The morning shift is for girls, the afternoon shift is for boys. These schools are in C-Block, K-2 Block and L Block.

(The SV-Tigri area seems to come under municipal ward 60. The SV area adjoining Badarpur falls into the central zone. Sangam Vihar primary schools under the central zone are not counted here).

Ms Taluja said that non formal Learning Centres are run in the area with 20-30 children in each centre. Where there is no second shift in a school, the building is used in the afternoon for a Learning Centre.

4. Telephonic Interview with Mr Chetram Kaushik, District Education Officer, Central Zone - MCD

Mr Kaushik informed that he is in charge of 161 schools (on 101 sites), 5 aided schools and 54 recognised schools in the Central Zone.

Among these, he supervises 6 schools located in Sangam Vihar. These are double-shift schools located on 3 sites. The morning shift is for girls, the evening shift is for boys. He said that

The J Block schools (one site) have approximately 550 children in each shift. This school site is officially sanctioned, has a pucca building and 16 portacabins for additional classrooms. It has water and electricity connections.

The F Block schools (one site) have about 900 children in each shift. The site has a semi-pucca building of five rooms. The land still has to be officially sanctioned to the school. The site has water and electricity connections.

The I Block schools are tented as the land belongs to the Forest Department. There are 20 tents. There are approximately 1150 children per shift. Thirty portacabins have been sanctioned but have still to be installed here. There is water but no electricity connection.

The DEO said that he is in contact with various officials to improve the facilities. He has written to the Mayor, various politicians of the area etc to speed up facilities to these schools. He furnished this information readily and was willing to see me at a later date, if required.

Annex 8

Terms of Reference for the Study

The TOR included the following major points:

A gender gap exists in India in both enrolment and retention in schools; research has been done to explore the reasons why this happens. However we need to undertake a lot more focused research to seek answers to various questions that can feed into our programme design for the future given Plan's focus on promoting girls education.

Plan would like to undertake a research project on gender discrimination and its impact on girls in schools. This study would be conducted across 4 states of the country where Plan works in control and non-control areas. First a desk review will be conducted to identify what information is currently available and what studies have been done. We would then conduct a four-state, on-site study³ in districts in which Plan partners work.

Many of the answers we seek could be found in secondary sources such as what enables girls to go to school and what does not; are there any push factors that exist in schools. Based on ground research answers to questions like what happens to girls' cognitive and non-cognitive growth.

The key outcome would be a set of minimum recommendations as they pertain to our PU areas on what needs to be there in schools in our PU areas to actually keep girls in schools and undertake programming to minimise such push factors.

A key focus would be that the agency /consultant would share findings of the field with the PUs and also map other gender related interventions in the four states⁴ and seek inputs from PUs on programme strategies in use and what can be done to address the issues based on the findings of the research.

It is expected that such a review would help us to understand the implications that gender discrimination may have in retaining children in schools, and assess their level of academic and non-academic learning.

The study would highlight specific actions and recommendations for Plan, partners, the government and others to take to address the issue over the next five years in India and also contribute to development of policy on the issue in India.

⁴ Eg mapping of interventions in UP and Rajasthan of CARE and how they can contribute to Pu programming ,Mapping of Interventions of UNICEF ,MVF and any others in the specific six states .

On the ground this research is expected to feed into programming that incorporates gender concerns and how can we through community outreach minimize these factors that lead to gender discrimination.

The outcomes expected are:

A set of findings on the extent of gender discrimination in schools with research that looks at primary data, secondary data and consciously weaves in children perspective on gender discrimination through children's consultations

The extent to which this impacts retention and academic achievement levels of girls.
Dissemination of the findings with PU and the children who have been part of this study.

Some indicative questions that the Research study would seek specific answers to:

Why do girls enrol in school and why do they not?

Why do girls who enrol eventually drop out? A matrix of factors and an analysis of in school factors that may push out girl's .Is there a difference in different states of the country?

What has happened in areas where the enrolment of girls has over the years gone up?

Have these changed attitudes of the community to girl's education?

What happens in rural areas? What happens in the urban areas? What are the enabling factors that have contributed to this change?

Why is the attendance of girls so low? Are boys and girls in schools treated differently? By teachers?

Do the girls face discrimination in the schools leading to their lack of participation and retention?

Also, are learning levels affected by this? Are they also affected in the non-cognitive sense too?

What is the gender content of school materials, including the nature of male and female role models in textbooks⁵?(This would be dependent on pulling together research already undertaken under DPEP and putting it together and using it to chart a plan for the future ?

What is the degree of social support for girls in school? Are there advantages to girls in having female teachers? And as a percentage how many are there in the sampled schools against how many would be optimally required to enhance the participation of girls in school.

How does the arrival of menstruation, and the way it is handled at home and school, affect girls' attendance?

Do classroom dynamics have an impact on girls' attendance, and do these vary by school type? How do teachers' preparedness and the quality of teaching materials affect girls' participation? How does the content of school curricula affect girls' attendance?

⁵ Plan understands that this is a specialised area of work and the agency may be required to actually to a desk analysis of the textbooks if this aspect of the study is feasible .

